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MAHATMA GANDHI QUOTED TO SHOW THAT HE IS NOT PACIFIST

'I Would That India Resort to Arms Than Helplessly Witness Dishonor,' He Says

By BASANTA KOOMAR ROY,

Noted Hindu Writer, Lecturer and Recognized Authority on India and the Far East.

HINDUSTHANEES at home and abroad are simply stunned at the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and his wife Kasturibai. The Mahatma is loved and revered by the teeming millions of India irrespective of their religion, creed or political party affiliation. Not to speak of others; even the resolutions of the Indian National Congress, representing twelve million people, the personality of Gandhi, for their, alone others, realize what this modern Mahatma has done to weld the heterogeneous masses and races and religions of India into a homogeneous whole in its titanic opposition to the British Government.

UNITY IN INDIA.

This unity, especially between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, is one of India's cherished assets for the desired success of the nonviolent revolution in that ancient country. Though full in physique Mahatma Gandhi has accomplished a gigantic task of supreme importance for the attainment of unconditional independence of India.

The devotees of British imperialism may be tempted to dismiss this latest British outrage on India with a sardonic smile; but before long they will have ample reason to be convinced that the poignant tragedy of their imperialistic vagaries has brought them too far into a dangerous wilderness.

With the arrest of Gandhi the British Raj faces a serious crisis in India; and India finds herself on the parting of the ways. Peace or war—that is the paramount question that is agitating the minds of the Hindus and Mohammedans, the Sikhs and the Parsees, the Jains and the Jews, the Christians and the Buddhists, in a word, all the peoples of Hindustan. The Hindu holds mind as superior to matter; even so he holds peace superior to war. It needs not the words of Mahatma Gandhi to convince any Hindu of this basic philosophy, which Hindus through the ages have imbibed with their lives.

WAR OF JUSTICE RIGHT.

But at the same time neither Hindu philosophy nor Hindu scripture nor Hindu sentiment condemn war unconditionally. A war of aggression is an atrocious crime; but a just war for the establishment of a just peace, which is not only as sacred as religion, but is a religious duty. The Kshatriya caste is the caste of warriors. The Kshatriya's principal duty in life is to seek salvation by fighting on the side of truth against falsehood, justice against injustice and liberty against slavery.

Little wonder, then, says a Hindu religionist, "in defense of morality himself guilty of violating morality.

"A hero enjoys the pleasures of life by victory or conquers heaven by death . . . A soldier ran-

INDIA NOT UNITED; PRINCE'S VISIT CALLED MISTAKE

(Continued from Page 1.)

Cawnpore and Lucknow and Agra, steeped in the story of the mutiny, horrible and heroic, I could not but feel sympathetic for the mild and humane Viceroy, who already is the target of the bullets of assassins, who, linked to all manner of riots, and cun by inference divine what the inarticulate think. They say he agree with fair promises and has rallied none; that he has supplanted the military in a policy of repression; that in a year the troops were called out forty and more times; that in the last year there were 1,000 candidates imprisoned in jail. Lord Curzon, erstwhile Viceroy, resigned because Kitchener insisted on the subordination of the civil government to military rule; but now the Administration is eager to exch civil authority by starting responsibility with the people. Gandhi's movement, the non-violent movements and universal unrest, it fears to lay down its arms. It is a difficult role Lord Reading is called upon to play, and I would not be surprised should he resign to give way to a sterner and less sympathetic Viceroy with more "blood and iron" and less milk of human kindness.

I discussed the Philippines with him. He had ventured the opinion that our problem there was not dissimilar. But there is really no resemblance. The Philippines fell into the hands of the United States pursuant to a war with Spain. Spain was compensated for its property by the payment of twenty millions dollars, and otherwise the islands had been treated as tributary and dependent, governed by foreigners for foreigners, the United States did not exploit them, and furthermore prepared the people for self-government. We have held them for only twenty-three years. Now England, driven by the current, the Philippines about to grant what the Philippines want, and England, after having been in India for 150 years, from the settlement of Madras, and 65 years since the mutiny, when it asserted a wider sovereignty, England has reached a stage where we began. It was not a recent conviction that makes us trustees for our people, preparing them for self-independence when they can maintain a stable government. If we are not ready to admit the Philippines to the territorial status with their consent, we shall let them go on the same terms that were given to Cuba, retaining the reserved right. If shown to be need, to intervene in the interest of order.

FEAR INDEPENDENCE.

But to a modified degree, the more prudent Indians share with the Filipinos the same fear of the consequences which might not unreasonably follow the granting and assumption of independence. Britain's statesmanship, with its commitments for security, finds superadvision for stability. Unprotected, India might be invaded from the north as frequently before, or the warlike and fanatical Mohammedans might seek domination and split the country in two. Conditions would become chaotic, and perhaps lead to anarchy and even greater rigor in a new rule.

India's "safe and sane" policy should be to accept, at any rate as progressive, Britain's invitation to become a self-governing dominion within the empire, or, as it is now under constitutional discussion, the Commonwealth. But India is not ready, and the passionate people are solid on the subject of freedom or religion—the two explosive elements involved in this controversy. "Religion, Freedom, what you will, a word's enough to raise mankind to kill."

JAMES D. PHELAN.

Delhi, January 24, 1922.

domly for a banner and then death in battle; death in battle is a sin-expiating penance." Wounded by a soldier . . . The soldier who deserts his comrades or who flies in terror from the battle field incurs the sin of killing a Brahmin priest, and the gods forsake such a vile coward. The soldier who prefers death to defeat and who, in his determination to die in the front attains the merit of a thousand sacrifices rise."

HINDU'S WAR CREED.

And again, to quote a few of the war hymnolines from Hindu scriptures:

"Even the wicked should be conquered by fair means."

"Better is death in observing righteousness than to win by wrongful methods."

"In warfare both parties should be similarly equipped."

"Take not from the enemy that which he will be able to get back again."

"A king should never slay a larger proportion of the forces of the foe than is sufficient to render his victory sure."

"Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility and also from insolent speech."

"Even when a king has gathered together a mighty army composed of the four kinds of forces, he should first adopt a peaceful behavior. If these efforts toward peace are unsuccessful, then thoroughly enter upon war, if he thinks that he is equipped by battle is far inferior."

The two greatest of India's epics, some about four thousand years old, deal with war, battles, victories and defeats. The Bhagavat Gita most explicitly sanctions a righteous war. Modern Hindu philosophy, which culminate began preparing for a righteous war against British occupation of India in 1905. Secret revolutionary activities spread all over India with phenomenal rapidity. Numerous men and women of all walks of life became interested in this new movement, and many enlisted in the revolutionary army.

Hundreds of our (India's) young men were imprisoned, deported and hanged for the crime of patriotism. The World War began in 1914 and Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1916. For a while he was silent, as he was recovering the support of health and hygiene. Then he began to preach his satyagraha (holding fast to truth) philosophy, which included general peace.

The Amritsar massacre was perpetrated on April 13, 1919. This massacre and other British atrocities in the Punjab brought about a great change in the heart and mind of Mahatma Gandhi.

This then most obscurious hypocritical nation of the allies King of England decided to cause all cooperation with his Britannic Majesty's government in India. And after the death of Bal(garged-Tilak, the Mahatma became the undisputed leader of the conservative constitution forces as represented by the Indian National Congress.

GANDHI'S BOYCOTT.

It was through the personal influence of Mahatma Gandhi that the Indian National Congress adopted the Gandhi boycott resolution, the movement—a movement that advocates the boycott of everything British—British courts, cities, schools, colleges, offices, saloons, opium dens and, above all, British goods.

By an unflinching advocacy of peaceful means Gandhi kept the country rather non-violent as much as he could (though serious isolated revolutionary outbreaks occurred in distant quarters of the country, and the Prince of Wales visited India, landed at Bombay, Calcutta and fired at in Patiala, the Sikh State of the Punjab. Although London reports deny attacks on the Prince.

What definite form the present unsatisfied unrest caused by the Indian issue will take in the immediate future of England will take will be known before long. In the meantime it is quite in season to inquire into the intellectual attitude of Mahatma Gandhi on violence and war.

IS GANDHI A PACIFIST?

Is Mahatma Gandhi an unconditional pacifist? Most decidedly not. Like all Hindus, he prefers the Kshatriya caste to any other caste, but he does not condone war and violence under all conditions and circumstances. His own recorded speeches and writings bear testimony to the truthfulness of my statement. Mahatma Gandhi is no and never was for the independence of India. His faith in the British Government, which saved the British throne always kept him from demanding independence for the land his birth. Even as late as last December he opposed with all his might resolutions on behalf of India's independence before the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem Conference. The question of the attitude of Independence still is beyond the bounds of Mahatma Gandhi's home-rule mind. It was in this spirit that he supported England in her last war of Teutonic imperialism and land-lubbing commercialism. Not only in the beginning of the World War, but, during the war, as a recruiting agent of the British government. Does this demonstrate pacifism—is urge men to go to war? And, on account of his tremendous popularity, he was one of England's most efficient and valued recruiting agents during the war.

This spoke Mahatma Gandhi in part in his recruiting speech at Kaira in July, 1918:

"I tell you at this time when we may aspire in the concept of GANDHI'S WARLIKE SPEECH.

"To bring such a state of things we should have the ability to defend ourselves—that is, the ability to bear arms and to use them. As long as we have to look to the English for our defence, so long as we have to look to the English for our military, so long we cannot be regarded as equal partners with Englishmen. It, therefore, behooves us to learn the use of arms and to acquire the ability to defend ourselves. If we want to learn the use of arms, if we want to acquire military discipline, it is our duty to enroll ourselves in the army. THERE CAN BE NO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE BRAVE AND THE EFFEMINATE. We are regarded as a cowardly people. If we want to become free, if we want to retrieve our lost honor, we must learn the use of arms . . . The easiest and the straightest way, therefore, to win SWARAY (Home Rule) is to participate in the Defence of the Empire.

"It's not within our power to give much money. Moreover, it is not money that will win the war. Only an inexhaustible army can do it. Hence, if we want to win Home Rule or Empire wins mainly with the people of our army, it is obvious that we would secure the rights we want . . . The government does not give us commissions in the army; they do not repeal the Arms Act; they do not open schools for military training. How can we then compensate for our lack of military training? At present, waste five hundred thousand men for the army. This number they are sure to raise some way or other. If we supply this number, we would cover ourselves with glory, we would be rendering true service and the reports that we hear of improper recruiting will be a thing of his past.

TOLD YOUTHS TO FIGHT.

"Now, brothers and sisters, will show that we are in the army we help the empire, we qualify ourselves for Swarajya, we learn to defend India and to a certain extent regain our lost manhood.

I HOPE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE GROWN-UP SONS WILL NOT STOP THEIR SONS FROM AS RECRUITS TO SACRIFICE SONS IN THE WAR OUGHT TO BE A CAUSE NOT OF PAIN, BUT OF PLEASURE TO BRAVE MEN. SACRIFICE OF SONS AT THIS CRISIS WILL BE SACRIFICE FOR SWARAJYA.

"To you, my sisters, I request that you encourage your sons to this appeal, but will accept it a hearty welcome. It contains the key to your protection and your honor.

"If every village gives at least twenty men they will return from the war and be the living bulwarks of their village. If they fall on the battlefield, they will immortalize themselves and bequeath to the country, and twenty fresh men will follow suit and offer themselves for national defence."

Does a pacifist speak this way? Can a Nationalist utter such words?

And again, long after the war was ended—a war in which Mahatma Gandhi helped in the mutilation, maiming and slaughtering of tens of thousands of guileless Indian soldiers in the battlefields of France, Flanders, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, yes, long after the war was over, Mahatma Gandhi this wrote in his own weekly, Young India, for Aug. 11, 1920:

"In this age of the rule of brute force, it is impossible for anyone to believe that anyone else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force—and as success of non-co-operation depends principally on the absence of violence during its pendency, and as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to state them as clearly as possible.

"I BELIEVE THAT WHEN THERE IS ONLY A CHOICE BETWEEN COWARDICE AND VIOLENCE I WOULD ADVISE VIOLENCE.

"Thus, when my eldest son asked me what he should have done had he been present when I was almost assaulted, I replied that he should have run away and see me killed, or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use and defend me. I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu rebellion and the Great War.

"HENCE, WHAT DO I ADVOCATE? TRAINING IN ARMS FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THE METHOD OF VIOLENCE. I WOULD RATHER HAVE INDIA RESORT TO ARMS IN ORDER TO DEFEND HER HONOR THAN BE MADE TO SHOULD IN A COWARDLY MANNER BECOME OR REMAIN A HELPLESS WITNESS TO HER OWN DISHONOR.

"But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence."

Thus what General Smuts said to King Jodhiskiles to the Mahabharata, 500 B. C., Mahatma Gandhi helped in the mutilation, maiming and slaughtering of tens of thousands of guileless Indian soldiers in the battlefields of France, Flanders, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, yes, long after the war was over. Mahatma Gandhi this wrote in his own weekly, Young India, for Aug. 11, 1920:

"In this age of the rule of brute force, it is impossible for anyone to believe that anyone else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force—and as success of non-co-operation depends principally on the absence of violence during its pendency, and as their unpatriotic and mistaken sense of loyalty to the British crown.

Altogether there are about four million Sikhs in India. In every way, they have distinguished themselves equalled the mighty Raj.

During India's war of Independence of 1857-58 it was the Sikh soldiery that reconquered their own country for the British Raj. I have been told by eminent Sikh revolutionists that the Sikh soldiery were ordered to shoot down their fellows in revolt against the Motherland in 1857-58, and is quite willing and anxious to make full amends for past sins, and help India with her independence by force of arms.

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