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And His Holiness
The Dalai Lama
On
NON-VIOLENCE
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Theme Editor:
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Non-violence and Compassion”**

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Publisher's Note

The Department of Information and International Relations of Central Tibetan Administration is extremely happy with the publication of "*Mahatma Gandhi and His Holiness The Dalai Lama on Non-Violence and Compassion*" on the occasion of the 70th Birth Day (6th July 2005) commemoration of *His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama*.

We would like to express our deep appreciation to *Dr. Satish Inamdar* who has taken the initiative of compiling, editing and printing the present volume.

It is our sincere hope that a greater number of people, especially the new generation, will benefit from the thoughts of two remarkable and towering leaders of our time.

Kalon Lobsang Nyandak Zayul
Department of Information and International Relations
Central Tibetan Administration
Dharamshala, India
14th June 2005

Preface

This book of daily reading,
is a regular, steady practice;
to understand hurt and hate.
One has to read a page quietly.
There is much to understand
in between the lines.
There is much to contemplate
beyond words.
Of war and strife
we have suffered enough.
Of pride and anger
we know enough.
Now, to understand
our human naturalness
would mean to be
compassionate and non-violent.
Let's give ourselves
a chance.

-Dr Satish Inamdar

January

Never out of fear of punishment, leave a duty undone.

What is the legal relevance of Satyagraha?

Obviously, it is for the *satyagrahi* to decide. Observers may judge satyagraha after the event. The world's displeasure will not deter a *satyagrahi*. Whether or not *satyagraha* should be started is not decided by any mathematical rule. A man who believes that satyagraha may be started only after weighing the chances of defeat and victory and assuring oneself of the certainty of victory, may be a shrewd enough politician or an intelligent man, but he is no satyagrahi. A *satyagrahi* acts spontaneously. *Satyagraha* and arms have both been in use from time immemorial we find them praised in extant scriptures.

Both these forms of strength are preferable to weakness – ‘cowardice’. Without either, popular awakening is impossible. *Swaraj* achieved otherwise than through resort to one or the other will not be true *swaraj*. Unless all of us strengthen the forces of *satyagraha*, the methods of violence are bound automatically to gain ascendancy. They are like weeds which grow wild in any soil. We can, with the help of *satyagraha*, win over those young men who have been driven to desperation and anger by what they think to be the tyranny of the government and utilize their courage and their mettlesome spirit, their capacity for suffering, to strengthen *satyagraha*. The *satyagrahi* desires to harass neither the government nor anyone else. He takes no step without the fullest deliberation. He is never arrogant. He fears God alone, so that no other power can intimidate him. He will never, out of fear of punishment, leave a duty undone. It is my unshakable faith that before so great a self - sacrifice even the power of an emperor will give way. By resorting to *satyagraha* we reveal the intensity of our injured feelings and thereby serve the government.

January 1

Spiritual does not mean any kind of religious faith.

The basic fact is that all human beings want happiness. We have every right to be happy and to achieve happier lives. The methods, however should not infringe on the rights of others, nor should they create suffering for others. You should be aware that there are differences between short-term and long-term interests and consequences. The long-term interest is more important.

After all we are human beings and not machines. Therefore, we must think seriously about our own inner abilities and deeper values. One could also say 'spiritual' developments. But when I say spiritual I do not mean any kind of religious faith. I mean basic human good qualities.

These are human affection, honesty, discipline and human intelligence guided by good motivation. All religious teachings and traditions teach us to be good human beings, to be warm-hearted people. These religious teachings strengthen the basic human good qualities we have from birth.

Humans have the potential not only to create happy lives for themselves; but also to help other beings. We have a natural creative quality and it is important to realize this. It is my belief that the human brain and basic human compassion are by nature in a kind of harmony.

Self realisation is possible without the knowledge of letters.

Today, most of the students look listless and devoid of energy. They ask about serving the country and earning a livelihood. I feel they are most anxious about the last. It is necessary to consider what the true aim of education is. Education should aim at building character. Our seers say that, if a man though well versed in the *vedas* and *shastras*, fails to realise the Self and make himself worthy of liberation from all bonds, his learning will have been in vain. Self realisation is possible without the knowledge of letters. Prophet Mohammed was illiterate and Jesus Christ never went to school. They had all that learning that knowledge could bring. They were *Mahatmas*. We too can attain knowledge of the Self only by cultivating good character. What is character? What are the hallmarks of a virtuous life? A virtuous man is one who strives to practise truth, non-violence, *bramhacharya*, non-possession, non-stealing, fearlessness and such other rules of conduct. He will give up his life rather than truth. He will choose to die rather than kill. He will rather suffer himself than make others suffer. He will be as a friend even to his wife and entertain no carnal thoughts towards her. He does not seek ease and comfort and does not use things he does not really need but is quite content to live a simple life. Firm is the belief that, "I am the immortal spirit and not this perishable body and that none in this world can ever kill the spirit," he casts out all fear of suffering of mind and body and of worldly misfortunes.

If our schools never succeed in producing this result, the students, the system of education and the teachers - all three must share the blame.

Promote basic human good qualities.

How does one enhance the power of compassion and love towards other sentient beings? It basically involves visualizing taking upon yourself all the suffering, pain, negativity and desirable experiences of other sentient beings. You imagine taking these upon yourself and then giving away or sharing with others your own positive qualities, such as your virtuous states of mind, your positive energy, your wealth, your happiness and so forth. Such a form of training though it may not actually result in a reduction of suffering by other sentient beings or a production of your own positive qualities, psychologically brings about a transformation in your mind so effectively that your feeling of love and compassion is much more enhanced.

Trying to implement this practice in your daily life is quite powerful and can be a very positive influence on your mind and on your health. If you feel that it seems worthwhile to practice, then irrespective of whether you are a believer or a non-believer, you should try to promote these basic human good qualities.

These mental transformations take time and are not easy. Keep it in your mind and make a constant effort. Eventually some change may happen. I still sometimes find it difficult to practice these things. However, they are extremely useful. I will remain to make some small contribution for the benefit of others.

January 4

Turn the tragedies going on before us to good account.

Satyagraha is like a banyan tree with innumerable branches. Civil disobedience is one such branch, *satya* (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence) together make the present trunk from which all innumerable branches shoot out. We have found by bitter experience that whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness, civil disobedience found ready acceptance, *Satya* and *Ahimsa*, from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring, have commanded little or no respect. Ours then is a Herculean task, but we may not shirk it. We must fearlessly spread the doctrine of *satya* and ahimsa and then, and not till then, shall we be able to undertake mass *satyagraha*.

I would be untrue to *satyagraha*, if I allowed it by any action of mine to be used as an occasion for feeding violence, for embittering relations between the English and the Indians.

Our *satyagraha* must therefore now consist in ceaselessly helping the authorities, in all the ways available to us as *satyagrahis*, to restore order and to curb lawlessness. We can turn the tragedies going on before us to good account if we could but succeed in gaining the adherence of the masses to the fundamental principles of *satyagraha*.

In *satyagraha* there never is danger from outside. The danger is always from departure from truth and non-violence.

To temporarily suspend civil-disobedience is to co-operate with the Government to establish order, and by preaching and practice to gain adherence to the fundamental principles of truth and non-violence.

Anger and hatred are our real enemies.

It is necessary to understand and overcome the enemy within us. Anger and hatred are our real enemies. Others are temporary enemies, who appear intermittently throughout our life. And unless we train our minds to reduce their negative force, they will continue to disturb us and disrupt our attempts to develop a calm mind. The root of anger lies in the attitude that cherishes our own welfare and benefit while remaining oblivious to the well-being of others. This self-centered attitude underlies not only anger, but virtually all our states of mind. It is a deluded attitude, misperceiving the way things actually are, and this misperception is responsible for all the suffering and dissatisfaction that we experience.

In order to see the destructive process clearly, we need to become aware of the nature of the mind. If we analyze our mind, the world of experience and mental phenomena, we would discover that there are multitudes of mental states, differing in their modes of apprehension, object, degree of intensity of engagement with the object, and so on. Certain aspects of the mind are useful and beneficial, so we should correctly identify them and enhance their potential. If we discover on examination that certain states of mind are unwholesome in that they bring us suffering and problems then we should seek a way to eradicate them. As long as these inner enemies remain secure within, there is a great danger.

Buddhist scriptures mention eighty-four thousand types of negative and obstructive thoughts, which have eighty-four thousand corresponding approaches or antidotes. It is an unrealistic expectation that somehow, somewhere, we will find a single magic key that will help us eradicate all of these negativities. We need great determination and patience. It is therefore important for us to lead a life of constant mindfulness and mental alertness.

Rebellion in a just cause is a duty.

I do not consider non-co-operation to be a rebellion, because it is free from violence. In a larger sense all opposition to a Government measure is a rebellion. In that sense, rebellion in a just cause is a duty, the extent of opposition being determined by the measure of the injustice done and felt.

My experience shows me that inspite of some aberrations, the country was under the influence of *satyagraha*. It was for its good. Nothing can possibly prevent a *satyagrahi* from doing his duty, because of the frown of the authorities. I would risk, if necessary, a million lives so long as they are voluntary sufferers and are innocent, spotless victims. It is the mistakes of the people that matter in a *satyagraha* campaign. The secret lies in holding the life of every one as sacred as those of our dear ones. All the wonderful experience have gained now, has convinced me that there is no gift so precious as that of life. The lives of the English are protected against harm not because of the matchless weapons of destruction which are at their disposal, but because Indians refuse to take the lives even of those whom they may consider to be utterly in the wrong.

It is because of my incessant preaching of the gospel of non-violence that the forces of violence in existence have remained under control. I consider non-cooperation to be such a powerful and pure instrument, that if it is enforced in an earnest spirit, it will be like seeking first the kingdom of God and everything else following as a matter of course. People would have learnt the value of discipline, self control, joint action, non-violence, organisation and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great.

January 7

Love is based on altruism.

The pursuit of the objects of our desire and attachment involves the use of aggression and competitiveness as supposedly efficacious instruments. Such processes are going on in the human society since time immemorial, but their execution has become more effective under modern conditions. What can be done to regulate these 'poisons' - delusion, greed and aggression? For these are behind every trouble in the world.

I feel love and compassion are the moral fabric of world peace. Real love is not based on attachment, but on altruism. Your compassion is a humane response to suffering as long as beings continue to suffer. Undiscriminating, spontaneous, and unlimited compassion for all sentient beings is not the usual love that one has for friends or family. In it is an element of ignorance, desire and attachment. The kind of love advocated is this wider love one can have even for one's enemy.

The rationale for compassion is that every one wants to avoid suffering and gain happiness. This, in turn is based on the valid feeling of 'I', which determines the universal desire for happiness.

Whether one believes in religion or not, there is no one who does not appreciate love and compassion. At the beginning and the end of life we are dependent on the kindness of others, why then in the middle should we not act kindly towards others?

To develop a kind heart as a member of the large human family is a powerful feeling in security. If we keep in mind our relative unimportance in relation to countless others, we can conclude that it is worthwhile to share our possessions with others. Then individual happiness ceases to be a conscious self-seeking effort. It develops calmness and presence of mind.

January 8

Success depends wholly on our eschewing violence.

The assassination of a British Officer has harmed our cause. An element of violence has entered the struggle, which was peaceful so far. We should condemn this murder not only in our meetings but even in our thoughts. Welcoming violence, openly or secretly, while claiming to have renounced it, would be nothing but duplicity.

I know there are people who welcome such assassinations. I am of the view that assassinations never do any good, and that, if sometimes for a while good seems to have followed, in the end there is harm. I regard the victory of the British to be their defeat. Evil has increased in them. There is no limit to their arrogance.

I would make this appeal to those who believe in the creed of violence, that they may not ride two horses at a time. Either we have non-violent non-co-operation or abandon non-co-operation altogether. The key of our success lies in our acquiring control over every person in the country. If we are not strong enough to prevent even sporadic attempts at assassination, our movement simply cannot go on.

What is the way to prevent? By changing the atmosphere. It can change only when those who are conducting the non-co-operation movement fully understand its true nature and its conditions for success. The first condition is that we appoint ourselves policemen for the protection of the Englishmen's life; if we do so, we would reason with all around us and explain to them that our success depended wholly on our eschewing violence.

January 9

Truth will prevail.

I feel there have been peaceful revolutions in some parts of the world. They have taught us many great lessons. One is the value of truth. People do not like to be bullied, cheated or lied to either by an individual or a system. Such acts are contrary to the essential human spirit. Therefore, even though those who practice deception and use force may achieve considerable short-term success, eventually they will be over thrown.

On the other hand, everyone appreciates truth, and respect for it is really in our blood. Truth is the best guarantor and the real foundation of freedom and democracy. It does not matter whether you are weak or strong or whether your cause has many or few adherents, truth will still prevail.

It is obvious that many a times truth itself is lacking in much of our political life. Inevitably weaker nations are manipulated and oppressed by stronger ones; just as weaker sections of society suffer at the hands of the more powerful and affluent. Though at times truth has been considered to be unrealistic, still it is recognized that truth is an immense force in the human mind and as a result, in shaping our history.

In the past, enslaved people often resorted to violence in their struggle to be free. Now, following in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., these peaceful revolutions offer future generations a wonderful example of successful, non-violent change.

There are many recent events that have shown, the desire for both peace and freedom lies at the most fundamental level of human nature and that violence is its complete antithesis.

Unity based on a recognition of the heart.

It is demoralising both for the government and the governed that a hundred thousand pilgrims (the British in India) should dictate terms to a nation composed of three hundred million. And how is it that they can dictate terms? It is because we have been divided and they have ruled. Therefore it is that I have laid stress upon *Hindu-Muslim* unity as one of the most important essentials for the success of non-co-operation. But it should be no lip unity, nor a business proposition, it should be a unity broad based on a recognition of the heart.

Non-co-operation is a process of purification and we must continually try to touch the hearts of those who differ from us, touch their minds and their emotions, but never their bodies. Discipline and restraint are the cardinal principles of our conduct and I warn you against any sort of tyrannical social ostracism.

I would propose all the stages of non-co-operation to be worked simultaneously. But we have not succeed that control over the masses; we have uselessly frittered away precious years of the nation's life in mastering the English language which we need least for winning our liberty. Freedom could be learnt at our doors. We have succeed isolating ourselves from the masses; we have been Westernised. We have failed all these years to utilize our education in order to permeate the masses. We have sat upon the pedestal and from there delivered harangues to them in a language they do not understand and we see to-day that we are unable to conduct large gatherings in a disciplined manner. And discipline is the essence of success. Here is therefore one reason why I have introduced the word 'progressive' in the non-co-operation, non-violent resolution.

Vegetarian diet is excellent.

We need to deal with a very serious question, about the torture received by animals, as such and especially in the factory farms. We need to understand the suffering and the pain they face. Some of us would not like to look at it. But, that becomes an escape. So what do we do?

Thousands - millions and billions - of animals are killed for food. That is very sad. We human beings can live without meat, especially in our modern world. We have a great variety of vegetables and other supplementary foods, so we have the capacity and the responsibility to save billions of lives. I have seen many individuals and groups promoting animal rights and following a vegetarian diet. This is excellent.

Certain killing is purely a 'luxury'. Hunting and fishing as sports, for example, are just nonsense. But perhaps the saddest is the factory farming. The poor animals there suffer too much.

For one plate of meat, many lives are sacrificed. To me, this is not at all delicious. I find it really awful, and I think it is better to avoid these things. If you eat meat now, eventually you may be able to eliminate the need for meat. I think our basic nature as human beings is to be vegetarian – making effort not to harm other living beings. If we apply our intelligence, we can create a sound, nutritional programme.

It is very dangerous to ignore the suffering of any sentient beings. Even in warfare, it is better to be aware of the suffering of others and our own discomfort for causing them pain.

The way killing is mechanized today is even worse. In Tibet, the butchers before they slaughter the animals, they give them some pills and also offer a prayer. Although it is still killing, I think it is better with that kind of feeling.

Can you kill another person for saving a cow?

To save the cow as a *Hindu*, you cannot kill a Muslim or an Englishman. You can save her only by offering your own neck. If you do so, *Yamaraj* (the lord of death will not call you to account for doing so but will offer you a seat on his own throne. If, on the other hand, you kill another person for saving a cow, he will ask you to justify your action, for you are a man and so was the other one (whom you killed).

Hinduism imposes an obligation on me to offer my neck for the sake of the cow. How many *Hindus* have acted thus? How many of them have offered their lives unconditionally for the sake of *Muslims*? The cow cannot be protected with the calculating virtues of a trader. The noble tradition requires you to take no thought of your life.

As soon as the *Muslims* realize that for their sake the *Hindus* are ready to lay down their lives, they will desist from cow-slaughter. The *Koran* does not insist that *Muslims* must eat beef. It has not prohibited beef, that is all. They will understand the duty to a neighbour and will stop cow-slaughter.

To-day it is the duty of every *Hindu* to save Islam from danger. If you do this, God himself will inspire them to look upon *Hindus* as friends. All this time, the *Muslims* regarded it as their duty to harass the *Hindus* and *Hindus* have believed that they should kill *Muslims* to protect the cow.

Taking advantage of this conflict, the British, went on with cow slaughter, and they got the blessings of both. In this manner, we have committed a great sin. This non-co-operation is peaceful. Its way is of non-violence towards others and among ourselves.

Downfall for a male is to abuse a female.

It is necessary to see our attitudes to women, the essential differences in sexes and what actually do Buddhist texts advocate.

I do have faith in rebirth, but I can't remember my past lives. In fact, I can't remember what I did yesterday. There is no doubt that in my past lives I must have been a woman. And in future lives also, it is not certain whether I will be reborn with a female body or a male body or some other form of body. I don't know. The most important thing in Buddhism is no discrimination. The ultimate aim is the same for men and women. In the capacity to achieve nirvana, or Buddhahood, there are no differences.

But in certain texts (the *Vinaya*), the rules concerning monastic discipline, it says that any fully ordained male monk is placed in a position of seniority over any ordained nun. In the teachings in lower *tantras* and *sutrayana*, in the very moment one attains full awakening of Buddhahood, it is said to be necessary to be male. But, they also say there are no differences. So from the perspective of the highest dimension of Buddha practice, the Highest *Yoga Tantra*, there is no distinction. One of the root downfalls is for a male to abuse or look down upon a female. If a man does that it is disastrous. There is no comparable downfall for a woman looking down on a man.

In terms of spiritual teachers, there is not much distinction. The point is whether your practice is good, whether you have gained high realization.

Goddess Tara, cultivated *bodhicitta*, the *bodhisattva's* motivation. She vowed, 'I have developed *bodhicitta* as a woman. For all my lifetimes along the path I vow to be born as a woman, and in my final lifetime when I attain Buddhahood, then too I will be a woman.'

A soldier is nothing if he does not take the boldest risks.

It does seem that all non-co-operators are actuated not by love but by hate. I have never doubted it. I admit that many are impelled by hate, that most are impelled by a sense of justice, and a few by love only.

I have not enrolled under the banner of love and peace the forces of hatred and violence, but I have enrolled under the banner of justice all those who wish to secure it; and in doing so, as a practical reformer. I have not hesitated to take in those who I know are actuated by hatred. Even the latter are entitled to justice. Only I must see that they do not give play to their hatred. Most of the people have realized that non-violence is the best and the only policy for the country if it is to attain justice, and not merely to vent anger. I therefore do not need to believe that a simple doctrine can convert every heart into the purest gold. But I do believe that practical experience is likely to change policy into creed. For I believe that people are by nature loving and peaceful. When they hate and kill, they do so against their better nature.

I am like an expert miner, moving in a coal mine full of explosive gases with a safety lamp well protected against explosion, with a due sense of responsibility. In spite of apparent safety, by some mysterious process, the gases explode, I shall not shirk responsibility. I shall ask forgiveness not from avenging and indignant countrymen but from God. I claim to be a soldier, and a soldier is nothing if he does not take the boldest risks. I do not claim to be a prophet. But I do claim to be a devoted servant of the country with a burning passion to assist in delivering it from the intolerable yoke which has given it a stoop which it does not even sometimes recognize.

January 15

We are all human beings.

Once I visited a poor black family in South Africa. He was a teacher. We agreed that racial discrimination is very bad. I said now that the black people had equal rights, he had new opportunities. He had to develop true equality. The teacher quietly responded with great sadness that he believed the black African brain to be inferior. He said, 'We can't match white people'. A similar situation exists in India.

I was shocked and very saddened. If that kind of mental attitude exists, then there is no way of transforming society. Impossible. And so I argued with him. I said, "My own experience and that of my people has not been too different from yours. If we Tibetans have the opportunity, we can develop a very successful human community. We have been refugees in India for more than forty years and have become the most successful refugee community there". I told him, "We are equal. We have the same potential! We are all human beings! The difference in the color of our skin is minor. Because of past discrimination, you didn't have opportunities; otherwise you have the same potential."

At last with tears in his eyes, in a whisper he responded, "Now I feel that we are the same. We are the same in being humans; we have the same potential."

I felt a relief from my sad discomfort. If we remain pessimistic, thinking that we cannot succeed, then we aren't able to evolve. It is a first step towards failure. We have to be competitive correctly, truthfully, without harming others.

Social boycott must never savour of inhumanity.

Non-co-operation being a movement of purification is bringing to the surface all our weaknesses as also excesses of even our strong points. Social boycott is an age old institution. It is coeval with caste. It is the one terrible sanction exercised with great effect. It is based upon the notion that a community is not bound to extend its hospitality or service to an excommunicate. It answered when every village was a self-contained unit, and the occasions of recalcitrancy were rare.

But when opinion is divided, as it is today, on the merits of non-co-operation, when its new application is having a trial, a summary use of social boycott in order to bend a minority to the will of the majority is unpardonable violence. If persisted in, such boycott is bound to destroy the movement. Social boycott is applicable and effective when it is not felt as a punishment and accepted by the object of boycott as a measure of discipline. Moreover, social boycott to be admissible in a campaign of non-violence must never savour of inhumanity. It must be civilized. It must cause pain to the party using it, if it causes inconvenience to its object.

Even the laws of war, I apprehend, require the giving of medical relief to the enemy in need of it. To deprive a man of the use of an only village-well is notice to him to quit that village. Surely, non-co-operators have acquired no right to use that extreme pressure against those who do not see eye to eye with them. Impatience and intolerance will surely kill this great religious movement. We may not make people pure by compulsion. Muchless may we compel them by violence to respect our opinion.

Our suffering is not limited to our present situation.

It is said that Buddhahood can be attained in one lifetime. It could be true for a few who have devoted many previous lives to preparing themselves for this opportunity. Instead of looking at them and pushing ourselves, we need to develop perseverance. It is better to pursue a middle path between lethargy and fanaticism.

We must ensure that whatever we do, we maintain some effect or influence from our meditation so that it directs our actions as we live our everyday lives. So, the whole day becomes part of practicing compassion. Our hearts must remain open outside our formal meditation periods.

True compassion has the intensity and spontaneity of a loving mother caring for her suffering baby. This affects her total thoughts and actions. When we experience this towards everybody we have generated 'great compassion'.

Once one is moved by great compassion and the heart is stirred with altruistic thoughts, one must pledge to devote oneself to freeing all beings from the suffering they endure within cyclic existence, the vicious cycle of birth, death, and rebirth we are all prisoners of. Our suffering is not limited to our present situation. Our present situation is relatively comfortable. We may have to face much greater difficulty in the future lives if we misuse this present opportunity of developing compassion. Compassion enables us to refrain from thinking in a self-centered way. We experience great joy and never fall to the extreme of simply seeking our own personal happiness and salvation. We must knead our minds carefully and skillfully, and with patience and perseverance we shall find that our concern for the well being of others will grow.

Where there is non-violence, there is God.

We have at last rid ourselves of the British. There was a time when they made us fight each other. That time is now no more.

If I can say anything on behalf of *Muslims* or the Indian Union, it is only this, that everyone should have justice. If this is ensured then there will be nothing more left to say and the pain of partition will be forgotten.

People say the work of partition is finished, that the army has been divided, the navy has been divided. I say we have been weakened. This division will create a civil war. Foreigners will align themselves with one or the other. I hope that Pakistan and India will be friends, that they will be just to their minorities.

Even if we have not learnt the lesson of *ahimsa*, we should at least from our thirty years of experience learn the lesson that we shall never again become slaves irrespective of whether we achieve this through violence or non-violence. I do not say that it should be only through non-violence.

I have been saying this since I was in the disturbed areas. People ask for guns and swords. I say, why do you want these weapons? Proclaim that you will never bow down. If we can show that we have learnt this lesson after thirty years of experience, it will not matter whether people are violent or non-violent. If they come and ask me, I shall still say that they must follow only non-violence. If a single individual has to defy the world he can do so only through non-violence. Where there is non-violence, there is God. The sword breaks in its presence.

The undisciplined mind is like a mad elephant.

What inhibits compassion? We need to understand factors that inhibit and we need to restrain these factors. Perhaps, what inhibits compassion is that lack of inner restraint, which is the source of all unethical conduct. We find that by transforming our habits and dispositions, we can begin to perfect our overall state of heart and mind (Kung-long) - that from which all our actions spring.

The first thing then - because the spiritual qualities conducive to compassion entail positive ethical conduct - is to cultivate a habit of inner discipline. However, it is important to recognize that restraining our response to negative thoughts and emotions is not a matter of just suppressing them: insight into their destructive nature is crucial. Merely being told that envy, potentially a very powerful and destructive emotion, is negative cannot provide a strong defence against it. If we order our lives externally but ignore the inner dimension, inevitably we will find that doubt, anxiety, and other afflictions develop, and happiness eludes us. This is because, unlike physical discipline, true inner - or spiritual - discipline cannot be achieved by force but only through voluntary and deliberate effort. In other words, conducting ourselves ethically consists in more than merely obeying laws and precepts.

The undisciplined mind is like a mad elephant. It can wreak havoc, not only destroy things but cause lasting pain to others and ourselves. The mind is not inherently destructive. But under the influence of a strong, uncontrolled emotion, the mind may seem to be characterized by a single quality. If hatefulness were an unchangeable characteristic of consciousness, then consciousness must always be hateful. Clearly this is not the case. There is an important distinction to be made between consciousnesses as such, and the thoughts and emotions it experiences.

That master key is truth and non-violence.

I certainly regard Islam as one of the inspired religions, and therefore the *Holy Koran* as an inspired book and *Mohammad* as one of the prophets. But even so I regard *Hinduism*, Christianity, Zoroastrianism as inspired religions. The names of many of them have been already forgotten, for the simple reason that those religions and those prophets related to the particular ages and people for whom they flourished.

Some principal religions are still extant, after a study of these religions to the extent it was possible for me, I have come to the conclusion that, if it is proper and necessary to discern an underlying unity among all religions, a master key is needed. That master key is that of truth and non-violence.

When I unlock the chest of a religion with this key, I do not find it difficult to discover its likeness with other religions. When you look at these religions as so many leaves of a tree they seem so different, but at the trunk they are one. Unless and until we realize this fundamental unity, wars in the name of religion will not cease.

These are not confined to *Hindus and Mussalmans* alone. The pages of world history are soiled with the bloody accounts of these religious wars. Religions can be defended only by the purity of its adherents and their good deeds, never by their quarrels with those of other faiths.

Universal responsibility belongs to the political arena too.

Through developing an attitude of responsibility towards others, we can begin to create the kinder, more compassionate world we all dream of. Considering the interdependent nature of reality, our habitual distinction between self and others is in some sense an exaggeration. Compassion which entails ethical conduct - belongs at the heart of all our actions, both individual and social. I believe that compassion and universal responsibility belong to the political arena too.

In understanding this, one does not renounce the present way of life and adapt to a new rule or way of thinking. But an individual, in one's day-to-day living, becomes a better, more compassionate, and happier human being. That creates a beginning to implement our spiritual revolution.

What work we perform is not of importance, as is the thinking that, "my work is for others," it will be of benefit to the wider community. Through lack of basic human feeling, religion, politics, economics, and so on can be rendered dirty. Instead of serving humanity, they become agents of its destruction.

I do not have any standard in my mind, but until we put our principles into practice, they remain just that. We actually need to be responsible people. It involves, a politician, a businessman or woman or a lawyer. According to your resources and recognizing the limitations of your circumstances, you will do what you can.

The important thing is that whatever we do for others, whatever sacrifices we make, it should be voluntary and arise from understanding the benefit of such actions. I hope you will strive to be compassionate in your daily life, and that out of a sense of responsibility toward all others you will do what you can to help them.

January 22

A silent and sure revolution.

There is a vital connection between the *Charakha*, *Swaraj* and *Ahimsa*.

The spinning wheel represents to me the hope of the masses. The masses lost their freedom, with the loss of *Charakha*. The *Charakha* supplemented the agriculture of the villages and gave it dignity. It was the friend and solace of the widow. It kept villages from idleness. The *Charakha* enabled the seven hundred thousand villages to become self-contained.

This revival cannot take place without an army of selfless Indians of intelligence and patriotism working with a single mind in the villages to spread the message of the *Charakha* and bring a ray of hope and light into the lustreless eyes. This is a mighty effect at co-operation and adult education of the correct type. It brings about a silent and sure revolution like the silent but sure and life-giving revolution of the *Charakha*.

The *Charakha* must lead us to *Swaraj* in the terms of masses belonging to all faiths. The *Charakha* restores the villager to their rightful place and abolishes, distinctions between high and low.

But the *Charakha* cannot bring *Swaraj*, in fact it will not move, unless the nation has faith in non-violence. It is not exciting enough. The *Charakha* devoid of non-violence seems an utterly tame affair.

In 1919 the lovers of the liberty of India were introduced to non-violence as the only and sure means to *Swaraj* and to the *Charakha* as a symbol of non-violence. The *Charakha* found its right place on the national flag. But non-violence had not gone deep into the heart of India and so the *Charakha* never came into its own. It will not come unless there is faith in non-violence. Without its universalisation, there will be no visible expression of non-violence.

To develop compassionate attitude without a bias.

Many billions of years elapsed between the origin of this world and the first appearance of living beings upon its surface. Thereafter it took an immense time for living creatures to become mature in thought - in the development and perfection of their intellectual faculties; and even from the time men attained maturity up to present, many thousands of years have passed. Through all these vast periods of time, the world has undergone constant changes, for it is in a continual state of flux. Even now, many comparatively recent occurrences which appeared a little while to remain static are seen to have been undergoing changes from moment to moment. One may wonder what it is that remains immutable, when every sort of material and mental phenomenon seems to be invariably subject to the process of change, of mutability. All of them are for ever arising, developing and passing away.

In the vortex of all these changes, it is Truth alone which remains constant and unalterable - in other words, the truth of righteousness (*Dharma*) and its accompanying beneficial results, and the truth of evil action and its accompanying harmful results. This principle alone is abiding, immutable and constant. It was so before man entered the world, in the early period of his existence, and in the present age, and it will be so in all ages to come.

All of us desire happiness and the avoidance of suffering and of everything else that is unpleasant. Pleasure and pain arise from a cause, as we all know.

To achieve success to avoid unwished for pain requires the understanding to develop compassionate attitude without a bias and kindheartedness toward all sentient beings.

An ignorant shows contempt for the Koran.

If anyone raises an objection to the recitation from the *Koran* I shall decide whether I should discuss the matter. If anyone has got an objection he will say so, otherwise they will say that they will have both the prayer and speech, but the others should know that they should not get angry. If later somebody decides not to allow people to listen to the prayer and starts shouting, may be your violence will be provoked, and my non-violence will be put to test. It will also show how far you can go with me if you stand by me and adhere to non-violence, I can say with certainty that violence cannot remain unaffected before non-violence. You must tell me that you will exercise restraint and will not be carried away by anger. That gentleman who protested, against the recitations from *Koran* is ignorant. What harm has the *Koran-E-Sharif* done? If the *Muslims* here have gone astray it does not mean that the *Koran* is at fault. The *Koran* is sublime and eternal. I do not think anyone can be more ignorant than the one who shows contempt for the *Koran*. Of course, if somebody says that he does not want to listen to the prayer at all, I will have the prayer and also make the speech. But I cannot tolerate that you should beat up anybody because I discontinue the prayer. If I am left alone and five persons come up to me wanting to kill me, I would say that my head is ready for them. I would ask why there should be five persons to do that, even a single man could cut my throat. But still I would hold the prayer. When one's heart is filled with such feelings, one would neither kill a person nor be angry with him. Even if the person raising an objection, whom we could call an uncultured man, shouts at the top of his voice, we will have our prayer, I do not wish to ruin myself for his sake. I can carry on my work only by controlling my anger and being patient. To-day this is all I wish to say. Now please go home quietly without arguing among yourselves. Think over this at home.

Pay attention to the development of a warm heart.

Being human, all of us have experienced affection and the value of kindness. Even scientists and psychologists support that all need human affection.

Today people are aware of education in this world, but not everyone pays adequate attention to the development of a warm heart. I like to ask people to think more about the human values: compassion, affection and a sense of caring for one another. If we acquire such values, our emotions and feelings will be healthier, and we will have a peace of mind even in adverse situations. Else, even simple problems become difficult to solve. Each of us has a potential to develop a warm heart. People often think that practicing compassion and forgiveness brings benefit to others and additional misery to oneself. This is a mistaken view.

Sometime back I developed a very painful intestinal infection. I noticed some very poor people on my journey. No one was taking care of them. I felt really moved. All day and night their suffering was in my mind. This reduced my own pain, my own sickness. A greater sense of concern about others actually strengthens one's own inner being. The illness didn't disappear because of the compassion, but at least the painful feelings and the mental anxiety associated with them were greatly reduced.

If just one member of a family has a really good heart, then the whole family, neighbours and general community benefits. So if we really wish to strive for our goal of a happy world, we should put effort into developing our own good heart in combination with intelligence. Then a happier, more harmonious, friendly and peaceful society can develop.

Do the people regard you with love or fear?

When the sun rises the whole world is filled with its warmth, so that even the blind man feels its presence. Even so when one hundred thousand of *Khudai Khidmatgar* are fully permeated with the spirit of non-violence, it will proclaim itself and everybody will feel its life-giving breath.

I know it is difficult; it is no joke for a Pathan to take an affront lying down. They are a rough and ready lot. Past masters in the art of wielding arms, they kill a human being with no more thought than they would a sheep or a hen. That such men have accepted non-violence as a superior weapon sounds almost like a fairy tale. If they truly become non-violent in letter and spirit, it would be nothing short of a miracle. That is why in spite of assurance of your faith in non-violence, I am forced to be cautious and prefer my remarks with an 'if'. My diffidence is only a measure of the difficulty of the task. But nothing is difficult for the brave *Pathans*.

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 fear? So long as a single individual is afraid of you, you are no true *Khudai Khidmatgar*. He will be gentle in his speech and manner, the light of purity will shine forth from his eyes, so even a stranger would instinctively feel that here was a friend, a man of God who could be trusted. This power can be acquired only through ceaseless, loving service, and waiting upon God. By that, I shall know, at last, we have got in our midst a body of men who have really assimilated the spirit of non-violence and the hour of India's deliverance is close at hand.

To counter act ignorance generate compassion.

It is necessary to understand the importance of intention and of secondary verbal actions. When the mind is influenced by a powerful virtuous thought, no negativity can operate at the same time. If you are motivated by kind and happy thoughts, even seemingly negative actions can bring about positive results. For instance, telling lies is normally negative, but when you do it out of compassion and a rational thought to help someone else, lying can be transformed into something wholesome.

The altruistic thought of the awakening mind stems from the practice of loving-kindness and compassion. Therefore on some occasions one may commit negative physical and verbal actions. Such misdeeds normally give rise to unfavorable results. But depending on the motivation, sometimes these actions can be neutral and at other times they can become wonderfully meritorious. These are some reasons that Buddhism is fundamentally concerned with the mind. Our physical and verbal actions assume only a secondary role. Therefore, the quality or purity of any spiritual practice is determined by the individual's intention and motivation.

Our practice should be such that the disturbing emotions - hostility, attachment, and ignorance - are eliminated. Our minds should be free of these delusions. And, the actions of our body, speech, and mind should accord with Buddha's teachings. Our daily lives have to conform by that, else, it remains superficial and meaningless. There should be harmony in what we say and what we do.

To counteract ignorance and self-centered thoughts one needs to generate loving-kindness, compassion, altruism, and the wisdom of understanding emptiness.

Is culture in brick and mortar?

I was asked to give a message to the Chinese people. If I merely said I sympathized with them in their struggle, it would not be of much value. I should love to be able to say definitely that their salvation lay only through non-violence. They would not be ready to take up the new method, and they would be unsettled in the old. My interference would only shake them and confuse their minds.

I have no 'message' to send, but I have no hesitation in presenting my viewpoint. The Chinese feel they will be culturally ruined. What do we mean by that. Is culture in brick and mortar? A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people.

Japan is of course to blame and must be blamed for what it has done. If even a few of you took to non-violence, they would stand forth as living monuments of Chinese culture and morals. And then, even if China were overwhelmed on the battlefield, it would be well with China in the end, because it would at the same time be receiving a message which contains a promise of hope and deliverance. Japan cannot force drugs down the unwilling throats at the point of the bayonet. It can only set up temptations. Whatever else force may or may not be able to achieve, it cannot safeguard Chinese morals or Chinese culture.

If you feel the truth of my remarks, you will become a living message to China. You will then tell the Chinese people: No matter what material destruction Japan inflicts, it cannot bring about China's cultural destruction. Our people must be sufficiently educated and warned to resist all the temptations that Japan may devise. Monuments and cities may be razed to ground. They are but a passing show to be claimed by time as its own. The Japanese cannot corrupt your soul. If the soul of China is injured, it will not be by Japan.

Subtle consciousness has no beginning or end.

I believe that at the time of death, nothing can help except your own spiritual practices. When you die you have to go alone, leaving everything behind. No relatives or friends can help. You may be rich, but wealth cannot help you, instead it is most likely to be a cause of worry. Your best friend cannot accompany you. Even a spiritual master cannot help you or himself at this moment. Every one has to go alone, propelled by the force of our *karma*.

So what is it that will help us? Only the imprints of positive actions like compassion, love and kind-heartedness left on our minds. Both positive and negative *karmic* imprints are deposited on the subtle consciousness. This subtle consciousness is known as the primordial consciousness or clear light, which has no beginning or end. This is the consciousness that came from previous lives and goes on to the next. It is the *karmic* imprints upon it that give rise to experiences of pain and happiness. When you come to die, only the imprints of your positive deeds will help you. Therefore, while you are alive, and especially when you are young, your mind is fresh, and you are able to do a systematic practice, it is important that you prepare yourself for death. Then you will be able to face it properly when the time comes.

The process of death takes place through the gradual dissolution of your internal elements. If you have made your mind familiar with this process, at the time of death when it actually takes place you will be able to handle it. Similarly, if you have become familiar with meditation on love and compassion and exchanging your happiness for the suffering of other sentient beings, these practices will help you. If you have been a real *Dharma* practitioner, you will face death contentedly.

Bapu - the soul of India.

Gandhi was staying at Mani Bhavan. There was great excitement in the city; the Viceroy had finally rejected the Congress offer of peace. a p u was sitting at the wheel quietly spinning. He had already began his weekly silence.

I felt I had to keep vigil, and for hours I was under those splendid stars that rose, tier upon tier above me, while beside me Bapu slept like a child committed to his Father's Land. I thought of Christ going up to Jerusalem, his eyes filled with determination and courage; and I seemed to see the spirit of Christ travelling the centuries like a bright sword turned against all wrong and injustice. The spirit of love was manifest and unconquerable.

At 3.00 a.m. I saw the Commissioner of Police at the foot of Bapuji's bed and Bapu just waking, a little bewildered, looked old, fragile and rather pathetic with the mist of sleep still on his face. 'Mr. Gandhi. it is my duty to arrest you'. A beautiful smile of welcome broke out on Bapu's face and now he looked young, strong and confident.

They both heartily laughed. The commissioner laid hand on Bapu's shoulder with a gesture so full of affection that I thought it was an embrace, until I realized it was the formal token of arrest. When he was ready, Bapu sat in the midst of us for the prayers. Then he stood up to take farewell. It was a strange sight. Mrs. Gandhi with tears running down her cheeks said 'can't you take me with you?' He was in very good spirits: he might have been going to a festival rather than a jail.

The tiny figure got into a car. It was a wonderful tribute to India's non-violence that there were only a few policemen and they were able to be in the midst of the crowd without fear or danger. Then the crowd scattered as the car bearing the very soul of India drove away through the dark and deserted streets.

January 31

February

Ultimately there is no self to give or to receive.

The Buddha said that by the force of their wisdom *bodhisattvas* abandon all the delusions, but by the force of their compassionate method they never abandon sentient beings. These two aspects of the path should always be undertaken in combination and not in isolation.

Generosity is an attitude of willingness to give away, without a touch of miserliness, your own possessions, body, virtues, and so forth. The giving away should be dedicated to others' benefit. The perfection of generosity is not dependent upon rooting out the poverty of all living beings; it is the ultimate development of a generous attitude.

The physical body of a human being is in itself full of faults and defects, but still with this body you can fulfil great aims by using it to help others instead of being possessive about it. The virtuous collections you accumulate by giving these to others should be dedicated toward their benefit. The merit collected is vast.

You should not be possessive about your belongings, nor should you work to hoard more and more, because possessions will prove an obstacle to your practice of generosity, to your achieving enlightenment. A person who realizes the futility of being possessive and gives away all belongings, out of a pure wish to help others, is called a *bodhisattva*. It is said that since you have dedicated your own body and possessions and virtuous collections for the benefit of others, when you do use them, you must do so with the attitude of borrowing them from others and doing so for others' benefit.

In practice of generosity, enlightenment is the aim. It has to be done with understanding and skillfully. For, ultimately there is no self to give or to receive.

Satyagraha is soul-force.

You want to know my ideas about *satyagraha*?

Here they are in brief.

The English phrase 'passive resistance' does not suggest the power I wish to write about; '*satyagraha*' is the right word. *Satyagraha* is soul-force, as opposed to armed strength. Since it is essentially an ethical weapon, only men inclined to the ethical way of life can use it wisely.

A *satyagrahi* bears no ill-will, does not lay down his life in anger, but refuses rather to submit to his 'enemy' or oppressor because, he has the strength himself to suffer. He should therefore, have a courageous spirit and a forgiving and compassionate nature.

It is soldier like to allow oneself to be cut down by a sword, not to use the sword on another.

When he comes to realize that he is guilty of murder, the killer, if he has been in the wrong, will feel sorry forever afterwards. The victim, however, will have gained nothing but victory even if he had acted wrongly in courting death. *Satyagraha* is the way of non-violence. It is, therefore, justified, indeed it is the right course, at all times and all places.

The power of arms is violence and condemned as such in all religions. Even those who advocate the use of arms put various limits on it. There are no limits on *satyagraha*, or rather, none except those placed by the *satyagrahi*'s capacity for *tapascharya*, for voluntary suffering.

Wisdom will make a distinction in the types of ego.

If we examine our mental world, we find that there are various factors which have both positive and negative aspects. One is self-confidence and the other is conceit and pride. Both uplift the mind, but conceit and pride lead to negative consequences.

I usually make a distinction between types of ego. One ego is self-cherishing, disregarding the rights of others, taking advantage of others. This is a negative ego. Another says, 'I must be a good human being. I must serve. I must take full responsibility' Unless you have a strong feeling, it is difficult to battle negative emotions. It is wisdom or intelligence that will make a distinction in the types of ego.

Another example is of loving kindness and compassion on one hand and attachment on the other. While both are concerned with endearment, attachment leads to negative consequences.; Whereas love and compassion lead to positive consequences.

Desire is the prime mover in achieving happiness now and for the future. Buddhism mentions two desires or aspirations. One is the desire to be of benefit to all sentient beings and the other is the aspiration to attain fully the enlightened state. Without these types of aspirations, the attainment of full enlightenment is not possible. But there are also negative things which result from desire. The antidote to this negative desire is contentment. If desire pushes you towards the extreme then your intelligence has the responsibility to check that course.

Truth may sound harsh but it can never result in suffering.

It is my conviction that one cannot build one's character without the help of vows. They are to a man what anchor is to a ship. A ship without an anchor is tossed to and fro and finally broken on the rocks; without vows, human beings meet a similar fate. The vow of truth includes all others. How would a man who respects truth violate *bramhacharya* or steal anything? "*Bramha* alone is real; all else is non-existent" If this sutra is true, knowledge of *Bramha* is implied in the observance of truth.

Non-violence and truth are convertible terms. This seems to be the idea behind the saying, "One must speak truth, truth that is agreeable." That is genuine truth which causes no pain, for that alone is non-violence. Truth may sound harsh but it can never result in suffering. Our employment of truth may offend the other person, but his conscience will tell him that what was said about him was true and was said with the best of motives.

We are here interpreting truth in its widest connotation. Truth does not mean merely being truthful in speech; the term "truth" means exactly the same thing as it does in the *sutra* about *Bramha* alone being true.

One is right in holding that truth and non-violence are the same thing. The one includes the other. If any one vowed to non-violence, speaks or acts untruth, he will be violating his vow. If a man dedicated to truth commits violence, he will sacrifice truth. Even if a man refuses to reply, out of fear, he will be violating the vow of non-violence.

Every religious tradition is valuable.

I shall try to explain Buddhist methods that can serve a Christian. The last thing I wish to do is to plant seeds of doubt and skepticism in their minds. Every religious tradition is valuable and relevant. They provide a common language and message upon which we can build a genuine understanding.

I am in favour of people continuing to follow the religion of their own culture and inheritance.

The Tibetan tradition has two types of meditation. One employs a certain degree of analysis and reasoning, and is known as contemplative meditation. The other is more absorptive and focusing and is called placement meditation.

In the Christian concept, to truly love God is to love fellow human beings in a genuine way, loving one's neighbour. Life of Jesus illustrates a compassionate way of life. This is the analytical aspect of meditation on compassion. One might meditate in a similar way on patience and tolerance. Once you feel convinced of the preciousness of this meditation, you will feel touched and transformed from within. At this point, you should place your mind single-pointedly in that conviction, without applying any further analysis. Your mind should remain single pointedly in equipoise; this is placement meditation. Thus, both types of meditation are applied in one session. Compassion is a type of emotion that possesses the potential for development. This is not an instinctual emotion but has grounding in reason. Here is a joining of intellect and heart. Compassion is the heart and its application is the intellect, they merge. Once you have arrived at a state of single-pointedness- there is no longer a meditating mind and a meditating object. Your mind is generated in the form of compassion.

The observance of perfect calm is a demonstration of our grief.

It is a good *omen* for *satyagraha* that Bombay has preserved peace in spite of the unendurable separation of Mr. Horniman from us. In our movement we consider it the proper thing to be arrested and imprisoned, when before our conscience we are found guiltless. How can we therefore be angry when any *satyagrahi* is arrested?

We ought to know that the sooner innocent men are arrested, the sooner will this struggle end. I have heard some people say that in *satyagraha* also the end is achieved by violence. They argue that when *satyagrahis* are arrested, people become excited, resort to violence and thus get their demands acceded to. I held this to be a dreadful superstition. The reverse is the truth. It is my firm conviction that the victory of *satyagraha* is attainable only by adherence to truth, avoidance of violence and by suffering. So long as we do not appreciate this truth, we are in no way fitted for *satyagraha*.

The observance of perfect calm is itself a demonstration of our grief. When *Hindustan* is accustomed in the course of this struggle to rely upon truth and non-violence, we shall be able to begin civil disobedience. Some say that it will take years before India recognizes the supremacy of truth and non-violence and therefore it must take years to bring this struggle to a successful end.

I would content myself with saying that when once the forces of truth and *ahimsa* are set in motion, the speed as they move becomes so accelerated that they take no time in permeating millions.

February 6

In voluntary suffering there is strength.

Every kind of happiness and suffering is primarily either physical or mental. When pain comes mainly in the form of physical sensations, it can be alleviated by a positive mental state; if your mental state is calm, this can neutralize the pain. If the pain is primarily mental, then it is difficult to get any relief from physical comfort. You may attempt to neutralize the pain through sensory gratification, but that never succeeds for long and may in fact make your pain worse. It is more worthwhile to take care of our mind than to only take care of our money.

Of course Buddhism is concerned not only with relieving one's own pain, but also with securing the freedom from suffering for all living beings. Yet if it is so difficult to bear our own pain, how can we even conceive of taking on the responsibility for the suffering of all beings? There is a phenomenological difference between the pain that you experience when you take someone else's pain upon yourself and the pain that comes directly from your own pain and suffering. In the former, there is an element of discomfort because you are sharing the other's pain; however, there is also a certain amount of stability because, in a sense, you are voluntarily accepting that pain. In the voluntary participation in other's suffering there is strength and a sense of confidence. But in the latter case, when you are undergoing your own pain and suffering, there is an element of involuntariness, you feel weak and completely overwhelmed. As per Buddhist teachings 'Disregard your own well-being and cherish the well-being of others.'

The basis on which you can build a sense of caring for others is the capacity to love yourself. We all naturally desire happiness and want to avoid suffering. This is important if we are not to indulge in self-centered ways.

It is against my religion to regard anyone as an enemy.

I do not know that I have a right to arrogate greater purity for myself than for others. I do admit that they do not believe in my doctrine of non-violence to the full extent. For them it is a weapon of the weak, an expedient. They consider non-co-operation without violence to be the only thing open to them in the war of direct action.

I know if some of them could offer successful violence, they would do today. But they are convinced that humanly speaking, it is an impossibility. For them, therefore, non-co-operation is a matter not merely of duty but also of revenge, whereas I take up non-co-operation against the government as I have actually taken it up in practice against members of my own family.

I entertain very high regard for the British constitution. I have not only no enmity against Englishmen but I regard much in English character as worthy of emulation. It is against my religion to regard anyone as an enemy. I entertain similar sentiments with respect to *Mohammedans*.

I find their cause to be just and pure. Although their view-point is different from mine. I do not hesitate to associate with them and invite them to give my method a trial, for I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from a mistaken motive does not fail to produce some good. Even as the telling of truth, if only because for the time being it is the best policy, is at least so much to the good.

February 8

Interfaith understanding will bring about unity.

I maintain that every major religion of the world has similar ideals of love, the same goal of benefiting humanity and making their followers better human beings. All religions teach moral precepts for perfecting the functions of mind, body and speech. All teach us not to lie or steal or take others' lives, and so on. The common goal laid down is unselfishness, to move away from ignorance and towards goodness. In this I believe that all religions have essentially the same message. Differences of dogma may be due to cultural circumstances. It is beneficial to implement in daily life the shared precepts for goodness taught by all religions rather than argue about minor differences in approach.

Each religion works in its own way to lessen human suffering and contribute to world civilization. Conversion is not the point. Rather, I try to think of how I as a Buddhist humanitarian can contribute to human happiness. I do not advocate one particular religion at the expense of all others, nor do I seek a new world religion. All different religions are required for human enrichment. Our human minds, being of different calibre and disposition, need different approaches to peace and happiness.

I welcome the efforts made in various parts of the world for better understanding among religions. The need for this is particularly urgent now. Interfaith understanding will bring about the unity necessary for all religions to work together. This may be achieved in part by respecting each other's beliefs and by emphasizing our common concern for human well-being. We must also bring about a viable consensus on basic spiritual values that touch every human heart and enhance human happiness.

Whether we will be able to achieve world peace or not, we have no choice but to work towards that goal.

February 9

Treat the minority with respect and fairness.

The hour of the greatest triumph is the hour of the greatest humility. The majority has taken upon its shoulders a tremendous responsibility. Every individual voter in favour of my proposal has certainly bound himself. If he is a parent, to withdraw his children from school or colleges subject in any way to government control. Every voter being a lawyer is bound at the earliest opportunity to suspend his practice and promote the cause of settlement of disputes by private arbitration. Every candidate for the councils, who has voted with the majority, has undertaken to withdraw his candidature, every such voter to refrain from voting at the elections. Every delegate voting with the majority has bound himself to stimulate hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in his own person to use only hand-spun and hand woven cloth.

Everyone of the majority having accepted the principle of non-violence, self-sacrifice and discipline in regard to non-co-operation is bound to treat the minority with respect and fairness. We may not use physical or wordy violence against them. We must endeavour by our intensive practice and by scrupulously honourable methods to convert it to our views. We need not be impatient with the minority because it does not see eye to eye with us.

Boycott of foreign goods finds a place in my resolution. If it stimulates us to sacrifice our luxuries and superfluities, it would serve a good purpose. It is certainly our right and duty to discard everything foreign that is superfluous and even everything foreign that is necessary, if we can produce or manufacture it in our country.

Anger is weakness.

Basically, we all cherish tranquility, even those of us given to violence. Deep down, we desire fruitful growth and dislike things being destroyed. Every destructive action goes against our basic nature.

I am sure everybody agrees that we need to overcome violence, but if we are to eliminate it completely, we should first analyze whether or not it has any value. We do find that on certain occasions violence appears useful. However, it is often at the expense of the rights and welfare of others. As a result, even though one problem has been solved, the seed of another has been planted.

It is those who have no motive other than selfish desire and who cannot achieve their goal through logical reasoning who rely on force. And those with little rational support soon fall prey to anger. Thus anger is not a sign of strength but one of weakness.

Ultimately, it is important to examine one's own motivation and that of one's opponent. At times violence and non-violence cannot be distinguished from external factors alone. A compassionate concern for the benefit of others - not simply for oneself is the sole justification.

The genuine practice of non-violence is still somewhat experimental on our planet, but its pursuit, based on love and understanding, is sacred. If this experiment succeeds, it can open the way to a far more peaceful world in the next century.

Non-violent struggles call for self-determination and patience. I pray, despite the brutality experienced, those involved in China's democracy movement will always remain peaceful.

February 11

Set our own house in order.

If we want to save Hinduism, I say for God's sake do not seek to bargain with the *Mussalmans*. My alliance with them is one of honour. I feel I am on my honour, the whole of Hinduism is on its honour, and if it will not be found wanting, it will do its duty towards the *Mussalmans* of India. Any bargaining would be degrading to us. Light brings light, not darkness and nobility done with a noble purpose will be twice rewarded. It will be God alone who can protect the cow. And how are we *Hindus* behaving ourselves towards the cow and her progeny? Do we treat her as our religion requires us to do? Not till we have set our own house in order and saved the cow from the Englishmen have we the right to plead on her behalf with the *Mussalmans*.

The women of India have intuitively understood the spiritual movement of the non-violent struggle. Thousands have attended to listen to the message of non-violent non-co-operation and gave me their precious ornaments for the purpose of advancing the cause of *swaraj*. I would be guilty of want of faith in God if I underrated the significance of the response from the women of India.

I am not actuated by any feeling of revenge. I do not consider Englishmen as my enemy. I am a determined enemy of the English rule as conducted at present and if the power-*tapasya* of one man could destroy it, I would certainly destroy it, if it could not be mended. An empire that stands for injustice and breach of faith does not deserve to stand if its custodians will not repent, and non-co-operation has been devised in order to enable the nation to compel justice.

February 12

Suffering is not desirable.

There are many sad and serious situations in this world that we need to understand and face. The question concerns people who have suffered extreme abuse, such as sexual or physical abuse as children, or the victims of atrocities like political torture. One faces it while being genuinely concerned to help the poor, and work against oppression. Now how does one understand such suffering? Is such a suffering an illusion from the ultimate truth perspective? Am I feeling my own pain, or am I feeling the world's pain?

There are two levels and meanings of illusion. In the conventional level, your mind is simply confused, and you perceive incorrectly because of it when you confront someone who has undergone a traumatic experience, this is real suffering. It is not just an illusion.

There is another level of illusion that is subtle. Here, you see that there are dependently related events, there is an illusory aspect to the suffering. But the chance of misunderstanding here is great. The true meaning of 'emptiness' is the absence of independent existence. 'Emptiness' has a connotation of "fullness", of being dependent upon other factors. There is implied interconnectedness. Illusion means that the phenomena do not exist independently.

Suffering is at three levels. The first is blatant physical and mental pain. The second is the discontent associated with the fact that our pleasure and happiness will change into something else. The third is the pervasive suffering of conditioned existence. By being aware of suffering, we can be free of it. But suffering per se is not desirable.

Now is it possible to experience pain, and avoid suffering? The answer is definitely yes.

Sadhus are an ornament to India.

I have been in search of a *sadhu* who would gladden my heart. I met every *sadhu* in the congregation who had acquired some reputation but I must say I was disappointed. I am convinced that *sadhus* are an ornament to India and that, if the country lives, we owe it to them. But I see very little of the goodness of *sadhus* to-day. I spent the whole night thinking what I could do so that *sadhus* in the country would be real *sadhus*.

Some friends suggested to me that I should become a *sannyasi*. However, I have not become one. My conscience did not approve of such a step then and not do so to-day. I am sure you will not believe that the reason for my not doing so is love of enjoyments. I am struggling to the best of my ability to conquer the desire for them. But in the very process of struggling, I see I am not worthy of the ochre robe.

I cannot say I always practice truth, non-violence and *brahmacharya* in action, speech and thought. Whether I want or not, I feel attachments and aversions, feel disturbed by desire; I try to control them with an effort of mind and succeed in repressing their physical manifestation. If I could practise them to perfection, I would be in possession to-day of all the supernatural powers they speak of; humble myself, the world would be at my feet and no one would ever want to laugh me out or treat me with contempt.

I submit to you, therefore, that you should bring credit to your outward garb of *sadhus* through the virtues of *sadhus*, and thus shine in lustre yourselves and shed lustre on the sect.

We just cannot go by what is success in the usual social life.

There are moments in life when we feel sad and distressed to see a society so full of hatred. I may feel like retiring in the solitude of death.

Will we find the necessary tranquility and peace after death? We don't have that guarantee to find happiness that we long for. As long as we are alive as human beings, there is something we can do about it. So I think that is a major thing to do, to live as a human being. It is a great mistake simply to regard this whole life, this whole existence as fruitless and pointless and to think about suicide.

You see, we have such a beautiful human brain and a beautiful human heart. By combining these two things, I think we can solve every problem I believe, we need only a little more patience and determination. So don't worry. There is no point in engaging in foolish anxiety.

We just cannot go by what is success in the usual social life. But those who are more drawn to the spiritual dimension, inner realization, the quality of awareness, is what constitutes success.

Today there is increase in society's awareness of the importance of compassion. It stems from our understanding and recognizing the role of compassionate attitude in one's personal life and social life. This awareness should be opened to the media and in the field of education.

With the development of our brains and intellect, we seem to have more problems in our living than what the animals do. We have more thought and reasoning. We need to quiet our thoughts so that we don't cause trouble to ourselves and others.

The basis of Islam, is not violence but suffering,

It is to be wished that non-co-operationists will clearly recognize that nothing can stop the onward march of the nation. Ireland may gain its freedom by violence. But India cannot win her freedom by violence for a century, because her people are not built in the manner of other nations. They have been nurtured in the tradition of suffering. Rightly or wrongly, for good or ill, Islam too has evolved along peaceful lines in India. If the honour of Islam is to be vindicated through its followers in India, it will only be by methods of peaceful, silent, dignified, conscious, and courageous suffering. The glory of Islam is due not to the sword but to the sufferings, the renunciation, and the nobility of followers, its early *Caliphs*. The basis of Islam, as of all religions, is not violence but suffering, not the taking of life but the giving of it.

What I am anxious to show is, that non-co-operationists must be true as well to the spirit as to the letter of their vow if they wish to gain *swaraj* within one year. They may forget non-co-operation but they dare not forget non-violence. Indeed non-co-operation is non-violence. We are violent when we sustain a government whose creed is violence. It bases itself not on right but on might. Its lost appeal is not to reason, nor the heart, but to the sword. We are tired of this creed and we have risen against it. Let us not belie our profession by being violent. Though the English are few, they are organised for violence. Though we are many, we cannot be organised for violence for a long time to come. Violence for us is a gospel of despair. Our rock must be non-violence and Godliness. *Swaraj* depends upon our ability to control all the forces of violence on our side.

We ignore people in unfortunate situations.

In a society there are groups of people whom we try to reject. We tend to reject people who have committed crimes - prisoners, for example. The result is that often the people themselves lose hope. They lose their sense of responsibility and discipline. The result is more tragedy, more suffering, and more unhappiness for all.

I think it is important for us to convey a clear message to these people. “You are also part of our society. You also have a future. You must, however, transform your mistakes and negative deeds. You must live responsibly as good citizens.”

When we come across a part of society that is in a particularly miserable situation, it is a good opportunity to exercise our sense of concern, of caring and compassion. We ignore people in unfortunate situations.

What is the right attitude we can develop? I have an opportunity to develop altruism. I have an opportunity to find something better than me in the other person. At least this mental habit helps in countering out pride or arrogance. We should never feel demoralized, thinking that we are unable to do something. We have to recall the opportunity and our own potentials.

We must learn to distance ourselves from strong emotions before they arise in us. The conviction, “I must do something” can give you a powerful sense of purpose. This, I believe, can give us a healthier, more useful and productive energy. There is a Buddhist practice in which one imagines giving joy and the source of all joy to other people, thereby removing all their suffering.

America has gained nothing by manufacturing atom bombs.

I do not consider myself a *Mahatma*. I am like you, an ordinary human being and want to serve the people as long as God gives me the strength to do so. Moreover, anyone who is not distressed or ashamed by the carnage that is going on in the country must either be a God or a hard hearted man. I am neither. I feel unhappy that everyday innocent men, women and children are being murdered. The reason for all this is that what I had believed to be non-violence was not pure non-violence. Now, it is too late. Even so I am certain that if we want to bring about peace in the world there is no other way except that of non-violence.

I am not against the British. I have no likes or dislikes for persons. The British are not doing us a favour in leaving the country. They are going because circumstances have rendered their going inevitable. They ruined India during their 150 years of rule. They could have atoned for it if they had gone leaving the country whole. I must say they have taken advantage of our weaknesses to create dissensions among us, whether knowingly or unknowingly. The fault is no doubt ours. We were so stupid as to go to them for justice. For this state of affairs we have to thank the power that kept us in slavery for so long. All the same the English are my friends. If they can remain on terms of friendship with India, both the countries will benefit.

England and America have gained nothing from their advance in technology and by manufacturing atom bombs, but I have no doubt that if our so called backward country pursues the path of non-violence it will have a place of glory in the world.

Much of the unhappiness we endure is our own making.

I have faced a great many difficulties during the course of my life. I lost my country at the age of sixteen and became a refugee at twenty-four. Nonetheless, in terms of my peace of mind and physical health, I have coped reasonably well. I have been able to meet adversity with all my resources- physical, mental and spiritual. I could not have done so otherwise.

Looking around, I see that it is not only we Tibetan refugees, and members of other displaced communities, who face difficulties. Everywhere and in every society, people endure suffering and adversity - even those who enjoy freedom and material property. Much of the unhappiness we endure is our own making. I also see that, in general, those individuals whose conduct is ethically positive are happier and more satisfied than those who neglect ethics.

It is difficult to generalize 'positive ethical conduct' or to be precise about morality. Rarely even any situation is totally black or white. At the same time we need to reach a consensus in respect to what constitutes positive conduct and what constitutes negative conduct, what is right and what is wrong. In the past through one religion or the other ethics and respect towards each other was maintained. But this is no longer the case.

I represent a silent majority that is concerned about the problems and sufferings we humans face. My aim is to appeal for an approach to ethics based on universal rather than religious principles.

I do not have any special solution to offer. There is nothing new that has not been said in the past. It is only to share our concerns with a sense of love, kind-heartedness and compassionate attitude.

Non-violence is a creed with me, not so with the Congress.

I tell you I can show you the miracle to-day if *Hindus* maintain peace and show courage. The British have not partitioned the country. It has been done with the consent of the *Muslim* League and the Congress. They thought it was better to partition the country so that both the parts could live happily and peacefully rather than let the whole country go to pieces. My view was that no one could take an inch of land by resorting to violence and murder. Let the whole country be reduced to ashes. They could take the whole country by friendly negotiations and peaceful methods. But though non-violence is a creed with me, it is not so with the Congress.

It is true that I believed that our *satyagraha* struggles were based on non-violence. Only lately I realized that it was not true. I admit my mistake. I was warned, I was fighting a weak man's battle. I strongly felt that what was needed for *satyagraha* was spiritual strength and not physical strength, and that we were fighting with soul-force. I did believe that people were fighting with genuine spiritual strength. I would not have launched the struggle if I had then realized that it was only 'passive resistance'. But God had willed to use me for this mission and so he blurred my vision. And because our fight was not one of non-violence we see the result to-day. There is arson, murder, loot and chaos all round.

Non-violence and weakness are contradictory terms. I learnt from childhood not to admit such a thing as failure. To-day, I am struggling against this all pervading darkness to find some light somewhere. Bear in mind that India will be wiped out from the face of the earth if she rejects the path of non-violence. Nay, the whole world may be on the way to perdition.

I shall be content if, when someone comes to kill me, I can remain quiet, let myself be killed and pray to God that He may grant good sense to the killer.

February 20

To bear courage inspite of adversity.

I have suggested that if we are to be genuinely happy, inner restraint is indispensable. We cannot stop at restraint, however. In order to transform ourselves - our habits and dispositions - so that our actions are compassionate, it is necessary to develop what we might call an 'ethic of virtue'. As well as refraining from negative thoughts and emotions, we need to cultivate and reinforce our positive qualities. These are our basic human, or spiritual, qualities.

After compassion, it is patience. It denotes a deliberate response to strong negative emotions that arise. It provides us strength to resist suffering and protects us from losing compassion even for those who would harm us.

A monk was tortured in confinement for twenty years. At the end he had only one fear: the possibility that he might lose compassion and concern for his jailors. A significant spiritual state can only sustain this condition.

A Tibetan word 'söpa' not only means patience, but also forbearance and fortitude. To bear courage inspite of adversity. There also comes composure in adversity, a sense of being unperturbed, reflecting a voluntary acceptance of hardship in pursuit of a higher, spiritual aim. This involves accepting the reality of a given situation through recognizing that underlying its particularity, there is a vastly complex web of interrelated causes and conditions.

'Söpa' is thus the means by which we practice true non-violence. It is what enables us not only to refrain from physical reactions when we are provoked, but it enables us to let go of our negative thoughts and emotions too. One who practices patient forbearance is determined not to give in to anger, hatred, revenge and so on, but rather counters their sense of injury and does not return harm for harm.

Violent people fight violent people.

I do not believe that declaration of independence is necessary. The legal declaration may come afterwards. If the Government expects any help from us our help will be moral. It will be infinitely superior to what they can get by coercion.

A time may come when we shall resort to civil disobedience. But can our people show non-violence through and through? The non-violence of the weak will bring us some relief but not real joy and power. It will end in our being exhausted. If we begin with violence of the weak and end also with that, we are finished. I cannot help feeling that our non-violence has ended in disaster. I say with conviction that it is possible to touch power through non-violence, but we may not take it. A non-violent organization may not accept office but it can get things done its way. Thus alone we can have power if we have non-violent control over people. Now suppose you at this critical moment hold fast to propagate non-violence in the midst of other parties who swear by violence, you will be in a minority. Why should a small non-violent group immediately expect to win power before they convert others. Let others hold power. A man who has self-confidence will convert the country.

I became non-violent after laborious processes. The millions will come to it. It is the essence of the non-violence that we give the same credit to the whole of mankind that we claim for ourselves. I have never felt that I alone can practise non-violence. I belong to the rank and file and yet I can lead the masses. Non-violence cannot suddenly mount to power.

What has violence accomplished in the world? I think impatience has seized us. We are democrats. We would be presumed to be ruling by the will of the people.

Violent people fight violent people. They do not touch non-violent people.

February 22

Human mind is both the source and solution to all problems.

If we change internally- disarm ourselves by dealing constructively with our negative thoughts and emotions - we can literally begin to change the world. The human mind is both the source and properly directed, the solution to all our problems.

It goes without saying that children learn about ethical conduct at school. Education is much more than a matter of imparting the knowledge and skills by which narrow goals are achieved. We must show children that their actions have a universal dimension. And we must somehow find a way to build on their natural feelings of empathy so that they come to have a sense of responsibility towards others. If we had to choose between learning and virtue, the latter is definitely more valuable. The good heart, which is the fruit of virtue, is by itself a great benefit to humanity. Mere knowledge is not.

How are we to teach morality to our children? In the past ethical and human values were and still are generally held to fall within the scope of religion. It was assumed that this aspect of a child's education would be looked after through religious upbringing. Now, we have to find some other way of showing children that basic human values are important. This cannot be learned in words. When children receive affection and protection both at home and school, they tend to be happier, and more confident in their abilities. Then they are concerned not just for themselves but also for others as well.

We need not present basic human values as an ethical or a religious matter. The children have to understand it as a matter of our survival. It is necessary to awaken the consciousness of the young people. We have to do it through a dialogue. They need to know that, that is the way to discuss things properly and resolve a conflict.

Prefer death to submission.

I believe a state can be administered on a non-violent basis if the vast majority of the people are non-violent. So far as I know India is the only country which has a possibility of being such a state. I am conducting my experiment in that faith. Supposing, therefore that India attained independence through pure non-violence, India could retain it too by the same means. A violent man or society does not anticipate or provide for attacks from without. On the contrary such a person or society firmly believes that nobody is going to disturb them.

If the worst happens, there are two ways open to non-violence. Thus, supposing that a modern edition of Nero descended upon India, the representatives of the state will let him in but tell him that he will get no assistance from the people. They will prefer death to submission. The second way would be non-violent resistance by the people who have been trained in the non-violent way. They would offer themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's cannons.

The underlying belief in either case is that even a Nero is not devoid of a heart. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiers. Practically speaking, there will probably be no greater loss in men than if forcible resistance was offered; there will be no expenditure in armaments and fortifications. The non-violent training received by the people will add inconceivably to their moral height. Such men and women will have shown personal bravery of a type far superior to that shown in armed warfare. In each case the bravery consists in dying and not in killing. Lastly, there is no such thing as defeat in non-violent resistance.

External causes are not relevant.

It is apparent that all human beings pursue a state of happiness. In analyzing it we see that there is an immediate or temporary joy. The other is deeper, sustained or the ultimate one.

The temporary pleasures are the physical comforts and cravings for better dwellings, lovely furniture, delicious food, good company and conversation and so on. This is what man enjoys in this life. Do only external factors contribute these pleasures needs to be examined. If external factors were alone responsible, a man would be happy when these were present and unhappy in their absence. However, this is not so. For even in the absence of external conditions leading to pleasure a man can still be happy and at peace. This demonstrates that external factors are not alone responsible for stimulating man's happiness. It is true that external factors do contribute, but to say that, material things is all that matter, does not seem to be true.

We do experience a sense of happiness despite the absence of pleasure - causing external factors. We also experience a lack of happiness despite the existence of such external factors. This indicates that external causes are not always relevant. And, happiness can be experienced on account of some different conditioning factors.

Then, what is really required in principle are such qualities as having few wants, contentment, humility, simplicity, and other noble qualities.

Ultimately, happiness will depend on the seeds of patience and forgiveness to bear fruit.

I must admit I could not teach you true non-violence.

Do you know there are people who do not approve of savagery but do not have the courage to come forward and intervene. I will appreciate if there is a single individual who shows the courage to stand up and prevent such an act saying that he would hold the hand of the offender if he tries to strike and if the offender does not listen, would sacrifice his own life, rather than let the victim be killed. A man like me would stand by non-violence. He would not kill even if he had to die himself, instead he would save a person's life by laying down his own. If in an attempt to save, he himself gets killed, he would have proved himself truly brave. This is true non-violence. True non-violence does not mean that we remain non-violent before the strong and use force on the weak.

The non-violence we used against the British was not the non-violence of the brave. The country is facing the consequences now. Now, we are resorting to violence against our own fellowmen. I must admit I could not teach you true non-violence. I am showing you what the non-violence of the brave can be. There are *Muslims* living here to-day. And there in Pakistan, the *Muslims* are ill-treating the *Hindus*. But, should we in turn ill-treat the *Muslims*. The true way of friendship is that we should always be on the side of justice and maintain good behaviour.

If we follow that path even the savage and those who have lost their senses will come round. We don't want to go into the question of who is more guilty and who less, or who started it. In my view that would be sheer ignorance.

Each of us has the same potential.

These days, it seems that people and governments everywhere fully realize the importance of education. But their focus seems to be on developing the brain and do not pay attention to our emotions, our warm heart and basic human values. Traditionally these were the provinces of religious institutions. In today's society, however, the influence of these institutions and of family values is decreasing, and as a result, it seems nobody is taking care of the younger people's basic human values.

We should not underestimate the importance of these good human values. We cannot develop genuine, meaningful spiritual experiences without good human qualities as our foundation. In this respect each one is responsible to himself or herself and no one can develop our good heart for us. Each of us has the same potential to create a happy life.

I think people in modern times pay too much attention to external things and not enough attention to investigating deeply their own inner world. So one request or suggestion I have is to think more about your inner world. In the early morning or late evening, or whenever you have some leisure time, look deeply into your mind and emotions.

This need not be considered as a religious faith or activity. The main intention is to change or shape our emotions through reasoning, using our intelligence.

I'm not interested in propagating Buddhism. Religious faith and practice are an individual's right. But I do feel that many more people should make more effort to develop a warm heart, because this is the seed of our happiness and of our future. The future of humanity entirely depends upon us.

February 27

Non-violence shall render the police and the military innocuous.

I frankly confess that I do not expect the authorities to co-operate with us wholeheartedly. They would distrust our ability, if not our motive. It is too much to expect them to withdraw the police on trust. Non-violence is a universal principle and its operation is not limited by a hostile environment. Indeed its efficacy can be tested only when it acts in the midst of and in spite of opposition. Our non-violence would be a hollow thing and nothing worth if it depended for its success on the goodwill of the authorities. If we can establish full control over the people, we shall render the police and the military innocuous.

We need a body of *Khudai-Khidmatgars* who are really and truly servants of God, with whom non-violence is a living faith. Non-violence is an active principle of the highest order. It is soul-force or the power of the god-head within us. Imperfect man cannot grasp the whole of that essence - he would not be able to bear his full blaze - but even an infinitesimal fraction of it, when it becomes active within us, can work wonders. We become god-like to the extent we realize non-violence, but we can never become wholly god.

True non-violence acts in a silent, subtle, unseen way and leaves the whole society. It is self-acting. The soul persists even after death; its existence does not depend on the physical body. Similarly, non-violence or soul-force too, does not need physical aids for its propagation or effect. It acts independently of them. It transcends time and space.

If non-violence becomes successfully established in one place, its influence will spread everywhere. The basic principle on which the practice of non-violence rests is that what holds good in respect of yourself holds good equally in respect of the whole universe. All mankind in essence is alike.

March

Helping even one person is valuable.

In spiritual practice what matters is how much we truly abide by the teachings of the Buddha. The Buddha is our teacher, guide, and spiritual instructor. We have to be earnest in our endeavour to comply with the teachings. If we ignore and neglect, it is a form of deceit. It is contradictory and deplorable.

The spiritual practice of awakening the mind has to be done by both the teachers and the students alike. when I sit on a higher chair, I am not supposed to think of how great I am. I also should not think that I am the Dalai Lama and can say whatever I like to those who follow me. Such an attitude would be unbecoming. I am a simple Buddhist monk. My responsibility is to try my best to implement the teachings of Buddha. When I practice the teachings, I am not trying to please or flatter the Buddha. The fact of the matter is that I am concerned for my own happiness and suffering. Whether I enjoy happiness or experience misery rests entirely in my own hands. These fundamental factors motivate me to engage in the spiritual practice.

The Buddha has taught from his own experience what is of benefit in the long run and what is harmful. This is an aspiration whose duration goes even beyond a few lifetimes. In order to achieve that, I have to recognize the disturbing emotions of desire, hatred and ignorance. Ignorance is the belief that things exist as they appear, independently and autonomously, without depending on cause. It is the root delusion.

What Buddha taught 2500 years ago is as relevant as ever I have gained from his teachings, and I believe that others in turn may benefit from my words. It is with this intention to help that I share my ideas and experience. When we are helpful, it is a service to *Dharma*. Helping even one person is valuable.

Non-violence is also a social virtue.

I do not think the sufferings of the Jews are in vain. They have preserved their self-respect. That they have not proved sufficient for meeting Herr Hitler's heart merely shows that it is made of a harder material. Even so must the hardest heart melt before sufficiency of the heat of non-violence.

Human actions result from a concurrence of forces of which we have no knowledge. But our ignorance must not be made to serve the cause of disbelief in the power of these forces. Rather is our ignorance a cause for greater faith. And non-violence being the mightiest force in the world and also the most elusive in its working, it demands the greatest exercise of faith. Even as we believe in God in faith, so have we to believe in non-violence in faith.

Herr Hitler would be a spent force if he had not the backing of his people. But I refuse to believe that the Germans as a nation have no heart or markedly less than the other nations of the earth. An armed conflict may bring disorder to German arms; it cannot change the German heart.

I plead for more suffering and still more till the meeting has become visible to the naked eye. A single Jew bravely standing up and refusing to bow to Hitler's decrees will cover himself with glory and lead the way to the deliverance of the fellow Jews.

I hold that non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger, national and international scale.

Jesus' suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence which rules all my actions, worldly and temporal. Jesus lived and died in vain if he did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal Law of Love.

Disturbing emotions are not intrinsic.

The purpose of meditating on suffering is not to cause more anxiety but to inspire us into eradicating its causes. Practice of meditation on the true path leads to the cessation of sufferings and their causes. The practices in ethics, concentration, and wisdom can take us to the path that can deliver us to the state of liberation.

The altruistic thought of the awakening mind is the gateway to the Great Vehicle. It literally refers to expanding or extending the mind. When you generate the awakening mind, you extend your care and concern to the well-being of everyone else. The aspiration to attain the fully awakened state of a Buddha for the sake of all sentient beings is a pure and powerful intention. As a result, both others and ourselves will enjoy lasting peace and happiness.

It is important to be aware that disturbing emotions and the obstructions to complete knowledge are but adventitious stains on the mind. They are not intrinsic to the nature of the mind and therefore can be completely removed. In that is the import of omniscience and the capacity to help others. In trying to be helpful, mere sincerity and dedication are not enough. It is essential to understand each individual's interest and capacity and mental disposition, to lead them gradually to Buddhahood.

The awakening mind is the most supremely positive thought, and kindness and good heartedness are of great value. Human beings are not intrinsically selfish, because it creates isolation. We achieve happiness, prosperity, and progress through social interaction. Therefore, a kind and helpful attitude is the source of happiness. And the awakening mind is supreme among all such beneficial thoughts. This is what motivates an individual to seek the inconceivable qualities of a fully awakened Buddha in order to benefit infinite sentient beings.

God is Truth and Truth is God.

You have asked me why I consider that God is Truth. We believe that God has many names and forms. So we call him nameless and formless, and since he speaks to me many tongues he is speechless. I had not come to recognize God for my personal satisfaction as Truth. I would say for those who say God is Love, God is love. But deep down in me I say God is Truth. Now, I have gone a step further and say - Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements: God is Truth and Truth is God. I found that the nearest approach to Truth is through love. But love has many meanings. Human love in the sense of passion becomes a degrading thing also, I found love in the sense of *Ahimsa* and non-violence. It is difficult to understand 'God is Love', but I never found a double meaning in connection with Truth not even atheists have denied Truth. In their passion for discovering Truth they have not hesitated even to deny the very existence of God. It was because of their reasoning that I saw that I was not going to say 'God is Truth', but 'Truth is God'. When you want to find Truth is God, the only inevitable means is love, non-violence - and since I believe that ultimately means and ends are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is love.

We have the belief based upon uninterrupted experience that those who would make diligent search after Truth - God - must go through these vows: the vow of truth, the vow of *Brahmacharya*, of non-violence, poverty and non-possession. Truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility. If you would see on the bosom of the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to a zero.

March 4

Patience involves not to be upset by hurts inflicted.

When we approach death, can we die without any regret or remorse? For that to happen it is necessary to have practiced patience in our life time. Patience is a state of mind that forbears in the face of harms inflicted by others. Patience involves, not to be upset by harms inflicted by others, to voluntarily accept sufferings of others, and to be able to endure the sufferings involved in the practice of *Dharma*. It is important to reflect upon the great qualities and benefits of possessing patience.

Those who have not undertaken any practice of patience will be seized at the time of death by a strong sense of remorse for the negative actions they have committed during their lifetimes, whereas those who have undertaken the practice of patience and endured harms inflicted by others will not have any sense of remorse at death. The most effective antidote to the attitude of abandoning others is the practice of patience. Patience protects the practitioner from the harm inflicted by anger.

The primary cause of someone getting angry and inflicting harm upon you is that he or she is under the constant influence of the delusions. Instead of losing your temper, you should develop mercy and compassion. Also, it is only our delusions that cause us to face such circumstances and suffering.

If anger is the essential nature of human beings, as heat is the nature of fire, there is nothing one can do, there is no point in retaliating. If, on the other hand, anger is not the essential nature of living beings but is just an adventitious quality, then again there is no point in retaliating.

Instead, I should feel indebted to the person who has harmed me, because he or she has given me the opportunity to test my own patience. It is very important to be decisive and courageous and resilient in your determination.

Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance.

The person who has taken the vow of *swadeshi* will never use articles which conceivably involve violation of truth in their manufacture or on the part of their manufacturers. It follows, for instance, that a votary of truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India, for he cannot be sure that they involve no such violation of truth. Moreover, labourers suffer much in the mills. The generation of tremendous heat causes enormous destruction of life. Besides, the loss of workers' lives in the manufacturing of machines and of other creatures through excessive heat is something impossible to describe.

Foreign cloth and cloth made by means of machinery are, therefore taboo to a votary of non-violence as they involve triple violence. Further reflection will show that the use of foreign cloth can be held to involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession.

We follow customs and, for better appearance, wear foreign cloth in preference to the cloth made on our own handlooms with so little effort. Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a *brahmachari* and so, even from the point of view of that vow, machine-made cloth is taboo. Therefore, the vow of *swadeshi* requires the use of simple clothing made on simple handlooms and stitched in style, foreign buttons, cuts, etc., being avoided. The same line of reasoning may be applied to all other articles.

Anger leads to hatred.

Anger and hatred are two of our closest friends. With the help of compassion and wisdom, I now have a more powerful argument with which to defeat anger. In order to change and deal with emotions it is crucial to analyze which thoughts are useful, constructive and of benefit. These are thoughts that make us calmer, more relaxed and which gives us peace of mind, versus those thoughts which create uneasiness, fear and frustration.

In Buddhist literature a negative emotion or thought is defined as, 'a state which causes disturbance within one's mind.' Emotion in general is not necessarily negative. Infinite compassion or kindness can be described as an emotion.

It is clear that mental calmness is a very important factor for good health. If you want good health, don't ask a doctor, look within yourself. Try to utilize some of your potential, this even costs less!

Anger is a negative emotion, they harm others and bring pain or suffering to oneself. Anger leads to hatred. When I was young, I was quite short-tempered. I would sometimes excuse this by saying that it was because my father was short-tempered, as if it was something genetic. Now I have almost no hatred towards anybody, including towards these Chinese who are creating misery and suffering for Tibetans. Even towards them, I really do not feel any kind of hatred.

Truth and non-violence are our goal.

The whole world knows that the *tapasya* that was practised in ancient India is found nowhere else. Even if we want an empire for India, we can get it through no other method but that of self discipline. We can be certain that once the spirit of discipline comes to pervade our lives, we shall be able to get anything we may want.

Truth and non-violence are our goal. Non-violence is the supreme *dharma*, there is no discovery of greater import than this. So long as we engage in mundane actions, so long as soul and body are together, some violence will continue to occur through our agency. But we must renounce at least the violence that it is possible for us to renounce. We should understand that the less violence a religion permits, the more is the truth contained in it. If we can ensure the deliverance of India, it is only through truth and non-violence. Many people have this habit of hiding their own sentiments while in the presence of an important person and suiting their talk to his pleasure. They do not realize how cruelly they deceive themselves and harm the truth. One must say what one feels. It is impertinence to go against one's reason. Deal with all with truth and non-violence.

Love is a rare herb that makes a friend even of a sworn enemy and this herb grows out of non-violence. What is a dormant state in non-violence becomes love in the waking state. Love destroys ill-will. We should act only through love; thus alone shall we succeed. So long as we do not have unshakeable faith in truth, love and non-violence, we can make no progress. Be fearless. Never, never give up truth and love. Treat all enemies and friends with love.

Your enemies are your best spiritual teachers.

It is very important to develop the right attitude toward your enemy. *Shantideva* asks, “If you do not practice compassion toward your enemy then toward whom can you practice it?” If you can cultivate the right attitude, your enemies are your best spiritual teachers because their presence provides you with the opportunity to enhance and develop tolerance, patience, and understanding. It will be easier for you to develop your capacity for compassion and through that, altruism. So even for your own spiritual path, the presence of an enemy is crucial. The analogy drawn in the Gospel as to how “the Sun makes no discrimination where it shines,” is very significant. This is so true of compassion. It gives you the sense of its impartiality and all-embracing nature.

In order to develop one's capacity for tolerance toward all beings, and particularly toward an enemy, it is important as a precondition to have a feeling of equanimity toward all. It is quite natural for all of us to feel hostility toward those who harm us, and to feel attachment toward our loved ones. It is a natural human feeling, so we must make that transition from these inherently biased feelings toward a state of greater equanimity.

In Christianity there is the idea of creation and that all creatures are equal in that they are creations of the same god. Also there is the belief that all human beings are created in the image of God, we share a common divine nature. This is similar to Buddha nature in Buddhism. We have a strong ground, a powerful reason to believe that it is possible for each one of us to develop a genuine sense of equanimity toward all beings.

Truth in business may mean smaller profits or even loss.

How can truth and non-violence permeate the masses with an ever increasing velocity? Great movements all the world over depend for their success largely upon the mercantile class. With what rapidity would the force of truth move if the merchants were to avoid untruth and all the faults flowing from it. Even though introduction of truth in their business may mean smaller profits or even loss.

The foundation of our success rests in truth and if it pervades mercantile affairs it will be a play thing to pull down the other citadels of untruth. Feel convinced that it is not difficult for merchants to act accordingly. If we can impress the government with the truth in us and by strictly observing the principles of non-violence, assure them of their harmlessness, it may not be necessary for us to resume civil disobedience.

Of all the measures, calmness is the greatest. *Satyagraha* is based upon religion. In it only truth, calmness, serenity, patience, fearlessness, etc., should alone be seen. A *satyagraha* strike must differ from others. What we expect to attain by acclamations in ordinary movements, we often gain by silence in *satyagraha*. The human voice can never reach the distance that is covered by the still small voice of conscience. Instances to show the unique character of *satyagraha* can easily be multiplied and we ought not to be surprised to see things not going in the orthodox fashion. Be patient and have full faith that by going along the path of *satyagraha*, we shall meet our destiny all the sooner.

Detachment does not mean indifference.

We need to understand what is equanimity. Because genuine compassion is universal and does not discriminate, cultivating compassion must first involve cultivating equanimity toward all sentient beings. For example, you know that such-and-such a person is your friend or relative in this life. But, Buddhism points out that this person may have been your worst enemy in a past life. You can apply the same sort of reasoning to someone you consider an enemy: although this person may behave negatively toward you and is your enemy in this life, he or she could have been your best friend or even your mother in the past life. By reflecting upon the fluctuating nature of one's relationships with others and also on the potential that exists in all sentient beings to be both friends and enemies, you can develop this even-mindedness or equanimity.

The practice of developing equanimity involves a form of detachment, but it is important to understand what detachment means. Sometimes when people hear about the Buddhist practice of detachment, they think that Buddhism is advocating indifference toward all things, but that is not the case. Cultivating detachment takes the sting out of our emotions towards others that are based on superficial considerations of distance or closeness. Then, on that basis, we can develop a compassion that is truly universal. Detachment does not mean indifference to the world or life - precisely the opposite. A profound experience of detachment is the ground on which we can build genuine compassion extending to all sentient beings.

It is necessary for all to refrain from violence and anger.

The two conditions which should be rigorously adhered to in their prosecution of non-co-operation were non-violence and *swadeshi* (home made). Any violence as their part would defeat non-co-operation, and it was necessary for all to refrain from violence and anger. Each one be prepared to make sacrifice if they wanted their freedom movement to succeed. They could make sacrifice by giving up among other things their predilection for fine clothes. Some feel that the people in Northern India need fine spun cotton. This cannot be understood. For twenty five years ago people of India could do very well with the home-spun, coarse cloth. At the present stage of the Indian industry the cotton mills were not in a position to produce fine cloth and the people must be content with the coarser quality of it. The remedy for the present day is a revival of the handloom industry. If there are handlooms in every Indian home they could spin a sufficient quantity of cotton for the indigenous weavers to weave into cloth and when they find that their countrymen are prepared to give up foreign clothes and pay a good price, they would take to producing finer cloth.

The practice of *swadeshi* undoubtedly involved a sense of sacrifice. It would show to the world that one was prepared to undergo inconveniences and suffer so long as the freedom struggle was not settled.

The chief things essential to non-co-operation movement were, non-violence, renouncing of titles, and a vigorous prosecution of *swadeshi*. If the people did this and prayed to God, their cause, being just, was bound to succeed.

What is required to dissolve conflict is not more arms.

There are conflicts in the world that arise from a failure to understand one another's humanness. Basically the answer is spiritual, in the sense that what is required to resolve conflict is not more arms but a sensitive understanding of our common human condition. Hatred and fighting cannot bring happiness to anyone, even to the winners of battles. Violence produces misery and is always counter-productive. It is, therefore, time for all the world to learn to transcend the differences of race, culture and ideology and to regard one another through eyes that see the common human situation. To do so would benefit individuals, communities, nations, and the world at large.

As all nations are economically dependent upon one another more than ever before, human understanding must go beyond national boundaries and embrace the international community at large. Unless we can create an atmosphere of genuine cooperation, gained not by threats or force, but by heartfelt understanding, world problems will only increase.

With each community or nation, the individual ought to be given the right to happiness, and among nations, there must be equal concern for the welfare of even the smallest nations. I am not suggesting that one system is better than another and all should adopt it. On the contrary, a variety of political systems and ideologies is desirable and accords with the variety of dispositions within the human community. This variety enhances the ceaseless human quest for happiness. Thus each community should be free to evolve its own political and socio-economic system, based on the principle of self-determination and practice of compassion.

A perfect practitioner of non-violence displays perfect courage.

For me, personally, there is only one religion and that is *Hinduism*. I take pride in calling myself a *Hindu*, but I am no dogmatic, ritual-bound Hindu. As I understand *Hinduism*, it is an extremely comprehensive faith. It has tolerance and respect for other faiths. That is why you see me engaged in defending *Islam* with the same energy and passion with which I would defend my faith.

Hence, I cultivated friendship with a *Mussulman* and became brother to him. My association with him is a source of joy and pride to me. We have differences on some matters. I believe in the principle of non-violence. He seems to believe in violence. He believes that in certain circumstances a man may be another's enemy and that killing one's enemy is justified. If, nonetheless, I continue to work with him, the reason is that I have seen in him some qualities of sterling worth. He is a man of his word, is a perfectly loyal friend and is extra-ordinarily brave. He has great faith in God. I immediately saw that only a devoted man could have all these qualities and I sought association with him, attracted only by his devoutness. I have, besides, always trusted that my success in employing non-violence will convince him of its beauty.

No other English term can express all the meanings of *ahimsa* which the word innocence expresses. Hence *ahimsa* and innocence may be regarded as equivalents. It is my faith that everything will be well with the man who follows the path of non-violence. The weapons at the disposal of the votary of non-violence are much more potent than those available to the votary of violence. Only a perfect practitioner of non-violence can display perfect courage. Even one man ready to live a life of non-violence to perfection will be able to subdue the entire world.

We can get used to anything.

The very existence of military establishments, whether defensive or offensive exist solely to kill human beings. We have been conditioned to regard that the army is necessary, that it is exciting and glamorous. Since, armies are legal we feel war is acceptable. We have been brain-washed, war is monstrous and its very nature is one of tragedy and suffering.

War is like a fire in the human community, one whose fuel is human beings. People talk of newer weapons as remarkable pieces of technology without remembering that, if it is actually used, it will burn living people. War is throwing live people in fire.

As a child, I too was attracted to the military, their uniforms looked so smart and beautiful. But that is exactly how the seduction begins. Again, if we as adults were not so fascinated by war, we would clearly see that to allow our children to become habituated to war games is extremely unfortunate. Some former soldiers have told me that when they shot their first person they felt uncomfortable but as they continued to kill it began to feel quite normal. In time, we can get used to anything.

Armies are the greatest violators of human rights. Even the rights of soldiers are almost taken away, to sacrifice their lives. A powerful army destroys the happiness of its own country. If we believe dictatorship to be a despicable and destructive form of government, then we must recognize that the existence of a powerful military establishment is one of its main causes. Not only army is expensive but also valuable human energy is squandered.

Though I oppose war, I am not advocating appeasement. War is violence and violence is unpredictable. As long as adversaries do not trust each other, any number of factors can upset the balance of power. Lasting peace can be secured only on the basis of genuine trust.

Forbearance is strength and not weakness.

How are people to be helped? How is corruption to be removed? Certainly not by counting an official inquiry. That must result in only strengthening the police. Already the police is for fortifying its position. Certainly not by the villagers seeking the protection of the courts. It is my settled conviction, based on a study of the records of cases, that in vast majority of them the people have lost both in money and in power. An isolated discharge of an innocent man is all they can show as a result of paying fortunes to the lawyers and the bribe-takers.

This police, composed mainly of our own men, must be reformed and won over by non-resistance. We have unnecessarily vilified them instead of pitying them. They are victims of a vicious and even inglorious system. I decline to believe that the Indian policemen are inherently bad and that the Governments are powerless to reform them. On the contrary, the system of the Government is such as to corrupt even the most honest of the men. It is based upon the practice of securing the greatest immunity for itself. It has made of prestige a fetish and has arrogated to itself the position of infallibility and protection.

The best way to befriend the police is to cease to fear them on their authority. It is better to manfully stand persecution and allow themselves to be robbed, instead of hitting in defence of their persons or property. Such forbearance can be exercised out of strength and not out of weakness.

The doctrine of non-violence is not for the weak and the cowardly; it is meant for the brave and the strong. The bravest man allows himself to be killed without killing. And he desists from killing or injuring, because he knows that it is wrong to injure.

Stand firm against oppression, but do it without ill-will.

At times we have wrong understanding as to our response to pain inflicted upon us by others. Forgiveness, or patience, does not mean that you completely give in to anything anyone does to you.

If you do that with equanimity and calmness; mind, first of all, the suffering of the mind will decrease. You will not react negatively. But after that, whether you let another person continue to behave in the same way depends on the situation. If the other person demands something unreasonable, you may, without anger or ill-will, judge the situation and see if you need a counter - measure. I do whatever I can to stand firm against oppression, but I do it without ill-will. The counter measure is effective if it is not motivated by anger.

Through Buddhist training, one develops an understanding of different levels of suffering. We also accept the theory of *karma*, or action, and that is also useful to lessen the mental suffering. When things have already happened, there is no use to worry. If we do our best, with sincere motivation, we feel very good if we have success, but if we do not, there is no regret.

These beliefs make you accept things as they unfold, this may seem too simple, but speaking from a Buddhist point of view, as a monk, all of these problems can be attributed to a lack of altruism, compassion, sense of responsibility, or genuine sense of brotherhood or sisterhood. When you consider one thing superior, whenever the opportunity is there, you will exploit the thing you consider inferior. It is important to present these issues to the next generation as questions of survival, not matters of religion or morality.

In the insight of impermanence we understand suffering as suffering and we allow that recognition to give rise to an aspiration to gain liberation from it.

Hospitals are not a test of a high and pure civilization.

It is certainly my good fortune that this booklet, *Hind Swaraj* is receiving wide attention. It was an answer to the Indian School of Violence, and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I feel their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills, and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection. The *satyagraha* of South Africa was in its infancy.

It is a book that teaches the gospel of love in the place of that of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It puts soul-force against brute force. The booklet is a severe condemnation of 'Modern Civilization'. I feel that if India would discard 'modern civilisation', she can only gain by doing so.

But I would warn the reader against thinking that I am to-day aiming at the *swaraj* described therein. I know India is not ripe for it. I am not aiming at destroying railways or hospitals, though I would welcome their natural destruction. Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilization. At best they are a necessary evil. Neither adds one inch to the moral stature of a nation. Still less am I trying to destroy all machinery and mills. It requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for.

The only part of the programme which is now being carried out in its entirety is that of non-violence. But I regret to have to confess that even that is not being carried out in the spirit of the book.

If India adopted the doctrine of love as an active part of her religion and introduced it in her politics, *swaraj* would descend upon India from heaven. *Satyagraha* is made of sterner stuff.

If we break natural laws, we will meet disaster

There is suffering on this earth and there is a need to strengthen our love for our planet and our service to the living Earth.

This planet is our own home. Taking care of our world, our planet is just like taking care of our own house. Our very lives depend upon this Earth, our environment. She is our mother, she is so kind, because whatever we like to do, she tolerates it. But now, a time has come when our power to destroy is so extreme that Mother Earth is compelled to tell us to be careful. Nuclear weapons, population explosion and many other indicators make that clear, don't they? Nature has its own natural limitations.

Another way to approach this question is to see that in the same way that this human body is composed of different elements. If we break natural laws, no matter how sophisticated we become, we will meet disaster.

It is not too late. There are many more concerned people than any time before. Today there are political parties whose ideologies are based on ecology. To be heedful to what we are doing to our mother, we need awareness and mindfulness. Simply be aware. Such education and responsibility is very important. We need education, so that we know what we are to be mindful of. Then when we are engaged in life, we encounter situations that correspond to what we have learned about in theory in our education. What mindfulness is concerned with, is really focusing in on those actual situations, being aware of them and responding appropriately. From this will come a cherishing of the environment. The potential, the possibility, is always there for everyone. Thinking in these terms, everyone can find the context where they can make a difference. If you want to change the world, first try to improve, change, within yourself.

Indifference to taste is necessary for *brahmacharya*.

Your letter is beautiful. It is beautiful mainly because you have described in it your state of mind at the time of being beaten up. You tried to contain your anger at that time and therein was your non-violence. With such practice, non-violence would ultimately become natural and, as a result, everyone would give up the feeling of animosity. But only for one in a million does non-violence become a natural practice.

We are only trying to pursue that path, I experience every moment that nothing else is as interesting as that effort. Just as a hungry man nurtures himself daily by eating nutritious food, so also a man suffering from the hunger of non-violence drinks deep of the nectar of non-violence and nurtures himself and takes long draughts of joy.

As far as I remember, I have developed in the following manner. Truth, non-violence, non-possession, *brahmacharya*, fearlessness, indifference to taste.

During my quest for truth, I saw the need for non-violence, and so, I tried to cultivate it. From that arose the need for non-possession. But I felt everything was hard without *brahmacharya*. This led to the discovery of satyagraha. That gave me fearlessness. I have since been practising indifference to taste. But now I realize that indifference to taste was necessary for the observance of *brahmacharya*. This is the main thing I have been able to cultivate these qualities due to deep thinking and effort. Behind all that there is no doubt an unflinching faith in God.

The affluent get upset easily.

It is worth observing the attitudes of the new generation, especially from the affluent societies. They have a very easy, comfortable life. It makes them difficult to face even small problems. They get upset easily and even start shouting.

This generation must reflect on the hardships faced not only by other people in the society but by their own forefathers. Their forefathers worked very hard to create a conducive situation for them.

We must develop right kind of attitudes in all situations. Else, it narrows our minds and we fail to see clearly the reality of a situation, eventually bringing us unnecessary problems. The negative emotions like anger and hatred are destructive. We should try to maintain a greater sense of equanimity.

We may not be able to change situations of others, but, through a genuine sense of caring and compassion, through our sharing in the plight of others, our attitude can alleviate their suffering. We need inner strength and courage.

If you are a believer, enhance your spiritual values. If you are a non-believer, you can reflect upon the fact that, fundamentally, all beings are equal to you in their wish for happiness and their desire to overcome suffering. Recognizing this, you make a pledge to develop a good heart. It is most important that we have a warm heart. As long as we are part of human society, it is very important to be a kind, warm-hearted person.

We shall rely less on brute force and more on soul-force.

In spite of my firm faith in absolute *ahimsa*, i.e., innocence, I could reconcile myself to recruiting men in the army. My *ahimsa* teaches me that I cannot carry the world with me by force of arms. I will not cut off the hands of my children for fear of their hurting others. A man is innocent when he is able to do harm and refrains. India's soldiers must have arms so long as they believe in violence. I invited, during the recruiting campaign those who believed in violence to join the battle and not to keep away, because they had a grievance against the government. I was against bargaining with the government as I am against bargaining at any time.

I do not anticipate a time in India or the world when all will be followers of *ahimsa*. But I do contemplate a time, when in India we shall rely less on brute force and more on soul-force, when the *Brahman* in man will hold supremacy.

It is enough for me to know that at least a few observe the vow of non-violence, whilst they are in the movement of non-co-operation. I believe that time will enable them to see that India can never, not at any rate within a generation, be free by violence. My interpretation of *Gita* is that it has based a religious teaching on a historical incident, and that it does not deal with an earthly war but it deals with the ceaseless spiritual war going on in the human *Kurukshetra* (battlefield).

Next life or tomorrow - never be certain which will come first.

Today, I travel a great deal, and it is my good fortune continuously to be meeting new people. Among these people are who have suffered greatly: some have lost parents and children, some have friends or family who committed suicide; are sick with cancer, AIDS - related illnesses. There are fellow Tibetans with their tales of hardship and suffering. I have no healing powers, the best I can do is to help them by sharing in their suffering.

We are basically same as human beings. We all desire to be happy. We are sustained in this great quest for happiness, by hope. There is a Tibetan proverb, 'the next life or tomorrow - we can never be certain which will come first.' But we hope to go on living.

All over the world people are striving to improve their lives. Yet, strangely, my impression is that those living in the materially developed countries, for all their industry, are in some ways less satisfied, are less happy, and to some extent suffer more than those living in the least developed countries. Those who have nothing are in fact, the least anxious, though they have physical suffering. As for the rich, while a few know how to use their wealth intelligently -that is to say, not in luxurious living but by sharing it with the needy - many do not. They are so caught up with the idea of acquiring still more that they make no room for anything else in their lives. As a result they are constantly tormented and torn between doubt about what might happen and the hope of gaining more - though outwardly they lead successful and comfortable lives. This inner suffering is clearly connected with growing confusion as to what constitutes morality and what its foundations are.

We have created a society in which people find it harder and harder to show one another basic affection. We find a high degree of loneliness and alienation and a disproportionate emphasis on external progress. The modern society has invited unhappiness, anxiety and the lack of contentment in our lives.

I am the only one to follow that path.

If I had the time I would have narrated so many things from the *Hindu Bhajans* that you would wonder whether the religious sentiments depicted there belonged to *Hinduism* or *Sikhism*. Why do we say to-day that the Muslims have got to leave this country? Why is it said that the plan of settling the *Muslims* with the *Hindus* is a mistake? Whether it is implemented or not, it is my plan and if it is a mistake it is my mistake.

What I am saying is not a mistake. Those who think I am making a mistake are themselves mistaken. The whole world would blame you if you threw out forty-five million *Muslims*. Because Pakistan is not following its religion, should I start teaching the *Hindus* that they should also give up their religion?

After all would I give up my creed at a critical time? My creed is non-violence. I have never waged war, nor should anyone else do so. How can we achieve anything by fighting? It would be different if the two governments worked in co-operation. Let them have an arbitrator if they cannot work together. If even that cannot be done, then we shall helplessly be dragged into war. If Pakistan insists on taking India by force, then, India would have no alternative except to fight.

If I am given the charge of the Government I would follow a different path, because I have no military and police force under me. But I am the only one to follow that path. Who would support me? If people do not understand non-violence, to whom can I address?

Cowardice arises when we lose confidence as a result of fear.

The practice of '*sōpa*' (patience) has to be understood very correctly. None of the foregoing is meant to imply that there are not times when it is appropriate to respond to others with strong measures. Nor does practicing patience in the sense I have described it mean that we must accept whatever people would do to us and simply give in. Nor does it mean that we should never act at all when we meet with harm. '*Sōpa*' should not be confused with mere passivity. On the contrary, adopting even vigorous counter measures may be compatible with the practice of *sōpa*. There are times in every one's life when even physical intervention is called for. But since it safeguards our inner composure, *sōpa* means we are in a strong position to judge as appropriate of cowardice. Cowardice arises when we lose confidence as a result of fear. Patient forbearance means that we remain firm in all circumstances.

We must do everything possible within our powers to solve our problems. But in the case of present suffering - that which we are already undergoing - acceptance can help ensure that the experience is not compounded by additional burden to emotional suffering.

Patient forbearance, then, is the quality which enables us to prevent negative thoughts and emotions from taking hold of us. It safeguards our peace of mind in the face of adversity. Through practicing patience, our conduct is rendered ethically wholesome.

The first step in ethical practice is to check our response to negative thoughts and emotions as they arise. The next is to counter that provocation with patience or the practice of *sōpa*.

India will defend itself non-violently.

If you want to seize power, you will have to surrender certain things in order to get it. You will be driven into their ways. May be you will be an advanced party. This picture repels me. I don't believe in the expression 'seizure of power'. There is no such thing as 'seizure of power'. I have no power save what resides in the people. I am a mere representative of the power in the people.

I am not afraid of power. Some day or the other we will have to take it. The British must use their resources mercilessly. If we participate in war effort, we shall have learnt some lesson in the art of violence, even if the Britishers are defeated. This will give us some experience, some power such as a soldier has but, all this at the cost of independence. This seems to me the consequence of your resolution (seize power). This does not appeal to me.

If we are non-violent I know how to deal with the situation. The vast majority of people had violence in them, but they were taught the power of non-violence. Now you must teach them the power of violence. There is confusion in the people now. I cannot guide you in this atmosphere.

I told the British that if they succeed in the war, they will not be better than Hitler or Mussolini. If there is peace with Hitler, India will be exploited by all powers. But if we are non-violent and Japan comes and takes over, we will see that they do not get anything without our consent. Non-violence has worked for twenty years. We cannot do any thing with violence.

What contribution shall we make if anarchy overtakes us? Will the masses co-operate in the non-violent effort? I cannot do this. This is not for me. I want to proclaim to the country that India will defend itself non-violently.

March 26

Our own heart is the temple.

When our final day comes we are able to look back and see that we have lived full, productive, and meaningful lives, that will at least be of some comfort. If we cannot, we may be very sad. All we can do is use the present well. To ensure that in the present moment we conduct ourselves responsibly and with compassion for others. Compassion is one of the principle things that make our lives meaningful. It is the source of all lasting happiness and joy. And it is the foundation of a good heart, the heart of one who acts out of a desire to help others. Through kindness, through affection, through honesty, through truth and justice toward all others, we ensure our own benefit. There is no denying that when society suffers, we ourselves suffer. We can reject religion, ideology, all received wisdom. But we cannot escape the necessity of love and compassion.

This is my religion, my faith. Our own heart, our own mind is the temple. The doctrine is compassion. Love for others and respect for their rights and dignity, are our needs.

Why, then, if it is so simple to be happy, do we find it so hard? Unfortunately, we think we are compassionate, we tend to ignore truth. We neglect to confront our negative thoughts and emotions. We regret over trivial matters. Instead of rejoicing in the opportunity we have to contribute to others' well-being, we merely take our pleasures where we can.

We must remember that acquisition of objects, indulgence in sensual pleasure and focusing on mundane, becomes a gateway to suffering.

May I become at all times, both now and forever / A protector for the helpless, guide for the lost ones / Ship for those to cross oceans and bridge to cross rivers / A sanctuary for those in danger / A lamp for those in darkness / A refuge for those who need shelter / And a servant to all in need.

Machinery makes you its slave.

I regard my country as a big family. I am not a *Mahatma* but try to be a true servant. God alone can testify to this. Truth is indefinable. Truth is another form of God. To serve God-Truth is *Satyagraha*. Truth is a relative term. For worshipping liberty we require truth and non-violence as our means. We can reach or realize truth by non-violence.

As soon as *Swaraj* is won, I cease to be your General. You will then be called upon to elect your President. After that you may or may not decide to use the *Charakha*. But if I am alive then, I will insist on it. Because you know we cannot give up the means by which we achieve our independence. The *Charakha* is ammunition- guns and artillery - and so we cannot afford to forsake it. If you don't ply the *Charakha* you can't enlist in my army. There is no compulsion. But these are my conditions when you have selected me as your General.

We should not use machinery for producing things which we can produce without its aid and have got the capacity to do so. As machinery makes you its slave, we want to be independent and self-supporting, so we should not take help of the machinery when we can do without it. We want to make our villages free and self-sufficient and through them achieve our goal - liberty - and also protect it. I have no interest in the machine and nor do I oppose it. If I can produce my things myself, I become my master and so need no machinery.

If millions co-operate, it cannot but generate tremendous strength which can be put to any use one likes. The *Charakha* provides the best medium for such co-operation. It provides dignified employment and food and clothing for *Daridranarayana*. This cannot but give man non-violent strength for gaining *Swaraj*.

Understand the Karma, now.

As a Buddhist and with a sense of reasoning I believe in the law of karma or *karmic* action. It is a natural law of cause and effect. What we think as external causes now, could be the accumulation of our actions in previous lives. They are but a natural consequence of an individual's previous actions.

The pleasures and frustrations, the happiness and suffering experienced by each individual are the inevitable fruits of beneficial and evil actions one has perpetrated, thus adding to the store. It, at a particular moment in this present life, the fruits of a person's good actions ripen, he will recognize, if he is a wise man, that they are the fruits of past meritorious deeds. This will gratify him and encourage him to achieve more merits. Similarly, when a person experiences pain, and recognizes that it is part of his own actions of the past, one may be able to understand pain differently. At least that will prevent him to create unskilled deeds now. And the satisfying aspect can be, with the ripening of the past *karma*, a certain part of the evil fruit accrued by former unskilled action has been worked off.

To understand the *karma*, now, brings a proper appreciation of this wisdom. It will help one to grasp the essential principles of life. The essentials being peace of both the body and the mind. To come to an understanding that any affliction of the body and the mind, is one's own responsibility, changes the quality of every misery and suffering.

It is only this deep understanding that guides one towards peace and harmony for oneself and others, both in the external world and at the mind level.

March 29

Technique of non-violence causes no loss of faith in non-violence.

A friend has made a psychological explanation of the present communal violence. To him much of this violence is an expression not so much of inter-communal hatred, but rather, and more deeply and originally, of the long pent-up resentments of the masses because of their oppression. The oppression was not only by foreign political rule but by foreign modern social, economic and financial ways which are contrary to the ancient habits of *Dharma* which were a vital part of the nature of the masses. Some occasion pulls up a trigger and releases the pent-up energy.

I have not been able to study psychology. And the explanation does not mend matters for me. It does not fill me with any impelling enthusiasm for undertaking the study. It mystified my mind instead of clearing it. 'Hope for the future. I have never lost and never will, because it, is embedded in my underlying faith in non-violence. What has however, clearly happened in my case is the discovery that in all probability there is a vital defect in my technique of the working of non-violence. There was no real appreciation of non-violence in the thirty years' struggle against British Raj. Therefore, the peace mentioned was not from within.

The pent-up fury found an outlet when British Raj was gone. It naturally ventured itself in communal violence which was never fully absent and which was kept under suppression by the British bayonet. This explanation seems to me to be all-sufficing and convincing. In it there is no room for failure of any hope. Failure of my technique of non-violence causes no loss of faith in non-violence itself. On the contrary, that faith is, if possible, strengthened by the discovery of a possible flaw in the technique.

See our world holistically.

Time is always moving and nothing can make it stand still. Whether we waste our time or use it properly is entirely upto us.

I believe one purpose of education is to reduce our ignorance. Though in reality everything is interconnected, we look at things as being separate or isolated from each other. This attitude makes a difference, it affects the decisions we make and the way we react to situations. If we closely look at the world we can see how interdependent we are in terms of economy, politics, the environment and society. So, we should try to see our world holistically, on the basis of reality.

Modern education does not seem to encourage the holistic approach, however. Instead, it favours specialization, which often operates on the assumption that things and events are isolated or independent of each other. Though certain specialization is necessary in certain fields. But at the same time, as a society, we must strive to maintain a wider perspective.

Education is somewhat like an instrument, which can be used constructively or destructively depending on the user. I believe that one important purpose of education is to train our hearts by instilling in us a sense of caring for and sharing with others. Another important function of education is to teach us how to maintain a sincere and honest attitude at all times. This kind of education of the heart is actually in our best interests, because we all belong to humanity. If humanity is happy, we will also be happy. If humanity suffers, if the environment suffers, we will also be the losers. Our happiness and success, our very survival, depends on others.

April

Faiths will live only to the extent that their followers imbibe.

In this movement, we may ultimately have to leave some of them out, but we may not regard anybody as irreclaimable. We should try to understand the evil-doer. He is very often a victim of his circumstances. By patience and sympathy, we shall be able to win over at least some of them to the side of justice. Moreover, we should not forget that even evil is sustained through the co-operation, either willing or forced, of good. Truth alone is self-sustained. In the last resort we can curb power of the evil-doers to do mischief by withdrawing all co-operation from them and completely isolating them.

This in essence is the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. It follows, therefore, that it must have its roots in love. Its object should not be to punish the opponent or to inflict injury upon him. Even while non-co-operating with him, we must try to reach his heart by rendering him humanitarian service whenever possible. In fact it is the acid test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancor left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends.

Times change and systems decay. But it is my faith that in the result, it is only non-violence and things that are based on non-violence that will endure.

To-day's Christianity is a denial of Jesus's teachings – 'Love your Enemy'. Islam as the word implies is unadulterated peace. The basis of Islam is non-violence. I am convinced that both these great faiths will live only to the extent that their followers imbibe the central teaching of non-violence. But it is not a thing to be grasped through mere intellect; it must sink into our hearts.

Be diligent.

It is worth noting how the Buddha practised to reach his goal of Buddhahood. He initially developed the altruistic thought, a sense of compassion for all the sentient beings. Then he accumulated virtue and finally attained enlightenment or the state of Buddhahood. He did so purely in the interest of other sentient beings. Inspired by the awakening mind, which is more concerned for others than oneself, the Buddha perfected his training on the path. It was only due to his altruism that he worked to accomplish the well being of other beings. For eons he was dauntless in that pursuit. Even after attaining enlightenment, it was that force of altruism that led him to turn the wheel of the *Dharma*. So the underlying theme in religious life is to be helpful to others. When we can make others generate virtue in their hearts, make them happy and their lives meaningful, that is a true service to the Buddha and his doctrine. We need to be diligent and direct our best efforts this way. That, I believe, is how to fulfil the other's welfare as well as one's own.

A teacher makes prostrations to the high chair to avoid arrogance. The disturbing emotions are very cunning and tough. A person gets swayed by delusion. Fortunately, there is one power that can fight disturbing emotions. It is wisdom.

This wisdom becomes clearer and sharper when we apply analysis and examination. It is forceful and enduring. An ignorant, cunning mind cannot withstand wisdom. Similarly, the self-centered attitude is equally hardy and willful. It poses as our friend and protector. It is only wisdom that can tell us that things do not exist as they appear, they lack truth. This is the wisdom of emptiness.

To expose the criminals to mob fury would be barbarity.

Every where in India there is a duel going on between the method of non-Violence and that of violence. Violence like water, when it has an outlet, rushes forward furiously with an overwhelming force. Non-violence cannot act madly. It is the essence of discipline. But when it is set going, no amount of violence can crush it. For full play, it requires unsullied purity and an unquenchable faith among the leaders. Therefore, if non-violence seems to fail in the duel, it will do so because the leaders lack the purity or the faith or both. There seems, however, to be reason to believe that non-violence will triumph over violence. Things seem to be shaping so that the workers will see for themselves the futility of violence.

Non-violence is not worth much if it is worsted in the face of the greatest provocation. Its true test consists in its capacity for standing any amount of provocation. If there were eye-witnesses of the rapes and if the witnesses were non-violent, why are they alive? If the rapes became known after the event, of what use is violence? The non-violent method is still open. The men may be tried or they may be brought up before the bar of public opinion, if there was any. To expose the criminals to mob fury would be barbarity.

It was enough for me at the time to condemn in unqualified terms the murder of the political agent not merely as a sympathy, though that was deserved, but as an act of gross indiscipline and breach of the fundamental policy.

It will not be merely the guilty persons who will suffer. The technique of frightfulness in some form or other is being applied. The authorities know no other way. The non-violent method has been slowly educating them to know the new way. Both methods are being tried out in India. The workers have to make their choice.

You can transform your life.

The existence of a religious tradition, that is involved in cultivating love, and compassion, and a concern for the welfare of other sentient beings is extremely fortunate. You are fortunate to read about such attitude and I am fortunate to explain the teachings.

We should not think of the awakening mind merely as an object of admiration, something to pay respect to. It is something we should generate within ourselves. We have the ability and the option to do so. You might have been a horribly selfish person in the past, but with determination you can transform your life.

As human beings we have intelligence and courage, provided we use them. I personally have no experience of the awakening mind. In doing the practices, I felt I could attain liberation, and that was possible. But when I thought about the awakening mind, it seemed quite far off. I feel sad at times and experience negative emotions like anger, jealousy and competitiveness, but due to repeated familiarity I feel now I am getting closer to the awakening mind. Your mind has to become stable to experience the uniqueness of it. Unlike physical progress, which is subject to natural restrictions, the qualities of the mind can be developed limitlessly.

The first step in actually developing the conventional awakening mind, which is concerned with the interests of others, is to appreciate the faults of self-centeredness and the advantage of cherishing others. It also involves the practice of exchanging oneself with others. An important factor all along is common: it is necessary at the outset to regard sentient beings with affection. This cultivation of affection requires generating a sense of equanimity that regulates our fluctuating emotions toward other sentient beings.

No deception may be practised even for the good of the country.

The object of the *Ashram* is to learn how to serve the motherland one's whole life. It is not enough for a person under this vow that, he does not ordinarily resort to untruth; such a person ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country.

It is not enough to refrain from taking the life of any living being. He who has pledged himself to this vow may not kill even those whom he believes to be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them; thus, he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents, governments or others, but will never kill or hurt the tyrant. The follower of truth and non-violence will offer *satyagraha* against tyranny and win over the tyrant by love; he will not carry out the tyrant's will, but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will, until the tyrant himself is won over.

It is well-nigh impossible to observe these two vows unless celibacy too is observed; and for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon other women with a lustful eye. One has so to control the animal passion that one will not be moved even in thought; if one is married, one will not have sexual intercourse even with one's wife, but, regarding her as a friend, will establish with her a relationship of perfect purity.

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered as other men's property. One who has pledged himself to this vow should realize that Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for one's daily needs by way of food; and so hold it theft to use articles of food, dress, etc., which are not really needed and live accordingly.

Hatred is my true enemy.

There is more value in genuine human feeling than in status and so on. I am just a simple human being. Through my discipline and experience, a certain new attitude has developed. Each of you should feel that you have a great potential and that, with self-confidence and a little more effort, change is really possible if you want it. If we utilize all our positive human energy or human qualities, we can overcome these human problems. Our mental attitude is very crucial. The main cause of a happy life is within us. I consider hatred to be the ultimate enemy. By 'enemy' I mean the person or factor which directly or indirectly destroys our interest, which ultimately creates happiness.

Our country can be invaded, our possessions can be destroyed, our friends can be killed, but these are secondary for our mental happiness, and peace of mind. Nothing can destroy this except my own anger. You can escape, hide or cheat an enemy. I cannot do that to anger. Hatred or anger is the real destroyer of my peace of mind and is therefore my true enemy.

There is a natural connection between cause and effect. Once certain causes and conditions are fully met, it is difficult to prevent that causal process from coming to fruition. At a very early stage one can put a stop to the causal process. One of the effective means by which one can overcome anger and hatred is by cultivating love, compassion and patience.

There is no room for hatred at all.

I wish to explain what I mean by “*satyagraha*”. Although I use the phrase “passive resistance”, it does not fully connote what I have in mind. I apply to political matters the same law which regulates our conduct in the family. I find that people act under the shadow of fear, do not tell the truth out of fear, deceiving themselves and the Government. Whenever I find people submitting to injustice out of fear, I tell them that to shake off imposed hardships, they must suffer voluntarily. This is *satyagraha*. To make others suffer in order to save ourselves from suffering is *duragraha*, brute force. When a man is oppressed, he should employ soul force to fight himself free, suffering voluntarily.

The struggle is not for amendment of the law but against the manner of its administration. What is the use of an appeal after the convict is hanged?

It happens incidentally, that in this struggle the people are being educated about religion, right conduct, unity, truth and non-violence. There is no room for hatred at all. We have no desire to seek relief by bringing pressure on the government, but by awakening its sense of justice. The outcome in every case will be good. In the end, people will have but grown stronger in spirit. Self suffering never goes in vain.

If they fall they will fall to rise again.

No step along this path is ever wasted.

No obstacle undoes the progress made; even a little of this *dharma*, saves one from great danger.

April 7

Genuine compassion can be extended to those who harm and hurt.

It must be pointed out that the precondition for genuine compassion is to have a sense of equanimity toward all sentient beings. Our normal state of mind is heavily biased. We can see how our emotional response toward others is fluctuating. Until we overcome these prejudices, we have no possibility of generating genuine compassion.

If you look at compassion that is mixed with attachment, you will realize that it is based on your projection of certain positive qualities onto the object of your compassion. Depending upon your changing attitudes toward that object, your emotional feeling will also change. For example, in relationship with a friend, suddenly one day you may no longer be able to see in that person the good qualities that you had previously perceived, and this new attitude would immediately affect your feelings toward that person. Genuine compassion, on the other hand, springs from a clear recognition of the experience of suffering on the part of the object of compassion, and from the realization that this creature is worthy of compassion and affection. Any compassionate feeling that arises from these two realizations cannot be swayed - no matter how that object of compassion reacts against you. Even if the object reacts in a very negative way, this won't have the power to influence your compassion. Your compassion may remain the same or become even more powerful. Genuine compassion can be extended even to those who harm and hurt us. In contrast, compassion mixed with attachment cannot be extended to someone whom you consider to be your enemy.

Truth, service and compassion give infinite peace.

The affection that I am receiving here puts me to shame, while at the same time the unique faith of India and the frankness and generosity of our people enchant me. That people should crowd round to have *darshan* (sight of a person considered holy) of a mere servant is intolerable to me. I don't think people profit in any way. However, it is no ordinary responsibility. No man is great enough to give *darshan*. If I could put a stop to this practice without hurting people's feelings. I would do so immediately. I have failed either because my courage is inadequate, or perhaps my principle of non-violence does not allow me to hurt people's feelings. I do indeed make every effort to extricate myself from this dilemma. At present even when people come for *darshan*, I continue to write and do other work. I salute them and go on with my writing.

It is perfectly clear to me that this is the miracle wrought by even a small measure of devoting to truth and service. I cannot claim that I always conduct myself, in thought, word and deed, according to the truth as I know it. Nor can I say that I always follow the principle of service as I understand it. My only claim is that I am making a prodigious effort to live up to these two principles. And the incomparable love that I have received has made it clear to me that they in whom truth and the spirit of service are manifested in their fullness, will assuredly sway the hearts of men and so accomplish their chosen task. I have also come to realise that, in these difficult times, the observance of the principles of truth, service and compassion gives infinite peace to men.

April 9

Humanity is one.

I believe that at every level of society - familial, national, and international - the key to a happier and more successful world is the growth of compassion. We do not need to become religious, nor do we need to believe in a particular ideology. All that is necessary for us is to develop our good human qualities. I believe that the cultivation of individual happiness can contribute in a profound and effective way to the overall improvement of the entire human community.

We all share an identical need for love and on the basis of this commonality, it is possible to feel that anybody we meet, in whatever circumstances, is a brother or sister. It is foolish to dwell on external differences, our basic natures are the same.

Ultimately humanity is one, and this small planet is our only home. If we are to protect this home of ours, each of us needs to experience a vivid sense of universal altruism and compassion. If you have an open heart, there is no need to be fearful of others.

The need for an atmosphere of openness and cooperation at the global level is becoming more urgent. In dealing with economic situations there are no more national boundaries, the world is inextricably interconnected. In fact, economic improvement in other countries ultimately results in economic improvement in one's own country. In view of these facts of the modern world, we need a total revolution in our thinking and our habits. It is becoming clearer every day that a viable economic system must be based on a true sense of universal responsibility. This is not just a holy, moral, or religious ideal. Rather, it is the reality of our modern human existence.

Forgiveness is more manly than punishment.

In this age a rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for anyone to believe that anyone else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force. People feel that the English will never yield to anything but violence, secret or open. The success of non-co-operation depends principally on absence of violence.

I do believe that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adores a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her.

Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant for the *rishis* and *saints*. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law - to the strength of the spirit.

Societies must act as the building blocks for world peace.

To create goodness on earth is a great need, the achievement of justice, harmony, and peace depends on many factors. We should think about them in terms of human benefit in the long run rather than the short term. I realize the enormity of the task, it ultimately has to be based on common humanity. Nations have no choice but to be concerned about the welfare of others, not so much because of their belief in humanity, but because it is in the mutual and long-term interest of all concerned.

Under the present conditions, there is definitely a growing need for human understanding and a sense of universal responsibility. In order to achieve such ideas, we must generate a good and kind heart; for without this, we can achieve neither universal happiness nor lasting world peace. We cannot create peace on paper. The fact is that humanity is organized in separate entities in the form of national societies. Thus, in a realistic sense, I feel it is these societies that must act as the building blocks for world peace.

Attempts have been made in the past to create societies more just and equal. Institutions have been established with noble charters to combat anti-social forces. Unfortunately, such ideas have been cheated by selfishness. More than ever before, we witness today how ethics and noble principles are obscured by the shadow of self interest, particularly in the public sphere.

Today on account of a few big nations, the humanitarian role of international organizations is being by passed and neglected. I hope this will be corrected and international organizations will be more active and effective ensuring maximum benefit to humanity and promoting international understanding.

April 12

Self-sacrifice can point the way out of the prevailing darkness.

There can be no doubt that successful non-co-operation depends as much on *Hindu-Muslim* unity as on non-violence. Greatest strain will be put upon both in the course of the struggle and if it survives that strain, victory is a certainty.

If we are to work out non-co-operation with any degree of success, we must be able to dispense with the protection of the Government when we quarrel among ourselves. The whole scheme of non-co-operation must break to pieces, if our final reliance is to be upon British intervention, for the adjustment of our quarrels, or the punishment of the guilty ones. During the process of insinuating ourselves in the estimation of the masses, and until we have gained control over the unruly, there are bound to be exhibition of hasty temper now and then. We must learn at such moments to do without an appeal to the government.

The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts, based upon a definite recognition of the indubitable proposition that *swaraj* for India must be an impossible dream without an indissoluble union between the *Hindus* and *Muslims* of India. It must not be a mere truce. It cannot be based upon mutual fear. It must be a partnership between equals, each respecting the religion of the other.

I would frankly despair of reaching such union if there was anything in the holy *Koran* enjoining upon the followers of *Islam* to treat *Hindus* as their natural enemies. Or, if there was anything in *Hinduism* to warrant a belief in the eternal enmity between the two.

India by finding true independence and self-expression through an imperishable *Hindu-Muslim* unity and through non-violent means, i.e., unadulterated self-sacrifice can point way out of the prevailing darkness.

World community has a moral responsibility to avert suffering.

Throughout history, mankind has pursued peace one way or another. Is it too optimistic to imagine that world peace may finally be within our grasp? It is not that human hatred has increased, but, the destructive capacity of the weapons has changed.

For disarmament to occur, the political and economic relationships will have to be of a new kind. First we should work on eliminating nuclear weapons, next, biological and chemical one, then offensive arms, and, finally, defensive ones. To safeguard peace we can have an international police force. Such reforms would result in a stable international environment.

The immense financial and human energy dividend reaped from the cessation of arms, would be a fantastic windfall for global development. Can you imagine how many hospital beds, schools and homes this money could fund? Why should the brilliance of the scientists be wasted on dreadful endeavours, when it could be used for positive global development.

Our planet is blessed with vast natural treasures. If we use them properly, every human being will be able to live a well-cared-for life.

May be global peace cannot occur all at once, but why can't we begin? A peaceful, prosperous and above all politically stable future for every country lies in its successfully fulfilling not only its own people's wishes for a more open, democratic system, but also those of its minorities.

Each of us, every member of the world community, has a moral responsibility to avert human suffering. I believe that the very process of dialogue, moderation and compromise involved in building a new world would itself give real hope of peaceful evolution to a new order. The critical point is that we must find a peaceful, non-violent way to bring it about.

***Swaraj* cannot be related to some distant future.**

This resolution indicates what we should do to achieve *swaraj*. It says that we do not want to secure it by the power of sword. We do not want it through falsehood or by sacrificing truth. On the contrary, our means should be as pure as our aim. We pledge ourselves to secure *swaraj* and to adopt just, truthful and peaceful methods for the purpose.

We should respect the law of this government even though it refuses to offer a satisfactory solution to our issues and, does not even admit its errors, let alone doing justice. This was what meant till this day. It is impossible for us to submit any longer to a government which has perpetuated such naked injustice and refuses to repair it. Therefore we declare that we want *swaraj*.

We have not renounced for all the time the use of force for securing *swaraj*, but everyone realizes that to-day we cannot succeed in our aim by using force and hence it is that we have resorted to non-co-operation. I believe that every man and woman has in him or her the necessary strength for winning *swaraj*. While we have the assurance in our heart that this body is inhabited by an *atman*, so long, I believe, we have it in us to win *swaraj*. The Indians are staunch in their faith, have God even on their lips and would welcome death in his name, winning *swaraj* cannot be related to some distant future.

This empire has been guilty of so many crimes that living under its flag is tantamount to being disloyal to God. Those amongst us who feel that we are much too weak, that with the strength we have we cannot win *swaraj*, even to them this goal should be acceptable since we wish to secure it peacefully and without sacrificing truth. That being so, we may place the highest ideal before us.

April 15

When contemplating suffering, do not fall into depression.

It seems that while sharing suffering of others, it may create fear and limit our capacity to serve. It is inevitable but to share the suffering of another. You relieve some of the burden. When I hear someone complaining about some unfortunate things, I join with them and mention, “You are not alone. Many people, including myself, feel the same.” It is a matter of practice. There are many examples in Buddhism of highly - realized *bodhisattvas*, who are able to see and feel another person's suffering even more clearly than the person himself.

If you go more deeply into your own spiritual practice, emphasizing wisdom and compassion, you will encounter the suffering of other sentient beings again and again, and you will have the capacity to acknowledge it, respond to it, and feel deep compassion rather than apathy or impotence. When contemplating suffering, do not fall into depression. When reflecting on happiness, do not fall into the feeling of self-importance or conceit. Cultivating wisdom helps us avoid these pitfalls. But it is hard to generalize because each person's courage and forbearance are unique. These are the characteristics that enable us to acknowledge and respond to the suffering of others.

There has to be an ease in what you do. If you try very hard, agitation, tightness, lethargy, or dullness will enter your mind. The more you struggle, the more your mind will become exhausted. The best thing you can do at such a point is to leave the meditation and refresh yourself. It is not effective to continue under that circumstance. It is good to withdraw and restore yourself. The point is to have a long-term perspective.

It cannot be a matter of pride that Indians should live by fear.

Your Royal Highness, it is no joy and pleasure to be actively associated with the boycott of your visit. We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. We do desire to destroy the system that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul. We consider it inconsistent with our self-respect any longer to brood the spirit of superiority and dominance which has systematically ignored and disregarded the sentiments of innocent people of India of many a vital matter. It is humiliating to us. It cannot be a matter of pride to you that Indians should live by fear from Englishmen and, therefore be under subjection to them. Your Highness has come not to end the system I described, but to sustain it by upholding its prestige.

The non-co-operationists have come to the conclusion that they must not be deceived by the reforms that tinker with the problems of India's distress and humiliation, nor must they be impatient and angry. We must not in our impatient anger resort to stupid violence. We freely admit that we must take our due share of blame for the existing state. It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation.

This non-violent non-co-operation movement has not yet become non-violent in speech and deed, but the results so far achieved have, I assure your Royal Highness, been amazing. The people have understood the secret and value of non-violence as they have never done before. He who will, may see that this is a religious, purifying movement. We are at war with nothing that is good in this world. We desire to live on terms of friendship with Englishmen, but that friendship must be friendship of equals. We must continue to non-co-operate i.e., to purify ourselves till the goal is achieved.

April 17

It is easier for you to change while you are strong.

What can be the role of a super-power like U.S.A. in contributing to world harmony and peace? Of course, every country has a role to play, and especially a country like this. It has its own good aspects and negative aspects. That is normal. America is not only a superpower in military and economic force, but even more so in freedom. I think your greatest strength is in creating a country where true, open space is available, where human individual creative nature can be fully realized. There is inequality in this country - many people are poor while others are quite rich. But basically, there is freedom here, and this is quite an open society. I think that is your real source of strength and progress.

America is a young nation - I mean the white settlers - so you still have very little culture or history. But that is good, it helps you keep such an open attitude towards many different cultures and faiths. This nation is multi-racial and multi-cultured. If you use it in a right way you can have fewer prejudices and remain receptive. Generally, I find Americans to be quite straightforward and easy to understand.

But in the area of international politics, that moral uprightness and justice, has been devalued. You must begin to stand on moral principles. It is easier for you to change while you are strong materially and culturally. When you are not strong you may not like to face the consequences. You have a greater capacity to right the wrongs. You were a real champion of liberty and freedom, now you have been going in the other direction. That is sad.

I would not kill a cow for saving a human life.

It is generally known that I am a staunch vegetarian and food reformer. But it is not generally known that *ahimsa* extends as much to human beings as to lower animals and that I freely associate with meat eaters.

I would not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I would not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious. Needless to say I have authorized no one to preach vegetarianism as part of non-co-operation. I am sure that our purpose will be defeated if propaganda of any kind is accompanied by violence. *Hindus* may not compel *Mussalmans* to abstain from meat or even beef eating. Vegetarian *Hindus* may not compel other *Hindus* to abstain from fish, or fowl. I would not make India sober at the point of sword. Nothing has lowered the morale of the nation so much as violence. Fear has become the part of national character. Non-co-operation will make a serious mistake if they seek to convert people to their creed by violence. They will play into the hands of the government if they use the slightest coercion towards anybody in the course of their propaganda.

The cow is a big question. The greatest for a *Hindu*. I yield to no one in my regard for the cow. *Hindus* do not fulfil their trust so long as they do not possess the ability to protect a cow. That ability can be derived either by body-force or by soul-force. To attempt cow-protection by violence is to reduce *Hinduism* to Satanism and to prostitute to a base end the grand significance of cow protection.

Beef-eating which is merely permissible in *Islam*, will become a duty if compulsion is resorted to by *Hindus*. The later can protect the cow only by developing the faculty for dying, for suffering. The only chance *Hindus* have of saving the cow in India from the butcher's knife, is by trying to save *Islam* from the impending peril and trusting their *Mussalman* brothers to return nobility, i.e., voluntarily to protect the cow out of regard for their Hindu countrymen. The *Hindus* must scrupulously refrain from using any violence. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul-force.

Make inner contentment powerful.

At times people get caught into spiritual practices as mere techniques. Then, they may not bring enlightenment and open heart.

The purpose of spiritual practice is to fulfil our desire for happiness. We are all equal in wishing to be happy and to overcome suffering. We all share the right to fulfil this aspiration.

We seek happiness and suffering we wish to avoid. This is very evident of our sensory perceptions. However, we need to pursue happiness at the mental level. As we analyze our mental experiences, we recognize that the powerful emotions we possess, such as desire, hatred and anger, tend not to bring us very profound or long lasting happiness. Fulfilled desire may provide a sense of temporary satisfaction; however, the pleasure we experience upon acquiring a new car or home, is usually short-lived. When we indulge in our desires, they tend to increase in intensity and multiply in number. We become more demanding and less content, finding it more difficult to satisfy our needs. It causes us discomfort. The discomfort is the expression of these emotions. They can even cause physical harm.

Where do these emotions come from? They have their roots in habits cultivated in the past. They seem to have accompanied us into this life from past lives, when we experienced and indulged in similar emotions. If we continue to accommodate them they will grow stronger, exerting greater and greater influence over us. Spiritual practice, then, is a process of taming these emotions and diminishing their force. For ultimate happiness to be attained, they must be removed totally. We also possess a web of mental response patterns due to our cultural conditioning. We have to make our inner contentment powerful than a life abandoned to purely impulsive emotions.

Truth and non-violence defy analysis and judgement.

I would be false to my whole life if, even for securing *Hindu-Muslim* unity, I compromised the principle of non-violence for which I do claim to stand. The *Khilafat* is earthy representative of Islam pledged to defend it even with sword. And how can I, a believer in non-violence, fight to sustain an institution that is permitted to resort to physical force for its defence?

A believer in non-violence is pledged not to resort to violence or physical force either directly or indirectly in defence of anything, but he is not precluded from helping men or institutions that are themselves not based on non-violence. If the reverse were the case I would, for instance, be precluded from helping India to attain *swaraj*, because the future parliament of India under *swaraj*, I know for certain, will be having some military and police forces.

An extreme proportion will reduce all commerce by a believer in non-violence to an impossibility. And there are not wanting men who do believe that complete non-violence means complete cessation of all activity.

One can reject my claim as a devotee of non-violence, in view of all the limitations I have mentioned. Life is a very complex thing, and truth and non-violence present problems which often defy analysis and judgement. One discovers truth and the method of applying the only legitimate means of indicating it i.e., *satyagraha* or soul-force by patient endeavour and silent prayer. These two are the true companions along the weary but beautiful path that all seekers must tread.

I propose a spiritual revolution.

Unless we acknowledge the extent and character of our problems, we will not be able even to begin to deal with them.

Clearly, a major reason for modern society's devotion to material progress is the very success of science and technology. Now the wonderful thing about these forms of human endeavour is that they bring immediate satisfaction. They've unlike prayer, the results of which are, for the most part, invisible - if indeed prayer works at al. And we are impressed by results. Unfortunately, this devotion encourages us to suppose that the keys to happiness are material well being on the one hand and the power conferred by knowledge on the other. This however, can cause us to lose touch with the wider reality of human experience and, in particular, our dependence on others. As the influence of religion declines, there is mounting confusion with respect to the problem of how best we are to conduct ourselves in life.

Given the complexity of our species - in particular, the fact of our having thoughts and emotions as well as imaginative and critical faculties - it is obvious that our needs transcend the merely sensual. The prevalence of anxiety and depression among those whose basic needs have been met is a clear indication of this. Our problems, both those we experience externally - such as war, and those we experience internally - our psychological sufferings, cannot be solved until we address this underlying neglect. That is why even great movements like democracy, liberalism, socialism - have failed to deliver the universal benefits they were supposed to provide.

A revolution is called for, certainly. But not a political, or economic, or even a technical revolution - an external approach will not suffice. What I propose is a spiritual revolution.

Selfish motive cannot be called satyagraha.

I find *satyagraha* being carried on in many places in the country. I really wonder if what people describe as *satyagraha* is *satyagraha* or *duragraha*. What is happening in the country is that people talk of one thing and act quite to the contrary. To-day every employee, whether belonging to the Post-office or the Railways, must examine wherever he is trying to offer *satyagraha*, whether it stands for truth or untruth.

If it is for untruth, there is no need to offer it and if it is for truth it should surely be offered under all circumstances. Whatever is done with a selfish motive cannot be called *satyagraha*. That would be like insisting on untruth. I have explained quite a few conditions for *satyagraha*. I have said two things are essential in *satyagraha*. One is that point on which we insist should be truth and another that our insistence should be necessarily non-violent.

Those who are carrying on *satyagraha* to-day should act with due deliberation. If the basic thing is not truth and there is recourse to force in pressing for the demand, then it would be well to give it up. If the thing is poisonous, if it is *duragraha* and an untruth and if we go on demanding what we possibly cannot get, then let me tell you that we cannot remain non-violent in making such a demand. This cannot be non-violence, it is only violence. It is impossible that anyone should make an unjust demand and at the same time claim to be non-violent. We will not inflict suffering on anyone but will try to make others happy by undergoing hardships ourselves. The desire for revenge in our hearts will also die out. Goodness lies in recognizing evil as evil and then meeting it with goodwill.

If we do this, we shall be acting not only for the good of India but of the world.

In patience forgiveness arises naturally.

We need to understand *sōpa* (patience) a little further. It is not only the source of forgiveness, but it has no equal in protecting our concern for others, whatever their behaviours toward us. When *sōpa* is combined with our ability to discriminate between action and agent, forgiveness arises naturally. It enables us to reserve our judgement to act, and it enables us to have compassion for the individual. We also develop a proportionate reserve of calmness and tranquillity. We tend to be less antagonistic and more pleasant to associate with. This, in turn creates a positive atmosphere around us so that it is easy for others to relate to us. This does build up mental, spiritual and even physical strength.

The most important benefit of *sōpa* or patience is the way it acts as a powerful antidote to the affliction of anger - the greatest threat to our inner peace and happiness. Patience protects us from anger's destructive effects. None other aspects like, riches, education, law or fame can help us. The mind or spirit (lo) is harmed only by negative emotions and thoughts.

We can look upon adversity not so much as a threat to our peace of mind but rather as the very means by which patience is attained. It is an opportunity.

It is understood that people who create hurt or harm to others are not responsible for their actions. But they are acting out of ignorance. They have lost their inner balance and happiness. And we do best when we have compassion for them.

There are three factors in hurt; words or action, the person concerned and the negative impulses which drive them. Patience or *sōpa* becomes a counterforce to these negative thoughts or emotions.

Fight *Nazism* without arms.

I appeal to every Britton, wherever he may be now, to accept the method of non-violence instead of that of war. Your statesmen have declared that this is a war on behalf of democracy. Britain was to defend small nationalities. One by one they have vanished, at least for the time being.

I appeal for cessation of hostilities, not because you are too exhausted to fight, but because war is bad. You want to kill *Nazism*. You will never kill it by its indifferent adoption. Your soldiers are doing the same work of destruction as the Germans. I suggest that a cause that demands the inhumanities that are being perpetrated to day cannot be called just.

I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be Victorious in a trail of brute strength. I hope you do not wish to enter into such an undignified competition with the *Nazism*. I venture to present you with a nobler and a braver way, worthy of the bravest solider. I want you to fight *Nazism* without arms, with non-violent arms. I wanted like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Hitler and Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island.

You will give all, not your souls, nor your minds. You may offer to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them.

This process or method which I have called non-violent non co-operation, is not without considerable success in its use in India. I may say that you who are India's masters would have become her pupils with much greater skill than we have. Europe would have been spared seas of innocent blood, the rape of so many small nations, and the orgy of hatred.

Whatever the ultimate fate of my country, my love for you remains.

April 25

This is a pivotal generation.

Peace and the survival of life on earth as we know it is threatened by human activities which lack a commitment to humanitarian values.

Destruction of nature and natural resources results from ignorance, greed, and lack of respect for the earth's living things. This lack of respect extends even to earth's human descendents, the future generations who will inherit a vastly degraded planet if world peace does not become a reality, and destruction of the natural environment continues at the present rate.

Our ancestors viewed the earth as rich and bountiful, which it is. Many people in the past also saw nature as inexhaustibly sustainable, which we now know is the case only if we care for it.

It is not difficult to forgive destruction in the past, which resulted from ignorance. Today however, we have access to more information, and it is essential that we re-examine ethically what we have inherited, what we are responsible for, and what we will pass on to coming generations.

Clearly this is a pivotal generation. Global communication is possible, yet, confrontations more often than meaningful dialogues for peace take place.

Our marvels of science and technology are matched if not outweighed by many current tragedies, including human starvation in some parts of the world, and extinction of other life forms.

Exploration of outer space takes place at the same time as the earth's own oceans, seas, and fresh water areas grow increasingly polluted, and their life forms are still largely unknown or misunderstood.

Many of the earth's habitants, animals, plants, insects and even micro-organisms that we know as rare may not be known by future generations. We have the capability, and the responsibility. We must act before it is too late.

April 26

The world is longing for a way of peace.

Every Congress committee should become a *Satyagrahi* committee and register such Congressmen who believe in the cultivation of the spirit of goodwill towards all, who have no untouchability in them, who would spin regularly and wear *Khadi*. There should be visits paid to *Harijan* homes and their difficulties removed so far as possible. Needless to say that names should be registered only of those who are willing and able to suffer imprisonment. No financial assistance is to be expected by *satyagrahi* prisoners whether for themselves or their dependents.

When the forces of violence are let loose all over the world and when nations reputed to be most civilised cannot think of any force other than that of arms for the settlement of their disputes, I hope that it will be possible to say of India that she fought and won the battle of freedom by purely peaceful means.

I am quite clear in my mind that, given the co-operation of politically-minded India, the attainment of India's freedom is perfectly possible through unmixed non-violence. The world does not believe our pretension of non-violence. Let alone the world, I, the self-styled General, have repeatedly admitted that we have violence in our heart, that we are often violent to one another in our mutual dealings. I must confess that I will not be able to fight so long as we have violence in our midst.

Non-violent action means mobilization of world opinion in our favour. I know that a growing number of thinking men and women of the world are sick of the war spirit, they are longing for a way of peace, and they are looking to India to point that way. We cannot have that opinion on our side if we are not honestly non-violent.

April 27

What the world needs is compassion and love.

It is the faculty of reasoning, investigating and understanding that distinguishes human beings from animals. This capacity to understand is the quality of a mind that is disciplined. It lies in thinking primarily for the benefit of others.

As *Pandit Shantideva* points out All suffering in this world is due to egoistic desire for selfish comfort and happiness. All happiness is the fruit of selfless desire for the comfort and happiness of others”.

In this strife-torn world of ours, this is always true, no matter whether the sufferings in question are on a large scale such as those resulting from disagreement between different nations, or the perpetration of a wicked act, which brings about the loss of many lives, or on a smaller scale, such as the bickering between insects. In all such cases egoism is the root cause.

When mutual cooperation is based on benevolent thoughts, such motivation is of the highest value. Generally speaking, all beings possessing ‘mind’ feel discomforted when they come across something unpleasant. They cannot understand or appreciate, however trivial it may be. To understand that the other too suffers in the similar way, can be the foundation to bring in peace or harmony.

When all thoughts likely to cause suffering, such as a desire to resort to violence, are erased from the mind, then speech and action, which stem from thought, will be devoid of evil intent.

Basically, the inability to control and discipline the mind is at the bottom of all the troubles and problems of the world. Therefore in this life of ours, if we generate and send our benevolent thoughts towards all beings from men down to the tiniest insects, the world will inevitably be a happier place to live. What the world needs is compassion and love.

***Satyagraha* is the only true way.**

This *Ahimsa* was half-baked. May be God had cast a veil over my eyes. Nevertheless, I am becoming increasingly certain that if we are to be happy, that is, if everyman is to be happy and to see others happy, there is no other way. When one sees that one has done a mistake and sets about rectifying it, rises very high. But if one tries to hide a mistake, attempts to gloss over it, one degrades one's character and betrays one's *dharma*. No sin could be greater than this.

Why do those who are pacifists not keep themselves away from the rest? They can shape their life anew separately. Then their position will become stronger. It will also test their faith. But they should not remain inactive. As for me, even if I should be left all alone, I will cling to my principles. For this is the only non-violent way to battle with the terrible violence that confronts us. May be our countrymen will not agree. But that is no reason to believe that non-violence is ineffective. This may be my own imperfection. If the faith of the *satyagrahis* is firm as a mountain, the *satyagahi* should be able to prove that this way alone is true.

Time goes on doing its work. Occasionally it favours us. Sometimes it becomes our enemy. To-day that seems to be so. If this terrible and meaningless slaughter continues, I really cannot foresee what mankind has in store for it. But even in the face of this reality, I remain an optimist. I will therefore carry on with my mission till my last breath.

Cultivate a sense of belonging to the whole of humanity.

People often think that practicing tolerance, kindness and compassion is good for the recipient, but that when it comes to achieving our own goals we must put ourselves first. I think this is an incorrect view. In actual fact, the maximum benefit of practicing warm-heartedness and compassion goes to the practitioner and not to the object of compassion.

If you only think of yourself and do not care about others, you will eventually feel deep sense of insecurity, fear and uncertainty inside. Your inner door closes and it becomes very difficult to communicate with your fellow human beings. But if you think more about others, are friendly towards them and remain truthful and open, you will feel less insecure. People will respond to your genuine feelings and not necessarily exploit you.

So day and night, even in your dreams keep a warm heart. You will have more friends, and genuine friends. You will have more inner strength.

It is not necessary to be religious in a traditional way. You can be very sensible, nice, happy and successful person without having any religious beliefs. But, you will not attain happiness and success without the good human qualities of love, compassion, a sense of brotherhood and sisterhood, tolerance, self-discipline and contentment. Take more care of the basic human values of caring for one another, thinking others' well being, and cultivating a sense of belonging to the whole of humanity.

May

Non-violence has to become part and parcel of our being.

Let me tell you that civil disobedience may come and go, but our non-violent struggle for freedom goes on and will continue till Independence is attained. Only the form has changed.

I know that to 90 percent Indians, non-violence means that and nothing else. It is good so far. There is bravery in it. But this is not the whole of non-violence. If you have really understood the meaning of non-violence, it should be clear to you that non-violence is not a principle or a virtue to be brought into play on a particular occasion or to be practiced with reference to a particular party or section. It has to become a part and parcel of our being. Anger should disappear from our hearts altogether, otherwise what is the difference between ourselves and our oppressors? Anger may lead one person to issue an order to open fire, another to use abusive language, a third one to use the lathi. At root it is all the same. It is only when you have become incapable of feeling or harbouring anger in your hearts that you can claim to have shed violence or can expect to remain non-violent to the end.

The fight which we are putting up through our constructive non-violence has validity for all time, it is the real thing. A civil resister does not go to the jail to embarrass the jail authorities. The fight does not end with imprisonment. But inside the prison our fight to convert the hearts of the Government's slaves, i.e., the jail officials, just begins. We wish them no ill, nor do we want to destroy the opponent but want only to make him our friend, not by servilely obeying all orders, just or unjust - that is not the way to win true friendship - but showing them that there is no evil in us, that we sincerely wish them well and in our hearts pray that God's goodness may be upon them.

A bullet destroys the enemy, non-violence converts the enemy into a friend. We need strength which will enable us to submit to none but God. It is only in that, that I can claim to have realized non-violence.

May 1

Disturbing emotions veil knowledge.

In spiritual practice we need to think how serious we are of our self-centered attitudes. In the long run the thought of concern for others will prove superior, and our selfishness will appear in a poor light. It all depends how diligent we are.

The word enlightenment has two parts, if seen in Tibetan language. The first refers to purification and the second to enrichment or fullness. What we have to purify are the defects of our minds. Such purification does not imply the momentary cessation of those defects. It indicates the deliberate act of applying antidotes and completely eliminating them.

Now the defects we are referring to are the sources of suffering: karma and the disturbing emotions as well as the imprints left by them. The imprints left by disturbing emotions obstruct individuals from gaining omniscience. Consciousness, by its very nature, has the potential to know everything. But, the disturbing emotions veil and obstruct the mind from such knowledge. When consciousness is totally free from obstruction, it automatically becomes fully aware, and that person awakens to enlightenment. Eliminating these obstructions by developing the necessary antidotes is accomplished by the mind.

The practitioner has to begin by eliminating the negativities of the mind. It is the mind that applies the necessary antidotes. There comes a point when the disturbing emotions and mental obstructions can never recur, no matter what happens. It is the mind that is exclusively involved in developing, spiritual insight and knowledge. However small the positive energy may be to begin with, in due course the mind becomes fully consummated with knowledge and awakens to Buddhahood. We can appreciate the appropriateness of the antidotes for different disturbing emotions from our own experience. I believe, to counter anger and hatred we should meditate on compassion and loving-kindness.

Each one is responsible.

In mass civil disobedience a large number of people act like sheep, therefore act under leadership and sink or swim together. In individual civil-disobedience everyone is his own leader and the weakening of one cannot affect any other person. One million individuals may offer individual civil-disobedience but that would mean that each one of them has acted independently of others and on his responsibility. This again does not mean that the people do not have one mind and that they pull in opposite directions and, on the contrary, if individuals act with one aim and under one banner although they may act independently of one another, they will pull in same direction. The beauty of individual *satyagraha* lies in the fact that in it there is no such thing as defeat and it can never be circumvented by an earthly power, no matter how great it is. Individual civil disobedience includes anything and everything that an individual conceives as proper and is permitted by the creed of non-violence and truth.

The truth lying behind civil-disobedience is that under an unjust system a freedom-loving man considers himself to be freer in a prison than outside.

I would never consider admissions of a setback in a movement either as humiliation or as weakness. It is for that reason that I have advised cessation of mass civil disobedience. In *satyagraha* individual civil disobedience is the final factor, it is indefensible and it is for that reason that I have contended that it is an invincible force.

In my opinion, friends in England can do very little at present. There seems to be no way out but greater, purer suffering by people.

We cannot be famous in an empty barren land.

It is only in relation to other sentient beings that we can observe pure ethics, such as abstaining from killing, stealing, and sexual abuse. None of the virtuous actions can be undertaken except in relation to other sentient beings. Similarly, we can cultivate the practice of generosity, ethics, and patience only in relation to others. Only in relation to them we can develop love, compassion, and the awakening mind. Compassion, for example, is a state of mind that comes about when we focus on the sufferings of other sentient beings and cultivate a strong wish that they be free from such sufferings. Therefore, without other sentient beings as the object, we would be unable to cultivate compassion.

All realizations we achieve on the path are dependent upon other sentient beings. Although sentient beings themselves may not intend to help us achieve such realizations, that is not a reason not to value them. For example, we value and seek *nirvana* by pursuing the path, but neither the path nor *nirvana* have any intention of helping us. What is more, it is sometimes the case that beings with actively hostile intentions can help us to the highest realizations.

Even the accomplishments of this life - fame, wealth, and friends - can be achieved only in dependence on other sentient beings. We cannot be famous in an empty barren land. The kindness of human beings cannot be confined merely to friends, but to all, even the enemies. This is something to be pondered deeply. It will serve as a great inspiration for cultivating compassion. When you recollect the special kindness of sentient beings in this way, your wish to repay them will be much stronger. The natural desire to repay their kindness gives rise to love, compassion, and the superior intention. This eventually results in the awakening mind.

Eating is only for sustaining the body.

One who does not take any vow cannot be a member, though such a one can stay as a student in the *Ashram*. Even a student must observe the vows which he lives in the institution. A member must observe them all his life.

Groundnuts and dates have done most of us no harm. By not eating more than five articles on any day, we advance in the observance of the vow of non-violence, as, on that particular day at least, we spare all vegetable life excepting the articles in question. The vow concerning (the control of) the palate will also be better observed because one would not have more than five things to enjoy for their taste. The vow of non stealing will be conformed to because, in drawing nourishment from five articles, one would not be over-eating and there would be greater economy besides. I shall have to think much now before eating the groundnut sweet. As it would contain three articles, I could have only two in addition. Cardamom and similar things would also count as separate articles. This is a difficult vow to be taken but I am getting used to it. The mind, the dog that it still is, runs about like one seeking to extract the utmost relish from the five articles.

Until one has overcome the palate, it is difficult to observe the foregoing vows, more especially that of celibacy. Control of the palate should therefore be treated as a separate observance by one desirous of serving the country and believing that eating is only for sustaining the body, one should regulate and purify one's diet day by day. Such a person will immediately, or gradually, as he can, leave off such articles of food as may tend to stimulate animal passions.

Affection is like a precious jewel.

Compassion is the most wonderful and precious thing. When we talk about compassion, it is encouraging to note that basic human nature is, I believe, compassionate and gentle. Our hands are arranged in such a manner that they are good for hugging, rather than hitting. If our hands were mainly meant for hitting, then these beautiful fingers would not be necessary. For example, if the fingers remain extended, boxers cannot hit forcefully, so they have to make fists. So I think that means that our physical structure creates a compassionate or gentle kind of nature.

If we look at relationships, marriage and conception are very important. Marriage is not for temporary satisfaction, but for some kind of sense of responsibility. That is the genuine love which is the basis of marriage. The proper conception of a child takes place in that kind of moral or mental attitude. While the child is in the mother's womb, the mother's calmness of mind has a very positive effect on the unborn child. If the mother is frustrated or angry it is very harmful to the healthy development of the unborn child. Even in the first few weeks after birth, the mother's touch is very crucial for the development of the human brain, it is the time when the child's brain is developing. If the mother lacks affection then her milk will not flow. And if the child lacks a kind of close feeling, it may not suckle. This affection from both sides is like a precious jewel.

Satyagraha means fighting oppression through voluntary suffering.

Instructions to volunteers in *satyagraha*.

The volunteers must remember to abide by truth under all circumstances.

In *satyagraha*, there can be no room for rancour, which means that a *satyagrant* should utter no harsh word about any one, if someone does it, it is the volunteer's duty to stop him.

Rudeness has no place in *satyagraha*. Perfect courtesy must be shown even to those who may look upon us as their enemies. Rudeness may harm our cause. Remember, this is a holy war. We embarked upon it because, had we not, we would have failed in our *dharma*. All the rules essential for living a religious life must be observed.

We are opposing the intoxication of power, that is, the blind application of law, and not authority as such. The difference must never be lost sight of. We should think of the government as a large family. We are not to boycott or hold with scorn those who hold different views from ours.

We must not try to be clever. We must be frank and straight forward.

We must demand the fewest services from others. Reach a place on foot as far as possible and eat simple food. It will add grace to the service we render. If they can, teach the village children, to make them good. Draw their attention to the rules of good health. The volunteers must help resolve quarrels and educate people in *satyagraha*.

At no time and under no circumstances is the use of arms permitted in *satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* means fighting oppression through voluntary suffering.

May 7

In taking care of others you gain inner strength.

One thing that is quite clear to me is that the moment you think only of yourself, the focus of your whole reality narrows, and because of this narrow focus uncomfortable things can appear huge and bring you fear and discomfort and a sense of feeling overwhelmed by misery. The moment you think of others with a sense of caring, however, your view widens. Within that wider perspective your own problems appear to be of little significance, and this makes a big difference.

If you have a sense of caring for others, you will manifest a kind of inner strength inspite of your own difficulties and problems. With this strength your own problems will seem less significant and bothersome to you. By going beyond your own problems and taking care of others, you gain inner strength, self-confidence, courage, and a greater sense of calm.

One's own self interest and wishes are fulfilled as a by-product of actually working for other sentient beings. As a master points out, 'the more the practitioner engages in activities and thoughts that are focused and directed toward the fulfilment of others' well-being, the fulfilment or realization of his or her own aspiration will come as a by-product without having to make a separate effort.'

The *bodhisatvas*, the compassionate practitioners of Buddhism are quite wise. We think of ourselves and disregard others, and the result is that we always remain unhappy and have a miserable time.

Look upon the whole world as one's teacher.

A student means one who is hungry for learning. Learning is knowledge of what is worth knowing about. The only thing worth knowing about is the atman. True knowledge is thus the knowledge of the Self. But in order to attain this knowledge, one has to know Literature, History, Geography, Mathematics, etc. All these are by way of means.

Knowledge of letters is considered essential in order that one might acquire knowledge of these subjects. It is not as if men of knowledge without this equipment do not exist within our experience. One who knows this would not go mad after knowledge of letters or of Literature and other subjects. He would become mad only after knowledge of the Self. He will give up anything which proves an obstacle in the pursuit of this knowledge and dedicate himself only to that which helps him in that pursuit.

The student life of one who realises this never ends and whether eating, drinking, sleeping, playing, digging, weaving, spinning or doing any other work, he is all the time growing in this knowledge. For this purpose, one has to develop one's faculty of observation. One would not then, always need a multitude of teachers or, rather, would look upon the whole world as one's teacher and accept everything in it which is good.

For a better Future examine our mindset Now.

Do you know that the world is facing an ever-increasing cycle of natural calamities? Year after year, we have witnessed a radical shifting of global climatic patterns that has led to grave consequences, either of serious flooding or devastating droughts. Fortunately, concern for ecology and the environment is rapidly growing everywhere. It is a question of our very survival on this planet. Compassion, loving kindness and altruism, are the keys not only to human development but also to planetary survival.

The success or failure of humanity in the future depends primarily upon the will and determination of the present generation. If we do not use our intelligence, there is no one else who can guarantee our future and that of the next generation. It is only when the individual accepts personal responsibility that he or she begins to take some initiative. Altruism is not merely a religious ideal; it is an indispensable requirement for humanity at large.

If we look at human history, we will find that a good heart has been the key in achieving what the world regards as great accomplishments in the fields of civil rights, social work, political liberation, and religion. They arise from taking a deep interest in and being concerned about the welfare of the larger community and welfare of others. Such actions will go down in history as good, beneficial and a service to humanity. History is abound with incidents that can reflect the darker side of our human heritage. Such events occur only when there is hatred, anger, jealousy, and unbounded greed. World history is simply the collective record of the effects of the negative and positive thoughts of human beings. If we want a better future we must examine our mindset now.

My religion has no geographical limits.

I venture to place before India the ancient law of self sacrifice. For *satyagraha* and its off-shoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The *rishis*, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

And so I am not pleading for India to practise non-violence because it is weak. I want her to practise non-violence being conscious of her strength and power. No training of arms is required for realization of her strength. We seem to need it because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and that she can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of whole world. India has a mission for the world. India's acceptance of the doctrine of sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence.

Ethics is the foundation of every religion

There is a school of thought that warns religious leaders to refrain from politics altogether, as politics has become synonymous with amorality. Politics devoid of ethics does not further human welfare, and life without morality reduces humans to the level of beasts. However, politics is not axiomatically 'dirty'. Rather, the instruments of our political culture have distorted the high ideals and noble concepts meant to further human welfare. Naturally, spiritual people express their concern about religious leaders 'messing' with politics, since they fear the contamination of religion by dirty politics.

I question the popular assumption that religion and ethics have no place in politics and that religious persons should seclude themselves as hermits. Such a view of religion is too one-sided; it lacks a proper perspective on the individual's relation to society and the role of religion in our lives. Ethics is as crucial to a politician as it is to a religious practitioner. Dangerous consequences will follow when politicians and rulers forget moral principles. Whether we believe in God or *Karma*, ethics is the foundation of every religion.

Such human qualities as morality, compassion, decency, wisdom, and so forth have been the foundations of all civilizations. These qualities must be cherished so that a more humane world may emerge. The qualities required to create such a world must be inculcated right from childhood. We cannot wait for the next generation to make this change; the present generation must attempt a renewal of basic human values. We need a revolution in our commitment to and practice of universal humanitarian values.

Unity cannot be achieved through hypocrisy.

I should like to talk to you about a great many things to-day, but I do not wish to hold forth for long. The present Government is a *satanic* government, possessed by a *satanic* spirit. Co-operation with such a government is not possible, indeed it is one's duty, one's *dharma*, to withhold co-operation from it. Should we take help from such a government or accept favours from, we would be a party to its acts of injustice and its sins. So long as we share in its sin, the people cannot be happy.

What can we do to carry out non-co-operation. One way is for all of us to co-operate with one another. There should be the utmost co-operation among all Indians. Unity cannot be achieved through hypocrisy. Unless we are just to one another, there can be no unity. For this we must have the strength to make sacrifices, the strength to subordinate self-interest; we should be able to lay down our lives.

I have already mentioned two conditions for success in our task. The first condition is forbearance or non-violence. The second condition is that there should be unity among *Hindus* and *Muslims*. You can adopt non-co-operation only if you fulfil these two conditions. Besides, have no fear of the police or of government servants. We bear them no ill-will; rather, we have to win them over with love and affection.

You are not truly free if you give up slavery to the British only to become my slaves. I wish to win over your mind and your heart; I do not wish to make slaves of you, since I do not wish to become a slave myself.

***Bodhimind* is the seed of all dharmas.**

The essence of *Mahayana* Buddhism is to practice compassion. You sacrifice yourself in order to attain salvation for the sake of others.

Avalokiteshwara is conceived as the Lord of Mercy, but the real *Avalokiteshwara* is compassion itself. This indiscriminating, unmotivated and unlimited compassion is to be extended to those whom you love, to those who have done harm to you and to all the other living beings.

Buddhism, with its emphasis on universal love and compassion, impregnated with ideas that are wholly non-violent and peaceful, offers a means, at once unique and eternal, for the successful attainment of that state of security and happiness from where man and beast can derive common benefit. Loving kindness and compassion are the two cornerstones on which the whole edifice of Buddhism stands. Destruction or injury to life is strictly forbidden.

The arising of *Mahakaruna* in the mind will prepare the ground for the perfect fruition of the precious *Bodhimind*, which is a necessary condition for attaining the supreme status of a Bodhisattva. One is called a *Bodhisattva* when one's mind is filled with the pure compassion and equanimity which proceeds from *Bodhimind*. As whatever we do in our everyday life arises from the functioning of our minds, ultimate peace and Buddhahood are the result of *Bodhimind* and compassion. The Lord Buddha has said: "*Bodhimind* is the seed of all *dharmas*". The intention to do good to others, the persistent thought in one's heart of the welfare of others, will create happiness among the people around us. To return good for evil, benevolence for injury, love for hate and compassion for harm, are some of the characteristics of the qualities of *Bodhimind*. Deeds of benevolence and loving kindness, not responding to ill-will from others, will delight the hearts of all. Indulgence in resentment and vengeance will only further and increase miseries to oneself and others in this life and in lives to come.

Means of non-violence and truth, are the only right ones.

For me, personally, it is a matter of *dharma* not to seek *swaraj* through violence even if it could be won in that manner, not to even seek *moksha*, if it were possible to attain it through violence. If I could perform an act of bhakti to God, I would not have such *bhakti* (through violence). For us, the means, non-violence and truth, are the only right ones. Through them alone will you succeed in securing redress for the injustices inflicted on you.

To have *swaraj*, we have to have our strained relationships repaired and have the hearts clean and pure and to bury all the internal quarrels that exist. If you are firm, if you are brave, if you are determined to win *swaraj* and if you really need to change the creed, you will have to conquer your anger. If any sense of wrong is gnawing at your hearts, you will have to repress it and forget everything about the matter. Before the great fight is over, we shall, perhaps, have to cross a sea of blood. But we should see that none of us is charged with having shed others' blood. Let it be said by future generations that we did not take others' lives, but gave our own. Death at the hands of one's countrymen or the government is not to be complained about; I would complain to God. Till we learn to co-operate among ourselves to the utmost, we shall not be free. I shall say nothing to those who approve of violence, but I can certainly urge my views as those who describe themselves as non-co-operators. If you forgive a man, do not do so out of weakness, I would not out of cowardice, submit to an assault; there is courage, however, in forgiving out of compassion for the man, even a person who has inflicted a cruel outrage on me. I know that you are determined to get *swaraj* as early as possible and that you wish to secure it with legitimate, honourable, non-violent means only. We cannot match the government's armed strength, but we can pit against it with what I have called soul-force.

May 15

Meditating on the truth of suffering.

Many people are concerned about showing their feelings in the public, about weeping, about being moved by your heart. They feel when you meditate you withdraw from suffering and feelings.

There are two basic responses to suffering: one is to ignore it and the other is to look right at it and penetrate it. The appropriate response, for a meditator or anyone else, is to go into it, not simply avoid it.

The same is true of one's feelings. Whether they are pleasurable or unpleasurable, the point is to be aware of them. And to express them, yes. Talking about my own behaviour, of course there are occasions when I weep in public.

There are two kinds of compassion and love. There is true compassion, also called love with reason, and there is the usual kind of love, which is very much involved in desire and attachment. Love and compassion based on attachment is limited and unstable. It is mainly a projection. With true compassion you see other person's suffering and your love develops from that. With this kind of love, as long as the other person is suffering, you can face it. That is not a projection.

Love based on attachment is not at all helpful. It just brings us irritation. But love based on reason is something that we need. With this kind of love, whether you say 'my friend' or 'my enemy', there is no difference. Your enemy suffers, and your friend also suffers. Since both are suffering it is the same. This is the key; whether a person is your enemy or your friend, it doesn't matter.

In Buddhism there is a lot of emphasis on meditating on the truth of suffering. Seeing our faults has very much to do with our capacity for awakening.

I will not kill a snake, neither may I harbour it.

I would love to feel that I hold a masters degree of the University of Non-co-operation. But it has been indicated that I am only a matriculate and need to learn further. There are several questions that need to be answered.

In case, violence was to ensue from the movement of non-co-operation, I would not have advised it. One needs to understand non-violence. Non-violence is not doing, voluntarily any injury to person or property. Thus, I would not punish or procure punishment even of a British General for his massacre, but I would not call it voluntarily doing injury to him to refuse to give him pension, or to condemn his action in fitting language. It is no part of my duty to protect a murderer even though he may be my son or father. I hold it to be my duty to withdraw my support to him. I will not kill a snake, neither may I harbour it.

If violence results from non-co-operation, or if non-co-operators resort to violence i.e., if India makes violence her creed, and I have survived, I would not care to live in India. She will cease to evoke any pride in me. My patriotism is subservient to my religion. I cling to India like a child to its mother's breast, because I feel that she gives me the spiritual nourishment. I feel, she has the environment that responds to my highest aspirations. When that faith is gone, I shall feel like an orphan without hope of ever finding a guardian. Then the snowy solitude of the Himalayas must give what rest it can to my bleeding soul.

There is an inborn respect for justice.

There is this question of doing things for oneself and also helping others. In order to serve other people, you must have strong determination and a positive motivation. From time to time you need to recharge yourself. It does depend on one's particular circumstances, but in my case that is what I am trying to do.

It seems we need much courage to do good in this world. But seeing the world leaders, one sees they have immense courage to do what is wrong. I know it is ignorance. These leaders are not wise, but they are too clever, or crafty. I think these wrong policies not based on justice, are mainly due to short sightedness. They see only short term gains and develop the courage to do what is wrong.

If any sensible person thinks deeply, he will respect justice. There is an inborn appreciation and respect for justice within our human body. In children, we find what is natural to the human character. But as they grow up, they develop a lot of conditioning and wrong attitudes. There is more truthfulness in a child. To me it shows that in the human blood, there is some kind of respect for the truth. I find many reasons to have confidence in human courage and human nature.

We must educate ourselves so that we can call upon that natural goodness to surface, so that our fears and conditioning do not obstruct the oneness out of which this goodness arises. Every challenge is also an opportunity. And time is crucial. Every one has a responsibility, so naturally I too have some responsibility. We must get together and share and that's an important beginning.

Learn the principle of laying down one's own life.

I have no follower. Or, he is my follower who not only accepts my principles but puts them into practice. There is therefore no sense in describing anyone not acting according to my principles as a follower of mine.

A 'follower' of mine needs no certificate. He is no 'follower' of mine who does not speak the truth and does not act according to truth, who does not strive to be compassionate in speech, thought and action, who does not wear *khadi* and does not boycott foreign cloth completely, who does not regard the *Bhangi* as his blood brother, who does not look upon women other than his wife as his mothers and sisters, who is not prepared to lay down his life for the sake of the country, *dharma*, or truth and, finally, who does not realize his own littleness and behave with humility.

If people who are not prepared to put into practice what they preach, stop speaking. I am sure, the world would be spared much sophistry and a good many speeches and conflicts.

The sacrifices involved in non-co-operation are easy to make and not impossible for ordinary human-nature. I have gone to the extent of conceding that we shall win *swaraj* even if we accept the need for peace as a matter of policy, as a weapon of expediency.

The non-violence of my conception is the weapon of the strong, of the true *Kshatriya*. We may, however, consider it as a weapon of the weak. Even then, if the people realize that the use of arms is impossible to present, learn the principle of laying down one's own life and give up all thought of killing others, they can have *swaraj* this day.

Examine our impulsive emotions and thoughts.

I believe that cultivating a correct understanding of the way things are is critical to our quest for happiness.

It is necessary to examine our impulsive emotions and thoughts. Apart from disturbing our mental peace, they tend to involve 'mental projections'. These projections bring about the powerful emotional interaction between ourselves and external objects, people or things we desire.

When we are attracted by something, we tend to exaggerate its qualities, seeing it as hundred percent good or hundred percent desirable, and we are filled with a longing for that object or person. Similarly, if we find something undesirable, we tend to distort its qualities in the other direction.

As we contemplate the way in which we project our judgements – whether positive or negative - upon people as well as objects and situations, we can begin to appreciate that more reasoned emotions and thoughts are grounded in reality. A more rational thought process is less likely to be influenced by projections. Such a mental state more closely reflects the way things actually are - the reality of the situation.

As we develop ethical discipline, we must understand the value of engaging in moral conduct. It means avoiding non-virtuous actions. Developing such a restraint is only possible once we have recognized the consequences of these actions. What is wrong with senseless speech, indulgence, and gossip? These appear seemingly elementary meditation practices. But I believe they are the most effective way of bringing about the fundamental changes necessary in our quest for happiness.

We need non-violence that is strength.

As we go ahead, we shall not need to address our petitions to the government, we shall do that to ourselves. If we are found wanting in that respect, our *swaraj* bread will be but a half-baked one, it will be well baked if our petition to ourselves is well addressed. Money, spinning wheel and members are tangible things, but non-violence is a matter of the heart. It is not something which can be seen by the eye. The country should understand that non-violence is essential for this movement as breath is essential for life. We have no use for the non-violence of a stone or a dog. We need non-violence that is strength. So long as we have not acquired it, we shall not be considered fit for *swaraj*. If we hope to win *swaraj* with the strength of aeroplanes, we shall not succeed even in a hundred years. We have not made non-violence on our part conditional as the government remaining non-violent. Our non-violence will be true non-violence only it, even under a shower of bullets we remain peaceful. So long as we have the strength of non-violence in us, we shall be conquered by none.

If we fight among ourselves, our movement will soon be over. We want non-violence not of the weak but of the strong, the non-violence that proceeds from courage. Your support of such non-violence will mean that from to-day, you have shed fear of men and learnt to fear only God. So long as we have not done this, the world will bully us as it has always done. We have to help India cultivate this strength. Non-payment of taxes is to be made possible here. We can, however, succeed in this only when we have acquired the strength of non-violence. May God give such strength to everyone.

Religion is something we can perhaps do without.

I believe that we human beings can live quite well without recourse to religious faith. And we can find a way to serve all humanity without appealing to any belief.

There is an important distinction to be made between religion and spirituality. Religion is concerned with faith, salvation, some form of metaphysical or super-natural reality, including perhaps an idea of heaven or nirvana. Connected with this are religious teachings or dogma, ritual, prayer, and so on. Spirituality, I take to be concerned with those qualities of the human spirit - such as love and compassion, patience, tolerance, forgiveness, contentment, a sense of responsibility, a sense of harmony – which brings happiness to both self and others. Religion is something we can perhaps do without. We cannot do without basic spiritual qualities.

Religious persons may develop spiritual qualities and religion does demand such practices. Yet there can be confusion between the believers and non-believers as to what these practices are. The unifying quality is the concern for others' well being. In Tibetan we say, “the thought to be of help to others.”

The one who is compassionate, loving, patient, tolerant, forgiving, and so on, to some extent recognizes the potential impact of their actions on others and orders their conduct accordingly. Thus spiritual practice involves, acting out of concern for others' well-being. It also entails transforming ourselves so that we become more readily disposed to do so.

My call for a spiritual revolution is thus not a call for a religious revolution.

The spirit of democracy is destroyed in terrorism.

Swaraj is easy of attainment at the earliest if certain simple conditions can be fulfilled. I feel the atmosphere in the country is responsive. The country has never been so ready for establishing *swaraj* as now.

Our supreme indispensable condition is the continuation of non-violence. The rowdyism, *hooliganism*, looting that we have recently witnessed are disturbing elements. They are danger signals. We must be able to arrest their progress. The spirit of democracy cannot be established in the midst of terrorism whether governmental or popular. In some respects popular terrorism is more antagonistic to the growth of the democratic spirit than the governmental. For the latter strengthens the spirit of democracy, while the former kills it. Non-violence therefore, as against the government and as between ourselves is absolutely essential to speedy success. And we must be able to devise means of observing it on our part inspite of the gravest provocation.

The next condition is our ability to organise a Congress agency in every village with proper electorate. What is really needed is not a large measure of sacrifice but ability to organize and to take simple, concerned action. No village, no circle need wait for instructions from headquarters for founding their respective organisation.

There are certain things that are applicable to all. The most potent thing is *swadeshi*. Every village can become self-supporting. This silent revolution means sharing my belief that *swadeshi* means *swaraj* and *swadharma*. Our civilisation, our culture, our *swaraj* depends not upon multiplying our wants - self indulgence - but upon restricting our wants - self denial.

We must consider every man as his blood brother. It is the cardinal principle of every religion. Such a change can come in a moment. My belief is that India is ripe for that change.

What demoralizes us is, a narrow vision.

Usually things and events come into being as the result of innumerable causes and conditions. We tend to concentrate on just one or two aspects of our situation. In so doing, we inevitably restrict ourselves to finding means to overcoming only these aspects. The first step in overcoming any situation or negative emotion is thus to develop a proper perspective of our situation.

In fact, for every negative state we find that we can identify one which opposes it. For example, humility opposes pride; contentment opposes greed; perseverance opposes indolence. Therefore, if we wish to overcome the unwholesome states which arise when negative thoughts and emotions are allowed to develop, cultivating virtue should not be seen as separate from restraining our response to afflictive emotion. They go hand in hand. This is why ethical discipline cannot be confined either to mere restraint or to mere affirmation of positive qualities.

What demoralizes us is, a narrow vision, brooding and allowing imagination and negative reflections. Hence a proper perspective is necessary.

One of the effective ways is to shift the focus of attention away from self and towards others. This does diminish the scale of our problems. We have to remember the needs of others alongside our own, no matter how pressing ours may be.

We are caught into an individual's perspective of things rather than its reality which is the issue. We have to put the pursuit of virtue at the heart of our daily lives. This is because love and compassion, patience, generosity, humility, and so on are all complementary. Above all, as long as we retain the capacity of concern for others, the potential for transformation remains.

If you are non-violent, there will be no anarchy.

A report: The situation in the country is becoming graver daily. Everywhere panic is growing. In certain parts armed gangs are already organising themselves to take advantage of the ensuing anarchy in case the central power should disintegrate or weaken. The danger may not be imminent, but it would be a folly to ignore its possibility. With all the education in non-violence which the country has received for the last twenty years, you will agree that it has not developed the soul of non-violence that can be effective in the face of anarchy. The government is taking steps to organise the citizens for self-defence. Should they take part in these government activities? If they should not, what else are they to do?

Response: If you believe in non-violent treatment of anarchy and the like, naturally you will prepare yourself for non-violent defence. Violent preparation would need long previous training. Non-violent preparation means mental adjustment. Possibility of anarchy undoubtedly exists. But if you are non-violent, you will not give way to fear. Do not anticipate anarchy, just as you do not anticipate death. But if unfortunately it comes, you and your companions or followers will give your lives to prevent it.

They risk their lives and there is darkness after they are gone. What is more, they may leave things worse by feeding the fire of violence by counter-violence. Those who die unresistingly are likely to still the fury of violence by their wholly innocent sacrifice. But this truly non-violent action is not possible unless it springs from a heart-belief that he whom you fear and regard as a dacoit, or worse, it is better you die, than that he, your ignorant brother, should.

Depend on mindfulness.

If you are a religious person, you must put the '*Dharma*' into actual practice, not leaving it merely as words. It will tame your mind and give you an evidence of practicing it.

We may say, 'I take refuge in the Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha*', and adopt a sanctimonious manner, a devout expression, but in practice it is very difficult for us to sacrifice even such a dry thing as our name and reputation, not to mention giving up our lives for the sake of others. We fail to give up because we are selfish. We think of accomplishing our own ends by deceiving or flattering others, by wheedling and cunning behaviour or by whatsoever other means we can think of. Thus, the common cause is never fulfilled.

So, all of us should try not to be like this, for if we follow a *Dharma* practice, we should not widely put on a pious face when it comes to helping others, but should be realistic about it in thought and deed. Though we may not be able to give up our own interests, we should be modest and considerate in accomplishing them. As we are all responsible for the common good we should not merely adopt a sanctimonious expression when something needs to be done.

We should regularly turn our minds within and investigate whether we are sincere or not, irrespective of what others may think. We should depend on mindfulness and introspection to understand others and ourselves. While we should be careful to create no cause for regret or embarrassment, we should obviously be discreet and well mannered whether we be in public or at home. If we act in this way, happiness will naturally be ours.

There can be no democracy in the army.

I have often said that external difficulties need never frighten a satyagrahi. On the contrary, he flourishes on external difficulties and faces them with redoubled zeal and vigour. Today the situation is almost reverse. Our external difficulties do not find us stronger and more united. Our internal difficulties are increasing. Our Congress registers are full of bogus members and members who have swelled them because they know that getting into the Congress means getting to power. They have corrupted it. And how we prevent people from coming into a democratic organisation because they come from selfish motives? We have not that discipline and not the strength and purity of public opinion which would compel such people to stay out.

There is no discipline in our ranks, they have been divided up into groups which strive to gain more and more power. Non-violence as between ourselves does not seem to us to be necessary. My conception of democracy is not the formation of groups quarelling with one another to such an extent as would destroy the organisation itself.

Ours has been both a democratic organisation and a fighting one. We have used even military language, though in a non-violent sense. If you will be soldiers in my army understand that there is no room for democracy. The army may be a part of a democratic organisation, but there can be no democracy in it.

I am supposed to be your General, but I do not know of a more feeble General in history. I have no sanctions. My only sanction is the love and affection in which you hold me.

May 27

We are free to purify our thoughts.

Nowadays the world is becoming increasingly materialistic, and mankind is reacting towards the very zenith of external progress, driven by an insatiable desire for power and vast possessions. Yet by this vain striving for perfection in a world where everything is relative, they wander even further away from inward peace and happiness of the mind. This we can all bear witness to, living as we do, plagued by unremitting anxiety in this dreadful epoch of mammoth weapons. It becomes more and more imperative that the life of the spirit be avowed as the only firm basis upon which to establish happiness and peace.

Therefore I pray that the precious light of the spirit will reign in the world for a long time, dispelling the dark shadows of materialism. It is imperative for all of us to resolve to make great efforts to hold its essence steadfastly in our hearts, and thence to disseminate it all over the world, opening the minds and hearts of all to its healing power.

In so resolving, we eschew the path of mundane power, for the healing power of the spirit naturally follows the path of the spirit: it abides not in stone of fine buildings, nor in the gold of images, nor in the silk of robes, nor even in the paper of holy writ, but in the ineffable substance of the mind and the heart of man. We are free to follow our heart's dictates and to sublimate our heart's instincts and purify our thoughts.

And when the inner radiance generated by the practice of spirituality comes to light up the world, man may take his inspiration from the Boddhi-mind of love and mercy, may relinquish the obsession with the vain pursuit of power, and may take refuge in the discipline of religion, the inexhaustible source of blessing, the universal panacea.

Where there is non-violence, failure is impossible.

I am aware I cannot see truth if I am impatient. It means nothing that I am free of pride in the eyes of the world. If it should be untrue, *ahimsa* would still be a long way off. The same about truth. In that case the very idea of the success of non-violence cancels itself out. Where there is non-violence, failure is impossible. So wherever there is failure, all that can be said is that there had been no non-violence. It is another question as to who can distinguish between success and failure. I cannot be a witness to fault like pride, impatience, etc., I may be having. To a certain extent only outsiders can be witness. The true witness is only God.

We will not return blow for blow, but will meet it with silence and restraint. Restraint will add to your strength. But if you copy what happens elsewhere, then on what moral basis will you take your stand? What becomes of your non-violence. You must change the very creed and character of the country. That is the basic issue before you. Until you have faced it, you cannot solve any of the problems that are before you. When the house is on fire you must first put out the fire before you do anything else. What I wish to emphasize to you is that if you maintain the civilized way, whatever Pakistan may do now, sooner or later, she will be obliged by the pressure of world opinion to conform. Then war will not be necessary.

I do not believe as some do that non-violence can only be offered in a civilised or partially civilised society. Non-violence admits no such limit.

Build a peaceful world.

For many years I thought of myself as young, but now I am definitely no longer a youth. However, I can still remember some of the qualities of being young, such as excitement, great enthusiasm, impatience, high expectations, and sometimes a kind of impulsiveness.

I learned a few things from my youthfulness that I would like to share with you. First, it is very important to carefully analyze a situation before making a decision. Ask others for their viewpoint rather than making decisions arrogantly or impulsively. When I was in Tibet I would sometimes discuss serious matters with some of my attendants, including the floor sweepers, who would offer some very good suggestions.

Second, try not to have too many expectations, because in reality things are not easy and we often face obstacles. Then, once you have made a commitment or decision, stand firm with self-confidence and with optimism. I think an optimistic attitude is essential. If the problems that you encounter make you lose self-confidence and become pessimistic, then even the things you can easily achieve will seem difficult to accomplish because you have lost your inner strength.

I think that there are two kinds of happiness. One is related to pleasurable or comfortable feelings. The other is derived from the physical or mental satisfaction we gain by successfully overcoming obstacles and difficulties. I think this second kind of happiness is the more valuable, because it brings us a deep inner satisfaction and sense of fulfilment. This gives us the foundation to build a better more harmonious, friendly and peaceful world.

My wife became my teacher.

The speciality of non-violence is that one need not go to school or to *guru* to learn its use. Its virtue lay in its simplicity. It was the most active principle that worked all the twenty-four hours. One has to see for opportunities of its application at home, in the streets, in relation to foes and friends. Such discipline of non-violence I had at home from my wife. There was a time when I was ill-tempered and would be angry even with friends.

I used to let loose my anger upon my wife. But she bore it all meekly and uncomplainingly. I had a notion that it was her duty to obey me, her lord and master, in everything. But her unresisting weakness opened my eyes and slowly it began to dawn upon me that I had no such prescriptive right over her. If I wanted her obedience; I had first to persuade her by patient argument. She thus became my teacher in non-violence. And I dare say, I have not had a more loyal and faithful comrade in life. I literally used to make life a hell for her. Every other day I used to change my residence, prescribe what dress she was to wear. She had been brought up in an orthodox family where untouchability was observed. Muslims and untouchables used to frequent our house. I made her serve them all regardless of her inert reluctance. But she never said 'no' Her guileless simplicity conquered me completely.

You have wives, mothers and sisters at home. You can take the lesson of the non-violence from them. You must besides take the vow of truth, ask yourselves how dear truth is to you and how far you observe it in thought, word and deed. A person who is not truthful is far away from non-violence. Untruth itself is violence.

You can utilize trifling little occasions in everyday life to cultivate non-violence in your own person and teach it to your children. To banish anger from the heart and to make everybody into one's friend, is indeed enough to win India her independence.

June

What have I done for world peace.

After I received the Nobel Peace Prize, people refer to me as a promoter or champion of world peace. At times it is embarrassing; I have done nothing for world peace. I try to generate compassion and meditate on equalizing and exchanging self with others. These practices are for my spiritual development. Thinking and meditating on non-violence is also part of my spiritual practice. So what have I done for world peace? I received the title of Nobel Laureate and some money without having to do anything for it. I have gained many friends around the world. Such contacts provide moral support so we no longer feel lonely.

One thing that is certain is that these mind-training teachings have greatly benefited me. When I meet different people and exchange ideas, my understanding of them becomes more obvious. The practice of developing a kind heart and an altruistic attitude gives great inspiration and helps us relax and broaden our perspective in times of despair. We must see the mind training teachings in this light. The instruction to transform adversity into a favorable situation is exceptionally valuable.

In this age of degeneration, sentient beings cannot bear their own sufferings and rejoice when their enemies are afflicted. In our modern world in spite of material development and far reaching intellectual achievement, anxiety remains. Generally, adverse circumstances make us feel lose temper and bring depression. But for a practitioner it is an opportunity to transform. It is just like poison becoming a medicine. To be able to do that is really a marvelous happening. A practitioner who can do this is called a person of great intelligence, a person of great capacity.

Nature provides us the capacity for suffering.

Civil disobedience is to be confined to individuals on their own responsibility although they would be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress. Those who so act may expect no financial or other assistance from the Congress. They should be prepared for indefinite incarceration whether ill or well. They may not come out of jails except by termination of their sentences in due course. On termination of their sentences they should seek re-imprisonment on the first opportunity. They should be prepared to brave all risks.

Naturally such action can only be expected from a small number, especially in the beginning. The very enumeration of the hardships is likely to frighten many people. But experience of patriots and reformers all the world over shows that nature provides us with the capacity for suffering when it is taken up in the true spirit.

I am convinced that these men and women will represent the national spirit and the nation's determination to win independence in every sense of the term. It may be objected that the heroic suffering of a few individuals, however praiseworthy in itself, is of no practical value and cannot affect British Policy. I differ from such a view. I hold that true independence, i.e., independence in terms of and on behalf of the masses, can be proved in India's case to be unattainable by any other method. The method of non-violence demands the course suggested by me.

Britain cannot work out our salvation. We must work it out ourselves. Our independence should mean the registration not of Britain's will but of our will.

Self is the source of fear.

The day-to-day story is of suffering and misfortune. We suffer the worse states of rebirth and the sufferings of birth, aging, sickness, and death that afflict human beings. All these sufferings and misfortunes result from the undisciplined state of mind that is derived from self-centeredness. How is this? Because we are preoccupied with our own selfish welfare alone, we neglect the happiness of others and overlook their efforts on our behalf. The more self-centered we are, the more we ignore other people and the more susceptible we are to deceiving them. Even in the case of wrong view there is a great deal of selfish pride. We think of nothing but ourselves, and as soon as something does not conform to our preconceptions we reject it saying, 'I don't believe that.' Self-centeredness is the basis for unvirtuous actions. Consequently, all the faults of this and future lives are due to our self-centered attitude. Therefore the text says, 'Banish the one who is to blame for everything.'

We encounter countless sufferings we do not want and are unable to achieve success in what we desire. Without recognizing self-centeredness as the cause, we always pinpoint some external factor. Our taking birth in states of existence where we encounter unending suffering does not happen without causes and conditions. Unfavorable causes arise from actions and disturbing emotions. Actions arise mainly because of disturbing emotions. And among the disturbing emotions, it is the ignorance, that clutches onto a misconception of self that is the source of all suffering. Therefore, all the harm, suffering, and fear in the world arise from the misconception of self. Of what use is this great ghost residing within me? It denies us better rebirth, liberation, or enlightenment. It is a source of fear. The essential practice is to transform the mind by cultivating the causes of happiness. The only way to change it is by using the mind itself.

Milk being denied to millions, one should avoid it.

I have some time to myself now. It seems there is a plot to take my life. That would indeed be welcome and a fit end to my work. I would not be frightened by this and stay away. In case I die suddenly, I want to set down certain ideas.

‘Service of the family should come first’. This is quite correct from the point of view of our supreme interest. He alone who can render such service will be able to serve the community or the country.

The life of service or political work which we have followed so far seems to me of the lowest order. Without disparaging our elders, we may say that they have possibly done service to the people, but only incidentally, while they pursued their selfish interests. They treated people to a smaller measure of oppression.

How may we save ourselves? We should become farmers. If that should bring unbearable hardships on us, we should become labourers or weavers. We must reduce our wants to the minimum. As for diet, milk may be taken; but it should be looked upon rather as the opposite of pure. It is a separate question whether or not the change will prove acceptable to all. But knowing that it is denied to millions, one should avoid it. The idea that it is pure flesh and not in keeping with the way of non-violence will never leave my mind. I do not think I shall even be able to consume milk, ghee etc., while I inhabit this body.

One should do with the minimum use of fire. The boys of the family should not be permitted to stay on if they fail to follow these ideas.

Human body appreciates peace of mind.

If we reflect on our lives, whether we are young or old, we see that we depend heavily on the affection of others. At some stage we feel we can do everything without help from others and that other people's affection is simply not important. But at this stage I think it is very important to have human affection. In a big town or city people feel lonely. This does not mean they lack human companions, but rather that they lack human affection. As a result, their mental health becomes poor. Those people who live in an atmosphere of human affection have a positive and gentle development of their bodies, their minds and their behaviours. This clearly shows that human body appreciates peace of mind. Therefore, our potential for compassion is here. The only issue is whether or not we realize this and utilize it.

Compassion is something very necessary and something which we can develop. Some do feel that love cannot develop without God's grace; that to develop compassion you need faith. I feel, that genuine compassion is based on a clear acceptance and recognition that others, like oneself, want happiness and the right to overcome suffering on that basis one develops some kind of concern about the welfare of others irrespective of one's attitude to oneself. That is compassion.

In *Satyagraha* we must fight with the purest soul-force.

In employing *satyagraha* against injustice, adherence to truth and non-violence is very necessary. Ours is a fight in the way of *satyagraha* and we must fight it with the purest soul-force. Its secret lies in bearing anything that may be inflicted on us. This implies the observance of perfect non-violence; and it is that we have called it a holy war.

We want to win, not by striking terror in the rulers, but by awakening their sense of justice. We are guilty of no treason in doing so. Nor do we thereby prove ourselves enemies of religion. Our struggle is based on truth and we claim justice from the government on humanitarian, religious and ethical grounds. Our action is thus altogether unexceptionable.

I have faith in you that you will understand the principles of *satyagraha* and follow them. There is no remedy like *satyagraha* to see an end to your suffering. If you use it, you will discover that it alone is the right remedy against our present grievances and those to come. You should hold out till the last in the fight on which you have embarked. If you fail to do so, you will have betrayed your religion and the consequences will be unhappy.

You have taken the pledge to uphold truth. It is for you to see the real aim behind a struggle. Abiding by one's word, one may achieve *moksha*. Be loyal to your pledge, no matter how much you suffer, no matter even if the universe should be blown up. May God give you the wisdom to be loyal to that pledge.

Selfish ways of thinking prevent happiness.

There are some aspects of altruism and a good heart that may not be so obvious to us. One aim of Buddhist practice is to achieve a favourable birth in our next life, a goal that can be attained only by restraining from actions that are harmful to others. Therefore, even in the context of such an aim, we find that altruism and a good heart are at the root. It is also very clear that for a *bodhisattva* to be successful in accomplishing the practice of the six perfections - of generosity, ethical discipline, tolerance, joyous effort, concentration, and wisdom - cooperation with and kindness toward fellow beings are extremely important.

Thus we find that kindness and a good heart form the underlying foundation for our success in this life. Our progress on the spiritual path, and in our fulfilment of our aspirations, the attainment of full enlightenment matters. Hence compassion and a good heart are not only important at the beginning but also in the middle and at the end. Their necessity and value are not limited to any specific time, place, society, or culture.

Thus, we not only need compassion and human affection to survive, but they are the ultimate sources of success in life. Selfish ways of thinking not only harm others, they prevent the very happiness we ourselves desire. The time has come to think more wisely, hasn't it? This is my belief.

Satyagraha replaces violence.

Satyagraha is a movement intended to replace methods of violence. It is a movement based entirely on truth. It is, as I have conceived it, an extension of the domestic law on the political field, and my own experience has led me to the conclusion that, that movement, and that movement alone, can rid of the possibilities of violence spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land for the redress of grievances, supposed or real.

If I found a million men who were capable of understanding the truth, adhering by it and never using violence, I would certainly be glad to have the million men. If I was in charge of the Government of the country and I found myself face to face with a body of men who were determined to seek redress in connection with unjust laws without inflicting violence, without rioting, without arson, I would welcome the body of men. I would consider that they were the best constitutionalists, as Governor. I could get by my side, because they would keep me in the high track.

The *satyagrahi* gives his opponent the same right of independence and feeling of truth that he reserves to himself. Seeing that he wants to fight for truth. He will do by inviting injury upon his own person.

Every *satyagrahi* is bound to resist all those laws which he considers to be unjust and all those laws which are not of a criminal character in order to bend the Government to the will of the people. No man should become the Lord of the masses, so far as the *satyagrahis* are concerned.

Relationship is essential for survival.

Given our current global situation, co-operation is essential, especially in fields such as economics. The idea that international differences are paramount has been made less viable for example, by the movement toward a unified Europe. This movement is marvelous. Yet this close work between nations did not come about because of compassion, but rather through necessity. There is a growing tendency in the world toward global awareness. Under the current circumstances, a closer relationship with others has become an element essential to our very survival. Therefore, the concept of universal responsibility based on compassion is now essential. The world is full of conflicts and the cause of these many conflicts are in fact many different sources, even within ourselves.

Yet before we understand the causes of all our conflicts, we have the potential and ability to come together in harmony. All the causes are relative. Although there are many sources of conflict, there are at the same time many sources of unity and harmony.

You may have a different ideological view from someone else. If you respect the rights of others and show a compassionate attitude, then it does not matter whether their idea is suitable or not, that is secondary. We must accept the fact that different view points exist. In the realm of economics, one's competitor must also survive. When we have a broader perspective based on compassion, I think the things become much easier. Compassion is the key factor.

Killing people requires no intelligence.

I have no dearth of advisers. Some write to me to say that I am a coward, afraid of the sword and therefore, I shall achieve nothing in this world; that it is my fear that makes me prate about non-violence. Without knowing what it means. Some say I have violence enough in my heart, that I approve of killing, but that I am such a “shrewd fellow” and so “cunning” that I do not let people know what I think and, though talking about non-violence, at heart want to instigate violence. Some say I am not a rogue but am only waiting for my opportunity and, when it comes, I shall advise people to use the sword.

In fact, it is not necessary for me to answer these points made. Where is the harm, or what is there to be exercised about, if some people think me cunning? Why defend my saintliness or a rebuttal of charges of being cunning? I think of clarifying my position for the sake of the common man.

Sword force is brute force. Killing people requires no intelligence. We may, indeed, by misdirecting our intelligence employ it in the service of brute force but, though aided by intelligence, brute force remains brute force and the law of the sword remains the law of the beast. In the latter, the self is in a state of nescience and can have no knowledge of itself. That is why we know the animal world as enveloped in darkness. But man has the power of distinguishing between good and evil and can know the self. The law which is must in harmony with human nature is that of winning over others by the power of love - by soul force. When, therefore, a man wins over an enemy through love, he simply follows the law of his nature. I believe, therefore, that if we wake up to the consciousness of our true nature we would at that very moment, renounce the law of the jungle.

Harmonize economic development with spiritual growth.

How do we bring human and spiritual values in our social systems? We must do something to halt moral degeneration. Since present day governments do not shoulder such 'religious' responsibilities, humanitarian and religious leaders must strengthen the existing civil, social, cultural, educational, and religious organizations to revive human and spiritual values. Where necessary, we must create new organizations to achieve these goals. Only in so doing can we hope to create a more stable basis for world peace.

Living in society, we should share the sufferings of our fellow citizens and practice compassion and tolerance not only towards our loved ones but also towards our enemies. This is the test of our moral strength. We must live up to the standards of integrity and sacrifice that we ask of others. The ultimate purpose of all religions is to serve and benefit humanity. This is why it is so important that religion must be used to effect the happiness and peace of all beings.

We should constantly check our attitude towards others, examining ourselves carefully, and we should correct ourselves immediately when we find we are in the wrong. I don't see anything wrong with material progress, provided people are given precedence. It is my firm belief that in order to solve human problems in all their dimensions, we must combine and harmonize economic development with spiritual growth.

We must know the limitations of materialistic knowledge. Though it has created human welfare, it is not capable of creating lasting happiness. For renewal of human values and attainment of lasting happiness, we need to look to the common humanitarian heritage of all nations the world over. It is human values that unite us all as a single family on this planet.

Faith must go with discrimination.

We have to do many things, destroy the old and build new things in their place. The great difficulty in our path is that we live like pebbles, we cannot work as a team. Where we do get drawn, it is out of blind faith. Faith is necessary, but faith must go with discrimination.

The fear is that we may spoil all our work by getting angry. There are two parties, the non-co-operators and the co-operators. We need to restrain anger despite provocation. Abuse should not be repaid with abuse, beating with beating.

A people without culture cannot have true *swaraj*. If we disapprove of anybody's views, if we are even likely to be irritated by them, decency lies in not attending a meeting. To attend a meeting and greet someone with cries of 'shame' or with other insulting slogans bespeaks lack of culture. Lack of culture is incompatible with non-violence, with the renunciation of arms. There is no room for falsehood, lack of culture and impudence in the army of non-co-operation.

If we do not take care to bear this in mind, we shall lose the game which we are almost at the point of winning. The fight of non-co-operation is not for giving expression to our anger but, by curbing it for generating such super abundant energy that no one can withstand it. As the non-co-operation struggle gains momentum we shall have to save ourselves from all manner of impostors, ignorant orators and counsellors equally ignorant. A little mistake may conceivably lead us into serious difficulties.

Without compassion we feel insecure.

Compassion, love and altruism are not just religious qualities. As human beings, and even as animals, we need compassion and affection to develop, sustain ourselves, and survive.

When in the womb, mother's calmness is necessary, on birth her affectionate touch is necessary for the brain to develop. Even as adults we need someone we can trust. And in old age the dependence on the affection of others is obvious. This is the human way of life.

Our future depends on the younger generation. In order to develop a generation of healthy human beings, it is important to offer them a compassionate environment when they are still small. It is easy to recognize children whose parents, for various reasons, have neglected them, and who, as a result, have a helpless, insecure feeling. Their minds are always agitated, and, infected, their whole lives are somehow ruined. In a healthy family, where children receive consistent affection and protection, the children are very happy and develop self-confidence. As a result, their health is better and their lives become something of value. Compassion and affection are crucial for this.

Ultimately the purpose of life is to have joy and happiness. And the basic sources of happiness are a good heart, compassion and love. If we have these attitudes, even in the midst of hostility, we will feel little disturbance. On the other hand, if we lack compassion and our mental state is filled with anger or hatred, no matter what the situation, we will not have peace. Without compassion we feel insecure, and, eventually, we will feel fear and a lack of self-confidence. Then something small can destabilize our inner world. But if we are calm, even if we are confronted by a serious problem, we will know how to handle it.

Work without attachment.

The fact is that non-co-operation by reason of its non-violence has become a religious and purifying movement. It's daily application brings strength to the nation, showing it its weak spots and the remedy for removing them. It is a movement of self-reliance. It is the mightiest force for revolutionizing opinion and stimulating thought. It is a movement of self-imposed suffering and therefore possesses automatic checks against extravagance or impatience. The capacity of the nation for suffering regulates its advance towards freedom. It isolates the force of evil by refraining from participation in it, in any shape or form.

The movement is essentially religious. The business of every God fearing man is to dissociate himself from evil in total disregard of consequences. He must have faith in a good deed producing only a good result: that in my opinion is the *Gita* doctrine of work without attachment. God does not permit him to peep into the future. He follows truth although the following of it may endanger his very life. He knows that it is better to die in the way of God than to live the way of *satan*.

Therefore, whoever is satisfied that this government represents the activity of *satan* has no choice left to him but to dissociate himself from it. If the movement succeeds through non-violent non-co-operation, the English, whether they remain or retire, will do so as friends and under well ordered agreement as between partners. I still believe in the goodness of human nature, whether it is English or any other.

We become prey to invasion if we accept the greed of foreign nations. We must learn to be independent of everyone of them. And we cannot do better than following out fearlessly and, with confidence the open and honourable programme of non-violence, and sacrifice that we have mapped for ourselves.

There is always a possibility for change.

When we come across people who suffer and we want to do something about it, it does bring up our own limitations and incompleteness. This happens in a natural way. So, when we are serving others, a confidence arises that even accepts how incomplete we are, and we become very whole, in a heartfelt way.

From a Buddhist point of view, no error is impossible to be changed. There is always a possibility for change. The recognition of our human intelligence can help us have more confidence in facing difficult situations. This is very important. When you feel discouraged, “I’m too old,” “I’m not intelligent enough,” or “I’m simply not good enough,” a common Buddhist practice is to study the lives of past generations of Buddhist adepts who acted even worse than you did or even more foolish. Doing this you will see that they were able to attain liberation, and you will realize, “If they could do it, I can do it too.” You see your situation in a relative context, not just in the extreme, such as “I am simply too old.”

Do not generalize every thing. We have to be specific. A spiritual practice is something very specific and we have to make the situations specific.

Every tragedy is an opportunity to test our integrity, our inner strength. Then, instead of being overwhelmed, we can increase our determination and strength. The primary cause that contributes to tragedies is the personal *karma* of the person. Social injustice only ripens it.

If the suffering has happened, it is best simply to leave it. It won't have anything added on to it. Don't compound what has happened in the past by pondering over it and accentuating it. Simply leave the past to its own devices and carry on in the present, taking steps to avoid such suffering in the present and the future.

Stand the tortures without returning any violence.

I am glad to note that the more we progress the more convinced our countrymen are that the success of a battle depends mainly, if not solely, upon non-violence. In my opinion, our non-violence is the greatest part of our non-co-operation. But our non-violence will have to be the severest stress and the greatest strain that might be put upon it. Unprovoked violence and torture is possible from this Government or any other Government. The greatest time of our triumph will be only when we can stand the tortures without returning any violence whatsoever. This Government must either repent of the wrongs, the violent wrongs done to India, or it must hold India by a system of terrorism.

To the non-co-operators there is only one road left open and that is to turn the searchlight inward, to purify ourselves, to exercise the greatest restraint under the gravest provocation. I ask non-co-operators to understand that they should continue this work, knowing that they might be subjected to violence and even then they ought not to retort. If India can only exercise self-restraint during this year of probation, of purification for her, I assure you I can see nothing that can prevent our onward march and establishment of swaraj in India during this year. If you believe in God, during this week of prayer of purification and sacrifice, you will concentrate your prayer to God that he may give every one of us, the whole of India, the power to bear all violence that this Government subjects us to. The government has no inherent strength or vitality. It derives its strength out of our weaknesses. It thrives upon our dissensions.

Compassion is not attachment.

Love and compassion are basic human qualities. Love is an attitude of wanting to help other sentient beings to enjoy happiness, and compassion is the wish for other sentient being to be free from suffering. Compassion is not a selfish attitude. Compassion is not attachment.

Real compassion comes from seeing the other's suffering. You feel a sense of responsibility, and you want to do something for him or her. There are three types of compassion. The first is a spontaneous wish for other sentient beings to be free from suffering. You find this suffering unbearable and you wish to relieve them of it. The second is not just a wish for their well-being, but a real sense of responsibility, a commitment to relieve their suffering and remove them from their undesirable circumstances. This type of compassion is reinforced by the realization that all sentient beings are impermanent, but because they grasp at the permanence of their identity, they experience confusion and suffering. A genuine sense of compassion generates a spontaneous sense of responsibility to work for the benefit of others, encouraging us to take this responsibility upon ourselves. The third kind of compassion is reinforced by the wisdom that although all sentient beings have interdependent natures and no inherent existence, they still grasp at the existence of inherent nature. Compassion accompanied by such an insight is the highest level of compassion.

In order to cultivate genuine compassion within yourself, you need to identify the nature of suffering and the state of suffering that sentient beings are in. It is important to generate a sense of patience and tolerance towards all, especially the enemies.

Compassion, or altruism motivation is really wonderful. Sometimes I feel a sense of wonder that we human beings can develop such altruism. It is really a precious source of inner strength, happiness and future success.

People are by nature peaceful.

If the facts reported in the press are substantially correct, the non-co-operators have been false to their creed, their faith, and their country. They have put back the hands of the clock of progress. Non-violence is the rock on which the whole structure of non-co-operation is built. Take that away and every act of renunciation comes to naught. The murder of the men who were evidently doing their duty was, if the report is correct, deliberate. It was a cowardly attack. Certain men willfully broke the law, and invited punishment.

There could be no justification for resentment of such imprisonment. Those who commit violence are the real co-operators with the government. The people are by nature peaceful and they have welcomed non-co-operation because it is deliberately non-violent.

We must ceaselessly preach against violence alike in public and in private. We must not show any sympathy to the evil-doers. We must advise the men who have taken part in the murders to surrender themselves if they are at all repentant. All police orders must be strictly obeyed. There should be no hartals or processions when known workers are prosecuted or imprisoned. If we welcome imprisonments of innocent men, as we must, we ought to cultivate innocence and congratulate ourselves when we are punished for holding opinions, or for doing things that we consider it our duty to do. There should be no civil disobedience.

We have undertaken to stand the gravest provocation and remain non-violent. Let us be careful lest the hour of our triumph be, by our folly, the hour of our defeat and humiliation. As a movement relying ostensibly upon soul-force, the only test of its value must be in the absolute sincerity of its upholders. Once let that sincerity fall under suspicion and those forces are let in which must inevitably end in its moral ruin.

We are born with the seed of our own death.

We have afflictive emotions like attachment and anger, they in turn bring misery and frustration, disgust with our predicament. This, in turn, nurtures the desire to free ourselves from our present state of mind. These can become endless cycles of misery and disappointment.

This cyclic existence can change when our focus is on others, on our wish to free them from their misery. It means that to end cyclic existence of misery, compassion is necessary.

However, once we have acknowledged our state of suffering and developed the wish to free ourselves from it, can we have a truly meaningful wish to free others from their miseries? Our commitment to liberating ourselves from this mire of cyclic existence must happen before true compassion is possible.

Before we can renounce cyclic existence, we must recognize that we shall all inevitably die. We are born with the seed of our own death. We must contemplate that death is uncertain, it strikes unannounced. We have to drop all our people and possessions along with this precious body, the vehicle of this lifetime. This contemplation will diminish our preoccupation with the concerns of our present lives. In understanding how difficult it is to let go self-centered concerns, especially when we see it in others, a compassionate understanding develops.

It is crucial to realize the great value of human existence, the opportunity and the potential that our brief lives provide us. It is only as humans that we have the possibility of implementing changes in our lives. Animals do not have this chance in their lifetimes. It is compassion that inspires us to make our human existence purposeful.

Non-co-operation is a protest against our own weaknesses.

We have so fed ourselves with the history of other nations that we find it impossible to believe that we can attain our end without a repetition of thirty year or a hundred years war, and therefore without military training and huge armaments. We do not care to read our own history and remember that while kings have come and kings have gone, whilst dynasties have been formed and destroyed, India has remained unmoved and unaffected. We will not read the lesson of the late war. That it is not so much military preparation we want, as a change of our own outlook upon India's future. As soon as we have discarded the awe of others, and ceased to consider ourselves as cheap as dirt, we shall be free. I know it is possible to perform this revolution of thought.

We have ceased to believe in ourselves. The present movement is an attempt to change this winter of our despair into the summer of hope and confidence. When we believe in ourselves, the British will believe in us. The existing system of the government is based upon a scientific study of our weaknesses, which have rather been promoted by it than reduced.

Non-co-operation is, as much a protest against our own weaknesses. And non-violence is a remedy for all ills. It is against the inherent corruption of the existing systems, British and Indian. We become impure by belonging to it. The withdrawal from it of one party purifies both. I invite all sceptics to follow the programme of non-co-operation as a trial, and I promise there will be *swaraj* in India this year.

Religious belief is no guarantee to moral integrity.

What I am saying is neither magical nor mysterious. Rather, it is a call for a radical reorientation away from our habitual preoccupation with self. It is to turn toward the wider community of beings with whom we are connected, and for conduct, which recognizes others' interests alongside our own.

Modernity faces enormous problems at home, such as violence, drugs, alcohol, family break ups and so on. Each such situation will need a very specific solution. However, without a spiritual approach, with neglect of developing compassion, kind-heartedness, we have no hope of achieving a lasting solution. There is a chance to overcome man made or ethical problems. The number of people involved today in this reflects the magnitude of it. There are many professionals and volunteers today involved for the victims of harm. Indeed, we are all, according to our own understanding and in our own way, trying to make the world a better place to live in.

However strong our external systems like law, police could be, they cannot prevent all the wrongdoing. It requires ethical restraint to curb the rising crime rate. In fact, without inner discipline, we find that the very means we use to solve them becomes a source of difficulty itself.

Today people are concerned with deeper questions, but not when they become religion based. As it is religious belief is no guarantee to moral integrity. There can be no fixed approaches or formulas that can capture the richness and diversity of human experience. Are we to be responsible only to the letters of law and religion, or rather to our actions. It demands developing a spiritual approach of compassion and warm heartedness.

We are helping war in buying a postage stamp.

It is a good augury that votaries of non-violence often raise fine questions of principle. Man advances through such spirit of inquiry, but there is a pre-requisite condition to it. The inquiry should not be like that of a person who strains at a gnat and swallows a camel. Raising such questions profit only him who is ever vigilant in major matters and whose practice keeps pace with the progress of the principle.

A Khadi Bhandar received an order from the military. The *bhandar* authorities asked me whether they could accept it? I replied they could. Then, did it not amount to helping the war?

As a matter of abstract principle, it will have to be conceded that the acceptance was a breach. But in that case we must leave India and every country engaged in war. We are helping war even in the food we eat, in buying a postage stamp.

The truth is that no one is able to act upon a great principle, like that of non-violence, in its entirety. Like the geometrical line, it can only be imagined but never drawn. It is the same with *ahimsa*. We must put it into practice as best as we can.

It would have been easy for me to forbid the sale of the blankets but the prohibition would have been a matter of shame for me. I could have done so only by concealing my real view of the matter. Where should I draw the line from which such prohibition should commence? If I were a grain merchant should I decline to sell it to soldiers. Or, if I were a chemist, should I refuse to sell medicines to them? Does my *ahimsa* prevent me from entertaining such customers? In other words, does it require of me to look into the occupations of my customers? The clear reply is that, provided I deal in goods which are conducive to the welfare of society, I may not look into the occupations of my customers. This means that I may sell my innocuous articles even to soldiers.

Capacity for empathy is innate.

Compassion has many levels. It is understood mainly as empathy - our ability to enter into and, to some extent, share others' suffering. This can further develop to the extent that only does our compassion arise without any effort, but it is unconditional, undifferentiated, and universal in scope. A feeling of intimacy toward all other sentient beings, including of course those who would harm us, is generated.

But this sense of equanimity toward all others is not seen as an end in itself. Rather, it is seen as the springboard to a love still greater. Because our capacity for empathy is innate, and because the ability to reason is also an innate faculty, compassion shares the characteristics of consciousness itself. The potential we have to develop it is therefore stable and continuous. It is not a source which can be used up.

It is believed that we can gradually extend our compassion to the point where the individual feels so moved by even the subtlest suffering of others that they come to have an overwhelming sense of responsibility toward others. This causes the one who is compassionate to dedicate themselves entirely to helping others-overcome both their suffering and the causes of their suffering. This is the state called as 'great compassion'.

I am not suggesting that each individual must attain these advanced states of spiritual development as a precondition to lead an ethically wholesome life. I believe that pushing the logic of compassion to the highest level can act as a powerful inspiration. If we can just maintain this aspiration, it will have a significant impact on our outlook. Based on the simple recognition that, just as I do, so do all others desire to be happy and not to suffer, it will serve as a constant reminder against selfishness and partiality.

Spinning wheel is a symbol of non-violence.

Your non-violence, if it is true, must be part of your normal life, must be in your thought, word and deed, and must colour all your behaviour. Then and then only can you give others the assurance.

You will examine every action of yours in the light of the creed. That does not mean you will be morbid of pennickery. Your conduct will have to be natural. When I began observing silence it meant an effort on my part. Now it has become part of my nature, and to break my silence means an effort. It is likely that your relating everything to non-violence may be logically wrong, but it is not wrong for you. I may be wrong in the eyes of others, in my belief that with every thread that I draw I am bringing *swaraj* nearer, but for me the belief is as true as the fact that I exist. That saves me from losing my sanity. This spinning wheel is a symbol of non-violence for me.

This kind of *sadhana*, may take thousands of years, and for some others one year. I am still imperfect. One who has violence of the brave and then turns to non-violence of the brave, will do so much more quickly. If my teaching fructifies, there will be teachers of *ahimsa* in every home.

I want to know how many of you are with me. If none goes with me, I am ready to tread my path alone. For I know that I can never be alone as God is there with me.

You have to find out how many actual believers in ahimsa there are among Congressmen. The working committee members are your representatives. If they were mistaken in assessing the faith of their electors, you have to correct their judgement.

No one knows my imperfections better than I, but what little power I possess is derived from my *ahimsa*.

Think of ourselves as equal to an ant.

It is necessary to behave modestly and in accordance with the law of cause and effect and also the law of the land. By that we can enjoy mental peace and at the time of death we can go peacefully. This will also benefit the society at large.

We have to work hard to accumulate merit and the benefit will be proportionate to our effort. It can create a corresponding difference to our ability and also our work. The best way is to generate a good heart - there is nothing better than this. Even if the Buddhas and *Bodhisattavas* were to meet and decide, they would not find something better than this. Therefore, although it may be difficult for us to generate the actual mind of enlightenment and the two-fold aspiration to benefit self and others, if we can even simulate doing so, the merit acquired will be great.

As all of us, even ants, desire happiness and do not wish for suffering, we all have an equal right to acquire happiness and eliminate suffering, as well as ultimately to be freed from all sufferings and endowed with happiness. Taking this as the basic point, no matter how important we think we are, we must think of ourselves as equal to an ant, compared to the infinity of other beings throughout the expanse of space.

If a man is less selfish and thinks of others as much as he can, then people in general will regard him as devoted to the welfare of others. They will praise him, refer to him as a good man and will love and respect him. We normally strive to acquire happiness for ourselves and to eliminate our own sufferings, but if we were to take the same responsibility for others as we do for ourselves, we would be pricelessly valuable and everyone would recognize us as someone worthy of respect.

Indiscipline will bring disaster.

All that I have heard from the Working Committee of the Congress has strengthened my belief that the country is not ready for civil disobedience. I do not see much chance of improving our preparation. Whatever has happened in some places is good but I cannot evolve non-violence from the awakening created there. *Khadi* will create non-violent strength in the people. I have no doubt we can get complete independence through non-violence. I can fight a whole world with a small disciplined Congress, but the big Congress we have is unwieldy. If the civil-disobedience is started, 'disobedience' will remain and 'civil' disappear. I am not obstinate. I am given no alternative programme. I cannot produce a non-violent army from the agitation that is created by propaganda. The people have to be disciplined by work. Such an army will not go astray. Non-violence in the masses can be easily created.

If a fight is started with any preparation, it is the poor who will suffer. I don't want people to be crushed. I don't want to do anything which will bring about demoralization. If the struggle is started and the discipline is slack and every group does what it likes, there will be disaster and the cause will suffer.

I don't mind if people get demoralised on account of waiting. That will be a lesser evil.

However much you may agree with me, your *ahimsa* does not go as far as mine. And if despite twenty years of practise of it I have not been able to win the affection and trust of the *Mussalmans*, my *ahimsa* must be of a very poor quality indeed. Why not then let me further examine myself and make further researches in non-violence.

Return good for evil.

Buddhism with its emphasis on universal love and compassion, impregnated with ideas that are wholly non-violent and peaceful, offers a means, at once unique and eternal, for the successful attainment of that state of security and happiness, from which man and beast can derive common benefit. It can rightly be asserted that loving-kindness and compassion are the two corner stones on which the whole edifice of *Buddhism* stands. Destruction or injury to life is strictly forbidden. Harming or destroying any being from the highest to the lowest, from a human to the tiniest insect, must at all costs be avoided.

The arising of compassion in the mind will prepare the ground for the perfect fruition of the precious *Bodhi*-mind. One is called a *Bodhisattva* when one's mind is filled with the pure compassion and equanimity which proceed from a *Bodhi*-mind. Whatever we do in our daily life results from the functioning of our minds and ultimate Buddhahood is the result of ultimate peace and compassion. The *Bodhi*-mind is the very seed of a religious mind or of *Dharma*.

It all comes down to the intention to do good to others. To return good for evil, benevolence for injury, love for hate, and compassion for harm are the characteristics of the quality of *Bodhi*-mind. Deeds of benevolence and loving kindness, not responding to ill-will from other side, will delight the hearts of all. Indulgence in resentment and vengeance will only increase miseries to ourselves and others in this life and in lives to come.

In short, the cultivation of compassion and loving kindness for all sentient beings will bring peace and happiness to others and ourselves. Ill-will, malice and malevolent acts will only be a source of suffering to all. Compassion and loving kindness are the hallmarks of human achievement and happiness. Let us practice them for the welfare of all.

A jailer is as much a prisoner.

My advice is to the serious worker who can affect the politics of his country and even the world affairs. I want the readers I have in view to take me at my word. I have written as I have felt at the moment as a seeker of long standing of Truth and Non-violence. I have written without reservation and without embellishment.

Indeed the whole of India is a vast prison. The Viceroy is the irresponsible superintendent of the prison with numerous jailers and wardens under him. The four hundred millions of India are not the only prisoners. There are others similarly situated in the other parts of the earth under other superintendents.

A jailer is as much a prisoner as his prisoner. There is no doubt a difference. From my point of view he is worse. If there is a day of judgement, the judgement will go hard against the jailer and in favour of the prisoner.

India is the only place on earth which knowingly has chosen truth and non-violence as the only means for deliverance. But deliverance to be obtained through these means must be deliverance for the whole world including the jailers otherwise described by me as tyrants and imperialists. I need not mention Fascists or Nazis or Japanese.

The war will end this year or the next. It will bring victory to the Allies. The pity of it is that it will be only so called if it is attained with India and the like lying prostrate at the feet of the Allies. That victory will be assuredly a prelude to a deadlier war, if anything could be more deadly.

I know that I do not need to plead for non-violent India. If India has the coin with Truth on one face and Non-violence on the other, the coin has its own inestimable value which will speak for itself. Truth and Non-violence must express humility at every step. What are agony and time if they are spent in favour of liberty?

Change has to begin with individuals.

It is important to understand a link between world peace and inner peace in individuals. I believe that is the only way to achieve it. We have to begin with an individual and then gradually building peaceful families, peaceful communities and peaceful leadership. We often blame leadership, but I feel leadership comes from society. Societies that have a very individualistic attitude and shortsighted goals are likely to have leaders who conform to and promote those attitudes. So change has to begin with individuals.

In the twentieth century there were examples of a sort of peace between nations, but I think this peace was actually the mere absence of war and violence, bred from fear of the fact that both sides possessed nuclear weapons.

I think we need to separate religious institutions from religion as spirituality. Unfortunately, some religious institutions act more like organizations or even corporations. This is not so helpful for increasing peace within communities. On the other hand, a religion or spirituality is undoubtedly a source of inspiration and an effective method to increase positive human values. All the major religious traditions carry the same message of love and compassion, forgiveness, tolerance, contentment and self-discipline.

The theistic religions speak of love for God and love for our fellow human beings. Of these two kinds of love, I think the most important one is love for our fellow human beings. This is also the way to express one's love for God.

July

Transform adverse circumstances into favourable conditions.

I do not claim any high realization in the practice of mind training, I have sincere admiration and faith in the practices of non-violence, altruism and compassionate attitudes. So when I hear things being said against me and when I meet with adverse circumstances, I apply the practices outlined.

A practitioner who can transform adverse circumstances into favourable conditions will be affected by nothing. Whether that person is travelling or staying in one place, or doing anything else, he or she will be constantly aware of working for other sentient beings. Deep down, such a person is calm and free of anxiety. The body becomes a realm of joy, because no external circumstances can disturb that person's presence of mind. The body could also be called a conflict free zone, because for that person, there is no inner conflict.

Adverse circumstances can actually serve as a stimulus of progress in our practice. What is to be understood here is to decrease the grip of self-centeredness and increase the wish to ensure the welfare of others. Even in this world we see that kindheartedness, an altruistic attitude, is the root for securing peace in the world. And undeniably, a harmful selfish attitude is the source of conflict and unhappiness.

So regardless of the question of life after death, even within this life the mind training instructions yield great benefits. Of course, an altruistic attitude should be reinforced by wisdom. This union of wisdom and compassion is very important. Altruism itself is not very powerful. So the altruistic attitude that is the target of this instruction is reinforced by wisdom, which is something truly marvelous.

I conceal nothing.

I offer no apology for what I said. I could say nothing less and nothing more, for that statement contained cent percent truth. But how is one to overtake the deliberate campaign of misrepresentations? Every word that I say is distorted. But I remain unmoved by these tactics. I have faith in my mission and in my truth. The only thing, therefore, to do is not to enter into an elaborate explanation, for it means nothing, but on due occasion to repeat the same truth with added emphasis.

I ask friends in England to remain unperturbed. If you attempted to be apologetic about what I might have said, you would be doing an injury to the cause. I am trying a tremendous experiment. Non-violence regulates every breath of my life. I do not embellish what I write. I conceal nothing. Therefore, I would not like friends excusing any action or word of mine. When they do not understand it, they may remain silent. When they disagree, after having all the facts and after having weighed them, I would not mind their open disapproval.

I know terrorism is taking a deeper root owing to the counter-terrorism of the Government. The counter terrorism is much more mischievous in its effect, because it is organised and corrupts a whole people. Instead of rooting out terrorism it creates an atmosphere for the approval of terrorist methods and thus gives them an artificial stimulus.

It may not show immediate results, but it certainly prepares the future for wider activities along these lines. If truth cannot be said forcibly, it is obvious that silence is the only alternative. A half-hearted opinion is much more dangerous than no operation. I say all this with my knowledge of non-violence and of ascertained facts.

We all have a germ of kindheartedness.

The Buddha once said that one may not be able to engage in many spiritual practices but should cherish one quality. And if they have that one quality, it is equal to having all the qualities of the Buddha in the palm of the hand. That is quality of compassion. Wherever compassion exists, there is the Buddha's doctrine. When a *bodhisattva* has great compassion, all other noble qualities will be present. It is like the faculty of life, from whose presence the sense faculties arise. Compassion is the source of the awakening mind which activates meritorious deeds. Training in compassion is as good as practicing the entire range of the Buddha's teachings.

A great scholar *Chandrakirti* has praised compassion as: the seed at the beginning, the moisture in the middle and the actual ripening of the fruit of enlightenment at the end. We naturally have the potential for compassion within us. This is why we spontaneously react when we see someone wrecked with pain. We all have a germ of kindheartedness. What we have to do is to explore and develop this faculty within us. To do so, we must overcome the anger and hatred that are products of our self-centered attitude. Therefore, it is the practice of *bodhisattvas* to attend to other being's welfare before their own. If you adopt that kind of attitude, although your compassion and kindness may be very weak to begin with, they can be developed to an infinite degree. The primary aim of the practice of taking on suffering is to eliminate the self-centered attitude. If you apply this practice with dedication, you will find it effective. The practice of taking on suffering is one of the most forceful techniques for controlling self-centeredness. You have to take them at the core of your heart. It should not be polluted by self-interest, thinking that this virtuous action will bring you peace, happiness and a long life.

The unjust must be loved.

In order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced.

Vow of Truth: It is not enough for a person under this vow that he does not ordinarily resort to untruth, such a person ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country.

Vow of Non-Violence: It is not enough to refrain from taking the life of any living being. He who has pledged himself to this vow may not kill even those whom he believes to be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them. He will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is won over.

Vow of Celibacy: It is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye..... if one is married, one will not have sexual intercourse even with one's wife.

Control of the palate: Eating is for sustaining the body, one should regulate and purify one's diet day by day.

Vow of Non stealing: Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for one's daily need by way of food; and so hold it theft to use articles of food etc., which one does not need and live accordingly.

Vow of Non-possession: It is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for the nourishment and protection of our body. Bear this in mind to simplify life more and more.

In compassion there is no pity.

We must understand compassion and attachment. Your love and compassion towards your friends is in many cases actually attachment. This feeling is not based on the realization that all beings have an equal right to be happy and to overcome suffering. Instead, it is based on the idea that something is 'mine', 'my friend' or something good for 'me'. That is attachment. Thus, when that person's attitude towards you changes, your feeling of closeness immediately disappears. With the other way, you develop some kind of concern irrespective of the other person's attitude to you, simply because that person is a fellow human being and has every right to overcome suffering. Whether that person remains neutral to you or even becomes your enemy, your concern should remain because of his or her right. That is the main difference.

Genuine compassion is much healthier; it is unbiased, and it is based on reason. By contrast, attachment is narrow-minded and biased.

To develop genuine compassion you must first practice the meditation of equalization and equanimity, detaching one self from those people who are close. Then, you must remove negative feelings towards your enemies. All sentient beings should be looked on as equal. On that basis, you can gradually develop compassion for all. In compassion there is no pity, that others are lower than you, rather others are more important than yourself.

There is nothing like our servicing notice on ourselves.

Lately, I have come to see the principle of non-violence in a somewhat different light, sublime nonetheless. Simultaneously, I also realize my shortcomings in the matter of self control. My *tapascharya* is quite inadequate for this task. In this age, we do not get by our experiments one millionth part of the direct experience which they could formerly attain by *tapascharya*.

Even if we find in thousands of instances that water is made up of two parts of hydrogen and one part of oxygen, it cannot be said finally that this is its composition. The conclusion is only an inference. If, however, I take two parts of hydrogen and one part of oxygen and combine them to produce water, that would be definitive knowledge. It is knowledge verified in experience. Even if water can be made in any other manner, I have definitely shown with one experiment that it can be made by compounding (hydrogen and oxygen) in this way.

We frequently act on inference but come to no harm. In matters of moment, we realize the inadequacy of inference and the supreme worth of direct experience. It is for this reason that observance of *yama-niyama*, etc., is essential. This is the only way to knowledge based on experience.

I want you to act now as if you had been served with a twenty-four hour's notice. There is nothing like our serving notice on ourselves.

July 6

Compassion and love are two aspects of the same thing.

It is important to have a clear understanding of what we understand compassion and love to be. In simple terms, compassion and love can be defined as positive thoughts and feelings that give rise to such essential things in life as hope, courage, determination, and inner strength. In the Buddhist tradition, compassion and love are seen as two aspects of the same thing. Compassion is the wish for another being to be free from suffering; love is wanting them to have happiness.

The next matter to be understood is whether it is possible to enhance compassion and love. In other words, is there a means by which these qualities of mind can be increased and anger, hatred, and jealousy reduced? My answer to this is an emphatic, “Yes!” Even if you do not agree with me right now, let yourself be open to the possibility of such development.

It is possible to divide every kind of happiness and suffering into two main categories: mental and physical. Of the two, it is the mind that exerts the greatest influence on most of us. Unless we are either gravely ill or deprived of basic necessities, our physical condition plays a secondary role in life. If the body is content, we virtually ignore it. The mind, however, registers every event, no matter how small. Hence we should devote our most serious efforts to bringing about mental peace rather than physical comfort.

The nation will rise by sacrifice, not by revenge.

Satyagraha in its essence is nothing but the introduction of truth and gentleness in the national life. With *satya* combined with *ahimsa* you can bring the world to your feet. One may dissent from the civil disobedience part of it but no one can dissent from the essential doctrine of truth and love or non-injury.

How would one observe a day that is an advent of *satyagraha*? I suggest, the day be devoted to fasting and prayer. It should be free from ill-will or anger. We want to cherish the memory of the innocent dead. We do not want to remember the wickedness of the deed. The nation will rise by readiness to sacrifice, not by preparing to revenge. The day should be a day of purification, self-examination, sacrifice, exact discipline and expression of cherished national sentiments. There should be no trace of bitterness, no violence of language, but absolute fearlessness and firmness.

It is a day for those who believe in truth and non-violence. I would not advice civil disobedience, but, discipline and penance. It should not be made cheap. It has to be a day of awakening.

There is certainty of victory if firmness is combined with gentleness. The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill-will, recklessness and finally violence are to reign supreme. I shall resist them with my life even if I should stand alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

War is disaster.

I think, our goal step by step should be to free the world - our small planet- from weapons. This does not mean that we should abolish all forms of weapons. We need some for we have some mischievous people among us. We could create a system of regionally monitored international police forces, not belonging to any one nation but controlled collectively. That way with no weapons available to any individual nation, there would be no danger of military conflict between nations, and there would be no civil war.

War sadly, has remained a part of human history up to the present. Some people consider war to be something glorious; they think through war they become heroes. This attitude is very wrong.

The inevitable result of war is disaster: death, injuries and misery. Therefore the concept of war in our minds, is extremely negative. Unfortunately people persist with incorrect ideas about war. The danger of these ideas for the world community is greater than ever, so we seriously need to consider demilitarization.

To think of money, of making a profit from selling weapons is terrible. On one side of our planet there are people living in a lavish life style, with profits made from selling arms, while innocent people are killed with these sophisticated arms on the other side of our planet.

I have made an inner pledge - a commitment that for the rest of my life I would contribute to furthering the idea of demilitarization. Tibet should be a completely demilitarized zone. In working to bring this about, the key factor is human compassion.

July 9

A true warrior is who does not die killing.

The sages of the past have observed that the passions of the beast have not died out in most persons. When a man submits to another through fear, he does not follow his nature but yields to brute force. He who has no desire to dominate others by brute force will not himself submit to such force either.

Forgiveness is the virtue of the brave. He alone who is strong to avenge a wrong knows how to love (and forgive). He alone who is capable of enjoying pleasures can qualify to be a *brahmachari* by refraining his desires. It will be evidence of India's soul-force only if it refuses to fight when it has the strength to do so.

It is necessary to understand what the phrase 'strength to fight' means. It does not mean only physical strength. Every one who has courage in him can have the strength to fight, and everyone who has given up fear of death has such strength. The day India gives up fear we shall be able to say that she has the strength to fight. It is not at all true to say that, to be able to fight, it is essential to acquire the ability to use arms; the moment, therefore, a man wakes up to the power of the soul, that very moment he comes to know the strength he has for fighting. That is why I believe that he is the true warrior who does not die killing but who has mastered the *mantra* of living by dying.

The sages who understood non-violence were great warriors. When they discovered the ignoble nature of armed strength and realised the true nature of man, they discerned the law of non-violence pervading this world all full of violence. They then taught us that the atman can conquer the whole world, that the greatest danger to the atman comes from itself and that conquest over it brings us the strength to conquer the entire world.

Inner tranquility is possible only with love and compassion.

One great question underlies our experience, whether we think about it consciously or not: what is the purpose of life? I believe that the purpose of life is to be happy. From the moment of birth, every human being wants happiness and does not want suffering. Neither social conditioning nor education, ideology affects this. From the very core of our being we desire contentment. I don't know whether the universe with its countless galaxies, stars and planets, has a deeper meaning or not, but at the very least, it is clear that we humans who live on this earth face the task of making a happy life for ourselves. Therefore, it is important to discover what will bring about the greatest degree of happiness.

We know that the mind exerts a great influence on us. If the body is content, we virtually ignore it. As the mind registers every little change, mental peace becomes important. Such inner tranquility is possible only with the development of love and compassion.

The more we care for others, the greater is our sense of well-being. Cultivating a warm-hearted feeling puts the mind at ease. This helps remove fears and insecurities and gives us strength to cope with the obstacles of life.

The world has numerous problems. If we remember that every one has to face them and undergo suffering, this changes our perspective to overcome troubles. Each obstacle has to be seen as a new, valuable opportunity to improve our mind.

We can strive to become compassionate and develop genuine sympathy for others' suffering and the will to remove their pain. As a result, our own serenity and inner strength will increase.

Destroy slave producing institutes.

Mr. Gandhi addressing the audience as brothers and sisters said he was not going to give them a kindergarten lesson that evening, but would try to convince them of something important. First of all he wanted to tell the students that he did not want those students to boycott school and college, who could not refrain from hissing a speaker whose view differed from theirs. That was *asatya* (untruth). It would not be wrong to disobey even parents in the matter of boycott of schools and colleges after attaining *satya* (truth) and purifying their inner selves. Those who could act against their conscience are not fit to adopt the principles of non-co-operation.

After becoming true *bramhacharis* and after attaining to right pitch of self-restraint they could even disobey their parents.

His non-co-operation had no similarity with the non-co-operation movement of Ireland or Egypt, though the motive was nearly the same. Both these countries preached violence while he was against it.

There were some who said it was a folly to withdraw students from Government Colleges without making sufficient provisions for national colleges and schools. But the speaker asked when a man saw a snake under his bed would he look for another bed before leaving the former one?

He told them that the present universities and colleges had produced more slaves than scholars. Now they must destroy these slave producing institutes and the only measure was non-co-operation. But he again reminded them that their non-co-operation must be non-violent.

If they could all become non-violent, non-co-operators, then *swaraj* would be within their reach within a year.

Refrain from interfering with other species.

In order to utilize human intelligence fully, we need calmness. If we lose our stability through anger, it becomes difficult to use our intelligence well. If we are unstable and influenced by negative thoughts, our intelligence will be used wrongly. Looking at human history over the last few thousand years, and particularly in this century, we see that human tragedies like the holocaust arise from negative emotions such as hatred, anger, fear and suspicion. The good events that have been witnessed are on account of compassion.

In the modern economy even hostile nations depend on other nations in the use of resources. So, in both the global reality and the situation in the family, human beings need harmony and cooperation. It comes not through force, but through mutual respect. An altruistic attitude is the most crucial factor.

In assuming responsibility for humanity, one will take care of the environment, to slow down the industrial growth and also the population. In being narrow minded, we will not create a positive future. In the past, when we neglected the long-term consequences of our actions, it was less serious. But today through science and technology, we can create far greater benefits or much more damage. The threat of nuclear weapons, deforestation, pollution, and ozone layer depletion, are quite alarming. These dangers are obviously seen. But others, such as loss of natural resources like topsoil, may be even more dangerous. Therefore, in all respects, we have compassion not only for human beings, but also that we respect, take care of, and refrain from interfering with other species and the environment. On every level of work concerning the happiness or satisfaction of the individual, the family, the nation, and the international community, the key is the altruistic mind.

To call a thief a thief can be an expression of love.

By Western civilisation I mean the ideals which people in the West have embraced in modern times and the pursuits based on these ideals. The supremacy of brute force, worshipping money as God, spending most of one's time in seeking worldly happiness, breath taking risks in pursuit of worldly enjoyments of all kinds, the expenditure of limitless mental energy on efforts to multiply the power of machinery, the expenditure of millions on the invention of means of destruction, the moral righteousness which looks down upon people outside Europe-this civilisation in my view, deserves altogether to be rejected.

There is no anger in this, non 'righteous indignation'. It is a conclusion I have reached in all calmness of mind. It is not my intention to suggest that every Englishman is a devil. Every Englishman, however, wants as part of a *satanic* machine and therefore, whether intentionally or unintentionally, becomes an instrument of injustice, deception and repression. If, holding this belief, I were to conceal it, I would be betraying truth. It is not bad to call a thief a thief. If the words have been uttered with sincerity, they can be an expression of love.

If in my life I have tried to practise anything with unswerving devotion it is non-violence, truth and *bramhacharya*. I alone know how difficult it is to practise these. I believe that I have succeeded fairly well in following all the three in action and speech. To say that I have had no angry thought would be untrue, and I would be sinning if I said that I have never felt the urge of desire. I believe, nonetheless, that keeping the three vows in action, speech and thought makes it a potent vow.

Not to avoid persons who annoy.

Dealing with annoyance, irritation or anger in day-to-day life is very important. You must deal with each individual event or person as it comes. If the anger is mild and with one person, apply your practice of compassion and see what happens. But if the annoyance is too powerful - if you find the person so repulsive that you can't bear to be in his or her presence - it may be better to look for the exit. Here is the principle: it is better not to avoid events or persons who annoy you, who give rise to anger, if your anger is not too strong. But if the encounter is not possible, work on yourself by yourself.

In the context of Buddhism, with regards to mental distortions, especially hostility and anger, it is standard practice to reflect again and again on their disadvantages and destructive nature, and by doing so, the mental affliction will gradually diminish.

I do understand that the western psychology does not accept it, but rather believes that hostility must be expressed as it arises. May be one should reflect on the disadvantage of anger before expressing it, and allowing it to dissipate.

One must differentiate in between the mental conflicts that one feels and the emotions they give rise to- anger, hostility, and so forth. If you are not able to express the mental conflicts that you have, then at a later point of life, when you are able to express these mental conflicts, they are automatically accompanied by hostility and anger. Therefore, it is important to express the suffering, not so much the hostility, but rather the suffering. There can be awareness in anger, without the need to act on it.

Non-violence reigns supreme.

The doctrine of non-violence which I preach may possibly seem ridiculous. It represents *Hinduism*. In its practice, in greater or smaller measure, lies the vitality of all religions. There is religion only to the extent that there is compassion. There can be no limit to compassion and it is not for me to lay down any. Every one fixes a limit for himself. In *Vaishnavism*, non-violence reigns supreme. I concede that the idea is elaborated with special emphasis in Jain works, but neither the Jain nor any other doctrine has a monopoly of non-violence. It is an universal, immutable law. To describe the rules about fasting, etc., found in Jain philosophy as tending to suicide is, to my mind, not to understand that philosophy. But there is certainly no need to discuss here the extreme implications of non-violence. Even if non-violence in such form is not accepted, it cannot be gainsaid that our duty in the present circumstances is to fight peacefully-through voluntary suffering.

The essential point of non-violence is to bear no hatred towards the man who has perpetrated violence, though we know what he has done. I cannot purge the people of the violence in their hearts by hiding from them the outrages or the wrongs done. My duty is, while telling them of the massacre, to teach them to be peaceful. The suffering which non-cooperation causes to some is not violence. One is not responsible for the suffering one may cause to others while doing one's duty. If people stop going to an opium shop and in consequence the owner thereof sustains loss, I am not to blame. He too, benefits through the suffering caused to him. Non-cooperation means refusal both to help the sinner in his sin and to accept any help or gift from him till he has repented.

All of us are bound by ignorance.

Everybody - oneself and all others - wants happiness and does not want suffering. Just as every part of our body is equally considered to be our body and to be equally protected from pain, so all sentient beings are equally to be protected from suffering.

We can understand that the only reason why we must be separated from suffering is that we do not want suffering. There is no further reason; we have a wish that naturally comes from within - a wish to be free from suffering. All sentient beings have the same wish. Since this is the case, what is the difference in between the self and other? There is a great difference in number. No matter how important you are, you are just one simple person; for example, in my own case I am just a single Buddhist monk. But other people are infinite in number. Even without counting other planets, in this world alone others are limitless - several billions. Now, if we consider which is more important, the benefit of the majority or the benefit of a minority of one, there is no argument no question. Hence there is no possible reason for making a biased exception, treating a certain one better and neglecting the others. All sentient beings, in terms of their connection with you over the course of life-times, have in the past helped you and in the future will help again.

All of us have sense of suffering, a nature of impermanence, and so forth. Since all of us have a similar nature of deprivation, there is no sense in our being belligerent with each other, it is not worthwhile. All of us are bound within the same nature of suffering and impermanence, conquered by ignorance; under such circumstances, it is clear that both self and others are in the same basic condition.

Freedom that needs replenishing is not freedom.

There is life and there is death. Freedom from all bondage is moksha.

He who considers himself in bondage is a bound person. It is attachment. Bound by bond's of attachment, he seeks freedom. Freedom that needs replenishing is not freedom.

There is not the slightest external difference between a bound and a free man. A free man recognizes himself, never yearns for reward. No activity is possible for the one who is free. For him there is nothing that remains to be attained. In truth, only the emancipated can recognize the emancipated. I have not become emancipated myself.

I regard Buddha as a perfect being. I started accepting the existence of God when I accepted the existence of soul. Prior to that I was an atheist. During my search for Truth I discovered the soul. Truthful action is meritorious action at all times and thus I discovered the soul.

God's form is incomprehensible. I have the experience as far as faith goes. But that experience is not such that all perversities of my mind can be said to have vanished. Faith means belief in something which we cannot prove to others or is something others cannot prove to us.

The greatest endeavour is endeavour for *Moksha*. *Moksha* means elimination of ego.

Truth, non-violence and the keen observance of *brahmacharya*, etc., are a means to attain *moksha*. I do not see place for anyone in the *Ashram* who wishes to merely indulge in meditation without any concrete physical activity.

Compassion is of little value if it remains an idea.

We need to explore the techniques for changing our minds from our habitual ways to more virtuous one. These cannot happen as mere ideas, we need a compassionate attitude to understand meditations.

There are two kinds of meditations, the analytical meditation and the settled meditation - it creates a focus.

Why is it that inspite of our aspiration to be happy we continue to experience pain and suffering? It seems we conspire in the causes of suffering but are reluctant to engage in activities that could lead to long lasting happiness. The vicious cycles of negative emotions and suffering then just continue. It is true for us and also for the others around us. We need to reverse the situation.

Contemplating the painful nature of life, considering the methods by which our misery can be brought to an end, is a form of meditation. We tend to be controlled by our mind, following it along its self-centered path. Meditation controls the mind and take sit on to a virtuous state or direction. The old habits have to get diminished.

This is not that is to be read once. The more you explore a topic and subject it to mental scrutiny, the more profoundly you understand it. Understand it to put it aside or to establish it.

The Buddha said, "O monks and wise ones, do not accept my words simply out of reverence. You should subject them to critical analysis and accept them on the basis of your understanding." We have to rely on our empirical understanding rather than on our intellectual grasp. Compassion is of little value if it remains an idea. It must become our attitudes towards others, reflected in all our thoughts and actions. And the mere concept of humility does not diminish our arrogance; it must become our actual state of being.

Non-co-operation is directed not against men but against measures.

Many are asking why the author of non-co-operation waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy. Non-co-operation is self-reliance. We want to establish *swaraj*, not obtain it from others. *Swaraj* cannot be granted even by God. We would have to earn it ourselves. *Swaraj* from its very nature is not in the giving of anybody.

We want the world with us in our battle for freedom. We want the goodwill of everybody. Our cause, we claim, is based upon pure justice. Non-co-operation is the most potent instrument for creating world opinion in our favour. So long as we protested and co-operated, the world did not understand us.

The movement of non-co-operation is directed not against men but against measures. It is not directed against the Governors, but against the system they administer. The roots of non-co-operation lie not in hatred but in justice, if not in love. There is a distinction between bad men and bad actions.

I hope this movement has made it clear to all, that whilst we may attack measures and systems, we may not, must not, attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and be slow to impute motives. Ours is a religious movement designed to purge Indian political life of corruption, deceit, terrorism and the incubus of white superiority. His Excellency heard me patiently, courteously and attentively. We discussed the topics as between man and man. We discussed the question of non-violence, and it appeared to me to be a common cause between us. I am more than ever convinced that our salvation rests solely upon our own effort.

Actions well intended can be immoral.

I have a view which is not based on any religious faith, nor is it an original idea, but just a matter of common sense. To establish ethical principles in life is possible when we take as our starting point the observation that we all desire happiness and wish to avoid suffering.

We must understand that violence towards others is wrong. We must have some means of adjudicating between, for example, terrorism as a means to political reform and Mahatma Gandhi's principles of peaceful resistance. We must avoid the extremes of crude absolutism on the one hand, and of trivial relativism on the other. We have no means of discriminating between right and wrong if we do not take into account other's feelings, others' suffering. One needs to also consider the effects on others' happiness. An act which harms or does violence to this is potentially an unethical act. Some actions which appear well intended can be immoral. For example, a soldier carries out the orders to execute civilian prisoners. The soldier may think this is toward greater good of humanity. But according to principle of non-violence, killing is an unethical act. Hence the content of action is also important.

The most important of all is to know, intended directly or involuntarily, whether the action is wholesome. Wholesome devotes the state of mind, motivation, disposition and state of heart. When the driving force of our actions is wholesome, our actions will tend automatically to contribute to others' well being. They will be ethical. With spiritual qualities our actions will be ethically wholesome. Hence a spiritual revolution entails an ethical revolution.

The world will go on as before.

I was seriously asked whether *satyagraha* did not at times warrant resistance by violence, as for instance in the case of a sister whose virtue might be in danger from a desperado. I ventured to suggest that it was the complete defence without irritation, without being ruffled, to interpose oneself between the victim and the victimizer, and to face death. This novel method of defence would, in all probability, exhaust the assailant's passion and he would no longer want to ravish an innocent woman, but would want to flee from her presence for very shame, and that, if he did not, the act of personal bravery on the part of the brother would strengthen her heart for putting up an equally brave defence and resisting the lust of a man turned brute for the while. If, inspite of all defence, the unexpected happened, and the physical force of the tyrant overpowered his victim, the disgrace would not be that of the woman but of her assailant and that both she and her brother, who died in the attempt, to defend her virtue, would stand well before the Throne of Judgement.

The world I know will go on as before. But it is the implications of the powerful movement of non-violence. All religions have emphasized the highest ideal, but all have more or less permitted departures as concessions to human weaknesses. *Satyagraha*, then, is literally holding on to Truth and it means therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is therefore known as soul-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish.

Relationship based on attraction is unstable.

As long as other people continue to meet our expectations, all is well. But should they fail to do so, someone we consider a dear friend one day can become our sworn enemy the next. We have a tendency to react badly to all who threaten fulfilment of our cherished desires, though they may be our closest relations. For this reason, compassion and mutual respect offer a much more solid basis for our relations with others. This is also true of partnerships. If our love for someone is based largely on attraction, whether it be their looks or some other superficial characteristic, our feelings for that person are liable, overtime, to evaporate. When they lose the quality we found alluring, or when we find ourselves no longer satisfied by it, the situation can change completely, this despite their being the same person. This is why relationship based on attraction is unstable. When we begin to practice compassion, neither the other's appearance nor their behaviour affects our underlying attitude.

Our feelings towards others depend very much on their circumstance. When you see a handicapped person, there is sympathy; while when you see a wealthier person, there is jealousy. Our negative feelings prevent us from seeing the sameness of ourselves and all others. The struggle is to overcome these feelings of partiality.

Certainly, developing compassion for our loved ones is the obvious and appropriate place to start. Yet there are no grounds for discrimination. A state of detached indifference is not at all advocated.

What is being suggested is that we strive to create a level ground into which we can plant the seed of great love and compassion. We will begin to relate to others on the basis of their sentient nature. I have found this practice profoundly inspiring and helpful.

We will meet your violence with non-violence.

What Hitlerism has come to mean is, naked, ruthless force reduced to an exact science and worked with scientific precision. Hitlerism will never be defeated by counter-Hitlerism. It can only breed superior Hitlerism.

It has robbed the small nations of their liberty. It has compelled France to sue for peace. What will Hitler do with the victory? Can he digest so much power. Personally he will go empty handed. For the Germans he will have left, not the pleasure of owning a mighty empire but the burden of sustaining its crushing weight. Anyway I think that all the blood that has been spilled by Hitler had added not a million part of an inch to the world's moral stature.

As against this imagine the state of Europe to-day if they had said to Hitler: 'You need not make your scientific preparation for destruction. We will meet your violence with non-violence. You will therefore be able to destroy our non-violent army without tanks, battle-ships and airships' It may be retorted that the only difference would be that Hitler would have got without fighting what he has gained after a bloody fight. The history of Europe then would have been written differently. Under non-violence only those would have been killed who had trained themselves to be killed, if need be, but without killing anyone and without bearing malice towards anybody. I dare say in that case Europe would have added several inches to its moral stature.

I have written these lines for the European powers. But they are meant for ourselves. If any argument has gone home, it is not time for us to declare as changeless faith in non-violence of the strong and say we do not seek to depend our liberty with the force of arms but we will defend it with the force of non-violence.

July 24

Generate a good heart.

The basic religious teachings is this: from the very core of our heart we should sacrifice our life, possessions, and merit for the sake of other sentient beings. We cannot exert ourselves in seeking our own happiness alone without thinking of others, nor should we exert ourselves to eliminate only our own suffering.

People do think that in generosity they will be left with nothing. I think this is a devilish or an inferior way of thinking. In fact, 'If I enjoy this, what shall I have left for others?' is a divine way of thinking. It is possible to cultivate such thoughts. If we exploit others for our own ends, such a shameless attitude may result in a bad rebirth. To give ourselves for the sake of others may result in the state of liberation and omniscience.

There was a time when Buddha himself had delusions. But, then he stayed on the path and worked hard towards enlightenment. Today we worship him and revere him. When he could free himself and be perfect of all qualities, what prevents us from doing it? We are still under the sway of delusion, roaming here and there in cyclic existence. Buddha only worked for the benefit of others. Our outlook is still selfish.

All of us should endeavour to generate a good heart. Bringing about the welfare of others is absolutely flawless, from start to finish, temporarily and permanently, being neither flattering nor backbiting. Whoever we are, if we are able to cultivate such a good heart, we will not only be flawless ourselves, but we will receive inconceivable benefits. With such noble thoughts and actions, not only each of us will enjoy happiness, even in this life, but those around us will enjoy peace and being quiet too.

End of non-violent action is a friendly settlement.

Some dread to think what will happen to India if Englishmen were to vacate the country bag and baggage. Such a contingency is inconceivable in a non-violent struggle. The end of non-violent action is a friendly settlement. If it is meant that only English soldiers go, they will, if they will not serve independent India or if they are not wanted because they are too expensive or for any other cause.

It must not be forgotten that the Indian struggle is not anti-British, it is anti-exploitation, anti-foreign rule, not anti-foreigners. There is an underlying fear of the possibility of India deciding upon something beyond its capacity. This honest English belief in the incapacity of India to come to a same judgement or to defend herself against civil-war or foreign aggression is perhaps the greatest stumbling-block in the way of an honourable settlement. If the fear is justified, the only antidote is to run the risk and let India learn wisdom and the art of self-defence by becoming free. Any other course means almost perpetual helplessness and foreign domination. Surely it is better for India, England and the world that a helpless subcontinent runs the risk for coming into its own than that in its sickness it becomes a dead weight to itself and the world.

Britain has been wrong. It will not be undone by Britain. Being the judge of India's destiny, I cherish the distant hope that one day India will be fit to shoulder full responsibility for internal and external defence.

If the position taken up by me is the correct one, the *Nazi* or *Bolshevik* menace can have no meaning for nationalist India, especially as its defence is rooted in non-violence. If one has no faith in non-violence of the strong, I disagree. The real test of non-violence lies in its being brought in contact with just those who have contempt for it.

Survival of human society is at stake.

For many centuries man has been talking about justice, harmony and peace. In these modern days of material abundance and stupendous advancement in science and technology, it seems that the more sophisticated our lives become, the less we seem to be conscious of these high ideals. And yet, there is no doubt that without these ideals, the very survival of human society is at stake.

The achievement of justice, harmony and peace depends on many factors. I would like to think about them in terms of human benefits - in the long run rather than for the short term. The world has shrunk and has become more interdependent than ever before. Nations have no choice but to be concerned about the welfare of others, not only because of their belief in humanity, but because it is in their self-interest. Under the circumstances, there is definitely a growing need for human understanding, and a sense of universal responsibility. The key to the achievement of these high ideals lies in generating a good and kind heart. For, unless we develop a feeling of humanness, we can neither hope to achieve happiness nor lasting peace.

We are all human beings. The differences such as geographical, cultural, physical, even religious and ideological are superficial. We have to transcend them and think of ourselves only as human beings. All of us have the same hopes and aspirations, and all of us belong to the same human family.

We need to learn to be less selfish and more compassionate. Buddhism and all religions teach us to be humane, altruistic and to think of others in the way we think of ourselves. Our daily thoughts and actions should be directed towards the benefit of others.

The removal of untouchability root and branch.

It is my view that we should not let ourselves be provoked or give up our work because of it. We should understand their hearts and their feelings. If we had gone through the experiences that the *Harijans* have gone through, there is no telling how embittered we might have become and how little *ahimsa* would have rendered? Therefore on such occasions we should look inward and if there is the slightest vestige of untouchability left, we should purge ourselves of it.

It is my firm belief that if *Hinduism* is to survive, untouchability must go. Untouchability lives, *Hinduism* is bound to perish and deserves to perish. The tragedy is that those who should have especially devoted themselves to the work of reforms did not put their hearts into the thing and only played with it. What wonder that Harijan brethren feel suspicious, and show opposition and bitterness.

The removal of untouchability root and branch thus becomes a religious duty for me and for other *Hindus* like me. If we want to achieve *swaraj* through non-violence then untouchability will have to be eradicated. We cannot attain *swaraj* without that. Not all Congressmen share this view of mine. The Congress is a democratic organisation. It can have in it people representing many points of view. Those who consider eradication of untouchability a religious duty, give themselves up exclusively to this work with single-minded devotion.

Religious duty is a very subtle and complicated thing. It is not a commodity that can be bought and sold. Perpetual inner searching is needed in order to discover it. If we can grasp this secret of the many-sidedness of truth we shall be able to see any difference between principles and practice in their proper perspective. I therefore welcome those who work for the eradication of untouchability independently.

July 28

Our enemies are part of us.

This is a very serious question - the process of reconciliation between indigenous and non - indigenous people, and what can be done individually and collectively? One needs to be able to express openly and on any grievances that exist. It is important that both the parties meet frequently and discuss the issue, in order to build mutual confidence and trust. One needs to develop a sense of a community. Then whatever legal action is necessary can be carried out in an atmosphere of warm-heartedness.

It must be understood that genuine compassion does not mean looking down on others and feeling pity for them. Genuine compassion is unbiased. The usual form of love and compassion we have for the family and friends is mixed with attachment. It is not genuine compassion. We need to have a genuine sense of concern to even our enemies. For, they are also human beings and they are part of 'us', and they have an equal right to be happy.

There is a risk of misunderstanding compassion as somehow entailing disregard of our own well-being. This is a mistaken view. It is necessary for us to be compassionate towards ourselves before we can be compassionate to others. Without having the experience of genuine compassion within ourselves, we have no basis upon which to extend it to other beings.

Become virtuous for virtue's sake.

Some critics argue that if the non-violent remedy I have suggested for the Czechs is only for weak and small nations and not for the great powers like England and France or America, it cannot be of much value.

I have refrained from suggesting it to these big powers because of my timidity. They are not in distress and therefore in no need of any remedy. An appeal from me would have amounted to an unwanted sermon.

By experience I have found that people rarely become virtuous for virtue's sake. They become virtuous from necessity. Nor is there anything wrong in a man becoming good under pressure of circumstances. It would be no doubt better if he becomes good for its own sake.

Why did I go out of my self-prescribed orbit to speak to a Western nation, when I could not show cent percent success of non-violence on the Indian soil?

I had in mind the limitation and the present state of uncertainty. But my own faith in the non-violent remedy was as bright as ever. It would be cowardly on my part not to suggest to the Czechs the non-violent remedy for acceptance.

I had no right to arrogate to myself any belief that India alone and no other nation was fit for non-violent action. I must confess that I have believed and still believe that India was the fittest nation to enforce non-violent action for regaining freedom.

It is however, open to the great powers to take it up any day and cover themselves with glory and earn the eternal gratitude of posterity. If they shed their fear of destruction, they will help the rest gain sanity. These powers, will have to give up imperialistic ambitions and exploitation of others. It means a total revolution.

July 30

Rolling a boulder uphill.

It is obvious that everyone wants to have happiness and avoid misery. They are primarily on account of our way of thinking. Though external and material causes can contribute, the mind is the real source of our feelings. So, understanding the mind is important. If we train our mind to be virtuous and positive, our conduct will automatically become more pleasant and wholesome.

This task is not a simple one. It is like rolling a boulder uphill. It at times seems that negative attitudes arise spontaneously and flow down the hill as waters do.

Achieving happiness and overcoming misery is to be considered as any other of life's tasks. To be successful we need to gather conducive factors and eliminate obstacles. If we want to achieve social status, fame, and wealth, we have to apply ourselves to create the necessary conditions. Now to understand and discipline the mind is great effort.

The root cause of suffering is deluded thought. In animosity and anger there is disturbance to us and to others. To eradicate negative thoughts, we need to be rational, healthy and develop beneficial thoughts and actions. It is primarily necessary for us to help others whenever we can and at the very least to avoid harming them.

It is useful to employ various means and methods to determine the disadvantages of delusions and the benefits of a wholesome mind. When we are convinced of these facts, we will be inspired by a strong interest in creating virtuous thoughts and actions. Similarly, we will develop an inner urge to discard negative thoughts and actions.

The essence of what is being said can be summarized as the view of interdependence coupled with the conduct of non-violence. These are the fundamentals I want you to remember.

August

Remain content with hereditary livelihood.

The basic tenets of any religion should be such as could be applied universally. Those which do not fulfil this condition cannot be regarded as the basic tenets. If *Varnadharmā* is not such a principle, it owes its origin to certain time, place and circumstances, and if one of them should change, it must itself change. I regard *Varnadharmā* as a universal principle. The existence of human society depends upon it. It implies that everyone must remain content with his hereditary means of livelihood. At the root of this scheme of things there is non-violence, the Divine law, simple economics and human reason. If it is not followed, a civil war, the like of which has never been seen, is bound to overtake us. As millions of people awaken, they will all bound to become rich, they will all want to attain greatness, no one will want to take up professions which are regarded as low and class feelings will intensify.

However, as the instinct for self-preservation is ingrained in human nature, men will escape this fate by taking recourse to *Varnadharmā*. Everyone will live practising the profession to which he is born, without regarding any profession as high or low. By observing the law of Varna, we guard ourselves against the conflicts arising out of capitalism-communism etc.

The *Brahmins'* knowledge being self-evident and themselves being free from selfish motives, others will readily follow them. Besides, they will have the power to influence others. A *Harijan* of to-day may become a Brahmin respected by all and the so called *Brahmin* may not shirk from calling himself a *Shudra*. The feeling of high and low will be uprooted. It is a non-violent institution. Man is an animal created to discover his *atman*, and as *atman* all are one.

Inhale the sufferings of others.

There is a new beginning when you eventually feel a strong aversion for your self-centeredness. Once love for others is developed, you will spontaneously ask what can be done for others. Whether or not our working for others takes them towards enlightenment or not, it strengthens your attitude of love and compassion.

You actually need to breathe this practice. As you exhale, imagine giving your possessions and virtues. Imagine others obtaining pure bliss. As you inhale, visualize taking the sufferings and faults of others. The mind and breath flow in the same direction, you will overcome distraction and strengthen mindfulness.

The mind keeps creating negative thoughts and emotions when it comes in contact with senses. Do not allow them to overpower you. Think about the defects of disturbing emotions and the unpleasant consequences they produce. Make a wish, that by the experience of your anger, may others be free of it and avoid suffering. At the end, think that all beings enjoy peace. Actually the *bodhisattvas* are capable of preventing the arising of negative emotions. You have to be constantly aware and alert.

Having trained in love and compassion, you might wonder why you need to attain Buddhahood. However, only by attaining complete enlightenment can they place innumerable beings in the state beyond suffering. Today one may doubt about attaining such a state. It is important to understand the nature of enlightenment. First is to remove all the faults that contaminate our minds. This is what makes the attainment of enlightenment possible. If we can understand that, it will inspire our efforts to generate the awakening mind. Therefore, it is said that wisdom focuses on enlightenment and compassion focuses on the need of other sentient beings.

To have offspring is no religious obligation on us.

Never trouble yourself to get anyone married and provided for. The boy, on growing up, will arrange the business himself if he wants to marry. If it does become necessary to find husbands for daughters we would offer them to those who are prepared to marry them with no more than a *tulsi* leaf for dowry. We would not spend a single pie. We would wait till we came across such a candidate and teach the daughter to be patient. We should be prepared for some gossiping in consequence, and to be sneered at. All this, we would bear with patience. If we remain upright in our conduct, we would come to no harm. To have offspring is no religious obligation on us. It is none of our duty to multiply numbers in the world. The real secret of life seems to consist in so living in the world as it is, without being attached to it, that *moksha* might become easy of attainment to us and to others. This will include service of self, the family, the community, and the state. We should not stop till we reach that goal.

Should I meet with an untimely end, it is my desire that you should order your life as indicated.

After my death, the money needed on account of the widows should be made available. All who agree with aims set out should make the necessary provision even if you have to put yourselves to extreme difficulty and share for the purpose. If all live together, it is very graceful. If not, separate provisions should be made for each. No one will be justified in expecting, or will expect, anything above a certain standard of living. Since I consider that to be the best way of living, the ideas outlined above do not appear to be harsh. The logic behind this reasoning is based on poverty which, indeed, appears to be the only sound basis.

August 3

Develop a sense of global responsibility.

If we look at humanity as a whole, we are social animals. Moreover, the structures of the modern economy, education and so on, illustrate that the world has become a smaller place and that we heavily depend on one another. Under such circumstances, I think the only option is to live and work together harmoniously and keep in our minds the interest of the whole of humanity. That is the only outlook and way we must adopt for our survival.

By nature, especially as a human being, my interests are not independent of others. My happiness depends on others' happiness. So when I see happy people, automatically I also feel a little bit happier than when I see people in a difficult situation. For example, when we see pictures on television which show people starving in Somalia, then we automatically feel sad, regardless of whether that sadness can lead to some kind of active help or not.

Since we all have an equal right to be happy and since we are all linked to one another, no matter how important an individual is, logically the interest of the other billions of people on the planet is more important than that of one single person. By thinking along these lines, you can eventually develop a sense of global responsibility. Modern environmental problems, such as depletion of the ozone layer, also clearly shows us the need for world co-operation. It seems with development the whole world has become smaller, but the human consciousness is still lagging behind.

Non-violence consists in holding in check all impulses.

We need to understand *dharma*. What we have taken as *dharma* is not *dharma*. We commit violence on a large scale in the name of non-violence. Fearing to shed blood, we torment people every day and dry up their blood. A *Bania* (trader) can never practise non-violence. *Dharma* does not consist in the outward renunciation practised by some Shravakas (Jains) or in feeding ants. There can be no *moksha* or knowledge of the self unless one renounces love of body. If you are convinced of this and would discover the true road to *moksha*, I should advise you to identify yourself with the *Ashram*. Think over this carefully. Undertake this only if the truth of this is as clear to you as day light. If it is, you will experience great peace. Otherwise you will tire out soon.

Think it over yourself. You must quietly go through. You will gain greater strength of will and purpose by the enforced discipline and restraint.

One needs to undergo a revolution in one's outlook upon life. As it seems to me some old cob-webs are falling away. Such laying bare is necessary. It is as necessary to be scrupulously truthful as one can be-frank and fearless. An unfounded and uncharitable expression would be an untruth.

Non-violence consists in holding in check all impulses in the *chitta* (mind). It comes to play especially in relation with one another.

Obstacle can be seen as a valuable opportunity.

What is the nature of the mind and can it be changed? From my own limited experience, I am convinced that through constant training we can indeed develop our minds. Our positive attitudes, thoughts, and outlook can be enhanced, and their negative counterparts can be reduced. Even a single moment of consciousness depends on so many factors, and when we change these various factors, the mind also changes. This is a simple truth about the nature of mind.

The thing that we call 'mind' is quite peculiar. Sometimes it is very stubborn and very resistant to change. With continuous effort, however, and with conviction based on reason, our minds are sometimes quite honest and flexible. When we truly recognize that there is some need to change, then our minds can change. Wishing and praying alone will not transform your mind; you also need reason - reason ultimately grounded in your own experience. And old mental habits resist solutions.

We need to recognize that as long as we live in this world we will encounter problems, things that obstruct the fulfilment of our goals. If, when these happen, we lose hope and become discouraged, we diminish our ability to face these difficulties. If we remember that not just we but everyone undergoes suffering, this perspective will change our capacity to overcome troubles. By remembering the suffering of others, by feeling compassion for others, our own suffering becomes manageable. Indeed, with this attitude, each new obstacle can be seen as yet another valuable opportunity to improve our mind. In developing compassion for others, our own serenity and inner strength will increase.

Non-co-operation is different from boycott.

There is confusion it seems in understanding boycott and non-co-operation. I had thought that my meaning was clear and that there was no inconsistency. Boycott is a punishment and is conceived in a vindictive spirit. The idea of boycotting British goods is that although British goods may be better than, say, Japanese, I should not buy the former because I want to revenge myself upon the British people for a wrong done. I hold that boycott under such circumstances is a form of violence.

Non-co-operation stands on a different footing. If the Government does wrong I become a participator in its wrong doing by co-operating with it and thus making it possible for them to do the wrong. It is my duty, not by way of punishment or by way of revenge but to the end that I may not make myself responsible for the wrong doing, to withdraw my support of that government. Indeed I should be justified in bringing that government to a standstill. It is clear to me therefore, that non-co-operation is as different from boycott as an elephant from an ass.

One cannot always avoid doing the right thing because there are risks to be run. One has to differentiate in between disapproval of violence and approval of *hartal*. *Hartal* does not necessarily lead to violence. A non-violent course of action is to be found that would lead to a just solution. All strong action may bring about violence but we may not fear to do the right lest it may be misinterpreted and lead to wrong. I still believe that for the moment I consider that I am alone capable of offering *satyagraha* in its fine form. But if that belief were to deter me from making experiments, *satyagraha* would never make headway.

August 7

Tolerance can bring spiritual value to humanity.

Unless we know the value of other religious traditions, it is difficult to respect them. Mutual respect is the foundation of genuine harmony.

Drawing on religious faith to promote basic human values is something very positive. The major world religions all teach love, compassion, and forgiveness. The way each religious tradition promotes this is different. The aim is to having a happier life and becoming a compassionate person, and creating a more compassionate world.

Faith is something vital for each of major world religions. We must practice it very seriously. Religious teaching must be an integral part of our lives; they should not be separated from our lives. The religious message must be with us wherever we are. Then only they become effective.

We need to know the teachings not only at an intellectual level but also through our own deeper experience. Else, the effectiveness becomes limited.

Today the world is much more interdependent than anytime before. In reality the survival of one region of the world depends on that of others. Under such circumstances the acceptance of pluralism among the world's religions is very important. Each religious tradition has its own wonderful message to convey. The person who believes in God and in love for God must demonstrate the sincerity through love directed towards fellow beings.

Close contact with different religions helps me to learn new practices. There is great benefit when practitioners of different religions come together for this kind of interchange. Thus sincerity and faith in religious practice along with tolerance and cooperation can bring spiritual value to humanity.

August 8

India can demonstrate to the world the supremacy of soul-force.

I believe myself to be an idealist and also a practical man. I do not think that a man can be said to have lived in accordance with this law only if he does so consciously and purposefully. Therefore, I place it before all, whether or not they have faith in it. It is not necessary to have the highest knowledge to be able to recognise the importance of this law.

One need not believe in the purity of my motives but must clearly recognise that there can be no violence simultaneously with non-co-operation. The greatest obstacle to the launching of all-out non-co-operation is the fear of violence breaking out.

To me, on the day when brute force gains ascendancy in India, all distinctions of East and West, of ancient and modern, will have disappeared. That day will be the day of my test. I take pride in looking upon India as my country because I believe that she has it in her to demonstrate to the world the supremacy of soul-force. When India accepts the supremacy of brute force, I should no longer be happy to call her my mother-land. It is my belief that my *dharma* recognises no limits of spheres of duty or of geographical boundaries. I pray to God that I may then be able to prove that my *dharma* takes no thought of my person or is not restricted to a particular field.

I have been striving to live according to this law. For many years past, I have been consciously trying to do so and have been exhorting India to do the same.

August 9

No one is born free from the need for love.

It seems to me that why love and compassion bring such happiness to human beings is because our nature cherishes them above all else. The need for love is at the very foundation of human existence. It results from the profound interdependence we all share with one another.

Interdependence, of course, is a fundamental law of nature. This is true not only for higher forms of life but even for the tiniest of insects. The most subtle level of material phenomena is also governed by interdependence. All phenomena, from the planet we inhabit to the oceans, clouds, forests and flowers that surround us, arise in dependence upon subtle patterns of energy. Without proper interaction they dissolve and decay.

The need for love lies at the very foundation of our existence. Therefore, we need a genuine sense of responsibility and a sincere concern for the welfare of others.

Human beings are not mere material creatures, else machines and external factors would alleviate all our sufferings and fulfil our needs.

All our relationships in life - with parents, teachers, doctors and friends indicates our dependence on love and care. Even scientists feel that the main cause of depression is deprivation of affection and not something material.

It is clear to me, whether we are consciously aware or not, from the moment of conception, the need for human affection is in our blood. No one is born free from the need for love. No material object makes us feel loved, our true character lies in the nature of the mind.

Education is to follow Truth.

We are dazzled by the shining lustre of our chains and look upon them as the symbols of our freedom. This state (of mind) bespeaks slavery of the worst kind. For us, fear has become synonymous with life. What is the use of that education which does not help us to overcome fear, but which on the contrary, strengthens it? What kind of education is it which does not teach us to follow truth and to cultivate devotion for the country?

But my argument is not merely that we should give up that education because it is bad. My argument is that we ought not to receive it because it is provided by those who hold us in slavery. From his owner a slave will not learn the lessons of freedom. They do not give you real education, only deceive you in believing what they do.

If you feel the same way as I do, you would not want to ask if alternative schools had been provided. Leaving your school or college without making conditions is the first lesson in freedom.

If your only ambition, after completing your education, is to be lawyers or the government's hacks, the present schools are the only ones for you. You should even live by begging and study. If you have not acquired the strength for this, I do not want to win the country's freedom through you.

One who has observed the law of non-stealing and practised non-violence - such a one may claim to hear the voice of conscience. I, therefore address myself only to those who have been trained in self - control. I want only such students as have the strength, to sacrifice themselves, to mount the gallows, to beg. You may leave college only if the cruel injustice done to the country has kindled fire in your hearts.

August 11

Smile and laugh more and have more friends.

Today, people agree with my views, but the fundamental question is how we develop and maintain compassion. Certain religious beliefs, if you have them, are very helpful; but if you do not have them, you can also survive quite happily. Compassion, love, and forgiveness, however, are not luxuries. They are fundamental for our survival.

People keep asking me for a method to develop them. This is not easy. There is no particular package or method that enables you to develop those qualities instantaneously. You can't press a button and wait for them to appear. I know that many people expect things like this from a Dalai-Lama, but, really, all I have to offer is my own experience. If you find something useful, use it. But if you don't find much of interest, I don't mind if you just leave it.

I think we must investigate our daily life. To experience and see the consequences of anger and the consequences of love and compassion. If we make a comparative study, we will develop a deeper understanding of anger and compassion. Once we are convinced of the benefits of compassion and the consequences of anger and hatred - that they cause unhappiness within us - then we will make more effort to have less anger. We usually think that anger is protecting us from something, but that is a deception. Some people feel we will have more boldness and energy to fight when we are angry. In my experience, it is blind energy and difficult to control. Once we see negative mental states as negative, that alone will reduce their strength.

Now, as a result of training, my mental state remains comparatively calm. I am usually in a relaxed mood, and my health has been good - I never use sleeping pills, and appetite is not a problem. I am convinced that as a result of less anger, we become happier and healthier, smile and laugh more, and have more friends.

August 12

Whether military or police - do not kill your conscience.

The Congress resolution does not bind a man's conscience. The Congress resolution is never intended to supersede a man's conscience, and I have never made a fetish of the mandate of the Congress. Even now, although I feel that the majority are of the same opinion which I hold, I make bold to say that I shall never be party to making the Congress itself a fetish or its mandate a fetish. I shall always reserve the right of conscience whenever my conscience pricks me and tells me that I should resist the mandate of the Congress.

I think it is right that we should know that we are not tampering with the obligations of service imposed upon employees of government, whether civil, military or police. But we are asking them not to kill their conscience, and I want to make that point a little clear. I would have held it a sin if I had been one of those soldiers to receive the command of the General to shoot those innocent men in *Jallianwala Bagh*. I would have considered it my duty to disregard that command and preferred being shot on the spot.

With these words, I ask you to carry the non-co-operation resolution with acclamation and with a prayer to God from the deepest recesses of your heart that you are resolved to attain *swaraj* by the means that have been declared by the Congress. You shall show no violence in thought, deed or word whether in connection with the Government or whether in connection with ourselves.

August 13

With sincere motivation, there is no regret.

People are keen to know if fear arises in me. I am a Dalai Lama, but yes, fear does arise in me.

But there are different kinds of fear. In one kind, things are quite delicate, or critical. At such times I know that I must make a decision, whether I know what to do or not. First I try to consult with my friends and reflect on it. Then, I make a decision and act, and I never felt regret. Ultimately, this is very much related to motivation. If I have no negative selfish motivation, deep down I will have no guilty feeling. When I act with sincere motivation, even if things do not go as expected, there is no regret.

The second kind of fear is based on imagination. To overcome that, you need calmness so that you can investigate it more closely. When you look into it in detail, your imaginary fear dissipates.

We have to look into individual cases. Sometimes, you see, there is real danger associated with some kinds of fear. In that physical situation, it is worthwhile to feel fear. Out of fear, you see how to take every proper precaution. It can be a serious loss if there is an actual danger and you feel no fear!

But another type of fear, where there is no imminent danger, is one you have created. With that kind of fear, the essential thing is to have sincere motivation and openness deep down. This is very helpful to reduce the fear. With self-confidence you can meet any person and talk over with him or her. Even though you have fear, because of your confidence, you have some kind of justice or truth within you. So, the basic things, I think, according to my own experience, are compassion and an altruistic mind.

Way to reach God accrues only to the very brave.

Is it that non-violence which only an individual can use is not of much use in terms of society? Man is a social being. His accomplishments to be of use must be such as any person with sufficient diligence can attain. That which can be exercised only among friends is of value as a spark of *ahimsa*.

‘Enmity vanishes in the presence of *ahimsa*’, is a great aphorism. It means that the greatest enmity requires an equal measure of *ahimsa* for its abatement. Cultivation of this virtue may need long practice, even extending to several births. The path is never a carpet of roses without thorns. And the way to reach God accrues only to the very brave, never to the weak hearted.

‘A bad turn is neutralized by a good’, is a wise saying of daily experience in practice. Why can we not see that if the sum total of the world’s activities were destructive, it would have come to an end long ago? Love and *ahimsa*, sustain this planet of ours. This much must be admitted.

The precious grace of life has to be strenuously cultivated, naturally so because it is uplifting. Descent is easy, not so ascent. A large majority of us being undisciplined, our daily experience is that of fighting or swearing at one another on the slightest pretext. This, the richest grace of *ahimsa*, will descend easily upon the owner of hard discipline.

Practices are sources of courage.

When a Buddhist practitioner who sees sentient beings troubled by suffering, wonders what can be done to help these beings. All of these sufferings are due to their own *karma*, and thus one is limited in how much one can help them directly. However, one can voluntarily and enthusiastically, from the depths of the heart, make the wish and imagine with great will, “May their suffering as well as its causes ripen within me.” This is called the practice of taking others’ suffering within emphasizing compassion.

Correspondingly, from the depths of one's heart one can wish and imagine that whatever few virtues one has accumulated, which will produce pleasurable effects, be given to other sentient beings, without the slightest regret. This is called the practice of giving away one's own happiness within emphasizing love. Although such mental imagining may or may not actually bring about these results, it helps with regard to increasing determination and will power.

A person who has become accustomed to this practice can, at the time of an illness or unfortunate happening, implement, it thereby keeping one’s suffering from getting worse and developing courage. In my limited experience, these practices are really sources of courage, sources of inner strength.

As far as my motivation is concerned, I am sincere; I will do whatever I can. Whether something is achieved or not is a different matter; thus I have no regret. It is better to be focused on larger issues than smaller ones; a lifetime even of a hundred years is very small, not important, compared to the infinite future. Also compared to the problems of limitless sentient beings, my own problems are nothing. When you concentrate on bigger issues, the smaller ones come and go, come and go - that is their nature; they do not cause much concern.

Performing right action by right means only.

I do not know what is intrinsically good. Hence I do not go by results. It is enough if I take care of the means. If evil does seem sometimes to result from good, the inference would be that the means employed were probably wrong. Good action to produce good results must be supported by means that are pure. I have therefore said that a man who wants to be good and do good in all circumstances must not hold power.

A man of non-violence can vote and send to the government who represent his will. If he goes there himself, he exposes himself to the corrupting influence of power. If he (representative) falls a prey to temptation, he can be recalled. I cannot recall myself. All this requires a high degree of intelligence on the part of the electorate. I want constructive workers to keep the parliament under check by educating and guiding the voters.

They claim that one atom bomb changed the entire course of the war and brought the end of war so much the nearer. Has it conquered the Japanese spirit? Has it crushed Germany? In the end it will be Hitlerism that will have triumphed.

Is the *Gita* in the sum total an argument in defence of a righteous war? The argument of the *Gita* was presented in a setting of physical war. It was the eternal duel between the right and wrong going on within us. The thesis of the *Gita* was neither violence nor non-violence but the gospel of selfless action-the duty of performing right action by right means only, in a spirit of detachment, leaving the fruits of action to the care of God.

An open heart is an open mind.

Like the two wings of a bird, there are two aspects of our path, they are both necessary as we embark upon our journey to enlightenment, be it a state free of suffering for ourselves alone or the ultimate enlightened state of Buddhahood we seek in order to benefit all sentient beings.

It involves opening of our heart, of our compassion and love, as well as those qualities such as generosity and patience that extend from a loving heart. The heart represents the well spring of sympathy and love. The mind is located in the middle of it. An open heart is an open mind.

In the wisdom aspect, it refers to the head we deal with analysis and deepening our understanding of impermanence, the suffering nature of existence, and our actual state of selflessness. Any of these insights may take many lifetimes to fully fathom. It is through insight we overcome attachment.

Our basic illusion is the inherent existence of ourselves and all other phenomena. We project, and then cling to, an idea of the intrinsic nature of things, an essence that phenomena do not actually possess. The 'me' is merely imputed by us; it does not actually exist.

We can abandon the quality of clinging - a basic illusion of an essential quality, only through wisdom. Initially it is only intellectual. We have to deepen it by spiritual practices. Thereby, we can uproot the very basis of the self-grasping that lies at the core of all our striving.

Wisdom is the process of bringing the minds into accord with the way things really are. This removes incorrect perceptions. All this is required in order to explore the idea of compassion.

Non-co-operation is a movement of self-purification.

It is our duty to hear patiently the views of our opponents. I know the feelings of the non-*Brahmins* and also their cause. I do not say that the Brahmins are not to be blamed at all, even the *Brahmins* do not claim to be faultless. The *Brahmins* have disregarded the feelings of their religion and have lost the purity of life. They have fallen from high positions which they once occupied and their degradation marked the commencement of the downfall of India. I am a non-*Brahmin* and I appeal to my non-*Brahmin* friends not to forget their religion and ideals of life because the present-day *Brahmins* have degenerated. But you may be surprised to know that it is due to the *Brahmins* that the non-*Brahmins* have been conscious of the shortcomings and agitating for their rights. It is the *Brahmins* who exert for the upliftment of the depressed classes, more than anybody else.

The Brahmins have never resorted to the force of arms. They established their superiority by sheer force of their intellect, self-sacrifice and penance. None need be jealous of their superiority.

Non-co-operation is for all, *Brahmins* and non *Brahmins* alike. It is a movement of self-purification. We must get rid of the vices which eat into the vitals of our society. We must be ready to sacrifice our life on the altar of the country. We must practice non-violence at all costs. If we are determined to follow the path of non-violence and settle the *Brahmin*, non-*Brahmin* disputes and the *Hindus* and *Mohammadans* act towards each other in brotherly love, I assure you that swaraj will be established during this year.

August 19

Aesthetic experiences have a strong sensory component.

Today people have placed too much hope in material development. The problem is not materialism as such. Rather it is the underlying assumption that full satisfaction can arise from gratifying the senses alone. Even though aesthetic experiences are a sense of happiness, they still have a strong sensory component. The satisfaction we derive from work or career, they are in general acquired through the senses. By themselves these cannot offer the happiness we dream of.

The urge to survival comes from physical needs. So, to try to seek immediate gratification of the senses in all circumstances, would hardly be justified. The brief elation we experience when appeasing sensual impulses may not be very different from what the drug addict feels when indulging in the habit. There is no hope of gratifying the senses permanently.

Indeed, we find that a great deal of what I have called internal suffering can be attributed to our impulsive approach to happiness. Instead of understanding a situation, we rush to do what promises the shortest route to satisfaction. In this actually we deny long term fulfilment. When we act to fulfil our immediate desires without taking into account others' interest, we undermine the possibility of lasting happiness.

We can examine this in our attitude towards our children, partners in the family or with neighbours in the community.

I too have faced calamities in my life. But, still so far as my basic serenity is concerned, on most days I am calm and contented. Even when difficulties arise, as they must, I am usually not much bothered by them. I have no hesitation in saying that I am happy.

August 20

We want swaraj to become dharma-rajya.

This movement of non-violence is a movement of purification, we call it a religious movement, we dare to call this government satanic. We want *swaraj* to become *dharma-rajya*. Let us not deceive ourselves and our Gods and deserve the curse of Gods for deceiving them.

We may not regard a single being as untouchable. We have become lepers of the empire by regarding a class of *Hindus* as lepers. I speak with the authority of experience and I assure you that in *Hinduism* there is no sanction for treating a single human being as untouchable. In the estimation of a *Brahmin* knowing and living his religion, a *Sudra* is as good as himself. The *Bhagawadgita* has nowhere taught that a *chandala* is in any way inferior to a *Brahmin*. A *Brahmin* ceases to be a *Brahmin*, the moment he becomes insolent and considers himself a superior being. India owes a deep debt to the *Brahmins*, who voluntarily sacrificed themselves for the betterment of all. It was *Brahmins* who have called God servant of servants, the purifier of the fallen. It was the *Brahmins* who taught that the *Chandala* could attain *Moksha* if he only purified his heart.

But unfortunately for the human race the *Brahmin* shares with mankind the frailties of all. In common with others he has neglected his duty of giving knowledge to mankind, of guiding them in the right and truest path.

I believe in *Varnashrama Dharma*, it is the truest road to equality, it is a religion not of self-indulgence but of self-sacrifice. It is a religion not of insolence but of humility.

The spiritual character of the movement is one of the most soul-striving phenomena that India could pass through. I hope non-violence has become an article of faith for all of us.

August 21

Without compassion our activities become destructive.

What is the role of such spiritual practices like love and compassion in our daily lives, to our workplaces? Does the ideal of kind-heartedness make us abandon our own interests entirely?

If it is correct that qualities such as love, patience, tolerance, and forgiveness are what happiness consists in, and if it is also correct that compassion is both the source and the fruit of these qualities, then the more we are compassionate, the more we provide for our own happiness. Compassion belongs to every sphere of activity, including, of course the workplace.

Though some people feel that compassion becomes an impediment in professional life, I believe that without compassion our activities become destructive. To take an imaginary case of a scientist whose research seems likely to be a source of suffering, they will recognize this and act accordingly, even if this means abandoning the project.

Such acts can have profound consequences on the family and themselves. Likewise, those engaged in the caring profession - in medicine, counselling, social work, and so on - or even those looking after someone at home may sometimes become so exhausted by their duties that they feel overwhelmed. Constant exposure to suffering, coupled occasionally with a feeling of being taken for granted, can induce feelings of helplessness and even despair. Some may remain generous only externally. However, this can develop an insensitivity towards others' suffering. In that case it is better to disengage at least for a while and see. We have to remember that despair is never a solution. It is rather, the ultimate failure.

Along with insight we need to have a clear appreciation of our potential to benefit others.

August 22

Demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong.

There is a plea for immediate civil disobedience. It will even ensure world peace. But the present is no atmosphere for influencing the British in the right direction through civil-disobedience and non-violence. We do not want to embarrass the British.

I would unhesitatingly declare civil disobedience if the country was demonstrably non-violent and disciplined. We have groups who believe in neither non-violence nor civil-disobedience. Though we have made great strides towards non-violence, we have not arrived at a stage when we can hope to be unconquerable.

We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin that is not the way of non-violence. We will make our power felt at the time of peace which must come whichever party wins. We must first demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong in our own country before we can expect to influence the tremendously armed powers of the West.

But many Congressmen think in terms of civil disobedience as the filling of jails. This is a childish interpretation. Prison-going without honest constructive effort and goodwill for the wrongdoer in violence is forbidden in *satyagraha*. Force generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of all the arms invented by man's ingenuity. Non-violence, therefore, is the decisive factor in civil disobedience. Those, therefore, who wish to see India realize her destiny through non-violence should devote every ounce of their energy towards the fulfilment of the constructive programme in right earnest without any thought of civil disobedience.

Help others, and if not, do not harm them.

It is obvious that if we do not have an urge to exchange our own happiness for the suffering of others, there is no chance of our attaining Buddhahood, not even gaining happiness in this life.

There are two aspects of Buddha's teachings. First is to help others, and, the second is not to harm others. In between these two phrases 'help others', and 'if not, do not harm them,' are condensed the meaning of all the 84,000 heaps of Buddha's teachings.

If we believe in religious teachings, this is the lifetime when we have found this precious human birth, and have met with Buddha's teachings. In fact this is the chance for us to attain enlightenment in a single lifetime.

Even if you cannot actualize the teachings, it is important that from now onwards you try to make a good start by planting positive seeds so you may be able to gain enlightenment in some future life. You should resolve to gain enlightenment for sentient beings throughout space, who all equally desire happiness and do not want suffering.

Merely generating a good heart is not sufficient. It is only a Buddha who is able to work incessantly for the welfare of all sentient beings throughout space. Hence, we also need to pray along with a good heart.

You can recite the Confession Sutra very slowly while reflecting on what it means. Develop a strong sense of regret for all the heaps of misdeeds that you all sentient beings have accumulated through the activities of body, speech and mind, which have obstructed the generation of this good heart, and resolve not to commit them again even at the cost of your life. Take refuge in the Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha* from the depth of your heart.

To make our lives fruitful we must try to follow this in thought and deed and abide by it.

August 24

I am not their man.

Everybody is asking me not whether but when I am to call the country to civil disobedience. It seems they are tired of waiting. It is heartening to think that there are in the country so many persons who count no sacrifice too dear for gaining independence.

While I admire the zeal, I warn them against impatience. It will be suicidal to declare civil- disobedience when there is so much indiscipline and violence within the Congress itself. They will make a serious mistake if they do not give full weight to my words. I cannot, will not, start mass civil disobedience so long as I am not convinced that there is enough discipline and enough non-violence in Congress ranks. Battle through such instruments is foredoomed to failure. Such persons should know that I am not their man.

Let it be clearly understood that I cannot be hustled into precipitating the struggle. They err grievously who think that I can ever declare civil disobedience having been driven there to by the so called leftists. I make no such distinction between rightists and leftists. Both are my co-workers and friends. If the whole country were to turn against me, I must, when the time comes, fight single-handed. The others have or may have weapons besides non-violence I have no choice. Being the author of non-violent technique in the political field, I am bound to fight when I feel the urge from within.

It is inherent in the technique that I never know the time-table in advance. The call may come at any time. Everybody sometimes acts upon the Inner urge.

August 25

The foundation of all spiritual practice is love.

To pursue a religion, one has to be serious. Do not be like the man who tastes food in all the different restaurants but never actually gets down to eating a meal. Think carefully before you begin a practice. Patience in practice is very important. You cannot treat *Dharma* like a machine. The development of the mind takes time.

A daily sense of steadiness is necessary in the practice. There is no need to change at apparent level. A Tibetan proverb says, 'change your mind but leave your appearance as usual'.

The important aspect is to see the benefit of others. At least avoid all that is unacceptable to the society you live in. It helps at least to begin with.

In *Dharma* practice, love towards others, is the basis of *bodhichitta*. Love is a simple practice, yet, it is very beneficial for the individual who practices, as well as for the community in which you live. Love and kindness are always appropriate. Whether you believe in rebirth or not, love is needed in this life too. If there is love, there is hope to have real families, real brotherhood, real equanimity, real peace.

If the mind of love is lost, if you continue to see other beings as enemies, then no matter how much knowledge or education you have, no matter how much material progress is made, only suffering and confusion will ensue. Beings will continue to deceive and overpower another.

Basically, everyone exists in the very nature of suffering, so to abuse or mistreat each other is futile. The foundation of all spiritual practice is love. That you practice well is my only request. Of course, to be able to do so in all situations will take time. But you should not lose courage. If you wish for happiness for mankind, love is the only way.

In the work of service the pace should not be too fast.

I wish to live for 125 years, so that I can serve the country longer. A *satyagrahi* never utters a word that he does not mean. I earnestly endeavour to fulfil this wish of mine and to this end I try to conserve as much of my energy as I can.

Whether I succeed in my desire to live to 125 years will not depend on doctors or medical science, though in my own way I have used the aid of both a good deal. It will depend upon my ability fully to translate into practice the principles of truth and *ahimsa*. My experience of ahimsa has taught me that even in the work of service the pace should not be too fast. I confess that in this I have been only partially successful. I cannot regulate my pace sufficiently. Old settled habits are not overcome all at once. I know undue haste is bad; it impedes work instead of facilitating it.

I am as impatient as anyone of you to reach our goal but I realize that the task is an uphill one. India has been enslaved for so long - its slavery dates since even before British rule - that all initiative and originality in us has been killed and we are paralyzed with despair. Constructive work cannot make headway without a resuscitation of those lost qualities in us, and the attainment of independence through truth and non-violence must remain an empty dream unless constructive work can be carried through to success. Freedom is bound to come. But mere political freedom will not satisfy me. It will certainly not satisfy the world which expects much greater things from India.

Independence of my conception means nothing less than the realization of the 'Kingdom of God within you and on this Earth'. I would rather work for and die in the pursuit of this dream though it may never be realized. That means infinite patience and perseverance.

August 27

Struggle without ill feeling

There are people in this world who have faced war, have suffered the effects of war and at times as a further consequence have also become refugees. Now how can such people look upon forgiveness? This is not an easy question to live with.

According to my beliefs, tolerance and forgiveness are related to motivation. When people hurt or harm you and cause a lot of suffering for your community, it's actually no help to feel an ongoing hatred for those troublemakers. It just brings you more frustration and inner discomfort. Ill feeling towards others destroys your peace of mind and eventually ruins your health.

As far as taking action to regain your rights and putting a stop to their misbehaviour is concerned, practicing forgiveness does not mean abandoning your struggle. We all have a legitimate right to try to restore what has been lost or managed. We can also have a sense of concern for our enemies' bad behaviour and future well-being. If they are engaging in pursuing the wrong goal or harmful activities and we let them carry on, they will suffer ultimately. So, out of concern and compassion for them, we should try to stop them as a form of counter-measure.

Therefore, forgiveness does not mean forgetting. We can keep the negative events in our mind and in the minds of world's citizens and carry on our just struggle, but without any ill feeling. Sometimes there is a danger of misunderstanding the concept of forgiveness as entailing submission or giving in to one's antagonism, but this is mistaken. The proper meaning of forgiveness is not to harbour ill will.

August 28

Palestine of the Jews is their hearts.

My sympathies are with the Jews. But I have no doubt that they are going about Palestine the wrong way. The Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if they must look to Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs. They should seek to convert the Arab heart. The same God rules the Arab heart who rules the Jewish heart. They can offer *satyagraha* in front of the Arabs and offer themselves to be shot or thrown into the Dead Sea without raising a little finger against them. They will find the world opinion in their favour in their religious aspiration. There are hundreds of ways of reasoning with the Arabs, if they are the co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them.

I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightly regarded as an accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.

Let the Jews who claim to be the chosen race prove their worth by choosing the way of non-violence for indicating their position on earth. Every country is their home not by aggression but by loving service. The Jews have enriched world's literature, art, music, drama, science, medicine, agriculture etc. He can command the attention and respect of the world by being man, the chosen creation of God, instead of being man who is fast sinking to the brute and forsaken by God. They can add to their many contributions the surpassing contribution of non-violent action.

August 29

You bully some and curse others.

In today's living people forget basic ethical principles and act with a selfish attitude. This has to result in unpleasant consequences. When you think that your neighbours have nothing to do with your own happiness, you mistreat them. You bully some of them and intimidate and curse others. How can you expect an atmosphere of peace and harmony in such a neighbourhood? When you entertain evil thoughts like hostility and hatred, there is no joy in your heart and you are a nuisance to others. On the other hand, if you develop kindness, patience, and understanding, then the whole atmosphere changes.

You must think about the rarity and potential of life as a free fortunate human being; reflecting on death and impermanence. You have to think about actions and their results; and reflecting on the faults of the cycle of existence. By reflecting on the rarity and potential of life as a free and fortunate human being, you overcome your obsession with the temporal pleasures of this life. By contemplating death and impermanence, you overcome your attraction to favourable rebirths in future lives.

The emphasis should be placed more on internal development. One does not have to depend so much on external things, like having statues, incense, butter lamps, and so forth. If these things do not change us, then they are not of much help.

I believe in being practical. I am not impressed only by what happened in the past. I am someone who wants to see practical results now. Twenty years back I contemplated on emptiness. It had its good effect. I still admire these practices. These days I have a stronger aspiration for the compassion and tolerance that come with the awakening mind.

My ignorant attachment makes me impatient

You want from me inspired utterances which would touch the heart. If I had a safe filled with them, I would open it and send some every week. But I have no such safe. The words which I pen or speak come to me unsought. Only such words have truth in them for they are living words. All other statements are insincere. They may seem arresting, but I think they produce no abiding effect on the heart. I can do nothing insincere.

I had earlier replied to you as I felt at that moment. I understand my words did not produce a good impression on you. That is a measure of the imperfection of my non-violence. 'One must speak the truth in words which are agreeable' is a moral principle. 'Agreeable' here means non-violent. If I had told you gently what I did excitedly, my words would not have left behind the bitter memory which they have. Truth stated in a spirit of non-violence may hurt at the moment, but its ultimate effect must be as sweet as *amrit*. This is an essential test of non-violence.

I must have spoken to you vehemently in defence of Mirabehn, but I have not made any man or woman weep as bitterly as I have made her. My hardness of heart, impatience and ignorant attachment were responsible for such conduct. I have felt Mirabehn's self-sacrifice to be beyond praise and therefore, wish to see her perfect. The moment I see my imperfection in her, my ignorant attachment makes me impatient and I rebuke her sharply. These instances have opened my eyes to the presence of violence in me and recalling them I have been trying to reform myself.

August 31

September

Human beings work for others.

Being content with the achievement of liberation from the cycle of existence is not enough. Even speaking from the viewpoint of your own aims, it is the omniscient state of Buddhahood that is the complete fulfilment of your own welfare. Instead of being concerned with the achievement of your own personal liberation, it is better for intelligent practitioners to meditate on the altruistic aspiration to Buddhahood, called *bodhichitta*, right from the outset and enter the Mahayana, the Great Vehicle. If you see people who are under the constant sway of delusions and undergoing suffering, yet you do not work for their benefit, it is really very unfair and disappointing. You should not be content with working for your own personal benefit alone. That is what distinguishes human beings from animals. The unique feature of human beings is that they work for the benefit of others, not being concerned with their own welfare alone. That is the beauty and the speciality of a human being.

People like Abraham Lincoln and Mahatma Gandhi are regarded as really great men because they did not think of themselves alone but worked for the benefit of the people. They thought of the entire human society, and they struggled and fought for the rights of the poor.

When the sun shines, it shines without any discrimination; it shines on every point of the country, every nook and corner. We should be like that. We practitioners of the *Mahayana* should not be concerned with our own benefit but with a single-pointed mind develop the courageous altruistic attitude, taking upon our own shoulders the responsibility of working for all sentient beings.

Essentials of non-violence are compassion, non-anger, tolerance.

Truthfulness, *brahmacharya*, non-violence, non-stealing and non-hoarding, these five rules of life are obligatory on all aspirants. Everyone should be an aspirant. A man's character, therefore, is to be built on the foundation of these disciplines. Beyond doubt, they are to be observed by everyone in the world. Though a businessman, one must never utter or practise untruth; Though married, one must remain celibate; though keeping oneself alive, one can practise non-violence.

It is difficult to be of the world and yet not to steal (to observe the rule of non-stealing) and not to hoard wealth or any other thing. One must, nevertheless, keep that as an ideal to be attained and have some limit in these respects; when the mind has begun to turn away from these things, one may even embrace the supreme renunciation.

Every one who observes these vows will be able to find a way out of all perplexities.

The essentials of the vows of non-violence are *daya* (compassion), *akrodha* (non-anger), *aman* (tolerance) etc.

Satyagraha is based on non-violence. We must observe all the yamas and that, if we do so by way of vows, we perceive the inner significance of non-violence. I am absolutely clear in my mind that a nation's deliverance and ours will be achieved through the observance of these vows.

Human friendship is human affection.

If you think only of yourself, if you forget the rights and well-being of others, or, worse still, if you exploit others, ultimately you will lose. You will have no friends who will show concern for your well-being. Moreover, if a tragedy befalls you, instead of feeling concerned, others might even secretly rejoice. By contrast, if an individual is compassionate and altruistic, and has the interests of others in mind, then irrespective of whether that person knows a lot of people, wherever that person moves, he or she will immediately make friends. And when that person faces a tragedy, there will be plenty of people who will come to help.

A true friendship develops on the basis of genuine human affection, not money or power. Of course, due to your power or wealth, more people may approach you with big smiles or gifts. But deep down, these are friends of your wealth or power.

Genuine human friendship is on the basis of human affection. The more you show concern about the welfare and rights of others, the more you are a genuine friend. The more you remain open and sincere, then ultimately more benefits will come to you. If you forget or do not bother about others, then eventually you will lose your own benefit. So sometimes I tell people, if we really are selfish, then wise selfishness is much better than the selfishness of ignorance and narrow-mindedness.

The civilisation of the West is based on self-indulgence.

I have come to see something, what I did not so clearly before, that there is non-violence in violence. This is the big change which has come about. I had not fully realized the duty of restraining a drunkard from doing evil, of killing a dog in agony or one infected with rabies. In all these instances, violence is in fact non-violence. Violence is a function of the body.

Bramhacharya consists in refraining from sexual indulgence, but we do not bring up our children to be impotent. They will have observed *bramhacharya* only if, though possessed of the highest virility, they can master the physical urge. In the same way, our off-spring must be strong in physique. If they cannot completely renounce the urge to violence, we may permit them to commit violence, to use their strength to fight and thus make them non-violent. Non-violence was taught by a *Kshatriya* (warrior) to a *Kshatriya* (warrior).

The difference between the West and the East is a great one. The civilisation of the West is based on self-indulgence, ours on self-control. If we commit violence it will be as a last resort and with a view to conservation of society. The West will indulge in violence in self-will.

I simply cannot bring myself to take interest in the movement, but I can spread my ideals by working on it. When I saw that I could continue in it only by sacrificing ideals, I decided to retire from the movement.

September 4

Self-centeredness inhibits love.

How can we develop a compassionate attitude? Self-centeredness inhibits our love for others. For true love to come about, we need a calm mind, and such peace of mind is brought about only by a compassionate attitude. Obviously, it is not enough to believe, we need to make a concerted effort, we must use all the events of our daily life to transform our thoughts and behaviour.

Many forms of compassionate feelings are mixed with desire and attachment. For instance, the love of parents for their child, our concern for a close friend, even the love of husband and wife, depends more on attachment than genuine love. Our love is motivated more by personal need than by genuine care for another.

Compassion without attachment is possible. True compassion is not just an emotional response, but a firm commitment founded on reason. Then compassionate attitude towards others does not change even if they behave negatively. Genuine compassion is based not on our own projections and expectations, but rather on the needs of the other: irrespective of whether another person is a close friend or an enemy, as long as that person wishes for peace and happiness and wishes to overcome suffering, then on that basis we develop genuine concern for their problem. This is genuine compassion.

Whatever other people are, they are human beings. Like oneself they want happiness and do not want suffering. Furthermore, their right to overcome suffering and to be happy is equal to one's own. When you recognize this, you automatically feel empathy and closeness for them. Through accustomizing your mind to this sense of universal altruism, you develop responsibility for others. This wish is not selective, it applies to all beings.

A loyalty that sells its soul is worth nothing.

In these days of tension between employees and employers of the country, we may not encourage labourers to absent themselves from work without the willing consent of the employees.

Our resolution divides itself into four parts. The first is of a protest and a prayer. The second part warns those concerned that an adverse solution is likely to eventuate in complete withdrawal of co-operation from the government and will put an undue strain on all, and create excitement. The third part of the resolution warns the people in the most emphatic language against violence of speech or deed, and gives it as the opinion of this great meeting that any exercise of violence is calculated to injure the sacred cause and to do irreparable harm. And the last, commits to a policy of non-violence.

The resolution invites all to rally round the banner of truth. I yield to no one in my loyalty. I must refuse to buy that loyalty at the price of honour and at the sacrifice of the deeply seated religious sentiments. A loyalty that sells its soul is worth nothing.

We know that there will be neither peace nor rest for anybody until the wrong is righted and human feelings are respected. So long as the means and the end are honourable, I can imagine no better associations. In doing it, there can be no violence either of speech or of deed. We must conquer not by hate but by love. I admit the difficulty of loving the un-just, but victory consists not in marching along a smooth surface but in conquering obstacles in a resolute and undaunted way. And in a just and sacred cause, firmness of purpose and unconquerable will are the least qualities required of us. Violence can only damage this cause.

September 6

Human beings need human compassion.

In fact spirituality transcends religious differences, and is at the level of human compassion and affection. As it is most of the people in this world are non-believers. To them, spirituality in any form has no value. However, we must remember that these people are also a part of humanity, and that they also, like all human beings, have the desire to be happy - to have a happy and peaceful life.

I believe, as long as you are a human being you need human affection, human compassion. This is the essential teaching of all religious traditions. Without human compassion, even religious beliefs can become destructive. Thus, the essential practice, whether you are religious or not, is to ask is there a good heart? I consider human affection and compassion the universal religion. Compassion gives us inner strength, hope and mental peace. Compassion is indispensable for everyone.

I feel it is best to try and keep to one's own religious tradition. Changing your religion is not easy and sometimes causes confusion. However, those individuals who really feel that another religion's approach is more effective and more suitable to their mental disposition should think about it carefully. Sometimes people develop a critical attitude toward their previous religion or tradition in order to justify having changed their faith. This you must avoid. Your previous religion may no longer be effective for you, but that does not mean it is of no use to humanity. In recognition of other person's views and rights, and the value of their traditions, you must honor your previous religion.

Violence is totally unnecessary to bend an unwilling Government.

It seems there are some practical difficulties in the way of non-co-operation. It is not true that I have given up the last two stages of non-co-operation. What I have said is that they are a distant good. I abide by it. The last two stages are brought with the greatest of dangers. The stages have been fixed with a view to running the least possible risk. The last two stages will not be taken up unless the committee has attained sufficient control over the people to warrant the beliefs, that laying down of arms, or suspension of taxes will, humanly speaking, be free from an outbreak of violence on the part of the people. When once people realize that violence is totally unnecessary to bend an unwilling Government to their will and that the results can be obtained with certainty by dignified non-co-operation, they will cease to think of violence, even by way of retaliation. To-day there is a favourable atmosphere for expecting cohesive and restrained movement on the part of the masses.

The quickest and the largest response is to be expected in the matter of suspension of taxes, but so long as the masses are not educated to appropriate, to the value of non-violence even whilst their holdings are being sold, so long must it be difficult to take up the last stage to any appropriate extent.

The sudden withdrawal of the military and the police will be a disaster if we have not acquired the ability to protect ourselves against robbers and thieves. But I suggest that when we are ready to call out the military and the police on an extensive scale, we would find ourselves in a position to defend ourselves.

If the police and the military resign from patriotic motive, I would certainly expect them to perform the same duty as national volunteers, not as hirelings but as willing protectors of the life and liberty of their countrymen.

September 8

To work as one is to respect the right of all people.

I do not believe in creating movements or espousing ideologies. Nor do I like the practice of establishing our organization to promote a particular idea, which implies that one group of people alone is responsible for the attainment of that goal, while everybody else is exempt. In our present circumstances, none of us can afford to assume that somebody else will solve our problems; each of us must take his or her own share of universal responsibility. As the number of concerned, responsible individuals grow, such people will improve the atmosphere. Positive change does not come quickly and demands ongoing effort. If we become discouraged we may not attain simple goals. With constant, determined application, we can accomplish even the most difficult objectives.

Adopting an attitude of universal responsibility is essentially a personal matter. The real test of compassion is not what we say in abstract discussions but how we conduct ourselves in daily life. Still, certain fundamental views are basic to the practice of altruism.

Though no system of governance is perfect, democracy is that which is closest to humanity's essential nature. Hence those of us who enjoy it must continue to fight for all people's right to do so. Furthermore, democracy is the only stable foundation upon which a global political structure can be built. To work as one we must respect the right of all peoples and nations to maintain their own distinctive character and values.

Truth is in silence.

I spoke to you a few months ago about self control. To-day also the purposes of my visit here is to speak as I understand the matter, on the same subject. It is impossible for me, as a responsible person, to utter words intended to put wild ideas into people's heads.

I have been describing things as they are. If I saw that a thing was unclear and I did not say that it was so, I would violate truth and be guilty of lack of consideration for others. In describing a thing as it is, there is no lack of consideration for others, but only respect for truth. To be sure, perfect truth is in silence alone but, so long it is necessary to employ language, it can reflect the perfect truth only when I describe a situation to you exactly as I see it.

It is only when your action is pure, when your motive is pure and the result is pure, that the action can have been inspired by your conscience. He alone who practises non-violence, is truthful and keeps the vow of non- hoarding, can claim that he has had a command from the conscience within. If you are not a *brahmachari*, if you have no compassion in your heart, no regard for modesty and truth, you cannot claim any action of yours to have been inspired by your conscience. If, you have a heart such as I have described, if you have given up Western ways, if you have God in the pure temple of your heart, you may respectfully disobey even your parents. If you are in such a state, you are free and can act on your own. I know that in the west there is a powerful trend towards licence. But I have no desire to see students in India take to licence. If, I in this hallowed Banaras, in this sacred place, wished to turn you to ways of licence, I would be unworthy of my task.

September 10

Calmness is a source of happiness.

Human intelligence is one of our best attributes. It can assess the long and short-term consequences of our actions. But it cannot function properly when we are under the sway of a strong emotion.

We identify someone who directly or indirectly harms us as our 'enemy'. Generally, we don't like our enemy - that is the definition of enemy. We see our so called enemy as external, such as a group or an individual who can damage our property, hurt our friends, or even take our life. But if we undertake a deeper investigation, we see that these three things - property, friends, and our own bodies - are not cent percent sources of happiness for us. Sometimes because of our property, we experience more sadness; because of our friends, we get into trouble; and because of our bodies, we have pain. Even though these things are supposed to be sources of happiness for us, we cannot be sure. We may say they are seventy or eighty percent sources of happiness, but certainly not cent percent.

On the other hand, mental tranquility, or calmness, is a very important source of happiness. It is almost certain that if you have mental calmness, joy will arise. An external enemy, no matter how powerful, cannot strike directly at our mental calmness, because calmness is formless. This ultimate source of happiness or joy can only be destroyed by our own anger. So the real life enemy, the real destroyer of joy, is anger. Examine the mind and eliminate those thoughts that are negative and destructive. Over time, your mental state will become much better balanced, and you will find that you are much happier and more stable. This is a kind of *yoga* for the mind. It is very worthwhile and so simple.

The end of hatred is never justice.

It ever has been my purpose to show that dishonourable means cannot bring about an honourable end. I confess that the motive of all non-co-operators is not love but meaningless hatred. A man does not sacrifice himself out of hatred. He helplessly tries to inflict an injury on his supposed enemy. In non-co-operation the result to be achieved is not infliction of punishment but the attainment of justice. The end of hatred is never justice: it is retaliation, it is blind fury. The hatred of a mob results in the cruel murder of innocent men, but the hatred of a non-co-operator turning upon himself loses its points, purifies him, and makes it possible for the object of his hatred to reform and retrace his steps. Thus a non-co-operator starting as an enemy ends by becoming a friend. What does it matter with what motive a man does the right thing. A right act is right whether done for policy or for its own sake. I recognize the danger of a thing done from policy being abandoned, if it does not produce the desired result. But the existence of such danger is not an argument against the morality of the act itself.

Non-co-operation is an attempt to purify or perfect oneself. And the majority follows the path of purification from faith, not from knowledge. In other words selfish non-co-operationists following a self-less leader will have done well at the end, for they will realise the virtue of non-co-operation as a doctrine of selflessness. The cause is just; the means are equally just. The motive is mixed. The struggle is prolonged because the motive is not as unmixed as the means and the end.

Your mental state should remain steady.

We have a saying in Tibet, “If you are too excited by joy, later you will have to cry.” This shows the relative nature of what we identify as joy and pain, and it implies that there should be a limit. Of course, it is already happiness when someone decreases your suffering.

From a Buddhist practitioner’s view point, the important thing is that your mental state should remain steady, not too many ups and downs. There are joys and pains, even depression, but not too low or too high. This way of life may seem colorless, but a more colorful, exciting way of life is, in a deep sense, not good. It is like having lighting in the room. If sometimes it is blindingly bright and other times it is too dark to see, it is not very useful.

This whole way of life depends mainly on mental attitudes, remaining calm and stable. This, I think, is most important. This stability of mind is developed through training. One’s heart and mind become resilient, firmer, less likely to be pushed around by external events. The opposite is too much sensitivity, so that the slightest negative input will agitate you or throw you into depression, and the slightest positive input will get you very excited. This is not helpful.

In the depths of your mind, you have wisdom that will carry you when you encounter something negative. You don’t get thrown by it; you simply take it in stride. Likewise, when something good happens you can take this in stride, also. Taking things in stride is the key.

Non-violence provided an answer to every emergency.

Addressing a gathering of Meos Gandhiji remarked that his voice was not so powerful as it once used to be. If he had the original power, not a single Muslim should have found it necessary to migrate to Pakistan from the Indian Union or a single *Hindu* or *Sikh* to leave his earth and home in Pakistan and seek asylum in the Indian Union. What had taken place - the orgy of murder, arson, loot, abduction, forcible conversion and worse that they had witnessed - war, in his opinion, unmitigated barbarism. True such things were not unknown before, but there was not that wholesome communal discrimination. Tales of such happening had filled him with grief and shame. Even more shameful was the demolition and desecration of mosques, temples and *gurdwaras*. They were far from freedom while this madness reigned.

He had no faith in the force of bayonets. He could present to them the weapon of non-violence which provided an answer to every emergency and which was invulnerable. It was common to all great religions. His voice be to-day a voice in the wildness, said Gandhiji, but he had no other message to give them except this message of non-violence of meeting the challenge of brute force with the power of the spirit.

He remarked that he looked forward to the day when all enmities would be forgotten and all hatred buried underground and all those who had been driven away from their hearths and homes would return to them and resume their avocations in perfect security and peace as before.

Tolerance can be learnt from an enemy, not from a *guru*.

Of all the negative emotions, anger is the most powerful one. The only antidote to anger is patience. Hence one of the most important practices is that of tolerance, patience. Tolerance can be learnt only from an enemy; it cannot be learned from a guru. One's enemy is actually a good spiritual guide because in dependence upon an enemy one can cultivate patience, and in dependence upon patience one accumulates great power of merit. Therefore, it is as if any enemy were purposefully getting angry in order to help you accumulate merit.

If you consider what really brings harm to you, the main source is not the person, it is the afflictive emotions in that person's mental continuum. The troublemaker is anger. We should get upset, not at the person, but at the afflictive emotion in the person. Is anger the nature of the person or is it something adventitious - peripheral to the person's nature. If it is the nature of the person, then just as we do not get angry at fire even if it burns our hand because it is the very nature of fire to burn.

One's body has a nature of suffering and that the weapon has a nature of suffering, and thus when these come together, pain is produced. Hence, half the fault is one's own. Then, just as one gets angry at the other person, so one should get angry at oneself.

In particular, when you are able to generate a strong sense of respect for an enemy, all the rest of the people are easy since it is hardest to engender a sense of cherishing enemies. Understanding these reflections one can develop a strong sense of altruism, tolerance and patience.

Devotees make of God a living entity.

I learn that the *Harijans* have been denied entry to a temple and the *Harijans* in protest are offering *satyagraha*. All *Hindus* including *Harijans* should enter the temples. For years there has been a movement going on to prove that *Brahmins* and *Harijans* have equal rights. It has met with considerable success. As the government has passed a law to that effect there seems to be no occasion for *satyagraha*. If the law is in conformity with public opinion, its enforcement will be rather slow. In a democracy a law cannot be enforced through coercion. It always calls for discerning circumspection. It will succeed if a reformer takes recourse to it with clear understanding. If he is impatient the law will prove a failure.

Trustees are not the owners of the temples. The real owners are the devotees. Devotees are those who visit the temples either for worship or to feign worship. When *Hindus* go *Harijan*'s can also go. *Harijans* are not a separate community. It is the devotees who make of God a living entity. If they are good, the God is good.

Those *Harijans* who insist on going into a temple are not true devotees. They are running after their rights and away from religion. I want to see among *Harijans* a seer who has become a man of God by his own choice. If non-*Harijan Hindus* want, let them take *Harijans* to their temples with due respect. As long as that does not happen, let the *Harijans* stay at their homes and sanctify themselves with their purifying devotion. There is no need for them to fast before a temple. I believe that it is *adharm*a to do so. There is no merit in it. It is certainly sinful and everyone should keep miles away from such sins.

September 16

Self-centeredness makes us act in unvirtuous ways.

Compassion is the wish that others be free of suffering. It is by means of compassion that we aspire to attain enlightenment. It is compassion that inspires us to engage in the virtuous practices that lead to Buddhahood.

To begin, we must develop empathy or closeness to others. We recognize the gravity of their misery. The other person's suffering then becomes unbearable to us. This is neither physical nor emotional. It is a feeling of responsibility. For this we have to reflect upon the virtue of cherishing the well-being of others. We must come to see how this brings one an inner happiness and peace of mind. We must contemplate on the short comings of self-centeredness. It makes us act in unvirtuous ways.

We have to reflect on the virtues of others and how our fortune is really dependent upon the co-operation and contributions of others. Every aspect of our present well-being is due to hard work on the part of others. Look at the buildings, road, clothes, foods, everything around us. It is the kindness of so many people unknown to us. This contemplation changes our appreciation and empathy to others.

We must work to recognize our dependence on those for whom we feel compassion. This recognition brings them even closer. It requires sustained attention to see others through less self-centered lenses. We must work at recognizing their enormous impact on our well-being. When we resist indulging in a self-centered view of the world, we can replace it with a world-view that takes every living being in account.

We must not expect the view of others to change.

If fearlessness is difficult, at least do not give up compassion.

In the fund raising campaign, the contribution of the really wealthy class is very small indeed. Do not the wealthy people love doing their duty? Do they not wish to see India able to stand up and face the world? Do they not wish to make their contribution to filling the hungry stomachs of over three hundred million of famine-stricken in the country? Is not the good name of India dear to them? Do they not like that India should throw off her slavery? Is it not possible for the few wealthy by themselves to raise a contribution of a million rupees in a day, if they so decide?

If they help, the government will make things difficult for them. I wish they shed this fear from their hearts. The days for such fear are gone. And again, if only one rich man had to give, he could be intimidated, when, however, all agree to give, how can any one of them be intimidated.

However fear is such a thing that, despite one's desire to give, one cannot take courage to be the first to do so. Shedding fears of this nature should also be one of the important results of this big fight. It is my hope that the wealthy classes will be brave and take their full share in the work of national regeneration.

Even if, however, some among the wealthy classes find it difficult to follow the dharma of fearlessness, I hope they will not give up the dharma of compassion. They will certainly extend whatever help is possible to the famine-stricken.

Ethics demand that we do not harm the others.

According to my experience, the principal characteristic of genuine happiness is peace: inner peace. By this I do not mean some kind of feeling of being 'spaced out'. Nor am I speaking of an absence of feeling. Of the peace I am describing is rooted a concern for others and involves a high degree of sensitivity and feeling.

It's a paradox that people who remain dissatisfied, despite having every material advantage, there are others who remain happy, notwithstanding the most difficult circumstances. The Tibetan refugees did face very hard times. Yet, the survivors today exhibit few signs of trauma.

The indication here is that if we can develop this quality of inner peace, no matter what difficulties we meet with in life, our basic sense of well being will not be undermined. It also follows that though there is no denying the importance of external factors in bringing this about, we are mistaken if we suppose that they can ever make us completely happy.

Good health, friends, freedom and a degree of prosperity are all valuable and helpful. Each of these factors plays an important part in establishing a sense of individual well-being. Yet without a basic feeling of inner peace and security they are of no avail.

One of the most important aspect of inner peace is our own attitude and not to depend on external matters. The other major source of genuine happiness is the actions we undertake in our pursuit of happiness.

We have to know the transient nature of gratifying objects and a lack of concern for consequences that underlies extreme actions-like hurting others. Our every action has universal dimension, ethics demand that we do not harm others. The spiritual qualities of compassion and patience bring genuine happiness, both for ourselves and others.

Mere change from British to Indian rule does not mean swaraj.

According to my definition, there cannot be true *swaraj* as long as there is exploitation. Mere change from British to Indian rule does not mean *swaraj*. As long as one class dominates another, as long as the poor remain poor or become poorer, there will be no *swaraj*. In my *swaraj*, the millions will live happily.

Some people expect a miracle this very day. In *ahimsa* there is no scope for such sudden miracles. *Ahimsa* does not admit of sudden spurts. But those who will can always see the miracles of *ahimsa*. We watch the sky every day but we see no miracle there. But those who have an eye for it, are spell bound by the spectacle. They see new miracles every moment. And the sky is only a small fragment of Divine Power. That Divine Power is also the source of *ahimsa* which works according to the Divine Law. This law is so mysterious that even its miraculous effects do not appear to be such. They look like a natural course of events. Our non-violent struggle will also evolve according to the same law. When independence comes through non-violence it will blossom forth so naturally that we may never notice the miracle having taken place.

When the policy of non-violence has been so clearly stated, how can we say that England's difficulty is our greatest opportunity? How can we say that we should give her one more blow when England is herself collapsing?

We do not know who is going to win the war. We do not want any one to be defeated. We wish that all the warring parties should come to terms and live like brothers. *Ahimsa* dictates: 'consider no one your enemy. Love even him who considers you his enemy'

You may say, 'then we are sure to be destroyed'. This destroys lack of faith. A follower of non-violence suffers defeat at no one's hands. I may repeat once again that 'defeat' has no place in the dictionary of *ahimsa*. Victory and defeat are the results of violent war. In *ahimsa* there is only victory and nothing else.

Compassion and love are fundamental to survival.

It is true to an extent that in practicing compassion and altruism - we enter into others' suffering, thereby we bring suffering on ourselves. But I suggest that there is an important qualitative distinction to be made between experiencing one's own suffering and experiencing suffering in the course of sharing in others'. In one's own suffering there is a sense of oppression: it seems to come from outside us. By contrast, sharing in someone else's suffering must at some level involve a degree of voluntariness, which itself is indicative of a certain inner strength. For this reason, the disturbance it may cause is considerably less likely to paralyze us than our own suffering. Through love and kindness we establish understanding between ourselves and others. This is how we forge unity and harmony.

Compassion and love are not mere luxuries, they are fundamental to the continued survival of our species. They constitute non-violence in action. They are the source of all spiritual qualities: of forgiveness, tolerance, and all the virtues. Moreover, they are the very thing that gives meaning to our activities and make them constructive. There is nothing amazing about being highly educated; there is nothing amazing about being rich. Only when the individual has a warm heart do these attributes become worthwhile.

To some, this is all very idealistic. Still I urge them to experiment with openness. They will discover that when we reach beyond the confines of narrow self-interest, our hearts become filled with strength. Peace and joy becomes our constant companion. It breaks down barriers of every kind and in the end destroys the notion of my interest as independent from others' interest. Where love, affection, kindness, and compassion live, ethically wholesome actions arise naturally.

Western democracy is diluted Fascism.

Democracy can only be saved through non-violence. Because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide for or protect the weak. My notion of democracy is that even the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest.

It is true in USA as in Africa. A few capitalists are the owners of all land. These large holdings cannot be sustained except by violence, veiled if not open. Western democracy, as it functions to-day, is diluted Fascism. At best it is a cloak to hide imperialism. It was not through democratic methods that Britain bagged India.

The very constitution of South Africa has been drawn to protect the white man against the coloured man, the natural occupant. Your (USA) own history is blacker still. The way you have treated the Negro presents a discreditable record. There is something very hypocritical about it. I am thinking just now in terms of non-violence and trying to expose violence in its nakedness.

India is trying to evolve true democracy i.e., without violence. Our weapons are those of *satyagraha* expressed through the *Charakha*, removal of untouchability, communal harmony, prohibition, and non-violent organisation of labour.

The experiment has in it a promise of a brilliant future. As yet our resistance has been of the weak. The aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your wars will never ensure safety for democracy. India's experiment can and will, if the people come up to the mark or, to put it another way, if God gives me the necessary wisdom and strength to bring the experiment to fruition.

September 22

Man is the maker of his destiny.

There are many different religions in the world. Each of them has its own special qualities, its own unique way of presenting the spiritual path. Buddhism is a profound religion because it is not a path of faith but a path of reason and knowledge. Buddha himself stated that his doctrine should be accepted not on faith but only in the light of reason and logical inquiry. He also stated that many of his teachings were not literally true, but required an interpretative approach, and therefore that his followers must personally weigh, every point of doctrine to see if it is directly valid, or only figuratively so. He advised that any teachings which do not fit practical situations and do not hold up under the weight of logical investigation should not be accepted. Hence, we have to understand the teachings which are in harmony with our own level of development and capacity, and to see the other religious teachings in an according light.

Buddha's teachings depend on truth and not fiction or dogma, superstition. The more we analyze a superstition, the weaker becomes our belief in it, whereas more we investigate truth, the stronger our belief becomes.

The crux of Buddhism is that it is essentially humanistic rather than formally religious in its presentation. It attempts to define the problems confronting our lives and to set forth a number of remedies to these problems. It does not hinge on the concept of god. It speaks of man and of how he can gain perfection.

Man is the maker of his destiny, the agent responsible for his own evolution or degeneration. A Buddha can only guide. Every action we ever create establishes an imprint on the mind that contributes to our future. In brief, happiness is always a product of creative activity, and suffering, of negative attitudes.

Communalism leads to disgrace and disaster.

Self respect and honour cannot be protected by others. They are for each individual himself or herself to guard. Government at best can punish offenders after the offence has been committed. They cannot assure prevention except insofar as punishment acts as a deterrent.

Self-defence can be violent or non-violent. I have always advised and insisted on non-violent defence. It requires a different training from that which is required for violent defence. Therefore, if the capacity for non-violent self-defence is lacking, there need be no hesitation in using violent means. But, my personal view is that I shall not retaliate even in self-defence.

Non-violence becomes meaningless if violence is permitted for self-defence. What is it but self-defence in national resistance against an aggressor nation? I would therefore advise secession from the Congress, if you contemplate the use of force in defending yourselves in the circumstances.

You are guilty of communalism, if you sided with *Hindus* right or wrong. You can defend *Hindus* not because they are *Hindus* but because they are afflicted. I would expect you to defend *Muslims* if you found them molested by *Hindus*. A Congressman recognizes no communal distinction.

The majority of Congressmen who are *Hindus* are bound to drift into violence, if they do not know the effective use of non-violence. I am quite clear in my mind that the Congress can remain non-communal only if it becomes truly non-violent in all matters. It cannot be non-violent only towards the rulers and violent towards others. That way leads to disgrace and disaster.

Man must re-evaluate his attitudes.

I feel a revolution is required to achieve justice and equality in our world. It cannot be denied that happiness, equality and justice are every human being's prerogatives. It has to be derived by the practice of altruism and not by the use of wealth and power. In order to build such an altruistic motivation, so that justice and equality may co-exist in truth, the creation of a staunch moral fabric for the social environment is a prerequisite. Concerned voices are being raised about this inherent vacuum in the moral foundation of today, since this lack is the foremost deterrent to a just and equal world.

For such a change to happen, the chief constituent of this structure - man - must re-evaluate his attitudes, principles and values in order that such a change is seriously affected. Man and society are interdependent, hence the quality of man's behaviour as a participant is inseparable. There have been institutions created, organizations established, charters drawn and ideologies created to combat social problems. However, man's self-interest has defeated all good attempts.

There is a school of thought that which warns the moralist to refrain from politics, as politics is devoid of ethics and moral principles. This is a wrong approach since politics devoid of ethics does not further the benefits to man and his society, and life without morality will make men no better than beasts. Today, spiritual people are voicing their concern about the intermingling of politics with religion. It will contaminate the purity of religion.

Religion and politics is a useful combination for the welfare of mankind, when tempered by correct ethical concepts, with a minimum of self-interest. I appeal to all concerned to contribute to making our society and our world more compassionate, more just and equitable.

September 25

Strong are never vindictive.

What is the world to be at the end of the second world war? I very much fear that behind the structure of world security lurks mistrust, and fear which breed war.

As a life long believer in peace, I reiterate my conviction that there will be no peace for the Allies or the world unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud and are determined to hammer out real peace based on freedom and equality of all races and nations. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars. It is only in such a world that the militarily weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation or exploitation.

An indispensable preliminary to world peace is the complete freedom of India from all foreign control, not merely because it is a classic example of imperialist domination but specially because it is a big, ancient and cultural country which has fought for its freedom for the last twenty five years deliberately with Truth and Non-violence as its only weapon.

Non-violence of the strong is infinitely braver than their violence. That India may not yet have evolved such non-violence is another matter. If it is the case, it does not detract from the statement that it has battled non-violently for freedom and that not without considerable success.

Freedom of India will demonstrate to all the exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near and that in no case will they henceforth be exploited.

Peace must be just. In order to be that, it must neither be punitive nor vindictive. Germany and Japan should not be humiliated. The strong are never vindictive. Therefore, fruits of peace must be equally shared. The efforts then will be to turn them into friends. The Allies can prove their democracy by no other means.

September 26

You hold your future.

What makes people inspired by me and feel at ease and what in turn inspires me?

Basically I'm a Buddhist monk and Buddhist practitioner. Not necessarily a very serious practitioner, but one of my main practices involves altruism. My work for peace through the skillful means of compassion, altruism and non-violence is part of my spiritual practice. So, as I told the Nobel Peace Prize committee, I shall remain a simple Buddhist monk, no more, no less.

Buddha's teachings have shaped my mind to be compassionate, which gives me inner strength and widens my perspective. As a result problems don't cause my mind much disturbance. So these teachings are a constant source of inspiration for me.

Whoever I meet, I just consider them to be human beings. I don't care for their backgrounds. I am happy to see a smile in their eyes. My own friendly attitude brings a similar response from them, and their response gives me strength.

Lastly, the Buddha said that we are our own masters. Accordingly, I care for myself compassionately and treat all other beings as just like a part of myself. I consider this to be a meaningful perspective and a meaningful life. You also have the same potential. You should with self-confidence feel that you hold your future in your own hands.

Some day or the other, all of us have to die. If on that last day, with your last breath, you can look back on your whole life and feel that it has been meaningful, that you have done some good things for others or at least not harmed them, then I think you can die feeling happy.

I decided to stay and suffer.

If the best mind of the world has not imbibed the spirit of non-violence, they would have to meet gangsterism in the orthodox way. But that would only show that we have not yet learnt to appreciate the heritage that God has given us, that inspite of the teaching of *Christianity* which is 1900 years old and of *Hinduism* and *Buddhism* which are older, and even Islam, we have not made much headway as human beings. But whilst I would understand the use of force by those who have not the spirit of non-violence in them, I would have those who know non-violence to throw their whole weight in demonstrating that even gangsterism has to be met by non-violence. For, ultimately, force, however justifiably used, will lead us into the same morals as the force of Hitler and Mussolini. There will be just a difference of degree. You and I who believe in non-violence must use it at the critical moment. We may not despair of touching the heart even of gangsters, even if, for the moment, we may seem to be striking our heads against a blind wall.

One experience that changed the course of my life was after I had arrived in South Africa. While on the train I had a first class ticket, but not a bed ticket. At a station where beddings were issued the guard came and turned me out, and asked me to go to the van compartment. I would not go and the train steamed away leaving me shivering in the cold. Should I go back to India, or should I go forward with God as my helper, and face whatever was in store for me? I decided to stay and suffer, my active non-violence began from that day. That was one of the richest experiences of my life. Living with God has brought deepest satisfaction to my soul.

Do not be stubborn.

Sometimes I ask my Western friends who practice Buddhism as to what change has been noticed, what benefit has been achieved? Some have said that after becoming Buddhists there are fewer fights in the family. People become more accommodative and less aggressive.

Without an initial change taking place within the mind, how can you instantly achieve enlightenment? Enlightenment has to come through a gradual step-by-step process. We should aspire for the ultimate achievement while working in a practical way. I can definitely state that if you undertake the practice, you can bring about a change within the mind.

Meditation means creating a continual familiarity with a virtuous object in order to transform your mind. Merely understanding some point does not transform your mind. You may intellectually see the advantages of an altruistic, awakening mind, but that does not actually affect your self-centered attitude. Your self-centeredness will be dispelled only through constantly familiarizing yourself with that understanding. This is what is meant by meditation.

When you meditate on love and compassion, you try to cultivate such an attitude in your mind, thinking, "May all sentient beings be free from suffering". There are moments when you see that you are losing your concentration. You have to carry on with meditation again and again, until you see some kind of effect within your mind. Do not be stubborn, it does not work. You have to put in a lot of effort with understanding. The essence of these is the instruction for cultivating the awakening mind. You cannot be influenced by hatred, anger and desire. Your attitude from the start should be virtuous.

No one claimed a slave without chaining himself.

By being in Eton, you occupy a big place in England. Some of you will become Prime-Ministers and Generals in future and I am anxious to enter your hearts whilst your character is still being moulded. I should place before you certain facts as opposed to the false history traditionally imparted to you. Among high officials I find ignorance, meaning not absence of knowledge, but knowledge based on false data, and I want you to have true data before you as I think of you, not as empire builders, but as members of a nation which will have ceased exploiting other nations and become the guardian of the peace of the world, not by force of arms but by its moral strength.

The bug bear of communalism is confined largely to the cities which are not India, but which are the blotting sheets of London and other Western cities which consciously or unconsciously prey upon villages and share with you in exploiting them by becoming commission agents of England. The British forget that they cannot go on for long with a discontented rebellious India - true, ours is a non-violent rebellion.

If you will study history, study the much bigger question: How did millions of people make up their minds to adopt non-violence and how they adhered to it? Study, not man in his animal nature, but study man in all his glory. Study men laying down their lives, without hurting anyone, in the cause of their country's freedom. Study the law of love, so that when you grow to manhood you will have improvised your heritage. It can be no pride to you that your nation is ruling over ours. No one claimed a slave without chaining himself. I want you to make a unique contribution to the glory of your nation by emancipating it from its sin of exploitation.

October

Have an affectionate attitude towards all.

Bodhichitta, the compassionate wish to achieve Buddhahood for the sake of others, is the entrance to the Mahayana path. *Bodhichitta* and compassion are the very sources and foundations of all the goodness in this world and *nirvana*. You should regard *bodhichitta* as the essence of your practice and should not leave it only at an intellectual level; you should not be satisfied with your practice of *bodhichitta* if it consists merely of the recitation of a few verses at the beginning of a meditation session. You should try to generate it through experience. Every practice is slow and laborious. If you do not repeatedly reinforce your compassion, improving it and enhancing it, there is a great danger of losing your courage and becoming depressed. There are many hostile sentient beings who, instead of repaying your kindness, will try to harm you. Therefore, you should not be satisfied with a single experience of compassion but should really work to enhance it to the point where your compassion is deeply rooted. If that happens, you will not care much about hardships, and as a result you will never be depressed by circumstances when you work for the benefit of others.

It is because of the force of compassion that the Buddhas remain committed to working for the benefit of other sentient beings. That one practice of compassion alone keeps Buddhahood in your palm. Apart from compassion and love is the commitment and responsibility to shoulder the task of freeing them from sufferings and providing them with happiness.

In order to discover a warm and kind heart that is forceful, stable, and firm it is important first of all to have an affectionate attitude towards all, as precious and dear ones. The more affection you feel toward others, the better you will be able to develop genuine compassion for them.

Renunciation is indispensable for the cultivation of compassion.

The Buddhist definition of love is the wish that all sentient beings may enjoy happiness and never be parted from happiness. Meditation on love even for a moment far exceeds the merits accumulated through making infinite offerings to infinite Buddhas. Meditation of love is the supreme protection.

The actual sequence of meditation on love is that first you should cultivate love directed toward your own friends and relatives, then you should shift that attention to neutral persons, then on to your enemies as well. Then gradually include all other sentient beings whom you encounter.

In compassion there is not only the wish but also the responsibility to free other beings from suffering. Compassion has to flow naturally and spontaneously. It happens when love becomes pervasive. At times 'all sentient beings' becomes very vague. You have to watch out when you meet with certain individuals, you will begin to doubt whether you really wish them to enjoy happiness.

One has to experience and know how one rotates in the cycle of existence tormented by suffering. Without such an experience how can you extend it to others. If you have not developed renunciation yourself and a sense of aversion for the entire range of experience within this cycle of existence, there is no way you can cultivate compassion. Renunciation is indispensable for the cultivation of compassion.

Compassion and renunciation differ only in their object: renunciation is focused upon yourself; it is the wish that you be liberated from suffering. Compassion is directed toward other sentient beings; it is the wish that all beings be liberated from suffering. It has to be as intense as the love of a mother toward her only child when she sees him or her suffering from an illness.

Unnecessary consumption is violation of the vow of non-violence.

In observing the vow of non-hoarding, the main thing to be borne in mind is not to store up anything, which we do not require. We are to use all the *yamas* in thought as well, so that we shall grow more secure in then from day to day and come to think of fresh things to renounce. Renunciation has no limit to it. The more we renounce, the more shall we grow in the knowledge of the *atman*. If the mind continues to move towards renunciation of the desire for hoarding and if in practice we give up hoarding as far as it is physically possible to do, we shall have kept the vow of non-hoarding.

The same is true of non-stealing. Non-hoarding refers to stocking of things not needed. Non-stealing refers to the use of such things. If I need only one shirt to cover myself with, but use two, I am guilty of stealing one from another.

Such unnecessary consumption is also a violation of the vow of non-violence. If, with the ideal of non-stealing in view, we reduce our consumption of things, we would grow more generous. If we do so, activated by the ideal of non-violence, we would grow more compassionate. In assuring, as it were, every animal or living thing that it need have no fear on our account, we entertain compassion - love for it.

The principle underlying all these vows is truth. Hence, thinking carefully we can ensure at every step that truth prevails. There is no violation of truth in renunciation.

There is possibility of ending suffering.

It is necessary to understand wisdom along with compassion. In Buddhist text wisdom, which realizes *Shunya*, the ultimate nature of reality is important. The realization of *Shunya* gives you at least some kind of positive sense about cessation. It then becomes clear that suffering is not final and that there is an alternative. If only two of the Buddha's Four Noble Truths exist, suffering and the cause of suffering, then there is not much meaning. But the other two Noble Truths, including cessation, point towards an alternate way of living. There is possibility of ending suffering. So it is worthwhile to realize the nature of suffering. Therefore wisdom is extremely important in increasing compassion infinitely.

There is an application of the faculty of wisdom, using intelligence, and an understanding of the nature of reality, together with the skillful means of generating compassion. You can use this motivation in your daily, professional life.

Of course in the field of education, there is no doubt that compassionate motivation is relevant. Irrespective of whether you are a believer or a non-believer, compassion for students is important. Similarly, in the field of health, treatment depends on how warm-hearted the physician is.

If politicians and lawyers had more compassionate motivation then there would be less scandal. The whole community may get peace. Finally, if compassion can enter the fields of science, economics and warfare, human compassion can reach everywhere.

Being afraid of weaknesses you do nothing about it.

We should not take the plea of inability so far that, in the end, we find ourselves incapable of doing anything at all. We should do the teaching of Sanskrit language as well as we can and overcome our shortcomings by gradual effort. Do you think I would use the plea of inability if I was myself required to teach Sanskrit? I know that my Sanskrit is no Sanskrit. But I would certainly teach it if no other person was available and I would get over my deficiency day by day. You always think of your weakness and are afraid of doing anything. Would you not be happier if, using all your strength, you disposed of every task that fell to you?

In what way should the children learn to use their strength? It is a difficult thing to teach them to defend themselves and yet not be overbearing. Till now, we used to teach them not to fight back, if anyone beat them. Can we go on doing so now? What will be the effect of such teaching on a child? Will he, in his youth, be a forgiving or a timid man? My powers of thinking fail me. Use yours. This new aspect of non-violence which has revealed itself to me has enmeshed me in no end of problems. Shall we teach our boys to return two blows for one, or tolerate a blow from anyone weaker than themselves or to fight back, should a stronger one attack them, and take the beating that may follow? Should one do what might seem best in the circumstances and take the consequences? These are the problems which face us if we give up the royal road of turning the other cheek. Is it that we shall come upon the right path only by treading through a dangerous one? Can it be that in like fashion, the path of non-violence, too, is difficult?

“I” inhibits our compassion.

Some people who feel they are realistic and practical ask, “The idea of wishing for the happiness of all beings, of wanting best for every one, is too idealistic. Such an unrealistic idea cannot contribute to transforming the mind, because it is unachievable.” They feel they can begin with a small circle of people and later on extend the parameters of that circle. You can’t think of all for there are infinite of them. So, what point is there in trying to cultivate the mind that tries to include within its sphere every living being?

What is important is to grasp such altruistic sentiments. The impact can be seen later on. The point is to develop the scope of our empathy in such a way that we can extend it to all forms of life. All sentient organisms are subject to pain and capable of happiness.

Such a universal sentiment of compassion is very powerful and there is no need to be able to identify, in specific terms, with every single living being in order for it to be effective. In this regard it is similar to recognizing the universal nature of impermanence: when we cultivate the recognition that all things and events are impermanent, we do not need to consider individually every single thing that exists in the universe.

Given patience and time, it is within our capacity to develop this kind of universal compassion. Of course our self-centeredness, our distinctive attachment to the feeling of a solid “I”, inhibits our compassion. True compassion is experienced only when self-grasping is eliminated. But this does not mean that we cannot start to cultivate compassion and begin to make progress right away.

There is no peace until acts of repression are repealed.

It is hoped that atleast during the *Satyagraha* week, if not for always, the meetings would be conducted as per the same principles as they were done during the *satyagraha* campaign. The principles were that there should be no signs or sounds of approval or disapproval of the speakers' remarks but that they should be listened to in perfect silence and with respect. If this rule was observed the audience would be able to follow clearly the views that might be expounded by the various speakers.

It is called the *satyagraha* week, but it was hoped that no one in the audience would be frightened by the word. This meeting was called under the auspices of an association which was a non-*satyagraha* body. There was neither any emphasis nor any offering of civil resistance for acceptance. The emphasis was the necessity for truthfulness in speech and in deed, and of non-violence, in their relentless pursuit of truth. The futility of resolution was also partially accepted. There were resolutions and resolutions. Theirs was not a resolution of despair but of confidence. It was not so much addressed to the society as it was a prayer addressed to the almighty.

One who fasts and prays, and has truth on his side and a prayerful heart combined with determination to sacrifice oneself, there could not be achieved anything but success.

The resolution was for the government to do its duty. Co-operation offered spelt national upliftment. It was an act of nobility inspite of the repression experienced. So long as there were a handful of *satyagrahis* left alive, there would be no peace in the land until acts of repression were repealed.

Basic human problems remain unchanged.

Everyday in the morning we are confronted with the same sad news of violence, crime, wars and disasters. Even in these modern times it is clear that one's precious life is not safe. No former generation has had to experience so much bad news as we face today; this constant awareness of fear and tension should make any sensitive person question seriously the progress of our modern world.

Though science and technology have worked wonders, the basic human problems remain unchanged. This so called universal education does not seem to have fostered human goodness, but only mental restlessness and discontent instead. We have not yet succeeded in bringing about peace and happiness or in overcoming suffering.

We can only conclude that there must be something seriously wrong with our progress and development, and if we do not check it in time, there could be disastrous consequences for the future humanity. We are in danger of losing touch with those aspects of human knowledge and understanding that aspire towards honesty and altruism. The material comfort created by science cannot replace the age-old spiritual and humanitarian values that have shaped civilizations. We need to develop a balance between material development and spiritual, human values.

I am sure you are aware of the present worldwide moral crisis. We have to be just, equitable and compassionate. I feel universal humanitarianism is essential to solve global problems. That compassion is the pillar for world peace. All world religions stand for world peace in spite of whatever ideology they hold. And each individual has universal responsibility to shape institutions to serve human needs.

October 8

There can be no compromise between justice and injustice.

The method of the West is violence. Wherever the people of the West have felt a wrong either justly or unjustly, they have rebelled and shed blood. To me half of India does not believe in the remedy of violence. The other half is too weak to offer it. The British have wronged India. And, it is for this reason that I have suggested to the people of India the remedy of non-cooperation. I consider it perfectly harmless, absolutely constitutional and yet perfectly efficacious. It is a remedy in which, if it is properly adopted, victory is certain, and it is the age old remedy of self-sacrifice. All the scriptures of the world teach us that there can be no compromise between justice and injustice. Co-operation, as the part of a justice - loving man, with an unjust man is a crime.

I consider the eternal friendship between the *Hindus* and *Mussulmans* is more important than the British connection. I would prefer any day anarchy and chaos in India to an armed peace brought about by the bayonet between the *Hindus* and *Mussulmans*.

I hope it is easy for you as it is easy for me to see that if India is capable of taking the first step in anything like a full measure, that step will bring the redress we want. You will have noticed that, but two things are necessary in going through the first stage:

i) Perfect spirit of non-violence is indispensable for non-co-operation.

ii) Only a little sacrifice. I pray to God that He will give the people of India sufficient courage and wisdom and patience to go through this experiment of non-co-operation.

Altruism should be a driving force in business.

To bring compassion in the field of business is a tremendous challenge. Economic inequality especially that between developed and developing nations, remains the greatest source of suffering on this planet. Even though they will lose money in the short term, large multinational corporations must curtail their exploitation of poor nations. Tapping the few precious resources such countries possess, simply to fuel consumerism in the developed world is disastrous; if it continues unchecked, eventually we shall all suffer. Strengthening weak, un-diversified economies is a far wiser policy for promoting both political and economic stability. As idealistic as it may sound, altruism, not just competition and the desire for wealth, should be a driving force in business.

We also need to renew our commitment to human values in the field of modern science. Though the main purpose of science is to learn more about reality, another of its goals is to improve the quality of life. Without altruistic motivation, scientists cannot distinguish between beneficial technologies and the merely expedient ones. The environmental damage surrounding us is the most obvious example of the result of this confusion, but proper motivation may be even more relevant in governing how we handle the extraordinary new array of biological techniques with which we can now manipulate the subtle structures of life itself. If we do not base our every action on an ethical foundation, we run the risk of inflicting terrible harm on the delicate matrix of life.

Old veils prevent us from seeing.

A *Vaishanava* is one who is ever active in bringing relief to the distressed and never takes pride in doing so. One who respects all and speaks ill of none, is self - controlled in speech, thought and action. One who holds all in equal regards, has renounced desires and is loyal to his wife. Being truthful, keeps the vow of non-stealing and is beyond the reach of maya (delusion). Being desireless, repeats the name of the lord and as a result is sanctified. He covets nothing and is free from guile, desire and anger.

Here *Narasimh*, the best among *Vaishnavas*, has given pride of place to non-violence. This means that a man who has no love in him is no *Vaishnava*. One who does not follow truth and has not acquired control over all his senses is not a *Vaishnava*. He teaches us that one does not become a *Vaishnava* simply by studying the *Vedas*, by wearing a string of basil seeds or the mark on forehead. All these things can be origin of a sin. Even a hypocrite can do all these things and repeat the name of the lord. But such a one may not follow truth in his life, help people in distress or have self control.

If I have even a little of true *Vaishnava* in me, God will also vouch-safe me the strength to reject the *swaraj* which may be won by abandoning the *Antyaj* (untouchable class).

I have been endeavouring to show that dharma requires that we do not look upon *Antyaj* as untouchables. Old veils prevent us from seeing that we are guilty of *adharma*. Just as British rules cannot see its own satanism, so also some of us are unable to see the chains of slavery which bind us.

Work for freedom and justice.

The smile is one of the most beautiful characteristics of a human being. Not many other animals smile. I recently visited Sea World and saw animals with a lot of intelligence and some closeness towards human beings, but no smiles. There are two types of smiles - genuine and artificial. If our smile is genuine and sincere, arising out of compassion, or altruism, it gives us comfort.

Each day when we wake up, we can say to ourselves, 'Altruistic attitude'. If we have an altruistic attitude, many favourable things will come. But if we wake up with anger, hatred, or jealousy, these negative emotions will force us to spend the whole day feeling suspicious and uncomfortable. If we sincerely investigate and analyze these things, according to our own experiences and what our neighbours tell us about their daily lives, we will slowly gain stability and, with that, the ability to notice the moment a negative emotion is about to arise.

I practice these things and I know they are helpful. I try to be sincere to everyone, even the Chinese. If I develop some kind of ill-will, anger, or hatred, who will lose? I will lose my happiness, my sleep, and my appetite, but my ill feelings won't hurt the Chinese at all. If I am agitated, my physical condition will become weak, and some people whom I could make happy will not become happy.

Some people may criticize me, but I try to remain joyful. If we want to work effectively for freedom and justice, it is best to do so without anger or ill will. If we feel calm and have a sincere motivation, we can work hard for thirty or forty years. I believe that because of my firm commitment to non-violence, based on a genuine sense of brotherhood and sisterhood, some positive results have been produced.

October 12

Non-movement requires silent self-sacrifice.

The spirit of non-violence necessarily leads to humility. Non-violence means reliance on God, the Rock of ages. If we would seek this aid, we must approach them with a humble and a contrite heart. One hears of non-co-operationists being insolent and intolerant in their behaviour towards those who differ from them. I know they will lose all their majesty and glory if they betray any intentions.

Whilst we may not be dissatisfied with the progress made so far, we have little to our credit to make us feel proud. We have to sacrifice much more than we have done to justify pride, much less elation. Thousands have given their intellectual assent to the doctrine but few have followed it out in practice.

Non-movement is not a movement of brag, bluster, or bluff. It is a test of our sincerity. It requires solid and silent self-sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our capacity for national work. It is a movement that aims at translating ideas into action. And the more we do, the more we find that much more must be done than we had expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble.

A non-co-operationist strives to compel attention and to set an example not by his violence but by his unobstructive humility. He allows his solid action to speak for his creed. His strength lies in his reliance upon the correctness of his position. And the conviction of it grows most in his opponent when he least interposes his speech between his action and his opponent.

A meditator takes the well being of others to heart.

Who is really a healthy and mentally balanced person? is a question that occurs to all of us. Ultimately, the only healthy person is a Buddha. But this is a bit far away. So, keeping our feet on the ground and looking at our present circumstances, we simply look to worldly convention to see when a person is healthy. When does society acknowledge a person as good or wholesome? There is nothing absolute here. One person might appear to be very fine, but then, when you see another person with even deeper compassion or greater wisdom, the first person appears to be inferior. There are no absolute criteria here.

But if you want to be more precise, you can say that a healthy person is someone who, when there is an opportunity to be of service to others, engages in that service. When that is not possible, he or she at least avoids causing harm. A person who does that is a healthy person. This is the essence in one sense of all religious traditions.

To be in a wholesome state of mind, one moves into cultivating spiritual practices. To cultivate an altruistic attitude, a meditator takes the well being of others to heart and reflects again and again on the benefits of caring for and cherishing them. But he balances this also by reflecting on the disadvantages of simply cherishing his own well-being, placing priority on himself as opposed to everyone else. These two types of meditation together lead to a wholesome state of the mind.

Similarly, when he practices the cultivation of loving kindness, he balances this by countering hatred. These two are helpful and mutually beneficial.

Resuscitate the village.

The first thing we have to do is to improve our national character. No revolution is possible till we build our character. The pity is that though swaraj is so recent an achievement, there is already a slackness in constructive efforts. Government help also may not be forthcoming at places. We had faith in constructive work, but our faith was not deep and enlightened enough to illumine an intellect and so our growth has been lopsided. The Congress has always had the constructive programme. Now it has the power. Why is it then that our work is not progressing?

Today politics has become corrupt. Anybody who goes into politics gets contaminated. Let us keep out of it altogether. Our influence will grow thereby. The greater our inner purity, the greater shall be our hold on the people, without any effort on our part.

My eyes have now been opened. I see that what we practiced during the fight with the British under the name of non-violence, was not really non-violence. God has returned my sight. I have been learning the art for so many years. May be I have got the technique. If I make a mistake, I rectify it.

Has what I am doing today penetrated your hearts? Then you should have the strength to remove corruption, wheresoever it may be. Your work is among the masses. We have to resuscitate the village, make it prosperous and give it more education and administrative power. The social order of our dreams cannot come through the Congress of today. Let the constructive workers consolidate their strength, and the way to do it is through the unification of the various constructive workers organisations.

October 15

We are the same.

I believe that each of us has the same potential to develop inner peace and thereby achieve happiness and joy. We may differ slightly physically, we are all the same mentally and emotionally. Our potential is equal.

We share troublesome emotions as well as the positive ones that bring us inner strength and tranquillity. We look at the negative side of things and then feel hopeless. This, I feel is a wrong view.

I have no miracles to offer to you. Frankly I am skeptical of those who claim extraordinary powers. However, through training our minds, with constant effort, we can change our mental perceptions or mental attitudes this can make a real difference in our lives.

It sometimes seems to me that it is the fashion for people to put too much emphasis on material development and neglect their inner values. We must develop a better balance between material development and spiritual growth. Our good qualities are what I would call true human values. We should work at the qualities such as sharing, caring for each other and respect the rights of others.

I have been a refugee for the last forty and odd years, with heavy responsibilities. My life has not been easy. However, throughout all these years, this mental attitude has brought me inner strength and confidence. It has brought purpose to my life. My favourite prayer is

So long as space remains / So long as sentient beings remain, / I will remain, / In order to help, in order to serve, / In order to make my own contribution.

Some of you may have the impression that the Dalai Lama is some how different, that is absolutely wrong. I am a human being like all of you. We are the same.

October 16

Death is a friend.

My request to you is that none of you should think what another is doing, but each of you should examine your own self and purify yourself to the extent you can. I am convinced that if people in large numbers purify themselves it will do them a lot of good and it will also do me good. India then will benefit and may be I shall be able to give up my fast sooner. Let no one be concerned about me. Let everyone be concerned for himself. You must give thought to the progress of the country and the welfare of the people. In the end all men have to die. He who is born cannot escape death. Why then should we fear death or grieve over it? It is my belief that death is a friend to whom we should be grateful, for it frees us from the manifold ills which are our lot.

I have made the discovery that what I and the people with me had termed non-violence was not the genuine article but a weak copy known as passive resistance. Naturally, passive resistance can avail nothing to a ruler.

My fast, is undoubtedly on behalf of the Muslim minority in the union and, therefore, it is necessarily against the *Hindus* and *Sikhs* of the union and the Muslims of Pakistan. It is also on behalf of the minorities in Pakistan as in the case of the Muslim minority in the Union. This is a clumsy compression of the idea I have already explained. I cannot explain the fast taken by a very imperfect and weak mortal, as I truly confess I am, to have the potency to make its proteges proof against all danger. The fast is a process of self-purification for all. It would be wrong to make any insinuation against the purity of the step.

October 17

Suffering of suffering.

To cultivate compassion, there has to be an insight into the nature of suffering. Our compassion for all sentient beings must stem from a recognition of their suffering. We have to focus on our suffering and extend that recognition to the suffering of others.

We naturally sympathize with one who is physically suffering or suffering from the loss of a beloved one. This is called the suffering of suffering.

The suffering of change is not easy. One sees the success of wealth and fame and instead of understanding the impermanence and the suffering it will ultimately bring, we may even become envious and feel admiration.

There is another suffering which is profound and subtle. This is because of cyclic-existence. Here we are continuously under the control of negative thoughts and emotions. This suffering pervades our life. This is difficult to recognize.

The understanding of these three levels of suffering has to be our personal experience. Then with a focus on ourselves we can shift it to understand the suffering of others and the wish that they be freed of all suffering.

With this there is a genuine generation of compassion. We have to work at it continuously. It is like having two sticks and the desire is to create fire.

Similarly, as we work at developing mental qualities such as compassion, we must diligently apply the mental techniques necessary to bring about the required effect. Going about this in a haphazard way is of no real benefit.

Non-co-operation may have come in advance of its time.

The poet of Asia is fast becoming the poet of the world. Increasing prestige has brought to him increasing responsibility. His greatest service to India must be his poetic interpretation of India's message to the world. The poet is therefore sincerely anxious that India should deliver no false or feeble message in her name. He is naturally jealous of his country's reputation. He says he is baffled with the present movement. He can find nothing for his lyre in the din and bustle of non-co-operation. To him non-co-operation is not dignified enough for the India of his vision, that it is a doctrine of negation and despair. He fears that it is a doctrine of separation, exclusiveness, narrowness and negation.

In all humility I shall endeavour to answer the poet's doubts. I would like to assure him and India that non-co-operation in conception is not any of the things he fears. If in actual application, it appears in the end to have failed, it will no more be the fault of the doctrine than it would be of Truth, if those who claim to apply it in practice do not appear to succeed. Non-co-operation may have come in advance of its time. India and the world must then wait, but there is no choice for India save between violence and non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation is not to create a wall in between the East and the West. On the contrary, it is intended to pave the way to a real honourable mutual trust and respect. The struggle is against compulsory co-operation, against the armed imposition of modern methods of exploitation masquerading under the name of civilisation. Non-co-operation is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil.

Kindness runs like a thread throughout our whole life.

When I speak of basic human feeling, I am not only thinking of something fleeting and vague. However, I refer to the capacity we all have to empathize with one another, which, in Tibetan we call ‘the inability to bear the sight of another’s suffering’. Given that this is what enables us to enter into, and to some extent participate, in other’s pain, it is one of our most significant characteristics. It is what causes us to start at the sound of a cry for help, to recoil at the sight of harm done to another, to suffer when confronted with others’ suffering. And it is what compels us to shut our eyes even when we want to ignore others’ distress. It must be accepted that out of circumstances, however hardened human beings may become, the capacity for empathy remains. Even the need for others’ kindness, runs like a thread throughout our whole life.

Most of us find violence intimidating. Conversely, when we are shown kindness, we respond with greater trust. According to my understanding, our constitution is more suited to peace and tranquility than to violence and aggression.

We all share a capacity for loving kindness, human nature is such that inevitably we tend to reserve it for those closest to us. We are biased towards our family and friends. Our feelings of concern for those outside the circle will depend on individual circumstances: those who feel threatened are not likely to have very much goodwill for those who threaten them. Nor do I deny that whatever our capacity to feel concern for our fellow human beings, when our very survival is threatened, it may but rarely prevail over the instinct for self-preservation. Still, that does not mean that the capacity is no longer there, that the potential does not remain.

If untouchability lives, *Hinduism* and with it India dies.

There are only two things for Congressmen to do. All to carry on the constructive programme and some select few to offer civil-disobedience.

Let me glance at the constructive programme. There is communal unity. It is worth much more than the whole parliamentary programme. Without it, the latter is useless. It becomes a field for interminable wrangling. Complete heart unity takes us almost straightway to independence. Let me not be told that there will be no unity at all or not in our lifetime. I must refuse to believe the negation so long as there are some Congressmen working for unity. If the Congress cannot, I know that no other institution can. For every Congressman whatever his faith must equally represent in his own person every Indian, no matter what his faith is. In that sense he belongs to all religions.

Then take untouchability. I repeat that if untouchability lives, *Hinduism* and with it India dies. Is not that a programme worth living for, dying for? Surely it can fully occupy everyday of every Congressman. And the wheel being the centre of our solar system it includes all the planets in the shape of village industries.

The wheel brings us at once to the emancipation of India's manhood, *kisans*, labourers and all those who are weary and heavy-laden. If this all-inclusive and mighty programme is not understood and appreciated by Congressmen, they do not know the ABC of non-violence nor do they know the elements of civil-disobedience.

This programme gives ample scope for public meetings, demonstrations, exhibitions and the like. No official Congress committee need function for co-ordinating these activities. Wherever five Congress men are found, they can group together and organise them.

Suffering can open our eyes to reality.

A sentient being, is one which has the capacity to experience pain and suffering. They seem to be inevitable and inalienable facts of life. One could also say that it is our experience of suffering which connects us to others.

Suffering falls into two interrelated categories. There are the avoidable forms which arise as a consequence of war, poverty, violence, crime - even illiteracy and certain diseases. Then there are the unavoidable forms which include such phenomena as the problems of sickness, old age and death. There is also the suffering of mishaps and accidents. There is the suffering of having what we want taken away from us. There is the suffering caused by not obtaining what we desire. Then there is suffering uncertainty, of never knowing when and where we will meet with adversity, leading to insecurity and anxiety. And undermining everything we do is the suffering of lack of contentment. All this is part of our day-to-day life.

At times that which ordinarily appears as pleasurable turns out to be a source of suffering. Also, suffering is seen as a consequence of *karma*. We create it. What we think, say, do, desire, and omit creates *karma*.

A proper appreciation of cause and effect suggests that far from being powerless, there is much we can do to influence our experience of suffering. We certainly have a choice in how we respond to the occurrence of suffering. We can either discipline our response or just fret about our misfortunes. But that doesn't help. What matters is our basic attitude. Suffering can open our eyes to reality.

The only option is to face up to the situation directly. It creates empathy and causes us to connect with others, it serves as the basis of compassion and love.

Moral influence is never mechanically given.

One is not alone in bemoaning the lot of the most cultured and inoffensive people like the Danes. This war is showing the futility of violence. Supposing the allies are victorious, the world will fare no better. They will be more polite but not less ruthless, unless they learn the lesson of non-violence. The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every department of life. Perhaps it is too much to expect of human nature. No one should dogmatize about the capacity of human nature for degradation or exaltation.

Indian non-violence has brought no relief to the cultural western powers because it is still a poor stuff. The Congress itself is in distrust.

India's aid to Spain and China was merely moral. The material aid was but an insignificant token to it. There is hardly any Indian who does not feel the same sympathy for Norway and Denmark who lost their freedom overnight. Pauper India can do nothing except send her non-violence. But as I have said this is not yet a sendable commodity. It will be, when India has gained her freedom through non-violence.

Moral influence is never mechanically given. It is for Britain to take it. Perhaps they do not think the Congress has any to lend. All they need is material aid. Morality is contraband in war.

I do not wish ill to Britain, I shall grieve if Britain goes down. But the moral influence of the Congress cannot avail Britain unless she washes her hands clean of India. The Congress has accepted non-violence and I do not need to go to people to give recruits.

The emphasis is on developing a creative mind.

The God-theory which is very well known has been avoided by the Buddha. Thereby he has also avoided the many problematic side effects that come with it. In God-theory people accept to become humble. They worship and even one day are at His feet. But, they can never equal Him. God is one entity and we humans, being merely His creations are destined forever to be inferior to Him. We can blindly accept and practice what He says or we can suffer the consequences of defying a Creator and Sustainer.

This has the positive effect of lessening one's ego and the teachings to be practiced, such as morality, love, devotion, etc., are always useful. But there is the danger that people will not appreciate the full greatness of the human potential. Also, religions based on the God-theory usually do not permit rejection of the 'Words of God', even should they contradict all reason. This can easily stunt the philosophical inquiry.

Buddha's teachings are based on reason and a path expressed solely in terms of human problems and human goals. He focused on the present state in which we exist.

A mind thus cultivated is both disciplined and calm and gives peace to the person who possess it, as well as to all with whom it comes in contact. We can easily witness its immediate effects upon both the individual and the society, and we can also clearly see the negative effects of a destructive mind. The effects are far reaching and extend over years and lifetimes.

The emphasis is on developing a positive, wholesome, creative mind that is happy. This leads to elimination of afflictions such as greed, anger, attachment and ignorance. It enhances happiness, kind-heartedness and compassion.

My dream is - army will wield pickaxes and shovels.

I am very happy that a delegation from Burma could come. But there is nothing you can learn from our country to-day. It is our misfortune that a brother is cutting the throat of brother. You will not take away this example with you. Our country is very ancient, it has a unique culture. We must admit with shame that to-day we have brought this culture into disrespect. You must ignore our lapses and see our virtues and make them your own.

That we have secured freedom for our four hundred million people without a drop of blood having been shed is something unprecedented. Of course, it is possible that the British had got tired or that we were too weak to take up arms. But non-violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is a weapon of the brave. Its immense value can be measured only when the brave take it up and use it. I therefore advise you to copy from us not our brutalities but the noble virtues you see of this country. We have to sustain without the sword the freedom we have gained without the sword. Today, we must admit India has an army. But it is my dream that this army will wield not guns and rifles but pickaxes and shovels, and they will be suitably trained in this art as they are today trained in Martial Arts.

It is necessary to put over to the troops the need for non-violence. I am still groping in the dark for the answer. I will find it and give it to you some day. I hope our ideology of non-violence is understood by the people of the world and practised by all in solving the disputes.

Benefit means to bring joy.

A human society without laws aimed at establishing justice will find itself enmeshed in suffering. The strong will impose their will upon the weak, the wealthy upon the poor, the governing upon the governed. So justice is something very important within society.

At the moment the world atmosphere is not very just, both for individual nations and within the international community. In Tibetans there is a saying, 'If nine efforts fail, try a tenth'. At least there seem to be people interested in creating a just world, facing failures and disappointments at the moment. We have to be at it.

Law, education, science, technology, politics, religion: all are meant to benefit the society. Benefit here means to bring joy to them, to increase their happiness. There are both material and spiritual means to accomplish this end, but both aim at the same thing: happiness.

All human beings, despite cultural, social, political and racial differences, are essentially the same, in that they all have an innate grasping at "I" and based on that grasping, an instinctive wish for happiness. This being the truth, it brings all of us to feel closeness and work together for a just and harmonious society.

The conflicts that exist in the world indicate a lack of understanding of one another's humanness. The solution is not technological or political, it is spiritual; a sensitive understanding of our common situation. Hatred, fighting, destruction and violence will bring more misery. Prosperity is born from social harmony. It is time for the world to transcend all these barriers and regard one another through eyes which understand the common human situation. It can only happen with genuine cooperation gained by heartfelt understanding. Without this atmosphere of co-existence, peace becomes difficult. The wishes of the smallest must be considered to enhance collective happiness of mankind.

Every part of the world is part of ourselves

This recognition of oneness of humanity is particularly important in the present world. The new reality is that the destruction of our neighbour is essentially the destruction of ourselves. Every part of the world has effectively become a part of ourselves.

The twentieth century effectively became one of bloodshed. I think people everywhere are now frankly getting fed up with violence, not just the violence between nations, but also within communities and even school children. The basic cause is lack of human affection, both in families and in society as a whole.

How can we make the twenty-first century less violent and destructive? How can we combat conflict other than through counter-violence? I feel a dialogue, as a method should be introduced in the spirit of reconciliation. While we are promoting peace, we must also promote the spirit of dialogue. It should be introduced in school education. So that children learn to respond automatically to conflict in that spirit rather than through using force. I think using force is an uncivilized and outdated method of resolving conflicts.

Even gender bias has to change. Not muscular strength but the brain and warm heart are more important. So this fundamental transformation in our consciousness should be reflected in our view of the world and our way of dealing with problems.

I have shared my thoughts so that we can all strive to build a healthier and happier world together. After all, the responsibility for the future of our world lies entirely on the shoulders of all of us.

October 28

Sufferings of the non-violent - melt the stoniest hearts.

My appeal to the Jews has been criticised. The critics suggest that in presenting non-violence to the Jews as a remedy against the wrong done to them. I have suggested nothing new, that they have been practising non-violence for the past two thousand years. The Jews have never practised non-violence as an article of faith or even as a deliberate policy.

Are they not supposed to believe in eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth? Have they no violence in their hearts for their oppressors? Do they not want the so-called democratic powers to punish Germany for her persecution and to deliver them from oppression? If they do, there is no non-violence in their hearts. Their non-violence, if it may be so called is of the helpless and the weak.

What I have pleaded for is renunciation of violence of the heart and the consequent active exercise of the force generated by the great renunciation. I have drawn a distinction between passive resistance of the weak and active non-violent resistance of the strong. The latter can and does work in the teeth of the fiercest opposition. But it ends in evoking the widest public sympathy. Sufferings of the non-violent have been known to melt the stoniest hearts. I make bold to say that if the Jews can summon to their aid the soul power that comes only from non-violence, Herr Hitler will bow before the courage which he has never yet experienced in any large measure in his dealings with men, and which, when exhibited; he will own is infinitely superior to that shown by his best storm-troopers. The exhibition of such courage is only possible for those who have a living faith in God or Truth and Non-violence i.e., Love.

Meditate on the immeasurable.

What does it mean to develop a right attitude before one starts the actual spiritual practice? Your motivation should always follow two themes: taking refuge in the Three Jewels (the Buddha, his teachings, the spiritual community) and the awakening mind.

In the practice of taking refuge, it is not necessary to visualize the objects of refuge. You can reflect upon their infinite kindness and their great qualities and then imagine taking refuge in them. The reasons for taking refuge include fear of the sufferings of the cycle of existence, a strong conviction that the three Jewels have the ability to protect you from these sufferings, and a strong sense of compassion for other sentient beings.

Dharma means the cessation of suffering and the paths that lead to it. It is the true object that can protect you and others from the fears of cyclic existence. With a strong conviction with you, you will develop a strong aspiration to achieve such a state.

In generating the awakening mind visualize all the sentient beings around you. They appear in the form of human beings but continue to undergo the sufferings of the particular realms in which they were born. Ponder and cultivate feelings of compassion for them, within that they may be free from their sufferings, and cultivate strong feelings of love, wishing that they may come to possess all happiness.

You cultivate the awakening mind by recognizing this and resolving to work for their well-being. To stimulate and increase the power of your awakening mind, meditate on the four immeasurable: immeasurable love, immeasurable equanimity, immeasurable compassion, and immeasurable joy. Though all sentient beings desire happiness and wish to avoid suffering, out of ignorance their behaviour contradicts their wishes.

Guide yourself with a disciplined conscience.

You want co-operation between nations for the salvaging of civilisation. I want it too, but co-operation presupposes free nations worthy of co-operation. If I am to help in creating or restoring peace and goodwill and resist disturbances thereof, I must have ability to do so and I cannot do so unless my country has come to its own. At the present moment, the very movement for freedom in India is India's contribution to peace. For so long as India is a subject nation, not only she is a danger to peace, but also England which exploits India. Of course, you will say that free India can become a menace herself. But let us assume that she will behave herself with her doctrine of non-violence, if she achieves her freedom through it, and for her bitter experience of being a victim to exploitation.

You might of course say that there can be no non-violent rebellion and there has been none known to history. It is my dream that my country may win its freedom through non-violence. I will not purchase my country's freedom at the cost of non-violence. My marriage with non-violence is such an absolute thing that I would rather commit suicide than be deflected from my position. I have not mentioned truth in this connection, simply because truth cannot be expressed except by non-violence.

A reformer cannot always afford to wait. If he does not put into force his belief he is no reformer. Either he is too hasty or too afraid or too lazy. Who is to advise him or provide him with a barometer? You can only guide yourself with a disciplined conscience, and then run all risks with the protecting armour of truth and non-violence.

November

Altruistic attitude is the root of happiness.

Do you really have a deep faith in the state of enlightenment? For, without that a genuine aspiration to achieve it is not possible. Though there are many causes and conditions for the cultivation of *bodhichitta*, but chief among all of them is compassion.

Even people who are opposed to religion speak highly of the altruistic attitude. Although the Chinese communists are ideologically opposed to religion, they talk of the wish to work for the welfare of the masses. If these people truly had an altruistic attitude, they would be able to fulfil the wish for a perfect socialist state. On the other hand, if they continue to use violent methods to enforce a totalitarian system, there is no way that they can bring about what they are looking for. Nations have diverse political systems, but an essential factor in most societies is the altruistic attitude - the wish to work for others, for the welfare of the majority. The altruistic attitude is the root of happiness within the human community.

All the major religions of the world encourage cultivation of an altruistic attitude, irrespective of their different philosophical systems. In short, if you cultivate the altruistic attitude, it not only helps you by providing peace of mind, it also creates a peaceful atmosphere around you. That is one of the practical results that you can see.

The ultimate purpose of cultivating the altruistic attitude is to achieve the enlightened state so that you will be able to work for the total fulfilment of the wishes of other beings. The Buddha has not left the importance of cultivating *bodhichitta* as a matter of simple advice; he has also shown the means by which we can develop such an altruistic aspiration.

Non-violence is a dormant state. In the waking state, it is love.

What is *satyagraha*?

Satyagraha is not physical force. A *satyagrahi* does not inflict pains on the adversary, he does not seek his destruction. A *satyagrahi* never resorts to firearms. In the use of *satyagraha*, there is no ill will whatever.

Satyagraha is a pure soul force. Truth is the very substance of the soul. That is why this force is called *satyagraha*. The soul is informed with knowledge. In it burns the flame of love. If someone gives us pain through ignorance, we shall win him through love. “Non-violence is the supreme *dharma*,” is the proof of this power of love. Non-violence is a dormant state. In the waking state, it is love. Ruled by love the world goes on.

In English there is a saying “might is right.” Then there is the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. Both these ideas are contradictory to the above principle. Neither is wholly true. If ill-will were the chief motive force, the world would have been destroyed long ago. We are alive solely because of love. We are all ourselves the proof of this.

Deluded by modern western civilisation, we have forgotten our ancient civilisation and worship the might of arms. We believe that Truth is the object, that truth ever triumphs, and with this definiteness of purpose one persistently holds on to Truth. One puts up with all the suffering that this persistence implies. With the conviction, that truth is not to be renounced even unto death, one sheds the fear of death. In the cause of Truth the prison is a palace and its doors the gateway to freedom.

Human action without human feelings becomes dangerous.

With human feelings and an appreciation of human values, all human activities become constructive. Hence human affection is the key to human business. Just as you see that with the palm of our hand all five fingers become useful, if these fingers were not connected to the palm they would be useless. Similarly, every human action that is without human feeling becomes dangerous.

Even religion which is supposedly good for humanity without that basic human compassionate attitude can become foul. Unfortunately even now there are problems which are entirely due to different religions. So human compassion is fundamental. Now in the community, religion generally seems a little bit old-fashioned, so people are losing interest in it and in deeper human values. However, I think these should be two separate things. If you have respect for or interest in religion, that is good. But even if you have no interest in religion, you should not forget the importance of these deeper human values.

The greater the force of your compassion, the greater your resilience in confronting hardships and your ability to transform them into more positive conditions.

The greater the force of your altruistic attitude towards sentient beings, the more courageous you become. The greater your courage, the less you feel prone to discouragement and lose of hope. Therefore, compassion is a source of inner strength.

Harden your bodies through self-control.

I am still in bed and will have to remain there for many days. I want not you to be scared. I cannot expect you to have that degree of equanimity. My health, instead of improving, is steadily declining. I am not able to take any cereals. Taking only fruit may not sustain the body and hence it must necessarily succumb. In that event, you must have forbearance and show the strength of a *Kshatriya*. If you keep me alive in your actions, you will be judged not as having loved the body but as having loved the soul. And then, you will have maintained a pure relationship with me. I have placed great hopes in you. Strengthen your character and follow the path of non-violence. Observe *bramhacharya* as far as possible. Proceed with your studies to the extent necessary and carry on my activities. Stay where you are - that is the true test of your devotion.

My body has become like an old garment and that is why it is not at all difficult for me to discard it. I do not wish to acquire the burden of a new garment. But I do not think I have qualified myself to be free of that burden. But the time is not past yet. That qualification can be acquired even in a moment.

To-day we have become pathetically weak. The only way to escape from this, despite our fallen state, is self-control, moderation, call it what you will.

The bodies of those who have accepted the way of service should be as strong as steel. There was a time when our forefathers could thus harden their bodies through self-control.

November 4

Anger eclipses rationality.

How do we begin developing a compassionate attitude? We should begin by removing the greatest hindrances: anger and hatred. These for us can overwhelm our minds. If we don't control them, these emotions will plague us and impede our quest for happiness of a loving mind.

You may feel that anger brings with it more energy, confidence, and determination. And is helpful in certain difficult situations. If we explore this carefully it does seem that the nature of this energy is blind. We cannot be sure of the results of it. This is because anger eclipses the best part of our brain: its rationality. It can cause an immense amount of destructive, unfortunate behaviour.

Then how do we handle difficult situations? This controlled energy comes not only from a compassionate attitude, but also from reason and patience. Though these are the most powerful antidotes, some people misjudge them as signs of weakness. I believe they are true signs of inner strength. Compassion is by nature gentle, peaceful, and soft, but it is also very powerful. It is those who easily lose their patience who are insecure and unstable. Thus, to me, arousal of anger is usually a direct sign of weakness.

So, when a problem arises, remain humble to see that the outcome is fair. If that invites unjust aggression, adopt strong counter measures. This should be done with compassion.

In the end the opponents' destructive energy will only damage themselves. Instead of retaliation you should recall your desire to practice compassion and assume responsibility for helping prevent the other person from suffering. Retaliation based on anger seldom hits the targets.

It is possible to introduce truth and honesty in political life.

It is a distinct departure from the even tenor of my life for me to belong to an organisation that is purely and frankly political. Maybe, I shall lose the position of splendid isolation I enjoy at present. I should be wrong in not identifying myself with an organisation that I could utilize for the advancement of the causes in which I had specialized and of the methods which experience has shown me are attended with quicker and better results than those that are usually adopted.

I freely confess that reforms take secondary place in my scheme of national organisation. For I feel that the activities chosen by me, if they could but absorb national energy, would bring about all the reforms that the most ardent extremists can ever desire. I belong to no party and I wish to belong to none hereafter. I do not consider the Congress as a party organisation. I shall venture to hope that all parties will cherish the Congress as a national organisation providing a platform for all parties. I would endeavour to make the Congress retain its non-party national character.

This brings me to methods. I believe that it is possible to introduce uncompromising truth and honesty in the political life of the country. I would not expect others to follow me in any civil disobedience methods. I would strain every nerve to make truth and non-violence accepted in all our national activities. Then we shall cease to fear or distrust Government and their measures. I do not wish to develop the theme further, I would rather let time solve the many questions that must arise from the bold statement I have made.

November 6

Develop a sense of universal responsibility.

Of the many problems we face today, some are natural calamities and must be accepted with equanimity. Others, however are man made, and can be corrected. One such arises from conflict of ideologies, political or religious. We lose sight of the basic humanity that binds us all together as a single human family. Different religions, ideologies and political systems are meant for human beings to achieve happiness. We must not lose sight of this fundamental goal and at no time should we place means above ends; supremacy of humanity over matter and ideology must always be maintained.

By far the greatest single danger facing humankind - in fact, all living beings on our planet - is the threat of nuclear destruction. I appeal to all concerned to exercise their sanity and begin to work at dismantling and destroying all nuclear weapons. And, is it not logical that we should remove the cause for our own destruction when we know the cause and have both the time and the means to do so?

All sentient beings seek peace, comfort, and security. Life is as dear to the mute animal as it is to any human being.

I believe that mental suffering and happiness are more acute. However, I have an idea of happiness: a combination of inner peace, economic development and world peace. It is necessary to develop a sense of universal responsibility, a deep respect for all beings.

If we adopt a self-centered approach to life and constantly try to use others for our own self-interest, we may gain temporary benefits, but in the long run we will not succeed in achieving personal happiness. To be born a human being is a rare event in itself and it is wise to use this opportunity effectively.

November 7

Freedom from violence is precedent to non-co-operation.

The assassination of the police officer is a most unfortunate event which has naturally evoked public sympathy and indignation. The murder was a cruel, thoughtless and fanatical act. It has not advanced, but retarded our cause of freedom. It can only be counted as madness to kill an innocent man for a crime committed by a member of his race. Some do consider such murders as justified and meritorious. It is because I feared such a result in our midst, that I advised non-violence and non-co-operation. It does seem that the propaganda of non-violence has not proved sufficient, to control individual fanatics, and it is not an easy thing to do so. But I venture to suggest that no aspect of the agitation is responsible for the unfortunate murder. It is the grievous wrong, done by the British ministers, which has evoked the cruel deed.

I wish to emphasize a warning that religious principles are at stake. It must be the special duty of every one to be more careful than hitherto, in insisting on complete freedom from violence as the condition precedent to successful non-co-operation.

I am sure it is possible to cite texts from scriptures in condemnation of murder of innocent men. I can understand violence being done to wrong-doer in order to compel justice. It is unfortunately the chosen method of the civilised world. It bears scriptural authority. Islam has said openly to preach violence to the wrong-doer. *Christianity* too justifies organised warfare for the removal of wrongs, fancied or real. Thousands of *Hindus* interpret the '*Gita*' to be a certificate for war in the cause of justice.

Being responsible is actually the basic aim of religion.

We have carefully seen if religions have demonstrated universal responsibility. The purpose of religions is not just to build beautiful churches and temples, but to cultivate positive human qualities such as tolerance, generosity and love. Every world religion, no matter what its philosophical view, is founded first and foremost on the precept that we must reduce our selfishness and serve others. Unfortunately, sometimes religion itself causes more quarrels than it solves. Practitioners of different faiths should realize that each religious tradition has immense intrinsic value and the means for providing mental and spiritual health. One religion, like a single type of food, cannot satisfy everybody. According to their varying mental dispositions, some people benefit from one kind of teaching, others from another. Each faith has the ability to produce fine, warm-hearted people and all religions have succeeded in doing so, despite their espousal of often-contradictory philosophies. Thus there is no reason to engage in divisive religious bigotry and intolerance and there is every reason to cherish and respect all forms of spiritual practice.

Still, in religion there are no national boundaries. A religion can be used by any one who finds it beneficial. But, the embracing of a particular religion does not mean the rejection of another religion or one's own community. In fact, it is important that those who embrace a religion should not cut themselves off from their own society; they should continue to live with their own community and harmony with its members. By escaping from your own community, you cannot benefit others, whereas benefitting others, being responsible is actually the basic aim of religion.

***Swaraj* is synonymous to salvation.**

The *swaraj* according to the Congress means the *swaraj* that the people of India want, not what the British Government may condescend to give. It will enable a nation to do good or evil as it chooses, and not be 'good' at the dictation of an irresponsible, insolent, and Godless bureaucracy. Government over self is the truest *swaraj*. It is synonymous to salvation. But I know that any association with a *satanic* activity, such as the government is engaged in, makes even an effort for such freedom a practical impossibility. I cannot tender allegiance to God and *satan* at the same time.

No man can perform the impossible task of removing hatred so long as contempt and despise for the feelings of India are sedulously nursed. It is a mockery to ask someone not to hate when in the same breath the most sacred feelings are contemptuously brushed aside.

The gospel of non-co-operation addresses itself to the task of making the people strong and self-reliant. It is an attempt to transform hatred into pity.

A strong and self-reliant India will cease to hate, for she will move the power to punish and therefore the power to pity and forgive also. Non-co-operation then is a godsend; it will purify and strengthen India; and a strong India will be a strength to the world, as an India, weak and helpless, is a curse to mankind.

If we wish to evolve the spirit of democracy out of slavery, we must be scrupulously exact in our dealings with opponents. We may not replace the slavery of the government by that of the non-co-operationists. We must concede to our opponents the freedom we claim for ourselves and for which we are fighting.

Satisfaction comes from within.

In having 'hope' do we stop seeing true state of things, is a very serious question. I do see that hope is something important. Whether we achieve what we are hoping for or not, it is important for us to keep hope. Hope is the basis of our future, our success.

When I look at the global situation today, I find many reasons to be hopeful. Many people seriously believe that resolving conflicts through war is totally unacceptable. Many people are trying to achieve co-existence, and I think the desire for peace has increased. There are nuclear physicists who are showing concern about peace. The concepts of 'nation' and 'continent' have become less significant. People do feel interlinked. The totalitarian systems are in a process of dissolution. Human beings want freedom, more space to move. Even animals want that. To me the basic human spirit is gaining the upper hand.

Until recently people consumed resources as if they were limitless. No one was seriously concerned about the planet. Today even some political ideologies are based on serving the environment. More people understand the long-term consequences of issues.

For centuries, people in the West regarded material and spiritual concerns as entirely separate. Today people realize that it is not so. At times we do get excited about technology and forget humanity. We see that through science and material accomplishment alone it is impossible to get complete satisfaction. It comes from within.

We must ultimately remember that hope is just hope. Unless hope leads to action, it is not of much use. Although I myself pray, frankly speaking I'm not much of a believer in prayer. Action is much more important than simply praying. Unless our insights result in some practical action, they are not useful at all. The real effect must come through action and not just hope.

Violence dies when it ceases to evoke response.

Bengal has great intelligence, it has a greater heart, it has more than its share of the spiritual heritage for which our country is specially noted. You have taken a step, you will not recede. You have considered the message of non-co-operation i.e. of self-purification, self-sacrifice, courage and hope. You have chosen from a worldly-wise standpoint, less cautious way. You dare not go back without hurting yourselves and the cause.

We cannot get *swaraj* if not even one class in the country is prepared to work and sacrifice for it. The government will yield not to the logic of words. It knows no logic but that of brave and true deeds.

Bravery of the sword they know. Many of them will welcome violence on our part. We prepare, therefore, to sterilise their power of inflicting violence by our non-violence. Violence dies when it ceases to evoke response from its object. Non-violence is the corner stone of the edifice of non-co-operation. You will, therefore, not be hasty or over zealous in your dealings with those who may not see eye to eye with you. Intolerance is a species of violence and therefore against our creed. Non-violent non-co-operation is an object-lesson in democracy. The moment we are able to ensure non-violence, even under the most provoking circumstances, that moment we can offer complete non-co-operation.

A yearning to be free.

There are people in this world who don't love themselves and hence are unable to be compassionate. There are also those who serve others but lose a sense of joy within their own lives.

If such a person has never encountered love directed towards himself or herself from any quarter, if no one has even shown this person love, it is very difficult. But if that person can meet even one person who will show unconditioned love - simply acceptance and compassion- then even if he hasn't experienced compassion himself, if he knows that he is an object of someone else's affection and love, it is bound to have an impact, and this will be appreciated. Because there is a seed in himself, this act of love will start to catalyze or ripen that seed.

When someone, through his whole life, experiences a lot of tragedies, it can be helpful to adopt the perspective that there are many past lives and future lives also. Then, even if one's present life appears hopeless, there is a broader context.

Why is it that inspite of spiritual practices and on serving and, in the context of this, still one could be feeling depressed and unhappy, not having the capacity for joy? In the process of meditation, one may gain a fairly deep insight into the nature of mind and the unsatisfactory nature of this cycle of existence. In the process, one develops a yearning to be free of this round of suffering. However, as a result of one's own personal practice and engagement with society, one may find that one's expectations were not fulfilled. You didn't do as well as you wanted, or expected to, and this disappointment can detract from your capacity for joy. So it may have something to do with expectations. One might have too many expectations in the beginning that can take away the joy later on.

***Charakha* is a symbol of non-violence.**

In truth we have not embraced the *charakha*. It is only women who have done some work in this direction. They were kind to me and took up the *charakha*. But if they had taken up the *charakha* not out of kindness to me but with the knowledge that the *charakha* would give them strength and give India strength, we would not have been in the predicament we are in to-day. We have to develop in us the power that non-violence alone can give. For that we shall have once again to adopt the *charakha*.

To-day we have a larger army. What if the British are no longer here. It is a tragedy and a shame. For so long we fought through the *charakha* and the moment we have power in our hands we forgot it. I do not want you to take up the *charakha* out of kindness to me. You may well burn it and give up wearing *khadi*. The *charakha* being a symbol of non-violence and a repository of great power, an emblem of great courage.

Let us embrace that *ahimsa* with deliberation and with all our heart and intellect. Then nobody can take it away from us. The important thing is that no military force can stand up to the power created by people working together. It is my fault, not that of *ahimsa*, if I cannot prove that. That is because I am lacking in *tapascharya*. But you cannot say that *ahimsa* does not have the power. That power can find the fullest expression through the *charakha*. This is a supreme economic as well as a moral question.

In harming our enemy, we are harmed.

Today, our existence and well-being are a result of the co-operation and contributions of countless others, we must develop a proper attitude about the way we relate to them. In our modern global economy, national boundaries are irrelevant. We are heavily interdependent.

Most of the problems facing the world are man made, created by us. All conflicts, bloodsheds, problems arising out of nationalism and national boundaries, are all man-made.

If we looked down at the world from space, we would not see any demarcations of national boundaries. Once we draw a line on the sand, we develop the feeling of “us” and “them”. As this feeling grows, it becomes harder to see the reality of the situation. Today the reality is simple. In harming our enemy, we are harmed.

In the past, countries and even villages were economically independent of one another. Under these circumstances, the destruction of our enemy might have been a victory for us. War is an outdated concept, we must face our disagreements through dialogue. Dialogue is the only proper method. The concept of violence is no more suitable. I feel, non-violence is the appropriate method.

Non-violence does not mean that we remain indifferent to a problem. On the contrary, it is important to be fully engaged. Non-violence is not merely the absence of violence. It involves a sense of compassion and caring. It is a manifestation of compassion.

Each individual has the ability to contribute to such compassionate non-violence. We can begin with ourselves at the family as well as national and international levels. All of us are parts of the same human society, like different parts of the human body.

The coward cannot be non-violent.

The newspapers say I have proved an enemy of the *Sikhs*. They would not have minded it much but for the fact that my word seemed to carry weight with the world outside India where it is believed that India has secured its freedom through non-violent means. This had never happened before anywhere in the world. But a tree is known by its fruit, and by no other means. For man is God, man can know a thing from its results. The fruit of independence has been that to-day Hindus, Muslims and *Sikhs* have become one another's enemies.

As I have admitted earlier I had been under the delusion that our struggle was truly non-violent. God had rendered me blind and I was misled. Because the lame, the crippled, the coward cannot be non-violent. Even a child can stand before the world on the strength of non-violence. But those who are lame and crippled at heart can never be truly non-violent. So long as the light does not shine in the heart no one can understand the beauty of non-violence. What we offered during the struggle was passive resistance which simply meant that we would not kill the British though in our hearts we wanted to kill them. But we had not the power. When millions took up passive resistance it did bring about our freedom. The freedom we have obtained is crippled freedom. It is only partial.

Hindus do not have the strength that the *Sikhs* have. They should not use that strength indiscriminately. They may wield the sword but only where they must. Their sword should not fall where it ought not to fall. Anyone who commits crimes or is guilty of bad conduct sins before God. He degrades his religion.

The vast meets the profound.

The compassion that we must ultimately possess is derived from our insight into emptiness, the ultimate nature of reality. It is at this point that the vast meets the profound. The 'Vast' and the 'Profound', is the absence of inherent existence in all aspects of reality, the absence of intrinsic identity in all phenomena.

We attribute this quality of inherent existence to our mind and body, and then perceive this objective status - the self, or 'me'. The strong sense of self then grasps at some kind of inherent nature of phenomena, such as of car-ness in a new car we fancy. And as a result of reification and our ensuing grasping, we may also experience emotions such as anger or unhappiness in the event that we are denied the object of our desire: the car, or whatever it may be. Reification simply means that we give such objects a reality they don't have.

When compassion is joined with this understanding of how all our suffering derives from our misconception about the nature of reality, we have reached the next step on our spiritual journey. As we recognize that the basis of misery is this mistaken perception, this mistaken grasping at a non-existent self, we see that suffering can be eliminated. Once we remove the mistaken perception, we shall no longer be troubled by suffering.

Knowing that people's suffering is avoidable, that it is surmountable, our sympathy for their inability to extricate themselves leads to a more powerful compassion. Otherwise though our compassion may be strong, it is likely to have a quality of hopelessness, even despair. Hence insight in emptiness is key to developing compassion and love.

This Independence is not for me.

Now that Pakistan has been conceded, the possibility is that India and Pakistan will be enemies. The Muslim league often says that Hindus are their enemies. Must then the *Hindus* also consider the Muslims their enemies? At least that is not my way. My humanity tells me that the whole world is my friend. Cutting each other's throats will not bring good to anyone. Friendship does not mean appeasement. If harsh words are to be said, they must be said.

Will the temples and the *Gurudwaras* in Pakistan be destroyed? My feeling is they will not be. I do not think this is the meaning of Pakistan. None but the enemies of Islam would say that *Hindu* and Sikhs could not follow their faith in Pakistan. If *Hindus* and Sikhs in Pakistan really get the same justice as the *Muslims* then I have not the least doubt that Islamic democracy is a lofty thing. I shall ask the *Hindus* of the Punjab not to flee from their homes in fright. They should be brave. We have no use for the bravery that consists in burning down houses and killing innocent children. It is not bravery. It is devilry.

But if people leave their houses in Sind and other places and come to India, must we drive them out? We shall welcome them saying that India is their country as much as Pakistan. If Nationalistic Muslims also have to leave Pakistan we shall welcome them here.

Let us cease to be beasts and become men. We have all been put to test and that includes the British. The Pakistanis must demonstrate that the *Hindus* living in Pakistan will not be harmed in any way. Then we shall have reason to celebrate the Independence Day. But if this does not happen, this Independence is not for me.

We are all capable of cruelty.

It does seem that though human nature is basically disposed toward kindness and compassion, wherever there is human consciousness, hatred, ignorance, and violence do indeed arise naturally. We are all capable of cruelty and hatred. That is why we have to struggle to better our conduct.

How do we understand individuals whose lives seem to be given over wholly to violence and aggression? During the past century we have the examples of Hitler, Stalin and Mao. There are also those who torture and kill for pleasure.

Here I must admit that I can think of no single explanation to account for the monstrous acts of these people. However, we must recognize two things. Firstly, such people do not come from nowhere but from within a particular society at a particular time and in a particular place. Their actions need to be considered in relation to these circumstances. Secondly, we need to recognize the role of the imaginative faculty in their actions. Their schemes were and are carried out in accordance with a vision, albeit, a perverted one. The actions determine whether they were ethical or unethical. An individual's motivation factor is a governing factor. And whereas a vision properly motivated - which recognizes others' desire for, and equal right to happiness and to be free of suffering, can lead to wonders. When divorced from basic human feeling the potential for destruction cannot be overestimated.

An ethical act is a non-harming act. How does one know the genuinity of it? If there is no connection with the other, there is no way to know. To understand, we have to enhance our capacity, our sensitivity toward others' suffering. The more we do so, the less we could tolerate seeing others' pain and the more we would be concerned to ensure that no action of ours caused harm to others.

Satyagraha Pledge.

I desire to enroll myself as an active *satyagrahi*.

I solemnly declare that so long as I remain an active *satyagrahi* -

1. I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that as India is circumstanced to-day, non-violence alone can help and result in the attainment of *purna-swaraj* and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether *Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian* or *Jew*.
2. I believe and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.
3. I believe the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with, and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.
4. I believe in *Swadeshi* as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use hand-spun and hand woven *khaddar* to the exclusion of every other cloth. I shall so far as possible use the produce of hand and village industries.
5. I shall spin regularly.
6. I shall carry out the instruction of my superior officers and all rules and regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by any superior Congress organisation or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.
7. I am prepared to suffer imprisonment or even death for the sake of my country without resentment.
8. In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for myself, my family and dependants.

Signed

Negative emotions are the source of unethical behaviour.

The word discipline appears old fashioned in an age and culture where emphasis is on self-fulfilment. Discipline is something that we adopt voluntarily on the full recognition of its benefits.

Ethical discipline is indispensable because it is the means by which we mediate between the competing claims of my right to happiness and others' equal right. No one truly benefits from causing harm to others. Disciplining our response to negative thoughts and emotions will cause us fewer problems in the long run than indulging in acts of selfishness.

It is worth saying that ethical discipline entails more than just restraint. It also entails cultivation of virtue. Love and compassion, patience, tolerance, forgiveness, and so on are essential qualities. When they are present in our lives, everything we do becomes an instrument to benefit the whole human family. It becomes relevant in our daily life.

It may be worth reviewing the grounds for defining ethical conduct in terms of non-harming. As we have seen, given the complex nature of reality, it is very difficult to say that a particular act or type of act is right or wrong in itself. The only consideration to recognize is that just as I desire to be happy and to avoid suffering, so do all others. For this reason, a meaningful ethical system divorced from the question of our experience of suffering and happiness is hard to envisage.

Exercising our critical faculties in the ethical realm entails taking responsibility both for our acts and for their underlying motives. If we do not take responsibility for our motives, the potential for harm is much greater. As we see, negative emotions are the source of unethical behaviour. Each such act affects the near ones and the world at large.

The art of non-violence is in self-suffering.

I have claimed that I was a socialist. But my socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any books. It came out of my unshakable belief in non-violence. Unfortunately Western socialists have, so far as I know, believed in the necessity of violence for enforcing socialistic doctrines.

I have further believed that it is impossible by violent means to secure redress of the wrong suffered by them. That means is non-violent non-co-operation. No one is bound to co-operate in one's own undoing or slavery. Freedom received through the efforts of others, however benovolent, cannot be retained. In other words, such freedom is not real freedom.

I am quite sure that non-violent non-co-operation can secure what violence never can, and this by ultimate conversion of the wrong doers. We in India have never given non-violence the trial it has deserved.

The propositions about land may appear frightful. In reality they are not. No man should have more land than he needs.

But it must be realized that reforms cannot be rushed. If it is to be brought about by non-violent means, it can only be done by education both of the haves and the have-nots. The former should be assured that there never will be force used against them. The have-nots must be educated to know that no one can really compel them to do anything against their will, and that they can secure their freedom by learning the art of non-violence i.e., self-suffering. There can then be no violent conflict between the classes and the masses.

I am my own enemy.

I am my own saviour or I am my own enemy. If I try to cultivate goodness and the positive mind within myself, I am my own saviour. On the other hand, if I permit negativity to overpower my stream of being, I become my destroyer. This applies to all of us. We must learn to see religion in the light of above statements.

These days many Asian scholars are talking about the similarities between Buddhist and communist social views. It is true they have something in common, but there are fundamental differences. For example, communism places its emphasis upon materialism, upon the things of this life whereas, although Buddhism recognizes the importance of a stable material basis, it is essentially a spiritual view and sees the material world as a tool with which to develop more lasting, inner qualities. In other words the communist is primarily concerned with the body, which is lost at death, whereas the Buddhist is concerned primarily with the mind and consciousness, which goes on into future existences.

In the terms of two levels of truth - the deeper reality and the conventional, relative truth - communism concentrates upon a superficial level of the latter, while Buddhism feels that in order for the latter to be really understood the former must be clearly known. In brief, communism thinks mainly about how people can fill their bellies, while Buddhism, recognizing that, sees the mind as ultimately being at the basis of both happiness and sorrow. Even the modern psychologist too, seeks to create a state of mental harmony within people and thus to enable them to cope with all life situations more effectively. It tries to generate a condition of spiritual enlightenment within them by exposing them to deeper levels of reality.

Army and police must remain pure and above board.

I have been receiving numerous complaints concerning the police and the army personnel. They take bribes and are biased in favour of their own community. If the seed itself is rotten what will become of the plants and the foliage? Not even thorns will then grow. The army and the police are the potent limits of the country. It is a pity that following the partitioning of the country, the army also had to be partitioned on communal bias. But it is the duty of the policemen not to show caste and communal bias. They must bravely save the country. It is the duty of every armed force to protect the minority community. If you Generals of the army listen to me and help me, I shall believe we have truly gained freedom. In the *swaraj* gained in such a wonderful way, the personnel of the army and the police must always remain pure and above board.

Violence can only be overcome through non-violence. This is as clear to me as the proposition that two and two makes four. But, for this one must have faith. Even a weapon like atom-bomb when used against non-violence will prove ineffective. This applies to true non-violence. But very few people have grasped this truth. Faith by itself also will not do. It must be supplemented by knowledge. Training in *ahimsa* is not to be had like training in the use of weapons in military training colleges. It requires purity of heart and soul-force. The difficulty we find in pitting non-violence against violence only shows our inner weakness. If Pakistan does not stop violence, the violent killings can still be stopped, if *Hindus* have faith in non-violence.

Our priorities must change.

I am a simple Buddhist monk, a practitioner of the teachings of the Buddha, just a human being. Some people describe me as a 'living-Buddha' or a 'god-kind. That is all nonsense. Actually, we human beings are all the same, mentally, emotionally and physically. Your feelings and emotions are the same as mine.

It is our basic right and purpose in life to be peaceful and happy. We have to make an effort to achieve it worldwide. We don't have to talk in philosophical terms. Whether or not we have a clear awareness of what the 'self' is, we all know that we experience pain and pleasure, that we want happiness and do not want suffering.

I am seriously concerned about our human problems, because every human being has responsibility and should care for our planet and its inhabitants. Most of our problems are man-made. Though the world has changed, we handle problems in an out dated way. With our heavy interdependence, advances in technology, globalization and population explosion, our priorities must change and we must think of humanity as a whole. It is a matter of understanding 'universal responsibility'.

We have unavoidable problems at the body level and we have them at the social and family level too. There are differences of opinion within ourselves too. There is nothing wrong with such contradictions. This does create a movement in ideas and create energy. In fact, contradiction is part of nature.

What is important is how we relate to contradictions and whether we can use them positively. Our mental attitude is the key. If we can sustain peace and kindheartedness in our mind, even hostile forces will not throw us off balance. What we need is not material facilities and friends but a sense of genuine peace and contentment.

I must have absolute independence or perish.

Science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple. Science of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy. England, France and America have to make their choice. Russia has a dictator who dreams of peace and thinks he will wade to it through a sea of blood.

It was necessary to give this introduction to what I want to say to the Czechs and through them to all these nationalities which are called 'small' or 'weak'. It would be cowardice on my part not to share with them the thought that were welling up within me. It is clear that the small nations must either come or be ready to come under the protection of the dictators or be a constant menace to the peace of Europe. In spite of all the goodwill in the world England and France cannot save them. Their intervention can mean only bloodshed.

If I were a Czech, I would free these two nations from the obligation to defend my country. And yet I must live. I would not be a vassal to any nation or body. I must have absolute independence or perish. To seek to win in a clash of arms would be pure bravado. Not so, if in defying the might of one who would deprive me of my independence. I refuse to obey his will and perish unarmed in the attempt. In so doing, though I lose the body, I save my soul, i.e., my honour. This inglorious peace should be my opportunity. I must live down the humiliation and gain real independence.

History has no record of a nation having adopted non-violent resistance: As a believer in non-violence, I may not limit its possibilities.

Hitler and his likes have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them. Who can dare say that it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have.

Compassion induced the Buddha to teach.

The Buddha offered many different teachings. Yet all his teachings outline methods through which we can purify the mind and achieve the fully awakened state of enlightenment.

In order to bring about transformation in the mind, it is important first to identify what mind or consciousness is. Then we have to see how the mind is transformed. It is clear that everyone experiences pleasure and pain and that each one seeks happiness and shuns suffering. This happiness that we seek and desire comes about because of the mind. A transformation of the mind can be brought about only by the mind. So we need to examine whether there is a state in which we can be totally free of all the negative aspects of the mind and what the actual process is for reaching such a state of freedom.

The way a navigator conveys a ship's passengers to their destination, the Buddha, piloting the ship of love and the awakening mind, leads sentient beings towards enlightenment. He too was once an ordinary being like ourselves, but due to the force of his compassion, he trained in the path and was able to transform his mind and achieve final enlightenment. It was compassion that motivated him to achieve such a state, it was compassion that perfected his achievement of enlightenment, and it was compassion that induced him to teach others according to their different interests and dispositions.

This is why the awakening mind is the root of all happiness and peace in the entire universe. In the long run, it is the foundation for achieving the state of full enlightenment, but even from day to day, the more we are able to develop an altruistic attitude, the happier we will feel and better the atmosphere we will create around us.

The resolute will give her the strength to die.

No one applies himself continuously to the solution of the problem of girls and women getting molested. We know that in the present age there have been invented so many methods of using physical force that even a little girl with sufficient intelligence can deal death and destruction. But this is no remedy for growing evil. There is nothing like public opinion for castigating public misconduct. Crime and vice generally require darkness for prowling. They disappear when light plays upon them.

But I have a fear that the modern girl loves to be Juliet to half a dozen Romeos. She loves adventure. The modern girl dresses not to protect herself from wind, rain and sun but to attract attention. She improves upon nature by painting herself and looking extraordinary. The non-violent way is not for such girls. There are definite rules that govern the development of the non-violent spirit in us. It is strenuous effort. It marks a revolution in the way of living and thinking. If the girl's way of thinking will revolutionize their life in the prescribed manner, they will soon find that young men, who come in contact with them will learn to respect them. But if perchance they find, as they may, that their chastity is in danger of being violated, they must develop courage enough to die rather than yield to the brute in man. It has been suggested that a girl who is gagged or bound so as to make her powerless even for struggling cannot die as easily as I seem to think. I venture to assert that a girl who has the will to resist can burst all the bonds that may have been used to render her powerless. The resolute will give her the strength to die. This heroism is possible only for those who have trained themselves for it. Those who have not a living faith in non-violence will learn the art of ordinary self-defence and protect themselves from indecent behaviour of unchivalrous youth.

Value of human life is inestimable.

Life as a free human being is very precious. Such a human life is found rarely, but individuals who possess it can achieve great things because of it. Life is not enduring but fragile and extremely transient. It is important that we are aware of these characteristics of our lives and then prepare ourselves for making the best use of them. It is obvious that human potential far exceeds the abilities of other living creatures in the world. The human mind has far reaching vision. Its knowledge is boundless. Because of the power of the human mind, new discoveries and inventions abound on our planet. But the crucial thing is that all these innovations should promote happiness and peace in the world. In many instances this is not the case. Unfortunately, too often human ingenuity is used in a misguided way to create disturbances, disunity, and even war.

The achievements of human intelligence are obvious. The ideas and activities of even a single individual can have far-reaching benefits for millions of people and other living creatures. When our human skills are channeled in the right direction, motivated by a proper attitude, wonderful things happen. Therefore, the value of human life is inestimable. From a more strictly spiritual perspective, it is on the basis of a human life that we can develop different types of insights and realization. Only the human mind can generate infinite love and compassion. Being more concerned about other sentient beings than ourselves and working tirelessly in their interest are among the noble attributes of human nature.

In life there is no place for fear and despair.

I have come to understand that if you French choose you can give to the world a message even more grand than that proclaimed by your great countrymen Rousseau and Voltaire.

As it seems to me, the world is tired of sanguinary wars; the world is disgusted with the falsehoods, hypocrisy and deceit that are the necessary concomitants of the way of violence; and it has begun to understand the disastrous consequences of questionable economics. I am convinced that the economic crisis which has gripped the countries of the world, including the United States, is a consequence of the World War, which we very mistakenly call 'The Great War'. Thus it seems to me that India's struggle for independence is a movement in which every Frenchman should take a direct interest.

That nation, comprising 350 million inhabitants and representing one-fifth of man-kind has been trying to secure its liberty by methods wholly devoid of violence. Falsehoods, duplicity, hypocrisy and deceit has no place in the method we are practising in India. Once you have grasped the secret, that is, Truth, you will then be more open, more truthful. In the dictionary of the man who bases his life on truth and non-violence there is no place for fear and despair.

This movement is not passive; it is essentially active. It is more active than any campaign involving lethal weapons can be. Truth and non-violence are perhaps the most active forces in the world. These forces reside in the human heart and are constantly struggling to come out, to find expression, whether one is asleep or awake, resting or actively working.

If the movement in India succeeds, it will be the miracle the world is looking forward to, the miracle that will prove the power of truth and non-violence and strengthen the faith of people in our methods.

December

Happiness is a by-product of working for others.

We have obtained this life as a human being. Whether we make it worthwhile or not depends upon our mental attitude. If we adopt a devious attitude but show a benevolent and kind face, we are making a mistake. If we have this altruistic attitude and treat others as they deserve to be treated, then our own happiness is assured as a by-product of working for the happiness of others.

When we experience happiness, we should rejoice in the fact that it is the consequence of virtuous actions we have committed in the past. At the same time, we should dedicate that virtue to the happiness of all sentient beings in the hope that they may experience this type of happiness as well. If we undergo suffering, we should realize that it is the consequence of non-virtuous actions that we have committed in the past, and we should develop a wish that through our experience of this suffering, all the suffering that other sentient beings have to undergo in the future may be avoided.

Pledge that whether you achieve enlightenment or not, you will work for the welfare of other sentient beings come what may. Having received instructions on the method of overcoming the self-centered attitude, you can die without regret.

I feel fortunate in giving explanations of my practice in aspiring to develop this aspiration to enlightenment. You too should rejoice at the great fortune of becoming acquainted with such marvelous teachings whose practice bestows benefits both now and in the future.

All the Buddhas of the past have achieved these high realizations by cultivating this altruistic attitude. Some ideologies lose their relevance as time passes. These teachings retain their relevance throughout the ages. In this modern age when there is a great danger of the destruction of the entire world, we find the message of the Buddha more and more relevant.

December 1

Reach with prayer and awaken sense of compassion.

Protection of the cow is a sacred work for every *Hindu*. It has been my experience, however, that the way we set about this important work leaves much to be desired.

These days cow protection has come to mean only two things; first, to save cows from the hands of our *Muslim* brethren, and secondly, to put up *gaushalas* for decrepit cows. We do not go the right way in protecting the cows. The result has been that these two big communities are always at odds with each other and cherish mutual distrust. *Hinduism* attaches special importance to non-violence. It is the very opposite of religious conduct to kill a *Muslim* in order to save a cow. If we wish the *Muslims* not to kill cows, we should bring about a change of heart in them. We should reach their hearts with prayer and achieve our purpose by awakening their sense of compassion. We should take a pledge that while seeking to protect the cows, we shall bear no ill-will or malice towards *Muslims*. It should be remembered that what we regard as sin is not seen in the same light by our *Muslim* brethren.

Those who want to stop others from sinning must be free from sin themselves. My heart bleeds when I see thousands of ill-nourished bullocks made to carry excessive burdens. We do not refrain from such violence. We are so intensely selfish that we feel no shame in milking the cow to the last drop.

Once we admit that we are also guilty of violence, the working of our *gaushalas* will change.

One religion cannot satisfy all people.

There are different levels of compassion, depending on the level of your wisdom. There is compassion which is motivated by genuine insight into the ultimate nature of reality. There is compassion which is motivated by the appreciation of the impermanent nature of existence. There is compassion which is motivated by awareness of the suffering of other sentient beings. The level of your wisdom, or the depth of your insight into the nature of reality, determines the level of compassion that you will experience.

I see compassion, love and forgiveness as common ground for all different religions, irrespective of tradition or philosophy. Although there are fundamental differences between different religious ideas, such as the acceptance of an Almighty Creator, every religion teaches us to be a warm - hearted person. All of them emphasize the importance of compassion and forgiveness. In the ancient times when the various religions were based in different places and there was less communication between them, there was no need for pluralism among the various religious traditions. But today, the world has become much smaller, so communication between different religious faiths has become very strong. Under such circumstances. I think pluralism among religious believers is very essential. Once you see the value to humanity through the centuries of these different religions through unbiased objective study, then there is plenty of reason to accept or to respect all these different religions. One religion cannot satisfy all the variety of people.

***Satyagraha* is an honourable, honest and a constitutional movement.**

It is not without sorrow that I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil dis-obedience. I give this advice not because I have less faith now in its efficacy, but because I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of *satyagraha* which impels me to suggest the suspension. I am sorry, when I embarked upon a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation.

From the tragedy, I am convinced that *satyagraha* had nothing to do with the violence of the mob. *Satyagraha* has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything, the presence of *satyagraha* has acted as a check, even so slight, upon the previously existing lawless elements.

In the course of the *satyagraha* struggle in South Africa, several thousands of indentured Indians had struck work. This was a *satyagraha* strike and therefore entirely peaceful and voluntary. Whilst the strike was going on, a strike of European Miners, railway employees, etc., was declared. Overtures were made to me to make common cause with the European strikers. As a *satyagrahi*, I did not require a moment's consideration to decline to do so. I went further and for fear of a strike being classed with the strike of Europeans in which methods of violence and use of arms found a prominent place, ours was suspended and *satyagraha* from that moment came to be recognised as an honourable and honest movement - a constitutional movement.

Make more friends, make more smiles.

I must emphasize that merely thinking that compassion and reason and patience are good, will not be enough to develop them. We must wait for difficulties to arise and then attempt to practice them. If we truly wish to learn, we should consider enemies our best teachers. To practice compassion, love and patience, enemies are indispensable. They help us develop a tranquil mind.

It is natural that we all want friends. But is friendship produced through quarrels and anger, jealousy and intense competitiveness? The best way to make friends is to be compassionate. Make more friends, make more smiles. If you neglect the happiness of others, in the long term you will be the loser.

When things in the world go well for us, we become confident that we can manage by ourselves. But things change and quickly we realize that we were wrong. To make genuine friends we ourselves must cultivate compassion.

I myself want more friends. I love smiles, genuine smiles. There are other kinds of smiles, such as sarcastic, artificial, or diplomatic smiles. Some smiles create suspicion or fear? But a genuine smile really gives us a feeling of freshness and is, I believe, unique to human beings. If these are the smiles we want, then we must create the reasons for them to appear.

So how do we make friends? Certainly not through hatred and confrontation. A genuine friendship can emerge only through cooperation based on honesty and sincerity, and this means having an open mind and a warm heart.

Consider whether the movement itself is a pure and worthy cause.

Do I go seeking work? You may be sure I don't go seeking work. Which activity, do you think, did I go out of my way to take upon myself? If I had not joined the *Khilafat* movement, I think, I would have lost everything. In joining it, I have followed what I especially regard as my *dharma*. I am trying through this movement to show the real nature of non-violence, I am uniting *Hindus* and *Muslims*. I am coming to know one and all, and if non-co-operation goes well, a great power based on brute force will have to submit to a simple - looking thing. The *Khilafat* movement is a great churning of the sea of India. Why should we be concerned with what it will produce? All that we should consider is whether the movement itself is a pure and worthy cause. I cannot leave any field in which I have cultivated some strength. My *moksha* lies through them. If I refuse to work in these fields, I shall not succeed in giving anything through the *Ashram* either. It is for this that I have been described as a path finder.

Even by establishing the *Ashram* I have shown a path. My staunchness has not disappeared. My ideas have grown stranger and more piercing. My indifference to worldly pleasures has increased. What I used to see dimly has now become clearer to me. I have grown more tolerant, to that I am less particular about others.

It is quite true I have lost my former fire. My illness has disabled me. My soul suffers on such occasions and, to be sure, it loses its lustre. There is no way out of this. We shall be able to see our defects and wherever possible, should correct them.

Think of others when pursuing happiness.

The world is becoming smaller and smaller - and more and more interdependent. In ancient times problems were due to family size, but now the situation has changed. Today without a sense of universal responsibility, and an understanding and belief that we really are a part of one big human family, we cannot hope to overcome the dangers to our very existence- let alone bring about peace and happiness.

One nation's problems can no longer be satisfactorily solved by itself alone; a lot depends on the interest, attitude and co-operation of other nations. A universal humanitarian approach to world problems seems the only sound basis for world peace. The wiser course is to think of others also when pursuing our own happiness.

When people are motivated mostly by greed and jealousy, it is not possible for them to live in harmony. A spiritual approach may not solve all the political problems that have been caused by the existing self-centered approach, but in the long run it will overcome the very basis of the problems that we face today.

If humankind continues to approach its problems considering only temporary expediency, future generations will have to face tremendous difficulties. The global population is increasing and the natural resources are being rapidly depleted. No one knows exactly what adverse effects massive deforestation will have on the climate, the soil, and global ecology as a whole. We are facing problems because people are concentrating on their short-term selfish interest, not thinking of the entire human family. They are not thinking of the earth and the long-term effects on universal life as a whole. If we of the present generation do not think, future generations may not have a chance.

Meet craftiness by simplicity.

Mrs . . . has fallen. He was a brave man. I am not concerned with his guilt or innocence. If he used the language attributed to him, it certainly constituted an incitement to violence. What however commanded my admiration, was the fortitude with which he decided to refrain from offering any defence, and patiently to bear the penalty imposed upon him.

I thought he had understood the spirit of the struggle. But the later news, that he secured his release by an apology shows our weakness. Having been brought up in debilitating atmosphere of servility, the tallest of us often bend before a very simple storm. The temptation of Western civilization, without its hard discipline which the nations of the West undergo, has made us almost incapable of suffering the physical discomfort of imprisonment. The question is how much more should we bear our comrade's burden when he gives in?

Let us therefore see what that burden exactly means. He is an indifferent soldier who ignores his opponent's strength. We must therefore know the strength of the Government with which we are engaged in a fierce struggle. The government represents a corporation that is crafty in the main, godless, untruthful, but courageous, able, self sacrificing and possessing great powers of organisation. We must meet its craftiness by simplicity and openness, Godlessness by Godliness, untruthfulness by truthfulness. We must match its courage with greater ability, sacrifice with greater sacrifice, and its organising powers with greater organising powers. It has almost match-less weapons of violence. We must meet them with non-violence. Unless we are able to satisfy the test, we must be content to occupy a status of servility. Non-co-operation provides the nation an opportunity of showing all the qualities required for sustaining its honour.

Communism failed because it relied on force.

I feel the most important field in which to sow the seed of greater altruism is within international relationship. The world has changed and is changing very dramatically. I think we would all agree that the end of the cold war and collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union have ushered in a new historical era. It would seem that human experience in the twentieth century has come full circle. It has been a painful period in human history.

On account of the massive destructive power of weapons, more people have suffered from and died in violence than before. Different ideologies have torn the world apart. There has been force and raw power on one hand, and freedom, pluralism, individual rights and democracy on the other. The results of these ideological competitions are quite evident.

The good human spirit of peace and freedom still faces many form of tyranny and evil, it is nevertheless an unmistakable fact that the vast majority of people everywhere want it to triumph. Thus the tragedies of our time have not been entirely without benefit, and in many cases have been the very means by which the human mind has been opened.

Although communism espoused many noble ideals, including altruism, the attempts by its governing elites to dictate their views has proved disastrous. Communism failed utterly because it relied on force to promote its beliefs. Brute force, no matter how strongly applied, can never subdue the basic human desire for peace and freedom. It stems from the core of human nature. If we have all material things but lack the precious air of liberty to sustain our deeper nature, we are only half human: we are like animals who are content just to satisfy their physical needs.

Non-violence is my religion.

To-day, I am here to plead for the acceptance by the country of the programme of non-violent, progressive non-co-operation. Now all the words that I have used here are absolutely necessary, and the two adjectives 'progressive' and 'non-violent' are integral parts of a whole. With me non-violence is part of my religion, a matter of creed. But with the great number of *Mussalman* and *Hindu* it is a matter of policy. But whether it is a creed or a policy, it is utterly impossible for you to finish the programme for the enfranchisement of the millions of India without recognizing the necessity and the value of non-violence. Violence may for a moment avail to secure a certain measure of success but it cannot in the long run achieve any appreciable result. On the other hand all violence would prove destructive to the honour and self-respect of the nation. The blue books issued by the government of India show that inasmuch as we have used violence, military expenditure has gone up, not proportionately but in geometrical progression. The bonds of our slavery have been forged all the stronger for our having offered violence. And the whole history of British rule in India is a demonstration of the fact that we have never been able to offer successful violence. Whilst therefore I say that rather than have the yoke of a government that has so emasculated us, I would welcome violence, I would urge with all the emphasis that I can command that India will never be able to regain her own by methods of violence. I urge non-violence in language and in deed. If non-violence is essential in our dealings with the government, it is more essential in our dealings amongst ourselves. Non-co-operation will not succeed unless we create an atmosphere of perfect freedom, unless we prize our opponents liberty as much as our own.

December 10

Do not deny or avoid suffering.

It does seem that instead of looking at suffering we want to turn away from it. Our attitude towards suffering matters a lot. If we look at it very closely, we may feel overwhelmed, so on top of suffering we also get anxiety and depression. But if we look at the same situation from a different perspective, we may be able to see that although it is truly tragic, it could be worse. In each event there are a number of aspects.

In Buddhism we do not deny or avoid suffering. Instead, we concentrate on it, using analytical meditation. If someone harms us, and if we look at that person only as someone who has caused us harm, the anger may be overwhelming. But if we look at the person as a wonderful one for the good done in the past, we will have a different perspective. It will not be difficult then to practice patience and develop the required inner strength needed to overcome the negative feeling.

Analyzing the situation in this way is called, 'penetrating it.' If you want to avoid something, you may have a short-term relief, but the problem will remain. To penetrate suffering and see its nature will have a real chance to resolve the problem.

We must differentiate in between the act and the actor, not to consider the actor as hundred percent negative.

You are aware that from Buddhist point of view, all sentient beings- who have feelings, experiences, and sensations- are regarded as equal, so the idea of animal experimentation or of gaining benefit for one living being by sacrificing another is not something we can condone. But there can be an exceptional case where, in order to save an entire species or to save a being who has the possibility of creating more happiness for a larger community of beings, you might have to sacrifice the life of another who has less ability to create such opportunities for happiness. But the best way is to avoid experimenting on animals.

Difficulties arise when we do not understand religion.

My message is meant not only for ordinary men and women, it is meant more for the *sadhus* (ascetics). When they understand the meaning of non-co-operation and the reason why the people of the country have undertaken it, they will see that they cannot preserve the virtues of a *sadhu* unless they chant the *mantra* of non-co-operation. It is not a new idea for our religion. It is not a political movement, rather it is a religious movement. Difficulties arise so long as *sadhus* do not understand the principles of religion and do not use them to solve the political problems.

Non-co-operation means refusing to associate ourselves with or be a party to the tyranny of the Government and to render any support, direct or indirect, to such tyranny. All scriptures advise us to keep away from *satanic* activities. When such things are perpetuated, we become partners in the sin of those, for, we take help from them or give help to them. It is sinful to associate with wicked persons. We become demons by following the demon's ways.

In *swaraj*, the first virtue everyone should have is fearlessness. A timid man can never be happy. A wicked person can compel such a one to do anything by threatening him with force and, therefore, he cannot follow *dharma*. In case a mad man attacks us, it is the duty of the sane among us, to keep patience.

Your *dharma* is not to strike back. Your *dharma* is not to run away. *Dharma* is not to kill but rather to die and live by dying. My conviction is that nobody who kills someone does so in order to protect another; the man gets ready to lay down his life but, not having sufficient strength to die, he kills before he dies.

The crisis is due to lack of loving kindness.

In the modern mind set up we have created compartments of observation with detachment and compassion with attachment. We are trying to place observation and compassion as opposites.

This is not true in Buddhist thinking. Compassion has the quality to encompass observation without judgement and without attachment. If one feels very profound compassion, this already implies an intimate connection with another person. We are to cultivate love like that of a mother towards her only child. This is very intimate. The Buddhist notion of attachment is not what people in the West assume.

It is natural to pursue one's own happiness and to work hard to get it now. But this idea of wanting it while neglecting and exploiting others, at the expense of others' happiness is not acceptable.

We have created compartments in individual compassion and organizational compassion. It cannot be. There is no organization that is not composed of individuals. Apart from individuals there are no organizations. So it is better to focus on individuals in the organization, especially those who bear the most responsibility for it, and try to encourage in them a great sense of awareness and compassion. If we can bring about a greater awareness of the benefits of compassion for society as a whole, this will be critical as a matter of survival.

The crisis in contemporary civilization, including the threat of nuclear weapons is due to lack of loving kindness and compassion in individuals.

A compassionate atmosphere in the family is very important. Children will be physically and mentally healthy. I believe that compassion is the route not only for the evolution of the full human being, but for the very survival of a human being.

No one can take away my self-respect, I can only lose it.

The time has come when both India and Pakistan must unequivocally declare to the majorities in each country that they will not tolerate desecration of religious places, be they small or big.

Muslims have asked me the cause to be adopted by the members of the Muslim League in India. I have not the least doubt that if they receive a personal or public invitation they should attend the *Muslims* Conferences. They should fearlessly and openly declare their views at these meetings. If they have learnt anything from the 30 years of non-violent struggle they should not worry that they are in a minority in the Indian Union and that the majority in Pakistan can be of no help to them. It does not need belief in non-violence to see that a minority however small it may be has no reason to feel afraid for its honour and for the things it holds dear. If man could but know his maker and realize that he himself is a reflection of that maker, no power on earth can take away his self-respect. No one can take away my self-respect, I can only lose it. A friend of mine used to tell me, "I always like to be with a minority, for a minority as a rule does not commit mistakes, and even if it does it can be rectified. But a majority is drunk with power and it is difficult to reform it." We know from bitter experience how a handful of Englishmen had transformed themselves into a majority through force of arms. It is a matter of regret that *Hindus* and *Sikhs* have not learnt a lesson from the British rule in our country. The *Muslims* of the Union suffered from false pride in their majority in the East and the West. To-day they are rid of that burden. If they now see the virtues of being a minority they will show the beauties of Islam in their own way.

The rich live in anxiety.

A major problem we face in the world is the widening gap in the rich and the poor. Even in a prosperous country like America, where the forefathers established the concepts of democracy, freedom, liberty, equality, and equal opportunity for every citizen, the problem exists. Just provision in the wonderful constitutions is not enough. The number of billionaires are increasing, while the poor remain poor, and in some cases getting even poorer. This is quite unfortunate. On the global level as well we see rich nations and poor ones. This is not just morally wrong, but practically it is a source of unrest and trouble that will eventually find its way to our door.

In America there are lots of troubles, the fears, the killings, the thefts, and rape that people endure. These are, I think, the result of economic inequality in society. Not only the poor, but, even the rich have to live in anxiety.

Once a very rich elderly lady came to seek my blessings. I told her, "I cannot bless you. I have no such ability". And then I told her, "You are a wealthy family, and this is very fortunate. It is the result of your virtuous deeds in past. The rich are important members of the society. You use capitalist methods in order to accumulate more and more profit. You should now use socialist methods to help provide poor people with basic needs, education and health". This can bring a change in our society.

The poor shall also work hard with self-confidence, to make use of opportunities and to realize that we are all the same kind of human beings. The rich should be more caring and develop compassionate attitudes.

I cannot say that I know all the laws.

Truth and *ahimsa* must come alive in socialism. This can only be possible when there is a living faith in God. Mere mechanical adherence to truth and *ahimsa* is likely to break down at the critical moment. Hence I have said that truth is God.

This God is a living force. Our life is of that force. That force resides in the body, but is not the body. He who denies the existence of that great force denies to himself access to its inexhaustible power and thus remains impotent. He is like a rudderless ship which tossed about here and there, perishes without making any headway. Many find themselves in this plight. The socialism of such people does not reach anywhere, what to say of the millions.

If such be the case, why is there no socialist who believes in God? If there are such socialists why have they not made any progress? Also there have been many believing in God, why is it they have not succeeded in bringing socialism?

There is no effective answer to this. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that it has perhaps never occurred to a believing socialist that there is any connection between his socialism and his belief in God. Equally, men of God perhaps never felt any need for socialism. Superstitions have flourished in the world in spite of Godly men and women., In *Hinduism* which believes in God, untouchability has, till of date, held undoubted sway.

The nature of this Divine Force and its inexhaustible power have been matters of incessant quest. My claim is that in the pursuit of that quest lies the discovery of *satyagraha*. It is not, however, claimed that all the laws of *satyagraha* have already been formulated. I cannot say either that I myself know all the laws. This I do assert that every worthy object can be achieved through *satyagraha*. It is the highest and the most potent means, the most effective weapon. I am convinced that socialism will not be reached by any other means.

Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.

December 16

Innate source for empathy is compassion.

Considering the nature of empathy, that exists in every human being, it is obvious to me that we can further enhance its potential and effects. We experience it only as feeling. And, we all know, to a greater or lesser extent we cannot only restrain our feelings through reasoning alone. Not only can we enhance empathy, but we can also transform it into love and compassion.

The very innate source for empathy is compassion. In Tibetan, we use the word 'nying je' It connotes love, affection, kindness, gentleness, generosity of spirit, and warm-heartedness. It is also used as a term for both sympathy and of endearment. On the other hand it denotes imply 'pity'. There is no sense of condescension 'Nying je' denotes a connection with others, reflecting its origins in empathy.

Though compassion is understood as an emotion, it belongs to that category of emotions which has a more developed cognitive component. It also has reason.

To me, this suggests that by means of sustained reflection on, and familiarization with, compassion, through rehearsal and practice, we can develop our innate ability to connect with others, a fact, which is of supreme importance given the approach to ethics, I have described. The more we develop compassion, the more genuinely ethical our conduct will be.

When the heart is filled with love, we have no room for suspicion. It is as if an inner door is opened, allowing us to reach out. We experience a sense of liberation from our habitual preoccupation with self.

We also find that when we act out of concern for others, the peace this creates in our own hearts brings peace to everyone we associate with, to the entire world. Could anything be more sublime than that which brings peace and happiness to all?

December 17

Honestly endeavour to observe non-violence.

Earlier I wrote about three fields for the operation of *ahimsa*. I propose to invite attention today to the fourth and the best field for the operation of non-violence. This is the family field. Thus members of an institution should be regarded as a family. Non-violence as between the members of such families should be easy to practise. If that fails, it means that we have not developed the capacity for pure non-violence. For the love we have to practise towards our relatives or colleagues in our family or institution, we have to practise towards our foes. If we fail in one case, success in the other is a chimera.

We have generally assumed that, though it may not be possible to exercise non-violence in the domestic field, it is possible to do so in the political field. This has proved a pure delusion. We have chosen to describe our methods adopted so far as non-violence, and thus caricatured non-violence itself. The alphabet of *ahimsa* is best learnt in the domestic school, we are sure to do so everywhere else. For a non-violent person the whole world is one family. He will fear none, nor will others fear him.

Those who profess to believe in non-violence should know the implications of that belief. And if these scare them away, they are welcome to give up the belief. An army, however small, of truly non-violent soldiers is likely some day to multiply itself. An army of those who are not truly non-violent is never likely to yield any use whether it increases or decreases.

There never will be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence.

When we develop contentment we can never be disappointed.

The development of modern world is such that the interests of a particular community can no longer be considered to lie within the confines of its own boundaries.

Cultivating contentment is therefore crucial to maintaining peaceful coexistence. Discontentment breeds acquisitiveness, which can never be satisfied. It is true that, if what the individual seeks is by nature infinite, such as the quality of tolerance, the question of contentment does not arise. The more we enhance our ability to be tolerant, the more tolerant we will become. Desire for what is finite can never really be stated. On the other hand when we develop contentment, we can never be disappointed or disillusioned.

Lack of contentment - which really comes down to greed - sows the seed of envy and aggressive competitiveness, and leads to a culture of excessive materialism. The negative atmosphere this creates becomes the context for all kinds of social ills which bring suffering to all members of that community. In particular, lack of contentment is the source of damage to our natural environment and, thereby, of harm to others. The rich may move to avoid pollution, the poor have no choice. The poorer nations suffer both from the rich nations' excesses and from the pollution of their own cruder technology. Today contentment is a matter of necessity.

I believe that a culture of perpetual growth fosters discontent, leading to social and environmental problems. It not only widens the gap in between the First and Third World, North and South, between rich and poor, but it is both immoral and wrong. Such inequality itself is a source of trouble for everyone. In that even the rich have to share the symptoms of poverty in their daily lives. Ultimately, the foundation is a sense of responsibility on the part of each individual toward all others.

Partition means a patent untruth.

I do not represent any community or committee. I speak as a peacemaker, as a friend and as a brother of *Mussalmans*. As a man of non-violence. I cannot forcibly resist the proposed partition if the *Muslims* of India really insist upon it. But I can never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means undoing of centuries of work done by numberless *Hindus* and *Muslims* to live together as one nation. Partition means a patent untruth. My whole soul rebels against the idea that *Hinduism* and *Islam* represent two antagonistic cultures and doctrines. To assent to such a doctrine is for me denial of God. For I believe with my whole soul that the God of *Koran* is also the God of the *Gita*, and that we are all, by no matter what name designed, children of the same God. I must rebel against the idea that millions of Indians who were *Hindus* the other day changed their nationality on adopting Islam as their religion.

I refuse to believe that the eighty million of *Muslims* will say that they have nothing in common with their *Hindu* brethren. I still believe that there can be no *swaraj* by violent means without communal unity. And the *Muslims* can certainly bar the way to peaceful freedom.

If then I still talk of civil disobedience, it is because I believe that the *Muslim* masses want freedom as much as the rest of the population of this country. And assuming that they do not, civil disobedience will be a powerful means of educating public opinion whether *Muslim*, *Hindu* or any other. It will also be an education of world opinion. But I will not embark upon it unless I am, as far as is humanly possible, sure that non-violence will be observed both in spirit and in the letter. Whatever is gained by civil disobedience will be gained for all.

Rely upon nobody and nothing.

Though Buddhism is a path of reason and logical inquiry, because some are born into that culture take it for granted. Hence, there may be no profound understanding but purely a faith.

There have been teachers who questioned everything - *karma*, past and future lives, the relationship between mind and body, the concept of a beginning and an end to cyclic existence, the possibility of liberation and Buddhahood, and so forth in a very critical way.

As a Buddhist one accepts the ‘three jewels’: the Buddha - who is the teacher and the goal to be attained; the *Dharma* - the teachings and the path to be realized; and the *Sangha*- the holders of the robes and the advanced practitioners of the *Dharma*. Again, it is very important that the refuge is taken on the basis of a deep understanding of what these ‘Jewels’ signify.

Merely to call oneself a Buddhist is of little value; one must have the inner experience of dissatisfaction with mundane existence and the recognition that refuge in the Three Jewels, together with the spiritual practice that this refuge implies, will help one transcend this mundane state of being. Then one should gain a firm understanding of the *karmic* laws of cause and effect and exert oneself at developing harmony with them.

In brief, we should make every effort to purify our mind streams of negative traits, and to develop every positive quality, such as love, compassion, detachment, higher meditation, wisdom and so forth. We must take direct responsibility for our own spiritual lives and rely upon nobody and nothing. The Buddha cannot help us, we have to help ourselves. If another being was able to save us, sure he or she would have already done so. Blessed with the human life we can pluck the fruit of enlightenment.

Man can act according to his own nature.

People write to me and also enquire personally, why my cough is not still cured. Whenever I speak a little after the prayer I starts coughing. I am not taking any treatment. Doctors tell me it can be cured in three days by taking pencillin. But according to me *Ramnama* is the greatest medicine. It is infallible. But one must be patient. There is no other help except God. Whatever I try to do as a human being results in failure. There was a time when my words carried much weight. To-day they have no impact. It is that I no longer talk from my heart? But times have changed. Every age has its own feature. It should be so and it is so. But it will not have an effect on me. I do not let that happen. I am what I have always been. I have the same faith in non-violence and truth as I had before. May be my faith is much deeper now. Prayer has an effect on those who listen to it in good faith. Man can act according to his own nature. There is no room for hypocrisy in this.

What I am doing to-day is in the name of god. I trust him. Either this illness has to go or I have to be overcome by it. What is so very great if man dies? Everyone is ordained to die from the time of his birth. If God wants something done through me, He will keep me alive, otherwise He will kill me by this cough. One should repeat *Ramnama*. One should forget desire, anger, attachment, infatuation, but never forget *Ramnama* because it is one's sole refuge. But when I start coughing at such moments, doctors ask me to take pencillin. Where is *Ramnama* in this. Why should I forget *Ramnama* in order to cure this ordinary cough?

Meditation without thought enables it to sink in.

If we truly intend to develop compassion and loving-kindness and wish to understand the meditations of it, we need to be steady and perhaps devote more time than the formal meditations require. It is a commitment of the heart to do these meditations.

It is better to have sometime every day, and early mornings are a good time for such contemplation, since minds are particularly clear then. However, a thread of this meditation can continue all along. We have to devote more than just the usual time given for contemplation.

We begin to work at developing empathy and closeness to others. We reflect upon their miserable predicament. And once we have generated a true feeling of compassion within ourselves, we should hold on to it, simply experience it, using the settled meditation remain focused, without applying thought or reason. This enables it to sink in.

If and when the feeling begins to weaken, we again apply reasons to restimulate our compassion. We go between these two methods of meditation, much as potters work their clay, moistening it and then forming it as they see the need.

You cannot imagine any results anytime. We cannot generate compassion automatically. We cannot generate compassion for all beings overnight. We won't succeed in a month or a year. If we are able to diminish our selfish instincts and develop a little more concern for others before our death, we have made good use of this life. If instead, we push ourselves to attain Buddhahood in a short time, we'll soon grow tired of our practice. The mere sight of the seat where we engage in our formal morning meditation will create resistance.

Christmas Greetings!

To-day is 24th of December. Tomorrow is Christmas. Christmas is to Christians what *Diwali* is to *Hindus*. Really neither *Diwali* nor Christmas is an occasion when we should indulge in revelry and lose our heads. I do not regard Christmas as an occasion for people to indulge in drunkenness. Christmas reminds one of Jesus Christ. I offer greetings to the Christians in India and abroad. May the new year bring them prosperity and happiness. It has never been my wish that the freedom of India should mean the ruin of the Christians here or that they should become *Hindus* or *Muslims* or *Sikhs*. For a Christian to become a *Hindu* or *Muslim* is a fate worse than death. According to my view a Christian should become a better Christian, a *Muslim* a better *Muslim* and a *Sikh* a better *Sikh*. I want that all the Christians in and outside India should become free in the true sense. Let them exercise self-restraint and pursue the path of sacrifice and martyrdom shown by Jesus Christ. Let them be free and increase the area of freedom in the world. It is feared that the Government grants and foreign aid may stop and some churches will have to close down. But a religion does not prosper with the help of money. A church does not need a building. The human body is the real church. It is there that God dwells. Then we have sky for the roof and the earth for the floor. We can utter God's name anywhere. I shall therefore say that the Christians need not feel worried they do not need assistance from the government or anyone. They should follow the teachings of their religion. If they but persevere in the path of sacrifice shown by Christ, no one can take their religion away from them.

Understand things as they are.

There are so many different forms of life on this planet, and especially many forms of life with a mind. But I think only we humans really change this world through our scientific discoveries and other new developments.

Much of humanity today enjoys quite a high level of material facilities and, with the help of science and technology, further developments will take place. But it is obvious that material facilities alone cannot provide genuine happiness or success. So much depends on our own attitude. The problem comes when they create feelings of greed, competitiveness and enduring dissatisfaction, which makes us want more and more.

Though material facilities are required, the feelings of pleasure and pain are actually created by the mind itself. Our physical pain is through the sensory source and the cure also remains in that. But mental problems cannot be dealt by physical means - nothing in the material world can eliminate suffering which is purely on a mental level. To overcome that we need to use the same mental faculty that creates thoughts and emotions. In other words we need intelligence.

We need to understand things as they are. Then, through a process of familiarizing ourselves with this understanding and integrating it into our life, it becomes our second nature to not only have an intellectual understanding, but also an experiential understanding of that truth. This is how intelligence changes mental attitude. Else, negative emotions like anger, fear and stress can over power our attitudes.

For such a transformation to take place at the mental level, and especially at the emotional level, we need to engage in a constant analytical meditation. We have to be peaceful at the deep mental level. I call this a combination of 'intelligence' and 'good heart', and I think this is a real help.

My case is not unique. Everybody has the same potential. The question is whether we develop our potential or not.

December 25

The sword is the symbol of weakness.

A charge has been leveled against me and *Badshah Khan* that we are rendering India and Islam a disservice by presenting the gospel of non-violence to the brave and war like people of the Frontier. The Frontier Province, they say, is the bastion of Islam in India, the Pathans are past masters in the use of the sword and the rifle and mine is an attempt to emasculate them by making them renounce their arms and thus undermine the citadel of the strength and security of Islam. I wholly repudiate the charge. My faith is that by adopting the doctrine of non-violence in its entirety you will be rendering a lasting service to India and to Islam which, just now, it seems to me, is in danger. Yours will be the spiritual strength with which you can not only protect Islam but even other religions. But if you have not understood the secret of this strength, if as a result of renouncing your arms you feel weaker instead of stronger than before, it would be better for you to give up the profession of non-violence.

I have read the *Koran* with as much care and reverence as I have read the *Gita*. I claim to have as much regard in my heart for Islam and other religions as for my own, and I dare say with all the emphasis that I can command that although the sword had been wielded in the history of Islam and that too in the name of religion, Islam was not founded by the sword nor was its spread due to it. On the contrary, the use of the sword has only tarnished its fair name.

You should renounce the sword because you have realized that it is the symbol not of your strength but of your weakness, because it does not make for true bravery. But if you put away your sword outwardly and there is the sword in your hearts, you shall have begun the wrong way and your renunciation will be devoid of any merit.

The crucial practice is improving the mind.

The spiritual or *Dharma* practice that we may do, it involves generating the awakening mind. Through this practice we should be able to effect a transformation of our attitudes, to positively shape our minds. The whole emphasis of our spiritual practice should be directed to creating positive and healthy thoughts and actions.

All religions are meant in principle to help human beings to become better, more refined, and more creative people. While for certain religions the principal practice is to recite prayers and for others it is mainly penance, in Buddhism the crucial practice is understood to be transforming and improving the mind.

Unless we understand the essential value and meaning of the Buddha's teachings, any attempt to preserve, restore, or propagate them is likely to go off on a wrong track. The doctrine and understanding of the *Dharma* is not something physical. Therefore, unless it is done with a proper understanding, the mere construction of monasteries or recitation of scriptures may not even be a Dharma practice. The point is that the *Dharma* practice takes place in the mind.

Think of the occasions when you are so angry, that you want to hurt the other person. Now, you have to think rationally and understand the consequences of anger and of generating compassion. You also reflect that the 'other' is just like you. How can you justify hurting that person?

Though I promise to work for all sentient beings, and here I tend to become cruel and unreasonable. You can completely dissolve your harsh attitude and feelings of anger by thinking in this way. In their place gentle and kind thoughts can be evoked. The other deserves your kindness and goodwill. In this way you can bring about a transformation of the mind. The compassionate attitude is a leap of great significance. This is a real spiritual practice, but it is not very simple.

To become rich and protect riches you need violence.

What would it mean for young American men to throw away their lives in the service of humanity is not a well put question. You don't throw away your lives when you take up the weapon of *satyagraha*. But you prepare yourself to face without retaliation the gravest danger and provocation. It gives you a chance to surrender your life for the cause when the time comes. To be able to do so non-violently requires previous training. If you are a believer in the Orthodox method, you go and train yourselves as soldiers. It is the same with non-violence. You have to alter your whole mode of life and work for it in peace time just as much as in the time of war. It is no doubt a difficult job you have to put whole soul into it; and if you are sincere, your example will affect the lives of other people around you.

America is today exploiting the so-called weaker nations of the world along with other powers. It has become the richest country in the world, not a thing to be proud of when we come to think of the means by which she has become rich. Again, to protect these riches you need the assistance of violence. You must be prepared to give up these riches. Therefore, if you really mean to give up violence, you will say, "We shall have nothing to do with the spoils of violence, and if as a result America ceases to be rich, we do not mind". You will then be qualified to offer a spotless sacrifice. That is the meaning of preparation. The occasion for making the extreme sacrifice may not come if you as a nation have fully learnt to live for peace. It is much more difficult to live for non-violence than to die for it.

The real test is with the outside world.

Life as a human being is extremely valuable in terms of achieving our goals. Once we have gained some conviction that life as a free and fortunate human being is rare and precious, we should reflect that it is not permanent. Although life as a human being has such potential, it is short lived and does not last. We should meditate on three fundamental topics: the certainty of death, the uncertainty of when it will occur, and that when death does take place, only the individual's spiritual realization will be of any help. These points are simple and present no intellectual challenge. Yet, we are not deeply convinced.

Death is uniform and universal, and no one can either deny or defy this fact of life. What fools us is the uncertainty of the time of death. We feel it will be always after some time, after many years. This notion of a long and indefinite future stretching out ahead of us deters us from serious spiritual endeavour. The whole purpose of meditation on impermanence and death is to move us to engage actively in spiritual practices.

People often have the impression that spiritual practices are done only during meditation sessions; they ignore the need for practice during rest of the time. This is a mistaken approach. Every moment is equally important. We have to know that this awareness is complementary. Spiritual understanding gained in meditation should enhance our understanding during the post meditation period and vice versa. As a result of the inspiration gained during the meditation sessions, we can develop many virtues like compassion, benevolence, respecting others' good qualities and so forth. During the session, one does develop piety, but diligence, and the real test is, when we are faced with the outside world.

History has played the least part in my life.

I have been built differently. Whatever conclusions I have reached have not been through historical studies at all. History has played the least part in my life. A scoffer would say that I have been empirical in my methods and all my conclusions are based on my so called experience. I call it so-called because there is a danger of self-delusion. I know many lunatics who believe in certain things as if they were their own experiences. Nevertheless my experience has precedents. Saints have based their institutions on experiences and, after all, the world now believes that the experiences they had recorded were correct and also that they had been tested by the historical and analytical methods. My experience regarding non-violence and non-cooperation has a foundation of this character.

Whilst non-violence may work in India, it may not answer at all in Europe. I have met enlightened Englishmen and also foreigners and I have said that you must not move unless you have faith to such an extent that you would have faith in you even if the world was against you; and you will then have ways and means coming to your rescue. It is, therefore, my firm belief that non-violence alone will save Europe; otherwise I see nothing but perdition. A process of disintegration is going on.

I am full of profound distrust of things happening in Russia. It seems to be a challenge to non-violence. There the basis is force. So, I see that even for Europe there is need for non-violence. It needs no big organisation. It somehow or the other organises itself. There ought to be at the head someone who is non-violent in character, with faith immovable as a mountain, and so long as this man has not come to the surface we must wait and watch and pray.

The attitude you have about yourself is to be applied to others.

There is a method for developing the altruistic aspiration to enlightenment. It is the method of equalizing and exchanging of self and others. Exchanging self and others does not mean that you physically change yourself into others but rather that the attitude you have about yourself is applied to others.

The first step is to recognize the advantages of exchanging oneself for others and the disadvantages of not doing so. All the good qualities in this universe are the product of cherishing the welfare of others, and all the frustrations and confusions and sufferings are products and consequences of selfish attitudes. But is it possible to exchange oneself for others. Our experience testifies that we can change our attitude toward certain types of people whom we formerly found repulsive and fearful, that when we get closer to such persons and understand them, we can change our attitude. The strong cherishing that you feel for yourself should now be shifted to others, so that you will have a natural tendency to work for the welfare of others instead of yourself.

There are two main obstacles to developing such an attitude. The first is this strong discrimination between self and others, regarding self and others as totally independent and separate. In fact, self and other are relative, like “this side of the mountain” and “that side of the mountain”. From my perspective, I am self and you are other, but from your perspective, you are self and I am other. We also have a natural feeling of indifference because we feel that the happiness and suffering of others is not our business; they do not matter to us. Despite the facts that our bodies consist of many parts - head, hands, legs- we treat our own bodies, collections of parts, as very precious. In the same way, we should look at what unites us, the common feature that all sentient beings like ourselves share, is the natural wish to achieve happiness and avoid sufferings.

NON-ENGLISH WORDS IN THE BOOK

Word	English Meaning
Adharma	Unrighteousness
Ahimsa	Non-violence
Akrodh	Non-anger
Aman	Tolerance
Amrit	Elixir
Antyaja	Untouchable Caste
Asatya	Untruth
Ashram	Religious Retreat
Atman	Soul
Avalokiteshwara	Lord of Mercy
Brahmachari	Bachelor
Brahmacharya	Celibacy
Baniya	Trader
Banaras	A City in India
Bapu / Bapuji	Father
Bhakti	Devotion
Bhangi	Scavenger
Brahman	Realized Person
Brahmin	A Higher Caste
Bodhisatva	Compassionate Practitioner
Bodhichitta	Bodhimind (Enlightened Mind)
Buddha	Enlightened Person
Caliph	Muslim Religious Head
Charakha	Spinning Wheel
Chandrakirti	A name of a Buddhist Scholar
Chandal	Undertaker of dead animals
Chitta	Mind
Daya	Compassion
Dharma	Righteousness
Duragraha	Brute Force

Darshan	Audience of a holy person
Diwali	Indian Festival of lights
Daridranarayana	Very Poor Person
Goushala	Shelter for cows
Gita / Bhagawad	Gita Hindu Religious Text
Gurudwaras	Temples of Sikh Community
Hindu	A Religious Community
Hinduism	A Religion
Hartal	Demonstration / Strike / Boycott
Hind Swaraj	A Book written by Mahatma Gandhi
Harijan	The Untouchables in India (Children of God)
Islam	A Religion
Jallianwala Bagh	A place in Punjab
Kshatriya	Warrior Caste in India
Khilafat Movement	Muslim Community's movement in India
Koran / Koran - E - Sharif	A Religious Book for Muslims
Khadi / Khaddar	Hand Spun Cloth
Kurukshetra	Battle Field
Karma	Fate
Karmik(c)	Fate of past life
Muslim, Mussalman, Mohammadan	A Religious Community practising Islam
Mahatma	Great Person
Moksha	Salvation / Liberation
Mantra	Repetition of religious words
Maya	Delusion
Mahayana	Buddhist Text (Great wheel)
Maha Karuna	Great Compassion
Narasimh	Name of a saint in India

Nirvana	Salvation
Niyama	Moral Regulation
Pandit	Learned Person
Parsi	A Community in India
Purna Swarajya	Total Freedom
Rishi	Realized / Spiritual Person
Ramnama	Repetition of Lord Rama's Name
Satyagraha	Soul Force (Truth Force)
Satyagrahi	A Practitioner of Truth
Swadeshi	Home Made
Shastras	Scriptures
Sutra	Hymns
Shravaka	Jain Community
	followers of Lord Mahaveera)
Sanskrit	Ancient Indian Language
Satya	Truth
Swaraj	Self Rule (Good Governance)
Sadhu	Ascetic
Sikh	A Religious Community
	(followers of Guru Nanak)
Shantideva	A Buddhist Scholar and monk
Sangha	Spiritual Community
Tapasya / Tapascharya	Penance
Tulsi Leaf	Basil Leaf
Tantra	Mystical Practises
Tara	A Buddhist Goddess
Veda	Ancient Indian Scriptures
Vaishnava	Followers of a Hindu Religious
	sect of Lord Krishna
Vinaya	A Buddhist text
Yama	Moral Rule
Yoga	A Way of Life
Yoga Tantra	Learning the way of Life

Key to Source Abbreviations

Books by His Holiness The Dalai Lama

- AMLH** : Awakening The Mind, Lightening The Heart,
Harper Collins Publishers, 2004
- TWE** : The Way to Freedom, The Library of Tibet, 2000
- POC** : The Power of Compassion, Harper Collins Publishers, 1995
- URGH** : Universal Responsibility and Good Heart,
Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1995
- KCI** : Kindness, Clarity and Insight, Snow Lion Publications, 5th ed. 1984
- AWMW** : Ancient Wisdom, Modern World: Ethics for The New Millennium,
Abacus Publication, 2000
- TIM** : Transforming The Mind, Harper Collins Publishers, 2003
- OTM** : Opening The Mind & Generating a Good Heart,
Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1995
- LP** : Lighting The Path, Lothian Books, 2003
- CWMG** : The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, 3rd Revised Edition, 2000
Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting,
Government of India.

SOURCE

<p>January 1-CWMG, V. 16, p.7 January 2-POC, pp.2, 4 January 3-CWMG, V.16, p.60 January 4-POC, pp. 80-82 January 5-CWMG, V. 17, p.444 January 6-POC, p.38- January 7-CWMG, V.20, p.284 January 8-URGH, pp.76, 41 January 9-CWMG, V.21, p.234 January 10-URGH, p.103, KCI, p.58 January 11-CWMG V.22, p.87 January 12-URGH, p.79, KCI, p. 18 January 13-CWMG V.22, p.236 January 14-URGH, p.79 January 15-CWMG V.22, p.347 January 16-AWMW, p.3- January 17-CWMG V.22, p.351 January 18-AWMW, pp.9- January 19-CWMG, V.96, p.43 January 20-AWMW, p. 83-84 January 21-CWMG, V.78, p.411 January 22-AWMW, p. 179-181 January 23-CWMG V.78, p. 129 January 24-URGH, p.48 January 25-CWMG V.97, p. 191 January 26-LP, pp. 16-18 January 27-CWMG, V.74, p.115 January 28-AMLH, pp.8-11 January 29-CWMG V.74, p.371 January 30-AMLH, pp.85-86 January 31-CWMG V.54, p.467 February I-TWF, pp. 156-161 February2-CWMG, V.16, p.6 February3-POC, pp.8-11 February4-CWMG .V16, p. 161 February5-KCI, p. 13, 15 February6-CWMG, V17,p.455</p>	<p>February 7-POC, p.2, URGH, p.81 February 8-CWMG, V.20, p.285 February 9-URGH, p.41 February10-CWMG, V.21, p.268 February 11-KCI, p.58 February12-CWMG V.22, p.87 February 13-KCI, p. 18 February 14-CWMG, V.22, p.240 February 15-AWMW, p.3- February 16-CWMG, V.22, p.323 February 17-AWMW. p.3- February 18-CWMG V.96, p.110 February 19-AWMW, pp.VII-IX February 20-CWMG V.96, p.68 February 21-AWMW, p. 105-108 February 22-CWMG, V.78, p.395 February 23-AWMW, p. 186-191 February 24-CWMG, V.78, p. 126 February 25-URGH, p. 48-50 February 26-CWMG, V.97, p.56 February 27-LP, pp. 18-19 February 28-CWMG, V.74, p.129 March 1-AMLH, p. 10-11 March 2-CWMG V.74, p.392 March 3-AMLH, p. 99-101 March 4-CWMG V.54, p.268 March 5-TWF, pp. 163-166 March 6-CWMG, V.14, p.455 March 7-POC, pp.38, 41, 45, 44 March 8-CWMG, V.16, p.378 March 9-POC, pp. 63, 64, 78 March 10-CWMG, V. 17, p.456 March 11-POC, pp. 59, 82 March 12-CWMG, V.21, p. 109 March 13-URGH, p. 103 March 14 CWMG, V.21, p.272 March 15-URGH, p.36</p>
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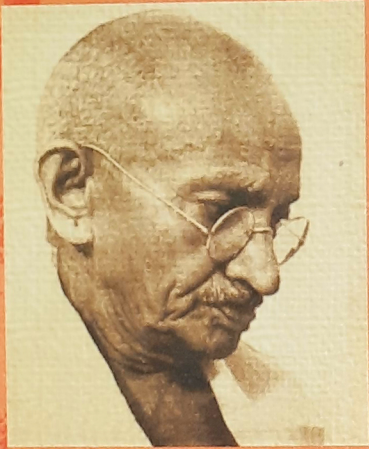
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December 31-TWF, pp. 148-149



There cannot be true Swaraj as long as there is exploitation. Mere change from British to Indian Rule does not mean Swaraj. As long as one class dominates another, as long as poor remain poor, there will be no Swaraj.

There is nothing amazing about being highly educated; there is nothing amazing about being rich. Only when the individual has a warm heart do these attributes become worthwhile.

