

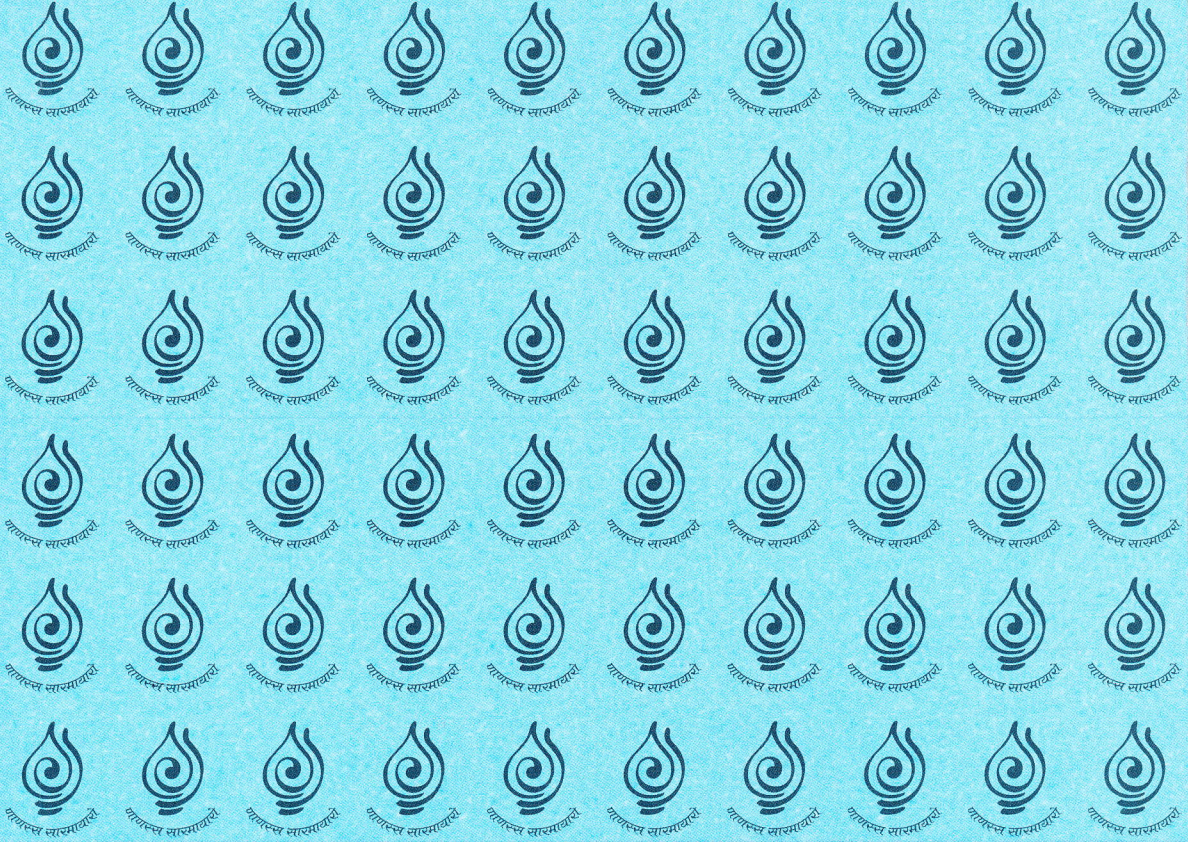
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## Non-violence: It's Different Aspects

Prof. B.R. Dugar

### The Basis of Non-violence

It may be helpful to approach Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence by first examining the views of some thinkers like Sigmund Freud and Konrad Lorenz who affirm that man is innately violent and that it is necessary to accept this "fact" in order to devise ways and means to keep this nature in check as far as possible. This view of man, of course, is not new. It was expressed by Hobbes who maintained that the natural condition of man is that of perpetual war of all against all. Man in a state of nature is "solitary," "nasty," and "brutish."<sup>1</sup> Man's reason that is present even in the state of nature finally forces order, i.e., political order, on this seething volcano of conflict. This view is supported by Freud and Lorenz who claim that psychoanalysis and biology supply the "facts" to back up the Hobbesian image of man.

Psychoanalysis, according to Freud, reveals that under the thin veneer of civilized man lies an "aggressive cruelty" and that a slight relaxation of the inhibiting forces demonstrates this innate savagery of man, overthrowing the benevolent and rational image of man painted by the romanticists and classical rationalists.

... men are not gentle, friendly creatures wishing for love, who simply defend themselves if they are attacked ... a powerful measure of desire for aggression has to be reckoned as part of their instinctual endowment. The result is that their neighbour is to them not only a possible helper or sexual object, but also a temptation to gratify their aggressiveness on him, to exploit his capacity for work without recompense, to use him sexually without

his consent, to seize his possessions, to humiliate him, to cause him pain, to torture and to kill him. Homo homini lupus; who has the courage to dispute it in the face of evidence in his own life and history?<sup>2</sup>

This grim view of man (derived from Freud's treatment of neurotics) suffers from a major contradiction when the theory and therapy of Freud's psychoanalysis are seen together, as Freud's gifted, one-time disciple Otto Rank pointed out. According to Rank, psychoanalysis as therapy is "optimistic," and "believes ... in the good in men and in some capacity for and possibility for salvation"; but "in theory it is pessimistic; man has no will and no creative power, is driven by the id and repressed by the super-ego authorities, is unfree and still guilty."<sup>3</sup> Thus, the dialectical relations between theory and practice point to a more optimistic view of man, a man who has the positive capacity of transforming and transcending his condition through self-knowledge. Does not the very fact that psychotherapy succeeds, establish the efficacy of the rational powers of the mind? And since this is true of neurotics, Freud's image of man has to be drastically reformed. This reformation has been going on from Rank to from an and by now most psychoanalysts have given up Freud's theory of man's "innate aggressiveness" against man.

However, the theory is far from dead. Konrad Lorenz, the famous naturalist, asks in his "On Aggression", why man acts in such an irrational manner towards his fellowman and replies:

Undeniably, there must be the superlatively strong factors which are able to overcome the commands of reason so completely and which are so obviously impervious to experience and leaning ... All these amazing paradoxes ... find an unconstrained explanation, falling into place like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, if one assumes that human behavior, and particularly human social behavior, far from being determined by reason and cultural tradition alone, is still subject to all the laws prevailing in all phylogenetically adapted instinctive behavior.<sup>4</sup>

Lorenz's explanation of violence suffers from two major drawbacks. Firstly, he assumes that man's frequent irrational behavior is phylogenetically based. At no point does he establish that aggressiveness is phylogenetically "programmed" in man. The only example he gives is of the Utes—Prairie Indians—and this has been established as untrue.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, it is because he assumes that man's irrational behavior is phylogenetically based, that he infers that the laws derived from the study of instincts in animals are applicable to man. But man's unique position in evolution as a creature endowed with

“reason, discrimination, and free will,” as Gandhi puts it, makes the transfer of laws from animal behavior to man particularly hazardous. Gandhi is on sound ground when he affirms that the “laws of nature” as applied to animals are different from the “laws of nature” as applied to man. Man’s “moral instincts” and “moral institutions,” man’s “reason, discrimination and free-will such as it is,” make him far superior to the brute.<sup>6</sup> For Gandhi, non-violence is “the law of the human species.” It is important to understand what Gandhi means by this expression. Firstly, according to Gandhi, man knows from “his innermost conviction” that he can subdue “desire, anger, ignorance, malice and other passions” that lead to violence. “Conquest of one’s passions ... is not super-human, but human.”<sup>7</sup> Gandhi puts his finger on one important aspect of violence, i.e., that violence is an outgrowth of certain desires which can be checked and therefore violence is not instinctive. Secondly, man, for Gandhi, is both an individual-reality and a communal-reality and it is love, not external pressure that binds men into a community. Our newspapers constantly portray a grim tale of human violence, but such violence for Gandhi is an aberration for millions live in peace and brotherhood.

History does not and cannot take note of this fact. History is really a record of every interruption of the even working of the force of love or of the soul ... Soul-force, being natural, is not noted in history.<sup>8</sup>

Gandhi recognizes that the frustration of our needs and aspirations often leads to violence and much of human violence has to be explained in these terms rather than as a product of innate violence. But unlike those who believe that our personality is completely the product of socio-economics and that a change of environment will allow the innate goodness of man to shine forth, Gandhi rightly posited a more realistic and sounder image of man. Man is “passionate” but “man is superior to the brute inasmuch as he is capable of self-restraint and sacrifice, of which the brute is incapable.”<sup>9</sup> For Gandhi, in this positive capacity for self-restraint, i.e., that man’s nobler aspirations are not at the mercy of his irrational tendencies, and in the fact that man can devise means to regulate national resources, there lie the basis and hope for a non-violent world.

### **Meaning of Violence**

From the foregoing analysis wherein Gandhi argues for a moral discontinuum between man and animal one would have expected Gandhi to define violence in terms of a violation of the person. A person, of course, can be violated in many ways and Gandhi points out that “the principle of ahimsa

is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It is also violated by our holding on to what the world needs.” However, in the only place where he offers a definition of violence, he does it in the following way:

Himsa means causing pain to or killing any life out of anger, or from selfish purpose, or with the intention of injuring it. Refraining from so doing is ahimsa.<sup>11</sup>

Unmindful of his distinction between man and animal, Gandhi defines violence in traditional Hindu terminology which is based on an undifferentiated unity of all life. Belief in reincarnation, no doubt, is a contributing factor to this definition of himsa. However, Gandhi recognizes that it is impossible to sustain one’s body without the destruction of lower forms of life. Gandhi recognizes the duty of killing microbes by the use of disinfectants.<sup>12</sup> Besides, he supports the killing of monkeys which destroy food crops and fruits, carnivorous animals, poisonous snakes, rabid dogs, etc. But he claims: “It is violence, yet a duty.”<sup>13</sup> It is this Hindu religious ideal that calls for complete non-injury and makes impossible demands on the human person.

In the place where we stand there are millions of micro-organisms to whom the place belongs, and who are hurt by our presence there. What should we do then? Should we commit suicide? Even that is no solution, if we believe, as we do, that so long as the spirit is attached to the flesh, on every destruction of the body it weaves for itself another. The body will cease to be only when we give up all attachment to it ... The body does not belong to us ... Treating in this way the things of flesh, we may one day expect to become free from the burden of the body.<sup>14</sup>

According to Gandhi, man has to struggle and suffer in order to attain this Hindu religious ideal of ahimsa. What Gandhi fails to realize in “From Yeravda Mandir” is that the suppression of the legitimate joys of life will explode into violence at some future date.<sup>15</sup> However, in Gandhi’s educational and political writings, a philosophical, rather than a spirit-attached-to-the-flesh, view of man emerges.

Man is neither mere intellect, nor the gross animal body, not the heart or soul alone. A proper and harmonious combination of all the three is required for the making of the whole man and constitutes the true economics of education...

I hold that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs ... In other words, an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provide the best and the quickest way

of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor lop-sided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds *pari passu* with the education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child. They constitute an indivisible whole. According to this theory, therefore, it would be a gross fallacy to suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or independently of one another.<sup>16</sup>

By training of the heart, Gandhi means that the child's potentialities for love and truth, which are often smothered, must be cultivated. "It should be essential of real education that a child should learn that, in the struggle of life, it can conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering."<sup>17</sup> Gandhi's religious model of man and his political and educational model of man cannot be reconciled and this remains a serious drawback of "Gandhism". However, both the theory and practice of satyagraha, Gandhi's great contribution to political thought, stands on his philosophical model of man.

There is another aspect of Gandhi's definition of violence which needs attention. Since in our present condition we cannot avoid violence, as defined by Gandhi, our motive should be to minimize it as far as possible. It is this reference to motive in relation to all living beings without a special reference to persons, that leads to the other problems considered here. "Should my child be attacked with rabies and there was no helpful remedy to relieve his agony, I should consider it my duty to take his life."<sup>18</sup> And a still more surprising hypothetical example: "Suppose for instance that I find my daughter—whose wish at the moment I have no means of ascertaining—is threatened with violation and there is no way by which I can save her, then it would be the purest form of ahimsa on my part to put an end to her life and surrender myself to the fury of the incensed ruffian."<sup>19</sup> If this is a case of non-violence, then an army commander who, when he knows that he is about to lose a battle, demands that all soldiers stand in a line and then shoots them because that way they will be saving their honor, is not committing violence. Gandhi recognizes that he is treading on dangerous ground and realizes that on his analogy some people "might actually take it into their head" to kill their enemies on the ground that it serves their vision of a good society.<sup>20</sup> Gandhi's definition of violence as it stands is highly unsatisfactory. Once again, it must be noted that in his practice of satyagraha the individual becomes all important. "The person of the citizen must be held inviolate," says Gandhi.

A final question has still to be asked. It is best to allow Gandhi to pose the question and then consider its implications.

Suppose a man runs amuck and goes furiously about sword in hand, and killing anyone that comes in his way, and no one dares to capture him alive. Anyone who dispatches this lunatic will earn the gratitude of the community and be regarded as a benevolent man. From the point of view of ahimsa, it is the plain duty of everyone to kill such a man.<sup>21</sup>

It would have been better to add that a person who has run amuck is beyond rational persuasion and emotional appeal and, therefore, when all means to capture him alive have been exhausted, one has a right to kill him in order to preserve one's right to live. Of course, since the man is a lunatic, we do not hold him responsible for his behavior. But an allied question arises. Suppose a group of men and their armed supporters reduce the citizens of a nation to mere objects, is a violent overthrow of such a regime justified? Too often we come to a quick conclusion that a violent revolution is the solution. But supposing that rational arguments and emotional appeals and all non-violent methods fail, the Gandhian reader may inquire, is violence then justified? According to Gandhi, in such situations, non-violent methods cannot fail if certain conditions are met. These conditions are not super-human conditions and will be examined in the following section.

### **Non-violence, Self-suffering, and Truth**

Gandhi's identification of non-violence with love has been examined. Ahimsa for Gandhi "is not merely a negative state of harmlessness" but "a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil doer." Non-violence for Gandhi includes all the noblest aspirations of man—love, compassion, forgiveness, tolerance, sympathy, generosity, service, self-sacrifice, and courage.

Non-violence, however, must not be confused with cowardice. "I do believe," says Gandhi, "that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence."<sup>22</sup> But Gandhi was convinced that man was capable of redressing his grievances through non-violent means.

Non-co-operation is not a passive state; it is an intensely active state—more active than physical resistance or violence. Passive resistance is a misnomer. Non-co-operation in the sense used by me must be non-violent and, therefore, neither punitive, nor vindictive nor based on malice, ill-will or hatred.<sup>23</sup>

Here it is necessary to relate non-violence to self-suffering. Every serious conflict does involve suffering. However, unlike a violent revolution, satyagraha shoulders most of the suffering.

Suffering injury in one's own person is ... of the essence of non-violence and is the chosen substitute for violence to others. It is not because I value life low that I can countenance with joy thousands voluntarily losing their lives for satyagraha, but because I know that it results in the long run in the best loss of life, and, what is more, it ennobles those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifice.<sup>24</sup>

A commitment to ahimsa involves self-suffering. "The test of love is tapasya and tapasya means self-suffering." However, it is important to note that while the satyagrahi suffers with this noble purpose, he does not submit to the will of the evil doer. A satyagrahi refuses to do that which his conscience forbids and this may mean a loss of property and even life.<sup>25</sup>

Non-violence and self-suffering can be effectively used to bring about social change when the truth of the situation demands it.<sup>26</sup> The needs of man can be met without violating the opposing party.

I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self.

But on the political field the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the lawgiver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy opens to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, is to compel him by physical force to yield to you or by suffering in your own person by inviting the penalty for the breach of law. Hence satyagraha largely appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.<sup>27</sup>

### **Economics, State, and Non-Violence**

Gandhi's "Indian Home Rule" contains his classic analysis of the wrongs of modern civilization. Gandhi acknowledges that the progress of science and technology have given us a variety of comforts.<sup>28</sup> But the very growth of technology has given rise to immense social problems. Drawing upon his experiences in England, during its rich towards rapid industrialization, he notes with considerable anguish, reminiscent of Ruskin, that thousands of workmen

work in the factories and mines under the most degrading conditions. "They are obliged to work at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires."<sup>29</sup> Not only did men have to work for long under the most inhumane conditions, but even women had to slave away in the factories to supplement the family income. A civilization that allows such injustice to flourish at the expense of morality is no civilization at all.

Gandhi's answer in 1909 to this technological challenge is to do away with the machine and to return to an earlier less complicated life. The evils of technology can be cured only by the destruction of technology itself.

It is necessary to realize that machinery is bad. We shall then be able gradually to do away with it. Nature has not provided any way whereby we can reach a desired goal all of a sudden. If, instead of welcoming machinery as a boon, we should look upon it as an evil, it would ultimately go.<sup>30</sup>

By the 1920's Gandhi has a more realistic and fruitful approach to the problems created by the advance of technology. Machinery itself is not evil. It can be used for the commonweal as well as for human exploitation.

What I object to, is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such ... Men go on "saving labour," till thousands are without work and are thrown on the open streets to die of starvation ... Today machinery helps a few to ride on the back of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might.<sup>31</sup>

It is the general welfare of society rather than human greed or the laws of economic competition that should govern the use of technology. Gandhi suggests that major industries should be nationalized and turned into model places of work.

They ought only to be working under the most attractive and ideal conditions, not for profit, but for the benefit of humanity, love taking the place of greed as the motive ... This mad rush for wealth must cease, and the labourer must be assured, not only of a living wage, but a daily task that is not a drudgery ... the individual is the supreme consideration.<sup>32</sup>

Since man is the "supreme consideration," each nation taking into account its resources will have to reach out for ways and means for the economic uplift of the individual. Unless this economic disparity is considerably reduced, the specter of violence will be constantly haunting us.

Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in

whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly impossibility so long as the gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists.<sup>33</sup>

In "Constructive Programme", Gandhi sets out his scheme for the reformation of Indian society which may be summarized as follows:

1. Education for the establishment of communal unity.
2. Removal of untouchability.
3. Introduction of prohibition.
4. Development of village industry and agriculture.
5. Improvement of village sanitation.
6. Introduction of new or basic education. "This education is meant to transform village children into model villagers."
7. Organization of adult education.
8. Emancipation of women.
9. Education in health and hygiene.
10. Development of the provincial languages of Indian and establishment of Hindustani as the national language.
11. Removal of economic inequality through non-violent means.
12. Organization of the peasantry for the improvement of their condition and the achievement of their rights through non-violent means.
13. Organization of labor along the lines of the Ahmedabad Labour Union.  
Ahmedabad Labour Union is a model for all of India to copy. Its basis is non-violence, pure and simple. It has never had a set-back in its career. It has gone on from strength to strength without fuss and without show. It has its hospital, its schools for the children of the mill-hands, its classes for adults, its own printing press and khadi depot, and its own residential quarters. Almost all the hands are voters and decide the fate of elections ... The organization has never taken part in the party politics of the Congress. It influences the municipal policy of the city. It has to its credit very successful strikes which were wholly non-violent. Mill-owners and labour have governed their relations largely through voluntary arbitration.<sup>34</sup>
14. Improvement of the conditions of the aboriginal tribes.
15. Service and rehabilitation of the lepers.

16. Organization of students on a non-political basis.

17. Improvement of cattle.

18. Education in Civil Disobedience.

“... handling of Civil Disobedience without the constructive programme will be like a paralyzed hand attempting to lift a spoon.”<sup>35</sup>

It is not economic disparity alone that leads to violence. Gandhi was equally concerned with the powerful modern state as an organ of violence.

The State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the state is a soulless machine, the state can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence ... I look upon an increase of the power of the state with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress.<sup>36</sup>

This, no doubt, represents the general anarchist position. However, unlike the anarchists, Gandhi was willing to accept a measure of state control within his scheme of decentralization. Gandhi recognized the role of the government but he wished to severely limit its power. He envisaged a society wherein the village is a complete republic as far as possible. “The government of the village will be conducted by the panchayat of five persons, annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications.”<sup>37</sup> For its year in office the panchayat will be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined. “In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom.”<sup>38</sup> If each village tries to improve itself, the whole nation will be strengthened. The village, autonomous in internal administration, is linked with the taluka, district, division, province and nation through a system of indirect elections except at the village level.

Gandhi’s goal is “to strive for the greatest good of all.” But the goal cannot be acquired by eliminating the obstacles. “For me, it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy.”<sup>39</sup> The end product that is brought about by unethical means is as tainted as the means themselves. “the means may be linked to a seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree.”<sup>40</sup> Too often the utopian revolutionary and visionary is subject to the colossal temptation to reach his goal over the corpses of his opponents. Gandhi’s warning is worth keeping

in mind. "Experience convinces me," says Gandhi, "that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence."<sup>41</sup> As expressed by Nikolai Berdyaev:

Revolution seeks triumph at all costs and whatever may happen. Triumph is achieved by force. This force inevitable turns into violence. There is a fateful mistake of the makers of revolution which is connected with their relation to time. The present is regarded exclusively as a means, the future as an end. ... But the future in which the exalted end was to be realized never comes. In it there will again be those same repulsive means. Violence never leads to freedom. Hatred never leads to brotherhood.<sup>42</sup>

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8. Hind Swaraj in SW, IV, 171.
9. SW, VI, 112.
10. From Yeravda Mandir in SW, IV, 218.
11. CW, XXXI, 545.
12. CW, XXXI, 545.
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For man can find what peace there is in his existence only in those moments when his sensual, logical and ethical faculties balance each other.”

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