

THE SPIRITUALITY OF

MAHATMA GANDHI

by Emilio Chavez

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THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF GANDHI

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INTRODUCTION AND THESIS

I must have heard about Mohandas Gandhi, the "Mahatma", years ago, and had positive feelings toward him. In 1978 I read a brief Fischer biography of him, and I recall being very impressed with Gandhi's fasting because of social ills. I saw the Attenborough movie based on his life, and was inspired. But all these feelings turned to intense fascination last semester during the class devoted to Gandhi in the course "Jesus and the Moral Life". Diana Eck's presentation and the film footage of Gandhi combined to strike me with the reality of the Mahatma's holiness and prophetic utterances. These are terms which mean a great deal to me. One might say they refer to what I consider to be the most important thing an individual can do or become in this life: self-realized. In some ways, I would like to aspire to holiness, although it is a goal too lofty to strive for too consciously. For now, let me just relate some ideas about what I think this holiness represents.

Holiness refers one to the divine. It is not explicable simply in human terms. It cannot be explained by good upbringing. This is because it transcends by far anything anyone could ever be taught to do (such as fasting until death, not that this alone makes anyone a saint). Holiness is so different from what anyone

can naturally do that the religious person --the only one for whom the category can be truly meaningful-- immediately sees the hand of God behind it, somehow. God must be behind true holiness, thinks the religious person. That is the meaning of holiness itself.

In certain persons, holiness combined with didactic gifts produces prophecy. In the same way that God's love, compassion and spirit of service are deeply revealed in the actions of the saint, God's wisdom is manifested in the speech of the holy person. The true saint does not speak for vested interests; he or she "tells it like it is". At the very least, the saint speaks for the poorest, the suppressed. If he or she has a bias, it is in favor of those who never have their bias presented. In the same way that the saint goes far beyond what is sensible or normal in his or her actions and thus points to the Wholly Other, in his speech and teachings the saint suggests the radically different, believed to be unworkable by those of little faith. We are in awe of what the saint does to his body, we are skeptical about what he recommends for personal life, and we find him unrealistic about what he says in regard to political life. Yet we still admire the saint and believe he or she has something to teach us. Some of us actually believe God speaks and acts in the saints as examples to us of what we should all strive for, each in our own way, but striving. Such, I think, was the case with Gandhi.

That day when I saw and heard about Gandhi, I immediately thought: "He must have been quite a man of God, of prayer." I

am a student both of theology and psychology, and I recognize an intensely spiritual person once I have a certain acquaintance with him or her. This is what I thought about Gandhi, and I was very curious not only to learn about his great ethical teachings, but also to inquire into what I knew had to be his inspiration, his spiritual life, his prayer. This is not something much looked at. To me, and I think also, to Gandhi, to want fruits without a carefully tended tree is the most foolish of dreams. Gandhi often referred to the sages, the rishis and prophets who had left us much testimony about the path to God. In my study of those persons in our history who have highly influenced us for the better, I have found more times than not the power of God directly acknowledged and relied upon. I was happy not to be at all surprised that this turned out to be the case with Mahatma Gandhi.

GANDHI'S SEARCH FOR GOD

The purpose of this paper is to present Gandhi's thoughts on spiritual matters that manifest his deep concern for the things of God and the religious, --here deliberately disassociated from the ethical, a division which in real life is totally un-Gandhian-- (life). My thesis is that the circumstances of life conspired to create in Gandhi an intense search for God, something which became explicit in South Africa. The mature Gandhi, rid of skepticism and the desire for the "things of the flesh", was primarily a religious man, a man of God and prayer (as he himself says), certainly not separate from ethical action, but not redu-

cible to it. At least, not in Gandhi's own life, because he became truly spiritual (e.g., taking the brahmacharya vow) in response to the demands of the life of service. He himself said, as we shall see, that given the great trials and dark moments that he had to endure in his life, he would have become "a lunatic" without prayer. Rama was forever on his lips, even as he died.

The Mahatma's search for God began very unspiritually, taking "spiritual" here to mean "being in direct reference to God". He had very little religious education except for certain Hindu stories and the example of his mother. What Gandhi had from the beginning is what we might call an unusually strong super-ego. This manifested itself in Mohan's great aversion to untruthfulness and stealing, and in his tremendous sense of duty to his father (among his favorite stories were those of Shravana and Harishchandra, tales of devotion to parents and of going through ordeals for truth). Closely allied to this was Gandhi's internalization of the spirit of sacrifice and austerity (his mother was an example of sacrificial vow-taking). All his life he would refer to the penances and austerities of the saints.

Not unrelated to these potentially religious inculcations was an above-size ego. Gandhi wanted to be somebody, he wanted to play an important role in anything he came into contact with. He was timid and excessively afraid at times, but something in him would drive him to overcome these limitations. Only such an ambitious man --as he himself says-- would have gone to England not only to be a lawyer, but a well-dressed, sophisticated one at that.

What led the future Mahatma to abandon the foppish life and turn to the interior man? It began with his devotion to truth. He found untruth in not being clear about his marital status. He found untruth in living above his means. He found his authenticity in sober, vegetarian living. He found truth in the spiritual quests of the theosophists. At first this truth was in the form of health, of what accorded with the laws of nature. Later this truth would be identified with God.

When Gandhi recalled his leaving India for South Africa in his later life, he saw the hand of God in an action that as far as he was concerned was directed purely for purposes of livelihood. And it was indeed in South Africa that Gandhi's spiritual search became focused on religion. The seed sown by his nurse Bamba was planted in the foreign soil of the Christian churches of South Africa. It flourished there for a time, as the Christians kept alive or awakened --as he says-- his spirituality. But Gandhi was not able to find his truth in those churches or in the Christians of that apartheid nation. He tried. He met the Indian Christian Banerjee, and was disappointed not to be converted. He found truth in Raychandbhai's extolment of Hinduism, ^(actually, Raychand was a Jain) his religion, the Indian's religion, as opposed to a religion he never really lived, Christianity. He did not believe there was anything more subtle in Christianity than in Hinduism nor, significantly, that the Christians were as sacrificial as the Hindus.

The Gandhi who went to South Africa for professional purposes found that the "somebody" he wanted to be could be rea-

lized in much-needed service. He found the greatest truth in that service, fighting against dehumanization and nursing the wounded soldiers. Gandhi knew no middle ground, and found that brahmacharya was necessary to be fully devoted to public service. This meant adopting the life of a vanaprastha, a man free from household cares. He started reading the Gita. He cancelled his life insurance to rely solely on God. His religious consciousness grew and influence his life more and more. He became a less domineering husband to Kasturbai. He felt that God was guiding his every step.

And so, as the Mahatma said, he found himself in search of God. He had gone to South Africa 'with no aptitude', but God had chosen him for a divine mission. This mission, he would say later, was to spread ahimsa. This was India's greatness, and only he could really lead her make her contribution to the world. We all have a duty only we can do, said Gandhi, and his was to show the way of non-violence and service in political life.

Whatever very human elements of pride and self-importance may have been part of Gandhi's psychological make-up --and we are all born selfishly clutching and seeking satisfaction-- they blossomed into dedication to the lives and welfare of his Indian compatriots, and so sublimated became an example to the whole world. Gandhi inspires us to do good, to renounce what is selfish and fearful in us and to daringly move forward in our efforts to make the world a better place. As critical as we are trained to be, as iconoclastic as we pride ourselves in being, let us not undervalue the Mahatma's suggestions for our life.

GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF GOD

GOD'S NATURE.

We may all have different definitions for "God". ... God is that indefinable something which we all feel, but which we do not know. To me God is Truth and Love; God is ethics and morality; God is fearlessness. ... God is conscience. He is even the atheism of the atheist. ... He is a personal God to those who need His personal presence. ... He is the purest essence. He simply is to those who have faith. /1/

Gandhi's God was indescribable, though we can reason about "Him." /2/ Gandhi at times had no word to characterize his belief./3/ "Mortal man can only imagine the Unmanifest, the Impersonal, and as his language fails him he often negatively describes It as 'Neti', 'Neti' (Not That, Not That)."/4/ Gandhi was true to his Hinduism in emphasizing that God was not a person. God is formless, God is the "sum total of life."/5/ "That is, from the Imperishable Unmanifest down to the perishable atom everything in the universe is the Supreme and an expression of the Supreme."/6/ Gandhi was therefore something of a pantheist.

If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth. But two years ago I went a step further and said that Truth is God. ... Not even atheists demur at the necessity of power of Truth./7/

This Truth is not only the relative one of our conception, but the "Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle," i.e., God./8/

Gandhi preferred "Truth" to "God" or "Love" because atrocities and degrading things had been committed in the name of these. He thought "Truth" had been less abused. "Without living truth, God is nowhere."/9/

Gandhi also conceived God to be Law. "God Himself is both the Law and the Law-giver. * * * Because God is an Idea, Law Himself."/10/ (We will discuss God's rule later.) God can also be understood and worshipped as "the Force among all Forces"./11/

Gandhi did not have a "living faith" in God early in his life; but he did have the conviction that "morality is the basis of things", and Truth became his "sole objective"./12/ Later, he would "recognize Truth by the name of Rama", the Hindu name for God which his nurse Rambha taught him as a remedy for his intense fears./13/ Gandhi also referred to God with the "loving name" of Dasanudasa (Servant of Servants)./14/ He believed that common worship in temples was a human necessity. "God made man in His own image. Unfortunately for us, man has fashioned Him in his own."/15/ "Man's conception of God is naturally limited. Each one has, therefore, to think of Him as best appeals to him, provided that conception is pure and uplifting."/16/

GOD'S ACTIVITY IN THE WORLD.

An objection is sometimes raised that God being impersonal is not likely to perform any physical activity, at best He may be supposed to act mentally. This is not correct. For the unceasing movement of the sun, the moon, the earth etc. signifies God in action. This is not mental but physical activity. ...[God] acts as though He

had form and body. Hence though He is ever in action, He is free from action, unaffected by action./17/

Thus "God is no doer."/18/ God works through the "inexorable" law of karma, and hence has no need to interfere in the world. "He laid down the law and, as it were, retired."/19/ Yet everything is guided by the "Divine Intelligence or Will"./20/ "That is, the whole world is under His ordinance. No one may break God's law with impunity. As we sow, so shall we reap. This law operates inexorably without fear or favor."/21/ "Right ever prevails". /22/ God is "the Supreme Alchemist", turning evil into good./23/ Sending deluges and storms, God is "the greatest revolutionist"./24/ God's law is written in the tablets of our hearts./25/

I do believe in miracles and I do not. God does not work through miracles. But the divine mind is revealed in a flash and it appears like a miracle to man. We do not know God, we know Him only through the working of His law. He and His law are one. There is nothing outside His law. Even earthquakes and tempests do not occur without His will -- not a blade of grass grows but He wills it./26/

"He does not work directly, He works through His numberless agencies. * * * God to be God must rule the heart and transform it. He must express Himself in even the smallest act of His votary."/27/ It is through humans that God relieves suffering./28/

"When the practise of the law becomes universal, God will reign on earth as He does in heaven. I need not be reminded that

earth and heaven are in us. We know the earth, we are strangers to the heaven within us."/29/ We must pray to God that God may enable us to labor to relieve the suffering of others. The realization of this prayer would mean "the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth"/30/

Now for Rama Rajya. It can be religiously translated as the Kingdom of God on earth; politically translated, it means a perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and nonpossession, colour, creed, or sex vanish. In it, land and State belong to the people. ... All this because of the self-imposed law of moral restraint./31/

GOD'S RELATION TO HUMANKIND

There is but one point in the Universe where God communicates to us; and that is the centre of our own soul. There He waits for us; there He meets us; there He speaks to us. To seek Him, therefore, we must enter into our interior./32/

God is the hardest task-master I have known on earth, and He tries you through and through. And when you find that your faith is failing or your body is failing you, and you are sinking, He comes to your assistance somehow or other and proves to you that you must not lose your faith and that He is always at your beck and call, but on His terms, not on your terms./33/

Indeed, our life is a state of probation in which we have to prove our "manliness" by fighting temptations./34/

As we know that a man often succumbs to temptation, however much he may resist it, we also know that Providence often

intercedes and saves him in spite of himself. How all this happens, -- how far free-will comes into play and where fate enters on the scene, -- all this is a mystery and will remain a mystery./35/

"Success or failure is not in our hands. It is enough to do our part well. Ours is but to strive. In the end, it will be as He wishes."/36/ In keeping with the teaching of the Gita, Gandhi did not concern himself with results, but only with purity of means; faith was enough to lead him on./37/ He believed that God always saved the person who dedicated himself to the service of others. He felt also that "the Spirit" guided even his smallest steps./38/

THE QUESTION OF GOOD AND EVIL - FREE WILL

To say that God permits evil in this world may not be pleasing to the ear. But if He is held responsible for the good, it follows that He has to be responsible for the evil too. * * * And I call God long-suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that He has no evil in Him, and yet if there is evil, He is the author of it and yet untouched by it./39/

Gandhi believed that God ruled our actions, but that we had free will. Yet "the free will we enjoy is less than that of a passenger on a crowded deck.

... I appreciate that freedom, as I have imbibed through and through the central teaching of the Gita that man is the maker of his own destiny in the sense that he has freedom of choice as to the manner

in which he uses that freedom. But he is no controller of results. The moment he thinks he is, he comes to grief./40/

OUR PATH TO GOD

THE PURPOSE OF LIFE

Of all the animal creation of God, man is the only animal who has been created in order that he may know his Maker. ... his predominant calling is from day to day to come nearer his own Maker./41/

To find truth completely is to realise oneself and one's destiny, to become perfect. ... Devotion to this Truth is the sole reason for our existence. All our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of life./42/

Gandhi could also say that the aim of life is moksha; he said that this was his goal, "self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain Moksha", i.e., freedom from birth and death./43/

Man is not at peace with himself till he has become like unto God. The endeavor to reach this state is the supreme, the only ambition worth having. And this is self-realization. And this self-realization is the subject of the Gita, as it is of all scriptures./44/

Gandhi believed that only "the spiritual conception" was satisfying. He believed that the first verse of the Ishopanishad, viz., "All this -- whatever there is in this universe -- is pervaded by God. Renounce it and enjoy. Do not cover the wealth of another,"/45/ could satisfy the cravings of every human being, and contained the truths of all the scriptures.

THE STEPS TO GOD

No search is possible without some working assumptions. If we grant nothing we find nothing. Ever since its commencement, the world, the wise and the foolish included, has proceeded on the assumption that, if we are, God is, and that, if God is not, we are not./46/

Gandhi took it almost for granted that something higher than us rules us. He had been struck by how everyone on the voyage back to Natal had forgotten religious differences and had turned to God during a storm. He believed that even the sceptics turned to God in critical periods of their life.

Each of us has ^{his/her} ~~their~~ own particular conception of God, and this is ^{all} alright as long as our notion is uplifting. Gandhi believed that morality was the basis of religion.

There is no such thing as absolute morality for all times. But there is a relative morality which is absolute enough for imperfect mortals that we are./47/

Examples of immoral acts were drinking liquor except as medicine, and looking lustfully at a woman other than your wife. "Both these positions have been proved by cold reason."/48/

Gandhi believed there was no religion higher than "Truth and Righteousness"/49/. If the person who does not acknowledge the existence of God lives a life of truth and virtue, he is really pious, while the "one who does mere lip service to God is worse than an atheist. ... Religion then is synonymous with allegiance to the Moral Law."/50/

Love is the nearest approach to Truth, the only inevitable means, i.e., non-violence. And since means and ends are convertible, Gandhi would not hesitate to say "that God is love"./51/ The two, Truth and ahimsa, "are so intertwined that it is difficult to disentangle and separate them"./52/ But ahimsa is the means, Truth the end. Gandhi was willing to admit that perhaps the Gita stated that warfare was consistent with the renunciation of fruit, but he had found, after "40 years' unremitting endeavor", that "perfect renunciation is impossible without perfect observance of ahimsa in every shape and form"./53/

Gandhi found that great effort was required in order to seek after the realization of God. But he believed that "full effort was full victory"/54/, that if we did our part progress was sure to be. Vows were necessary. The cardinal vows were: non-violence, truth, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession. The five casual vows were bodily purity, contentment, the study of the scriptures, austerity and meditation of God./55/ Brahmacharya meant "conduct which puts one in touch with God."/56/

THE INNER VOICE

Gandhi believed that "the Voice of God, of Conscience, of Truth, or the Inner Voice, or 'the Still Small Voice'" were one and the same thing./57/ Great effort was required to prepare oneself to be truly receptive to that voice, and Gandhi sometimes heard it only after a great struggle. But once he heard

it there was no "sliding back". One had to be careful it was not Satan that was speaking. "Only fullest trust (in God) and perfect purity and extreme humility can lead us to the right choice."/58/ The Voice was the final arbiter for Gandhi, the only "tyrant" he accepted. He believed that the person who led a moral life was never in doubt as to how to serve the world.

FAITH

Without Faith this world would come to nought in a moment. True faith is appropriation of the reasoned experience of people whom we believe to have lived a life purified by prayer and penance./59/

Gandhi believed that "the safest course" was to believe in the "moral government of the world", in the law of Truth and Love. He often speaks of a "living faith".

Intellect takes us along in the battle of life to a certain limit, but at the crucial moment it fails us. Faith transcends reason. It is when the horizon is the darkest and human reason is beaten down to the ground, that faith shines brightest and comes to our response./60/

Gandhi believed that

The impenetrable darkness that surrounds us is not a curse but a blessing. He has given us power to see only the step in front of us, and it should be enough if Heavenly light reveals that step to us. We can then sing with Newman, "One step enough for me."/61/

It is in the darkest moments that we have a glimpse of God

who is guiding our every step. Gandhi saw how his religious consciousness grew more and more as he simplified his life in South Africa, and made more sacrifices. He found that faith came slowly "after deep meditation and continuous practice"./62/

PRAYER

"Prayer is the result of realisation of our helplessness and our final reliance upon God to the exclusion of all else."

/63/

I believe that prayer is the very soul and essence of religion, and, therefore, prayer must be the very core of the life of man There are some who, in the egotism of their reason, declare that they have nothing to do with religion. But it is like a man saying that he breathes, but that he has no nose

The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world; the man who goes about the affairs of the world without a prayerful heart will be miserable and will make the world also miserable. ... Prayer is the only means of bringing about orderliness and peace and repose in our daily acts...../64/

Gandhi did not always value prayer or have the capacity for it. He started with disbelief in God and prayer. He turned to it from sheer necessity, and says that without it he would have "been a lunatic long ago"/65/ Prayer became constant with him. "No act of mine is done without prayer."/66/ The more his faith increased, the more irresistible became his yearning for prayer. "Even if I am killed, I will not give up repeating the names of Rama and Rahim, which mean to me the same God. With

these names on my lips, I will die cheerfully."/67/ In fact, Gandhiji died saying Hey Rama, oh God.

Gandhi believed there was no peace without prayer, and attributed his enviable peace to it. He called mute prayer his greatest weapon, and said that more was accomplished through prayer than the world dreams of./68/

Perhaps we shall never know the absolutely correct way to pray, said the Mahatma, and he was indifferent as to form, but there were well-marked roads, and "seekers after God have left us mantras, such as Ramanama, hallowed by their own austerities and charged with their purity."/69/

It is the attitude, not the words, that matters in prayer, the yearning of the heart to be one with its Maker. As for content, nothing "can be grander than to ask God to make us act justly towards all that lives"./70/ Gandhi believed that repetition of God's name, Rama, carried us nearer and nearer to God. He called the Ramanama the "infallible remedy" which would eliminate the need for doctors.

Our morning prayer must be soulful, so that it stays with us throughout the day. "Close the day with prayer so that you may have a peaceful night free from dreams and nightmares."/71/ Gandhi believed that Rama was inscribed in his heart and removed all suffering. We sleep with the thought of God in our heart.

Prayer required, and was a form of, discipline. Repentance and purification were necessary for true prayer./72/ We pray that we may relieve the suffering of those who are in pain./73/

All worship the same Spirit, but as all forms do not agree with all, all names do not appeal to all. Each chooses the name according to his associations, and He being the Indweller, All-powerful and Omniscient, knows our innermost feelings and responds to us according to our hearts./74/

CONCLUSION

Mahatma Gandhi's life is a lesson for many people. His simplicity, his lack of possessions, his example during the last terrible days of his life in which he tried to make the rioting stop, an old man walking from town to town in the worst of conditions, all these ring true in any noble heart. We are all on the side of the "Good Guys", none of us despises righteousness, truly understood. We are all against egotism and for selflessness. Let us see then what we can learn from Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhi had an intense desire for self-realization from his youth. At first it was dormant, simply an ^{adherence} ~~adhesion~~ to truth. He experimented with meat and other prohibited items of his religion. He later became convinced of the rightness of vegetarianism and of simple living. All along, he would proceed step by step, testing and holding himself bound by few dogmas, if any (absolute fidelity to vows may be a form of "dogma"). Certainly Gandhi was culturally a Hindu, but this did not get in the way of his 'experiments with truth'.

When Gandhi found himself in a situation that required great adhesion to truth --fighting South African oppression-- his quest for self-realization demanded drastic measures. What are we to make of the steps Gandhi took to make himself fit for

total service? Is a vow of chastity or celibacy while married, and the other measures Gandhi took to be examples of brotherhood (cleaning latrines, nursing, etc.) interdependent or unrelated? Was his increasing faith and reliance in God an adjunct that is optional as taste may indicate? Gandhi himself was not dogmatic in regard to God, but having said this, we must still examine the significance of his spirituality.

The testimony of the man himself is unambiguous. He found a living faith in God essential, and the denial of God incomprehensible. He found vows and prayer indispensable. He certainly was not interested in theological debates, and quite set against proselytizing. True faith was like an aroma, spreading without need of verbosity. But not only was it necessary, Gandhi himself found occasion to say something about it, as we have seen.

My initial curiosity regarding Gandhi^e what kind of person was this inspiring leader who spoke so honestly and lived so simply, who received such admiration, reverence and even adulation^e has been to a large extent satisfied. Gandhi was a man of God. I think it was his adherence to the teaching of his religion, or to the religiously-based doctrine of ahimsa in its fullest significance, that set Gandhi on the right track. This teaching he found confirmed to reason in the teaching of another great religion that he came into contact with, the religion of Jesus. Thus Gandhi was able to enter into the annals of history not as a warrior or simply a learned man, but as someone with a sublime message, that message of love that when truly lived is never tiring.

Gandhi was a modern person well-acquainted with secularism, and even ~~acomodated~~ it in the Indian Congress. He preferred to refer to God as Truth because "God" had "sanctified" so many horrible causes. But I think we totally misunderstand the Mahatma if we downplay or underestimate his religiosity. Gandhi himself, in his maturity, could recall how he had started in unbelief, and interpreted his life as always having been guided by God, even when he did not know it. We have seen what he has to say regarding the spiritual life, the life of faith in God.

In my own understanding, such a faith and life of prayer are necessary to be someone like Mahatma Gandhi. Without the truths given to us by religion, our message is at best uninspiring, lacking force to move us (our intellects do not suffice, and emotions are most deeply moved by religion). At worst, they contain the seed of egotism, of the intramundane which must always limit us. That is why usually "great historical personages" who were not religious go down in history for conquests or discoveries that are later used for conquests. Rarely if ever do we find a truly sublime message --much less a lived life-- in lips that did not recognize God. True, how often have we found God's name in sinful causes. But even then what most shocks and repels us is precisely the association of the Holy One --whom we intuit to be wholly good-- with the evil.

We shall not go astray if, when we look at Gandhi's life for guidance and inspiration, we do not look askance at the One who was the Mahatma's own guidance and inspiration, he who had no guru.

FOOTNOTES. All quotes are Gandhi's, quoted in the following sources.

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3. Cf. Mohandas K. Gandhi, Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth, trans. Mahadev Desai, (New York: Dover Publications, 1983), p. 246.
4. Mahadev Desai, The Gita According to Gandhi (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1956), p. 308.
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6. Desai, op. cit., p. 254.
7. D.S. Sarma, ed., The Gandhi Sutras (New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1949), pp. 28f.
8. Gandhi, op. cit., p. ix.
9. Chandiwala, op. cit., p. 241.
10. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 70.
11. Ibid., p. 89.
12. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 30.
13. Cf. ibid., p. 28; Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 80.
14. U.S. Mohan Rao, ed., The Message of Mahatma Gandhi (New Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, 1968), p. 8.
15. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 71.
16. M.S. Deshpande, The Light of India (Sagli: Shri Ganpati Sansthan Press, 1950), p. 133.
17. Desai, op. cit., p. 182.
18. Ibid., p. 219.
19. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 215.
20. Desai, op. cit., p. 182.
21. Ibid., pp. 197f.
22. Ibid., p. 196.
23. Cf. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 59.
24. Cf. Sarma, op. cit., p. 165.
25. Cf. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 135; cf. Romans 2:14f.
26. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 75.
27. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 10.
28. Cf. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 88.
29. Sarma, op. cit., pp. 55f.
30. Cf. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 88.
31. Sarma, op. cit., pp. 170f.
32. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 7.
33. Mohan Rao, op. cit., p. 5.
34. Cf. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 72.
35. Gandhi, op. cit., pp. 20f.
36. Mohan Rao, op. cit., p. 26.
37. Ibid.
38. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 246.

39. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 60.
40. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 71.
41. Jag Parvesh Chander, ed., The Good Life, 2d. ed. (Lahore: Indian Printing Works, no date), p. 11.
42. Sarma, op. cit., p. 29.
43. Gandhi, op. cit., p. viii; cf. Sarma, op. cit., p. 74.
44. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 76.
45. Cf. Sarma, op. cit., pp. 24f.
46. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 127.
47. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 66.
48. Ibid.
49. Cf. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 82.
50. Ibid.
51. Cf. Mohan Rao, op. cit., pp. 6f.
52. Sarma, op. cit., p. 37.
53. B.K. Ahluwalia, ed., M.K. Gandhi: Select Writings (New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1970), p. 285.
54. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 74.
55. Cf. Desai, op. cit., p. 226.
56. Chander, op. cit., p. 69.
57. Cf. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 64.
58. Mohan Rao, op. cit., p. 5.
59. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 128.
60. Mohan Rao, op. cit., p. 44.
61. Ibid., pp. 28f.
62. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 131.
63. Chander, op. cit., p. 27.
64. Mohan Rao, op. cit., p. 42.
65. Cf. Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., pp. 84f.
66. Ibid., p. 84.
67. Ibid.
68. Cf. Deshpande, op. cit., pp. 133, 246, 254; Mohan Rao, op. cit., p. 45.
69. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 282; cf. Mohan Rao, op. cit., p. 43. The Mahatma laid great stress on the importance of learning from the experiences of the rishis and the prophets, whom he called "eye-witnesses" of the path of realization. Cf. Ahluwalia, op. cit., pp. 325f.
70. Chandiwala, op. cit., p. 327.
71. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 137; cf. p. 136.
72. Cf. Mohan Rao, op. cit., pp. 43f.; Prabhu & Rao, op. cit., p. 492.
73. Ibid., p. 88.
74. Deshpande, op. cit., p. 83.

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(B)