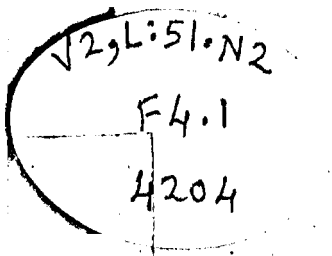


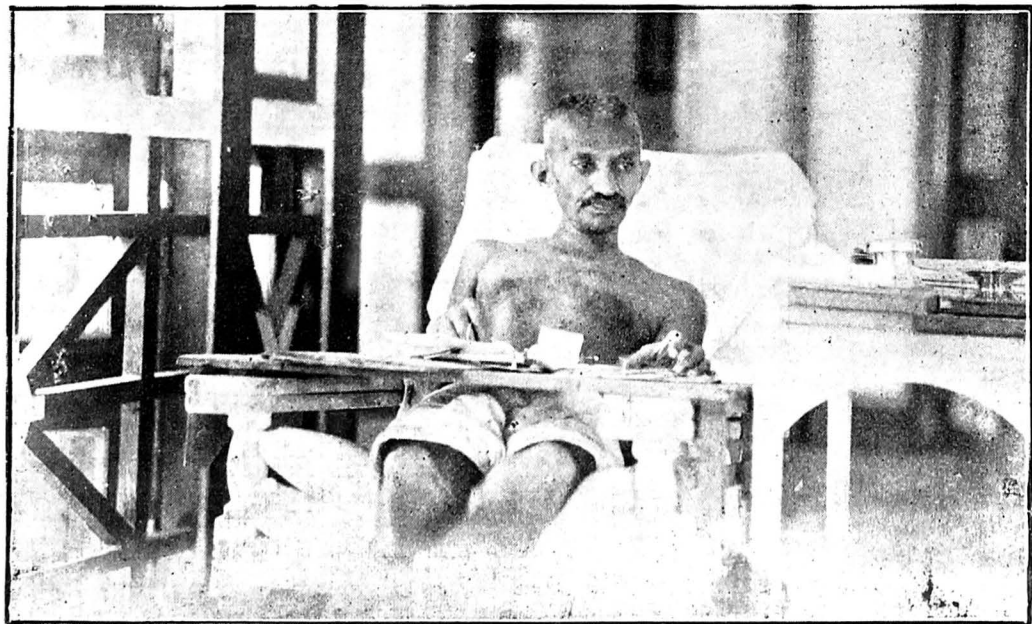


YOUNG INDIA

137

GANDHI





Mahatma Gandhi at Juhu

YOUNG INDIA

1919-1922

By MAHATMA GANDHI

WITH A BRIEF SKETCH OF
THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT
BY
BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD



SECOND EDITION

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PREPARED BY

MISS ELIZABETH S. KITE, *New York*

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	"	195		"	442
	29	412		"	508
	30	115		15	511
July	"	202	"	829	
	7	333	22	511	
	"	341	"	872	
	"	508	24	322	
	"	930	29	123	
	14	121	"	373	
	"	207	October		808
	"	223		6	131
	"	341		"	349
	21	151		"	353
August	"	497		"	400
	28	173		13	359
	"	213		"	885
				"	1092
	4	219		20	326
	"	239		"	573
	"	409		"	837
	"	699		27	315
	"	857		"	378
	11	128		"	464
September	"	259		"	576
	"	1072	November	3	264
	18	504		"	381
	"	641		"	833
	25	123		10	378
	"	246		"	401
	"	487		"	1028
	"	506		16	343
				17	271
		133		"	376
	572		"	384	

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November	Day	Page	December	Date	Page
	17	422		"	479
	"	424		"	884
	18	102		15	576
	20	241		17	771
	24	347		18	303
	"	642		22	756
December	1	580		"	1090
	"	701		"	1098
	"	706		29	713
	8	297		"	872

For the Year 1921

January	Day	Page	February	Day	Page
	5	249		9	769
	"	839		16	299
	"	845		"	514
	12	297		"	521
	13	1071		"	736
	14	251		"	887
	"	487		23	221
	19	240		"	242
	"	469		"	306
	"	513		"	390
	"	649		"	662
	"	794		"	869
	"	947	March		
	26	866		9	644
				"	741
February	2	448		16	363
	"	454		"	646
	"	518		23	177
	2	1079		"	428
	4	1076		"	810
	9	263		26	531
	"	520		30	365
	"	706		"	842

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April	Day	Page	June	Day	Page
	6	583		8	613
	"	868		"	647
	13	436		"	744
	"	454		15	394
	"	590		"	497
	"	591		"	1040
	19	365		"	1101
	20	593		22	623
	27	457		"	815
	"	471		"	1088
	"	477		29	180
	"	812		"	429
May				"	431
	4	593		"	497
	"	716		"	616
	"	257		"	630
	5	721		"	686
	9	638		"	849
	11	405	July	6	494
	"	640		"	553
	18	408		"	1075
	"	436		"	697
	"	527		10	710
	"	718		13	294
	"	741		"	567
	25	265		"	605
	"	364		"	634
	"	604		"	772
	"	566		"	783
	"	719		"	879
	"	814		21	209
June				"	745
	1	459		"	748
	"	608		28	413
	"	724		"	553
	"	1088		"	763
	8	432		"	9108

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August	Day	Page	October	Day	Page
	1	772		"	1110
	4	280		6	295
	"	440		"	532
	"	523		"	556
	"	788		"	618
	"	789		"	731
	"	857		"	800
	"	1107		"	895
	11	327		"	896
	11	554		13	668
	"	736		"	898
	"	755		"	1089
	"	773		20	418
	18	182		"	495
	"	639		"	679
	"	752		25	775
	25	369		27	709
	"	413		"	777
	"	758	November		
September				3	377
	1	386		"	394
	"	555		"	467
	8	186		"	545
	"	1080		"	689
	11	772		"	932
	15	502		"	1091
	"	554		"	1117
	"	737		10	852
	"	1091		"	933
	19	1177		17	311
	22	439		"	658
	"	543		"	701
	"	737		"	754
	"	891		"	776
	29	369		"	791
	"	477		"	840
	"	773		"	936

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November	Day	Page	December	Day	Page
	17	1073		15	691
	"	1117		"	762
	24	279		"	867
	"	1153		"	905
	"	1156		"	1074
December				"	1117
	1	294		"	1129
	"	740		"	1180
	3	1074		22	690
	8	547		"	907
	"	860		"	911
	"	901		"	914
	"	940		"	1132
	15	621		29	1120

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January	Day	Page	February	Day	Page
	1	881		2	952
	"	941		"	972
	12	944		"	978
	"	1082		"	981
	"	1083		"	1079
	"	1309		"	1086
	"	1312		"	1134
	14	921		9	966
	19	918		"	970
	"	921		"	983
	"	926		"	984
	"	1320		9	986
	"	1331		"	1137
	21	1125		16	777
	26	947		"	993
	"	956		22	678
	"	952		23	989
	"	959		"	1002
	"	1084		"	1130

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	23	1140		9	289
	"	1182		"	796
	27	796		"	1021
March				"	1035
	2	282		"	1075
	"	623		15	683
	"	864		"	1039
	"	1011		16	1057
	"	1018		17	1351
	"	1019		30	1350
	"	1337	April	13	1351

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January	Day	Page	March	Day	Page
	12	1370		23	1396
February	7	1391		24	1407
	25	1394	April		
	28	1395		3	1409
	"	1397		"	1413
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PART X
APPENDICES.

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APPENDICES

[A]

SOME OBITER DICTA

THE following notes appeared in "Young India" on the dates specified against them :

Gandhi Cigarettes.—Of all the abuses to which my name has been put, I know nothing so humiliating to me as the deliberate association of my name with cigarettes. A friend has sent me a label purporting to bear my portrait. The cigarettes are called 'Mahatma Gandhi' cigarettes. Now I have a horror of smoking as I have of wines. Smoking I consider to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink, in that it acts imperceptibly. It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it seizes hold of a person. It is an expensive vice. It fouls the breath, discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit. No man has received my permission to associate my name with cigarettes. I should feel thankful, if the unknown firm were to withdraw the labels from the market, or if the public would refuse to buy packets bearing such labels.—13th January, 1921.

Lokamanya and Non-co-operation.—The up-country

English papers in giving obituary notices about the late Lokamanya Tilak have attributed to him views against Non-co-operation. So far as we are aware Mr. Tilak held very strong views on Non-co-operation. We know that he assured Maulana Shaukat Ali that, if the Mussalmans offered Non-co-operation, his party and the Hindus in general would certainly follow them. The deceased had no final views on the details of Non-co-operation including boycott of councils, but when Maulana Shaukat Ali with Mr. Gandhi visited him at Sirdar Graha before going to the Punjab, he said that, if the Mussalmans boycotted the Councils, he and his party would follow suit. It is therefore strange that views should be attributed to the deceased which he never held.—11th August, 1920.

Government Non-co-operation.—Mr. Gandhi wrote in reply to a correspondent regarding railways and telegraphs :

I am not myself banishing the personal use of these conveniences myself. I certainly do not expect the nation to discard their use, nor do I expect their disuse under Swaraj. But I do expect the nation under Swaraj not to believe, that these agencies necessarily advance our moral growth or are indispensable for our material progress. I would advise the nation to make a limited use of these agencies and not to be feverishly anxious to connect seven hundred and fifty thousand villages of India by telegraph and railway. The nation, when it feels the glow of freedom, will realise that they were needed by our rulers more for our enslavement than for enlightenment. Progress is a lame woman. It can only come hopping. You cannot send it by wire or rail.

Therefore, if we believe in our programme, we must not

mind if the Government non-co-operate with us in every particular. I hear from Mr. Rajagopalachari and Agha Safdar that they are not permitted to send full telegrams. It is a surprise to me that they permit the transmission of any telegrams at all or let us travel or meet each other. Having made up my mind to expect the worst, nothing that the Government does in the shape of curbing our activity surprises or irritates me. It is struggling for its very existence, and I feel that I would have done much the same that this Government is doing if I was in its place. Probably I should do much worse. Why should we expect it to refrain from using the powers it has? Only we must find the means of living and carrying on our Non-co-operation without its aid. We must keep our heads, even if inter-provincial communication is denied to us. Having got our programme, each province must be able to carry on its own activity. Indeed it may even be an advantage, for in the event of communication being cut off, we should be unaffected by reverses in other provinces.—17th November, 1921.

Slow but Sure.—If the luxury of wires be denied to us, we must manage with the post. If the postal communication be also stopped, we must use messengers. Friends travelling to and fro will oblige us. When the use of the railways is denied, we must use other methods of conveyance. No amount of slowness imposed from without can checkmate us if we are sure within. 'Rock of ages cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee' is a prayer common to all religions. If we can but throw ourselves into His lap as our only Help, we shall come out scatheless through every ordeal that the Government may subject us to. If nothing happens without His permitting, where is the difficulty in believing that he is,

trying us even through this Government? I would take our complaints to Him and be angry with Him for so cruelly trying us. And He will soothe us and forgive us, if we will but trust Him. The way to stand erect before the tyrant is not to hate him, not to strike him, but to humble ourselves before God and cry out to Him in the hour of our agony.—15th December, 1921.

Is it a Breach?—Friends have suspected me of having committed a breach of the Congress resolution, in that I have appealed to the Moderates to co-operate with us in the liquor campaign and, especially, in that I have actually invited them to legislate for prohibition. A friend asks, "Why should we seek the help of the councils which we have boycotted? Does it not mean a modification of your previous attitude?" I venture to say that it does not. There is all the difference between a challenge and a petition. If I had appealed out of our helplessness, it would have been a breach of the Congress resolution and a modification of my own attitude. But, in my opinion, I strengthen our position, when I invite the Moderates in gentle language to do their duty, and prove their claim to be popular representatives. I see nothing wrong in inviting the Moderates and the Government to co-operate with us in all we are doing. I see nothing wrong in appealing to the Moderates or even to the Government through their authorised channels, to help us in the Khilafat and the Punjab matters, or to shut up all the liquor-shops, or to dot every one of their schools with spinning-wheels or to recognise the force of public opinion and to prohibit by legislation the import of foreign cloth. For, if they succeed in doing these things, I would cease to think evil of the institution they adore or administer. In making my appeal, I have

shown them a way to partial reinstatement in public estimation, and have furnished myself and the country with a further effective cause, in the event of the failure of the appeal, to demonstrate the wooden nature of the system. I have appealed, not as myself a part of the system, but as an outsider.—6th July, 1921.

If Mussalmans or Hindus Secede.—If one of the big communities secede from the compact of Non-violence, I admit that it is most difficult, though certainly not impossible, for one party only to carry on the struggle. That party will need to have an invulnerable faith in the policy of Non-violence. But if one community does realise that India cannot gain Swaraj for generations through violent means, it can by its consistently non-violent, *i.e.*, loving, conduct bring round all the opposing parties to its side.

If both the parties reject me, I should keep my peace just as ever and most decidedly carry on my propaganda of Non-violence. I should then not be restricted as I am now. Then I should be enforcing my creed, as to-day I seem to be enforcing only the policy.—9th March, 1922.

Self-defence.—The Non-co-operators' pledge does not exclude the right of private self-defence. Non-co-operators are under prohibition as to political violence. Those, therefore, with whom Non-co-operation is not their final creed, are certainly free to defend themselves or their dependents and wards against their assailants. But they may not defend themselves against the police acting in discharge of their duties, whether assumed or authorised. Thus there was no right of self-defence under the pledge against Collectors who have, I hold, illegally be laboured volunteers.—9th March, 1922.

Party Organisations.—Replying to a letter in August, 1919, of Mr. G. S. Arundale, Mr. Gandhi wrote:

“You suggest the desirability of unity. I think unity of goal we have. But parties we shall have—we may not find a common denominator for improvements. For some will want to go further than others. I see no harm in a wholesome variety. What I would rid ourselves of, is distrust of one another and imputation of motives. Our besetting sin is not our differences, but our littleness. We wrangle over words, we fight often for shadow and lose the substance. . . . It is not our differences that really matter. It is the meanness behind that is ugly.”—5th February, 1920.

Freedom of Minorities.—Mahatma Gandhi incessantly emphasised the importance of safe-guarding the rights of the minorities. He wrote *inter alia* on 9th February, 1921, under the heading, “The Greatest Thing”:

Shall we copy Dyerism and O'Dwyerism, even whilst we are condemning it? Let not our rock be violence and devilry. Our rock must be non-violence and godliness. Let us, workers, be clear as to what we are about. *Swaraj depends upon our ability to control all the forces of violence on our side.* Therefore, there is no Swaraj within one year, if there is violence on the part of the people.

We must then refrain from sitting *dhurna*, we must refrain from crying ‘shame, shame’ to any body, we must not use any coercion to persuade our people to adopt our way. We must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves. We must not tamper with the masses. It is dangerous to make political use of factory labourers or the peasantry—not that we are not entitled to do so, but we are not ready for it. We

have neglected their political (as distinguished from literary) education all these long years. We have not got enough honest, intelligent, reliable, and brave workers to enable us to act upon these countrymen of ours.

Communal Representation.—We have absurdities enough in India in communal representation being demanded by other small groups, because the principle has been conceded in the case of Mahomedans. But when the cry for communal representation comes from Indians in Burma, the absurdity becomes criminal. We understand some Indians of Rangoon have pleaded for communal representation in the Burmese Council to be formed under the reforms. We do hope that the demand will be withdrawn before mischief is done. The Burman will have every right to resent any such separate treatment of Indian settlers there. We are in Burma as guests of the Burmese for their and our mutual good, not for the exploitation of the former. Their welfare should be our first consideration. As a friend correctly points out the Indian demand would be like Gujaratis or Marwaris claiming communal representation for themselves in the Bengal Council. Surely, Indians of Burma would have a right to enter the Burmese Council, only if they, by force of ability and service, can command the Burmese vote. We, who desire that nobody should set up claims in India which are against our interests, are bound to guard against desiring rights in Burma in conflict with the interests of the Burmans. And yet that is precisely what lies at the bottom of this demand for communal representation by Indian settlers. We, therefore, trust that wiser counsel will prevail and that we shall hear no more of communal representation for Indians in Burma.—21st April, 1920.

Lawyers and Volunteering.—In reply to Mr. Ramadas Chhokra, Bar-at-Law of Lyallpur, Mahatma Gandhi wrote :

Lawyers cannot become office-bearers. They could not become members of executive committees. But the Volunteer's pledge is for the purpose, among others, of nullifying the effect of the disbandment notices of the Government. In my opinion, a lawyer who conscientiously signs the pledge is sufficiently pure for the purpose of going to jail. And the very fact of his readiness to go to jail ensures suspension of practice for the period of imprisonment. Suspension contemplated by the Non-cooperation resolution is meant to last till Swaraj is attained, which a lawyer may not be able to brave, though he may not mind, by signing the pledge, the risk of loss of practice, should he have to go to jail. In the one case suspension is a certainty, in the other a possibility—very remote, if a large number took the pledge. The gain in lawyers signing the pledge is great. They show their open sympathy with the cause in a limited sense perhaps, and they definitely and in their own persons advance the cause of Swadeshi. I would give much to see the lawyers having the courage of discarding their totally unnecessary foreign cloth and foreign cut, and taking up the *khaddar* dress and thus identifying themselves with the wonderful manifestation of the mass spirit. All the cloth that is handspun and handwoven, whether wool, silk or cotton, is *khaddar*. But it is expected that no one will take to silk or wollen *khaddar*, except when it is required by climatic or other urgent considerations. The fashion certainly should be, as Dr. Ray says, to wear the coarse *khaddar*. Let me repeat what I have said before, the *khaddar* that is coarse to look at is like tussor silk soft to the touch, and protects the skin

much better than the soft-looking *khauli*.—2nd February, 1922.

A Threatened Infliction.—I have just heard that Mr. Painter, who has distinguished himself by his wanton provocation of the people of Dharwad, is to be promoted and inflicted upon Gujarat as Commissioner. An official, who in the public estimation has disgraced himself, earns rewards from the Government for meritorious service. I hope that Gujarat will mark in a suitable and special manner its disapproval of the insult sought to be offered by the Dharwad Collector being imposed upon it. Gujarat will have, if the rumoured appointment is actually made, a unique opportunity of showing how such insult can be dealt with in a Non-co-operation spirit. We must distinguish between the man and the Commissioner. We must boycott the latter and render social service to the former. We must therefore permit him to receive all he may reasonably need as man for creature comforts, but if we have the people with us, the Commissioner Mr. Painter may not get a blade of grass for the upkeep of the dignity of his office. We must therefore inculcate among the people the habit of refusing *salaam* to him in virtue of office. They must not send any applications to him. They must not, whilst he is touring in the country, supply him with any convenience whatsoever. He must be made, in every dignified and peaceful manner, to feel that he is not wanted as an official in Gujarat. The municipalities containing Non-co-operators should refuse to recognise him as Commissioner in every way possible. If we have developed the spirit of real independence and manliness, we would refuse to put up with an official who has forfeited public opinion as Mr. Painter has.

What, for instance, would be said of us, if Col. Frank Johnson or Gen. Dyer were imposed upon us? We have to pass through certain rigid tests as proof of our capacity for self-Government. One of them is refusal to submit to national insults. Indeed, if we had evolved that capacity sufficiently, I would expect even the employees, who would come under Mr. Painter's direct control, to resign by way of protest. We have such mortal fear of loss of livelihood, that the employees are the last to be expected to develop that sense of self-respect which is so necessary for national existence. But their reluctance will not materially interfere with attainment of Swaraj this year, if the general public is responsive enough. It is time for them to assert themselves individually as well as collectively. We must begin our battle with a disciplined and complete *hartal* when the gentleman enters Ahmedabad if he does. And to the end at seeing that there is ample time, the Provincial Congress Committee should secure permission from the Working Committee for declaring a *hartal* all over Gujarat in the event of Mr. Painter being sent to Gujarat in any official capacity. If a *hartal* becomes necessary, I need hardly say that it must be completely voluntary. The labourers should participate after due notice and permission.—8th September, 1921.

Distress Warrants.—Inquiries are being made in several places as to what should be done in cases where fines are imposed and distress warrants issued for recovery. One finds a readiness to suffer imprisonment and assaults, but not loss of goods. The anomaly is at first sight difficult to understand, but it is really easy to appreciate. We are so much tied down to our goods and other possessions that, when no disgrace attaches to

imprisonment, we prefer the inconvenience to loss of property. But we must perceive that we will lose a winning game, if we are not prepared to sacrifice our earthly possessions as well as bodily ease for the sake of it. In an ill-managed state, a man with conscience pawns to it his goods, all other wealth, and his body and sets his conscience free. This struggle, therefore, can give us victory, only if we become indifferent to everything through which the state can press us into subjection to its will. We must be prepared, therefore, to let our goods and our land be taken away from us and rejoice over the dispossession even as we rejoice to-day over imprisonments. We must rest assured that the Government will be more quickly tired of selling our chattels than it is already of taking charge of our bodies. And if we are sure, as we must be of winning full Swaraj before long, we must have faith enough to know that all the land that can be taken away will return to us intact and the best part even of money. When Belgium was overrun by the Germans, the Belgians knew that they would return to their own lands so long as they retained the will to suffer for the restoration of their property. The late General Botha was a fugitive from his own rich possessions including hundreds of acres of land and finest cattle in South Africa. He did not count the cost, put up a fine fight and become virtually the crowned king of South Africa and had all his property returned to him with honour. We may not do less than the Boers and the Belgians, especially as ours is a struggle in which we are pledged to make all sacrifice and exact none. We must voluntarily, though temporarily, embrace poverty, if we will banish pauperism and pariahdom from the land. The sacrifice of the ease by a few of us is nothing compared to the reward which is

in store for us, *viz.*, the restoration of the honour and prosperity of this holy land.—12th January, 1922.

The Malaviyas.—The most remarkable feature in the remarkable Non-co-operation struggle is the fact that it has divided families. And of all such instances, none is so striking as the division in the Malaviya family. It furnishes, in my opinion, an object-lesson to India in toleration and Civil Disobedience. Pandit Malviyaji's toleration is really beyond compare. I know that he is against seeking imprisonment. I know too, that if he believed in it, he is not the person to shirk it. I should not be surprised to find him, when the agony has reached white heat and when his faith in British justice is completely gone like mine, to be the foremost in seeking imprisonment. But whilst he is himself against the course of Civil Disobedience for the present, he has never interfered with the choice of even those who are nearest to him and over whom he has unquestioned authority by right of love and eldership. On the contrary, he has left even his own sons absolutely free to do as they please. To me the instance of Govind's Civil Disobedience is one to treasure. Panditji tried hard to wean that brave boy in his own gentle and sweet manner. Govind tried his very best to carry out what he knew to be his father's wish up to the last moment. He prayed for light. He was torn by conflict of duties. The arrests of the Nehrus proved too strong for the young man. And invoking the blessing of his great and great-hearted father, he decided to throw himself into the struggle, and the jails of India probably hold no more joyous heart than Govind Malaviya's. I make bold to say that he has by his act of Civil Disobedience proved as dutiful to his father as he has been dutiful to his

country. Govind's act is a pattern for our time in dutiful Civil Disobedience of children. There is, I am sure, no gulf between father and son. Probably Malaviyaji is prouder of his son Govind now than he was before the latter's decision to seek imprisonment. It is truthful acts like these which prove to me the religious nature of the struggle.—12th January, 1922.

The Police Conference.—The address delivered by Babu Purna Chandra Bishwas, Deputy Superintendent of Police, as President of the All-India Police Conference held some time back in Calcutta, has not drawn the same amount of public attention as its importance deserves. Purna Babu has lucidly stated the whole case for the police. There is no doubt about the unpopularity of the police in India, and the present outrageous acts of repression have probably added to it. But we must not forget that the police are mere instruments wielded by the Government. The President says :

"Here in India, the laws are made by Government and the people are of opinion that the laws are made to rule them, to control their natural aspirations and not for their benefit. We maintain the dignity of these laws and enforce them. That is one reason why we are so very unpopular." Again—"With the inauguration of the Reforms Scheme, the people have begun to realise that it is the laws that are unpopular and not the police, and that our only fault is that we are to carry out these unpopular laws."

The idea of ruling the people, of dominating them, of controlling their natural aspirations, as the President says, runs through the whole system of bureaucratic organisation in India. And as that work is done more directly through the agency of the police, it is interesting to read the confession of a distinguished member of that service on the matter :

"When I speak of our unpopularity, I cannot refrain from uttering,

though unpleasant it may be, that our conduct rules and the attitude of our superiors rather accentuate our estrangement from the public. We cannot freely mix with them, independently invoke their hearty co-operation and sympathy, for which there is the greatest need for our duties: if we do so, we are, on flimsiest pretexts, looked upon with suspicion by superiors, even penalised and our promotions are stopped. I ask, comrades, who are responsible for this? I can at once say, we have absolutely no fault except that we belong to this unpopular department, and it is our superiors and conduct rules that widen this gulf."

But though the Government utilises the Indian police in this way, does it treat them any the better on that account? The ban of racial inferiority sits upon them as tightly as upon the general mass of the people, as the long list of their grievances will show. It is producing restlessness in the service, indications of which are not wanting. The President thus cautiously expresses it:

"What will be the effect, if the subordinate police refuse to obey the command of their superior officer for dispersing or firing on a riotous mob? You may laugh at the idea, I too know that such a thing is impossible or at least undesirable. But no one knows how things change. You must not forget that the people of the country are no longer afraid of jail, and this spirit has also been imbibed by the subordinate police."

Purna Babu had to pay for all this out-spokenness. He was summoned before Sir Henry Wheeler and ordered abruptly to join duty. But the delegates mildly remonstrated against the order, and Purna Babu was triumphantly brought back from his train and taken in a procession to the conference to finish the proceedings.—
26th January, 1922.

The Appeal to Nature and History.—In reply to the Rev. G. H. Macfarlane who wrote a sarcastic letter to the

Mahatma about his achievement, Mr. Gandhi replied as follows :

The writer asks to know the accomplishment of the movement. It has brought about a tremendous awakening among the people. Whereas they had given up hand-spinning entirely, to-day thousands of homes are spinning hundreds of thousands of yards of yarn. Whereas handspun garments had gone out of use, to-day thousands of men and women are wearing *khaddar* which has resulted in driving away hunger from thousands of homes. The people know that Swaraj means their power over the purse, the law, the police, and the military. They know that there can be no peace till the Punjab wound is healed and the Khilafat wrong is redressed.

The nations have progressed both by evolution and revolution. The one is as necessary as the other. Death, which is an eternal verity, is revolution, as birth and after is slow and steady evolution. Death is as necessary for man's growth as life itself. God is the great Revolutionist the world has ever known or will know. He sends deluges. He sends storms where a moment ago there was calm. He levels down mountains which He builds with exquisite care and infinite patience. I do watch the sky and it fills me with awe and wonder. In the serene blue sky, both of India and England, I have seen clouds gathering and bursting with a fury which has struck me dumb. History is more a record of wonderful revolution than of so-called ordered progress—no history more so than the English. And I beg to inform the correspondent that I have seen people trudging slowly up mountains and have also seen men shooting up the air through great heights.

Swaraj is India's birthright. The British system has

balked her of it. India is struggling to regain her lost liberty, and in doing so she is trying not to repeat but to make new history. In the process she betrays a woeful desire to repeat it as in Bombay, Madras and Malegaon. Malabar is not to be mixed up with the movement. Independence necessarily means freedom to err. Lastly, I assure the writer and others who think like him that the movement is not one of ill-will, but of good will towards all. Time alone can prove the truth of it. The agony does not permit us to see the new birth concealed beneath it. Let us watch, wait, and pray.—2nd February, 1922.

Force vs. Non-violence.—Mr. Zacharias argues in the *Servant of India* that the Khilafat is based on force. The Khilafat is the earthly representative of Islam pledged to defend it even with the 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?

Mr. Zacharias is right in his description of the Khilafat. He is wrong in his estimate of the function of a votary of non-violence. A believer in non-violence is pledged not to resort to violence of 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, or to take a domestic illustration, I may not help a son to secure justice, because forsooth he is not a believer in non-violence.

Mr. Zacharias' proposition 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.

Not such, however, is my doctrine of non-violence. My business is to refrain from doing any violence myself, and to induce by persuasion and service as many of God's creatures as I can, to join me in the belief and practice. But I would be untrue to my faith, if I refused to assist in a just cause any men or measures that did not entirely coincide with the principle of non-violence. I would be promoting violence, if, finding the Mussalmans to be in the right, I did not assist them by means strictly non-violent against those who had treacherously plotted the destruction of the dignity of Islam. Even when both parties believe in violence, there is often such a thing as justice on one side or the other. A robbed man has justice on his side, even though he may lie preparing to regain the lost property by force. And it would be accounted as a triumph of non-violence, if the injured party could be persuaded to regain his property, by methods of Satyagrah, *i.e.*, love or soul-force rather than a free fight.

Of course it is open to Mr. Zacharias to reject my claim as a devotee of non-violence, in view of all the limitations I have mentioned. I can only suggest to him that life is a very complex thing, and truth and non-violence present problems, which often defy analysis and judgment. One discovers truth and the method of applying the only legitimate means of vindicating it, *i.e.*, Satyagraha or soul-force, by patient endeavour and silent prayer. I can only assure friends that I spare no pains to grope my way to the right, and that humble but

constant endeavour and silent prayer are always my two trusty companions along the weary but beautiful path that all seekers must tread.—1st June, 1921.

British vs. Other Governments.—'Observer' in the *Times of India* asks me whether the British 'is not a better Government than the Mogul and the Maratha.' I must dare to say, that the Mogul and the Maratha Government were better than the British, in that the nation as a whole was not so emasculate or so impoverished as it is to-day. We were not the Pariahs of the Mogul or the Maratha Empire. We are Pariahs of the British Empire.—22nd June, 1921.

Cause of India's Decay.—A correspondent asks, 'Is it not true that the loss of Hindu Kingdoms is on account of the people having attained to the highest order of spirituality?' I do not think so. We know, as a matter of fact, that the Hindus have lost each time for want of spirituality, in other words, moral stamina. The Rajputs fought amongst themselves for trifles and lost India. Of personal bravery there was a great deal, but of real spirituality there was a great dearth at the time. Why did Ravana lose and Rama with his monkeys win if it was not for the latter's spirituality? Did not the Pandavas win because of their superior spirituality? We often confuse spiritual knowledge with spiritual attainment. Spirituality is not a matter of knowing scriptures and engaging in philosophical discussions. It is a matter of heart culture, of immeasurable strength. Fearlessness is the first requisite of spirituality. Cowards can never be moral.

The Root Cause.—The same correspondent further asks, 'Don't you think that the success of the present

foreign Government is due to the oppression of the poor, the weak, of the so-called untouchables by the higher classes?' This oppression by us of our own kith and kin is certainly the root cause. It is a fall from spirituality. The curse of foreign domination and the attendant exploitation is the justest retribution meted out by God to us for our exploitation of a sixth of our own race and their studied degradation in the sacred name of religion. Hence it is that I have put the removal of untouchability as an indispensable condition of attainment of Swaraj. Slave-holders ourselves, we have no business to quarrel with our own slavery if we are not prepared unconditionally to enfranchise our own slaves. We must first cast out the beam of untouchability from our own eyes before we attempt to remove the mote from that of our 'masters'.—13th October, 1921.

An Essential Condition of Swaraj.—The following appeared *inter alia* in an article entitled *Thefts on Railways*:

Swaraj can be maintained, only where there is a majority of loyal and patriotic people to whom the good of the nation is paramount above all other considerations whatever including their personal profit. Swaraj means Government by the many. Where the many are immoral or selfish, their Government can spell anarchy and nothing else. I am in this movement, only as I believe that the many are good and true at the bottom but being cowardly and careless are ignorant of their inherent qualities, and that when once they have realised the power of goodness, they will begin to practise it and succeed in the attempt.—28th July, 1921.

Need for Simplicity.—In an article entitled, "The Distress in Puri," Mahatma Gandhi wrote *inter alia*:

In India, it must be held to be a crime to spend money on dinner and marriage parties, *tamashas* and other luxuries so long as millions of people are starving. We would not have a feast in a family if a member was about to die of starvation. If India is one family, we should have the same feeling as we would have in a private family.—22nd December, 1920.

How to Kill Swadeshi.—We are familiar with the official ban put upon the *Khadi* cap in various parts of India. In Bihar, I heard that a magistrate actually sent hawkers to sell foreign cloth. Mr. Painter of Dharwad fame has gone one better, and has issued an official circular in which he says :

“All officers subordinate to the Collector and District Magistrate are desired to take steps to make people realise, that in as much as India produces less than her population requires, a boycott of foreign cloth and its destruction or export must inevitably lead to a serious rise in prices, which may lead to a serious disorder and looting, and that these consequences will be the result, not of any action on the part of Government, but of Mr. Gandhi's campaign.”*

In two other paragraphs, means are indicated of combating the Swadeshi propaganda, *i.e.*, by holding meetings, and by dealers who are opposed to boycott attending the Collector's office at stated hours. The Madras Government have issued a still more pedantic circular. The meaning of these circulars is obvious. Pressure is to be put upon the dealers and others not to countenance boycott. The subordinate officials will

* It subsequently transpired that similar circulars had been issued throughout the country in pursuance of the Government of India's instructions in the matter.

take liberties which the authors of circulars may not even have contemplated. . . . The people have been purposely or ignorantly kept in the dark hitherto. They have been wrongly taught to believe that all the cloth needed cannot be manufactured in India's homes as of yore. They have been figuratively amputated, and then made to rely upon foreign or mill-made cloth. I wish the people concerned will give the only dignified answer possible to these circulars. They will forthwith burn or send out all their foreign cloth, and courageously make up their minds to spin and weave for their own requirements. It is incredibly easy for every one who is not an idler.—15th September, 1921.

For Employees.—A correspondent inquires, "Would you advise the servants of railway companies, European firms and others who do not want their servants to subscribe to national funds or wear *Khadi*, to resign in obedience to the Congress call?" I should have thought that such a question could not require solution at this almost the last stage in the struggle. The surprise to me is, that any person can still remain in an office where he cannot follow his religion or maintain self-respect. That hundreds of clerks find it impossible to leave their offices although they are prevented from wearing the life-giving *Khadi* or subscribing openly to national fund, shows the depth to which we have sunk. It did not require the stern lesson of Non-co-operation to learn the elements of self-respect. And yet, that is just what Non-co-operation has been doing all these months. I commend to every employee the example of the brave Vizagapatam medical students who would not leave their, *Khadi* dress for the sake of being able to remain in their school.—3rd November, 1921.

Deferred Pay.—The Government have found no difficulty in stopping the deferred pay as pensions are now-a-days called, of Mr. Vinayakrao, Joshi of Dharwar for no other reason than that he has tried to serve his country. Whereas, Sir Michael O'Dwyer who never loses an opportunity of vilifying educated Indians and of insolently patronising the masses, as if they were little children always needing the attention and care of an elder, and General Dyer, who still believes that he performed a simple duty when he massacred the innocent men in Jallianwalla Bagh, continue to draw pensions. We are told that there are legal difficulties in stopping their pensions and that if the legal obstacle can be surmounted, it would be immoral to take away their pensions. Verily there is one law for an Indian, another for an Englishman; one law for a patriot, another for a persecutor. What is moral in the case of one is immoral in the case of the other! I congratulate Mr. Joshi on his spirited reply to the Government and on his patriotic courage in foregoing his pension, when it became a matter of choice between service of his country and retention of his pension. Mr. Joshi's sacrifice strengthens India's cause. His material loss is India's moral gain.

13th October, 1920

IN CONFIDENCE

I receive so many letters questioning me regarding celibacy and I hold such strong views upon it, that I may no longer, especially at this the most critical period of national life, withhold my views and results of my experience from the readers of *Young India*.

The word in Sanskrit corresponding to celibacy is

Brahmacharya* and the latter means much more than celibacy. Brahmacharya means perfect control over all the senses and organs. For the perfect Brahmachari nothing is impossible. But it is an ideal state which is rarely realised. It is almost like Euclid's line which exists only in imagination, never capable of being physically drawn. It is nevertheless an important definition in Geometry yielding great result. So may a perfect Brahmachari exist only in imagination. But if we did not keep him constantly before our mind's eye, we should be like a rudderless ship. The nearer the approach to the imaginary state, the greater the perfection.

But for the time being, I propose to confine myself to Brahmacharya as in the sense of celibacy. I hold that a life of perfect continence in thought, speech and action is necessary for reaching spiritual perfection. And the nation that does not possess such men is the poorer for the worst. But my purpose is to plead for Brahmacharya as a temporary necessity in the present stage of national evolution.

We have more than an ordinary share of disease, famines and pauperism—even starvation among millions. We are being ground down under slavery in such a subtle manner that many of us refuse even to recognise it as such, and mistake our state as one of progressive freedom in spite of the triple curse of economic, mental and moral drain. The evergrowing military expenditure, and the injurious fiscal policy purposely designed to benefit Lancashire and other British interests, and the extravagant manner of running the various departments of the state constitute a tax on India which has deepened her poverty and reduced her capacity for withstanding

* For further details on the subject, see the Mahatma's *Guide to Health and Indian Home Rule*.

diseases. The manner of administration has, in Gokhale's words, 'stunted' national growth so much that the tallest of us have to bend. India was even made to crawl on her belly in Amritsar. The studied insult of the Punjab and the refusal to apologise for the insolent breach of the pledged word to Indian Mussalmans are the most recent examples of the moral drain. They hurt the very soul within us. The process of emasculation would be complete, if we submit to those two wrongs.

Is it right for us who know the situation to bring forth children in an atmosphere so debasing as I have described? We only multiply slaves and weaklings, if we continue the process of procreation whilst we feel and remain helpless, diseased and famine-stricken. Not till India has become a free nation, able to withstand avoidable starvation, well able to feed herself in times of famine, possessing the knowledge to deal with malaria, cholera, influenza and other epidemics, have we the right to bring forth progeny. I must not conceal from the reader the sorrow I feel, when I hear of births in this land. I must express that for years I have contemplated with satisfaction the prospect of suspending procreation by voluntary self-denial. India is to-day ill-equipped for taking care even of her present population, not because she is over-populated, but because she is forced to foreign domination whose creed is progressive exploitation of her resources.

How is the suspension of procreation to be brought about? Not by immoral and artificial checks that are resorted to in Europe, but by a life of discipline and self-control. Parents must teach their children the practice of Brahmacharya. According to the Hindu Shastras the lowest age at which boys may marry is 25. If the

mothers of India could be inclined to believe that it is sinful to train boys and girls for a married life, half the marriages of India will automatically stop. Nor need we believe the fetish of early puberty among girls, because of our hot climate. I have never known a grosser superstition than this of early puberty. I make bold to say that the climate has absolutely nothing to do with puberty. What does bring about untimely puberty is the mental and moral atmosphere surrounding our family life. Mothers and other relations make it a religious duty to teach innocent children that they are to be married when they reach a particular age. They are betrothed, when they are infants, are even babes in arms. The dress and the food of the children are also aids to stimulating passions. We dress our children like dolls, not for their but for our pleasure and vanity. I have brought up children by the score. And they have without difficulty taken to and delighted in any dress given to them. We provide them with all kinds of heating and stimulating foods. Our blind love takes no note of their capacity. The result undoubtedly is an early adolescence, and immature progeny and an early grave. Parents furnish an object lesson which the children easily grasp. By reckless indulgence in their passions they serve for their children as models of unrestrained licence. Every untimely addition to the family is amid trumpets of joy and feasting. The wonder is that we are not less restrained than we are, notwithstanding our surroundings. I have not a shadow of doubt that married people, if they wish well to the country and want to see India become a nation of strong and handsome, full-formed men and women, they would practise perfect self-restraint and cease to procreate for the time being. I tender this advice even to

the newly married. It is easier not to do a thing at all than to cease doing it, even as it is easier for a life abstainer to remain teetotaler than for a drunkard or even a temperate man to abstain. To remain erect is infinitely easier than to rise from a fall. It is wrong to say that continence can be safely preached only to the satiated. There is hardly any meaning, either, in preaching continence to an enfeebled person. And my point is that whether we are young or old, satiated or not, it is our duty at the present moment to suspend bringing forth heirs to our slavery.

May I point out to parents that they ought not to fall into the argumentative trap of the rights of partners. Consent is required for indulgence, never for restraint, this is an obvious truth.

When we are engaged in a death grip with a powerful government, we shall need all the strength physical, material and moral and spiritual. We cannot gain it unless we husband the one thing which we must prize above everything else. Without this personal purity of life, we must remain a nation of slaves. Let us not deceive ourselves by imagining that, because we consider the system of government to be corrupt, Englishmen are to be despised as competitors in a race for personal virtue. Without making any spiritual parade of the fundamental virtues, they practise them at least physically in an abundant measure. Among those who are engaged in the political life of the country, there are more celibates and spinsters than among us. Spinsters among us are practically unknown, except the nuns who leave no impression on the political life of the country. Whereas in Europe, thousands claim celibacy as a common virtue.

I now place before the readers a few simple rules

which are based on the experience not only of myself, but of many of my associates.

(1) Boys and girls should be brought up simply and naturally in the full belief that they are and can remain innocent.

(2) All should abstain from heating and stimulating foods, condiments such as chillies, fatty and concentrated foods such as fritters, sweets and fried substances.

(3) Husband and wife should occupy separate rooms and avoid privacy.

(4) Both body and mind should be constantly and healthily occupied.

(5) Early to bed and early to rise should be strictly observed.

(6) All unclean literature should be avoided. The antidote for unclean thoughts is clean thoughts.

(7) Theatres, cinemas, etc., which tend to stimulate passion should be shunned.

(8) Nocturnal dreams need not cause any anxiety. A cold bath every time for a fairly strong person is the finest preventive in such cases. It is wrong to say that an occasional indulgence is a safeguard against involuntary dreams.

(9) Above all, one must not consider continence even as between husband and wife to be so difficult as to be practically impossible. On the contrary, self-restraint must be considered to be the ordinary and natural practice of life.

(10) A heart-felt prayer everyday for purity makes one progressively pure.

22nd December, 1920

THE SIN OF SECRECY

One of the curses of India is often the sin of secrecy. For fear of an unknown consequence we talk in whispers. Nowhere has this secrecy oppressed me more than in Bengal. Everybody wishes to speak to you 'in private.' The spectacle of innocent youngmen looking around, before opening their lips, to see that no third party overhears their conversation has given me the greatest grief. Every stranger is suspected of belonging to the secret service. I have been warned to beware of strangers. The cup of my misery was filled, when I was told that the unknown student who presided at the students' meeting belonged to the secret service department. I could recall the names of at least two prominent leaders who are suspected in high Indian circles of being spies of the Government.

I feel thankful to God that for years past I have come to regard secrecy as a sin, more especially in politics. If we realised the presence of God as witness to all we say and do, we would not have anything to conceal from anybody on earth. For, we would not think unclean thoughts before our Maker, much less speak them. It is uncleanness that seeks secrecy and darkness. The tendency of human nature is to hide dirt, we do not want to see or touch dirty things: we want to put them out of sight. And so must it be with our speech. I would suggest that we should avoid even thinking thoughts we would hide from the world.

This desire for secrecy has bred cowardice amongst us and had made us dissemble our speech. The best and the quickest way of getting rid of this corroding and degrading Secret Service is for us to make a

final effort to think everything aloud, have no privileged conversation with any soul on earth and to cease to fear the spy. We must ignore his presence and treat everyone as a friend entitled to know all our thoughts and plans. I know that I have achieved most satisfactory results from evolving the boldest of my plans in broad daylight. I have never lost a minute's peace for having detectives by my side. The public may not know that I have been shadowed throughout my stay in India. That has not only not worried me, but I have even taken friendly services from these gentlemen: many have apologised for having to shadow me. As a rule what I have spoken in their presence has already been published to the world. The result is that now I do not even notice the presence of these men and I do not know that the Government is much the wiser for having watched my movements through its secret agency. My opinion is that these agents accompany me as a matter of form or routine. They certainly never bother me. I venture to make a present of my experience to every young man in Bengal and for that matter in India. No one need think that my public position, and not my openness, saves me from offensive attention. It is the simplest thing to see that moment you cease to dread the presence of the spy and therefore refuse to treat him as such, that moment his presence ceases to offend you. Soon the Government will feel ashamed to have its secret service department or, if it does not, the secret police will be sick of an occupation which serves no use.

Non-co-operation is essentially a cleansing process. It deals with causes rather than symptoms. The detective department is a symptom of the secrecy which is the cause. Removal of secrecy brings about the full disappearance of the secret service without further effort.

The Press Act is a symptom of the disease of cowardice. If we would boldly declare our intentions, the Press Act will die of inanition. The beginners will have to suffer for their so-called daring. I hear that the *Servant of Calcutta* has been served with a warning for its tenacity to take over an article from *Young India* condensing Mr. Rajgopalachari's admirable instructions to voters. I notice too that the most telling passages of my speech in Calcutta have been omitted by the Press, evidently for fear of the censor. I would far rather see a complete stoppage of a newspaper, if the editor cannot without fear of the consequence freely express his sentiments or publish those which he approves.

Non-co-operation, while it gladly avails itself of the assistance that may be rendered by the Press, is,—has to be—by its very nature independent of the Press. There can be no doubt that every thought we print is being printed on sufferance. As soon as its circulation takes effect, the Government, for the sake of its existence, will try to prohibit it. We may not expect this or any government to commit suicide. It must either reform or repress.

In the ordinary course, repression must precede reform under a despotic government such as ours. The stoppage of the circulation of potent ideas that may destroy the Government or compel repentance, will be the least among the weapons in its repressive armoury. We must, therefore, devise methods of circulating our ideas unless and until the whole Press becomes fearless, defies consequences and publishes ideas, even when it is in disagreement with them, just for the purpose of securing its freedom. An editor with an original idea or an effective prescription for India's ills can easily write them out, a hundred hands can copy them, many more can read them out to thousands of listeners. I do hope.

therefore, that Non-co-operation editors, at any rate, will not refrain from expressing their thoughts for fear of the Press Act. They should regard it as sinful to keep their thoughts secret—a waste of energy to conduct a newspaper that cramps their thoughts. It is negation of one's calling for an editor to have to suppress his best thoughts.

[B]

15th June, 1921

THAT APOLOGY

The Ali Brothers' apology* still continues to tax people's minds. I continue to receive letters expostulating with me for having gone to the Viceroy at all. Some consider that I have bungled the whole affair, others blame the Brothers for having for once weakened, and that in deference to me. I know, that in a short while, the storm will blow over. For, in spite of all I have heard and read, I feel that I did the right thing in responding to the Viceroy's wish to know my views. It would have been wrong on my part to have waited for a formal written invitation from His Excellency. I feel, too, that I gave the best advice possible in the interests of Islam and India, when I asked the Brothers to make the statement issued by them. The Ali Brothers have showed humility and courage of a high order in making the statement. They have shown that they are capable of sacrificing their pride and their all for the sake of their faith and country. They have served the cause by

*The Ali Brothers, at the instance of Mahatma Gandbi, issued a statement repudiating any intention to incite people to violence in the speeches. See *infra* "Agreed Statement."

making the statements, as they would have injured it by declining to make it.

In spite of all that conviction in me, I am not surprised at the remonstrances I am receiving. They but show that the methods now being pursued are new, that the country will not surrender a tittle of its just demands, and for their satisfaction, it wishes to rely purely upon its own strength.

I give below the relevant parts of the strongest argument in condemnation of my advice and its acceptance by the Brothers. The letter, moreover, is written by one of the greatest among the Non-co-operators. It is not written for publication at all. But I know the writer will not mind my sharing it with the reader. For I have no doubt that he represents the sentiments of several thoughtful Non-co-operators. It is my humble duty to discuss the issues arising from the incident, and the implications of Non-co-operation. It is only by patient reasoning, that I hope to be able to demonstrate the truth, the beauty and the reasonableness of Non-co-operation. Here then are the extracts :

“The statement of the Brothers, taken by itself and read without reference to what has preceded and followed it, is a manly enough document. If in the heat of the moment they have said things which they now find, may reasonably be taken to have a tendency to incite to violence, they have, in publishing their regret, taken the only honourable course open to public men of their position. I should also have been prepared to justify the undertaking they have given for the future, had that undertaking been addressed to those of their co-workers, who unlike themselves, do not believe in the cult of violence in any circumstances whatever. But the general words, public assurance and promise to all who may require it, cannot in the circumstances leave any one in doubt as to the particular party who did require such ‘assurance and promise’, and at whose bidding it was given. The Viceroy’s speech has now made it perfectly clear, and we have the indisputable fact that the leader of the Non-co-ope-

ration movement has been treating with the Government, and has secured the suspension of the prosecution of the Brothers, by inducing them to give a public apology and an undertaking.

"In this view of the case,—and I fail to see what other view is possible—very serious questions affecting the whole movement arise for consideration. Indeed, it seems to me that the whole principle of Non-co-operation has been given away.

"I am not one of those who fight shy of the very name of Government, nor of those who look upon an eventual settlement with the Government as the only means of obtaining redress of our wrongs and establishing Swaraj. I believe in what you have constantly taught, viz., that the achievement of Swaraj rests entirely and solely with us. At the same time, I do not, nor so far as I am aware, do you exclude the possibility of a settlement with the Government under proper conditions. Such settlement, however, can only relate to principles, and can have nothing to do with the convenience or safety of individuals. In a body of co-workers, you cannot make distinctions between man and man, and the humblest of them is entitled to the same protection at the hands of the leaders as the most prominent. Scores, if not hundreds, of our men have willingly gone to gaol for using language far less strong than that indulged in by the Brothers. Some at least of these could easily have been saved by giving a similar apology and undertaking, and yet it never occurred to any one to advise them to do so. On the contrary, their action was applauded by the leaders and the whole of the Non-co-operationist press. The case, which more forcibly than any other comes to my mind at the moment, is that of Hamid Ahmad, who has recently been sentenced at Allahabad to transportation for life and forfeiture of property. Is there any reason why this man should not be saved? I find Maulana Mahomed Ali pays him a high tribute in his Bombay speech of the 30th May. What consolation this tribute will bring to Hamid Ahmad from a man, similarly situated, who has saved himself by an apology and an undertaking, I cannot say. Then there are so many others rotting in gaol who have committed no offence, and a great many more already picked out for the same fate. Is it enough for us to send them our good wishes from the safe positions we ourselves enjoy?

"The Viceroy in his speech has made it clear, that the only definite result of the several interviews you had with him, is the apology and the undertaking from the Brothers. You have also made it quite clear in your subsequent speeches, that our campaign is to go on unabated. It seems that no point involving any principle has been

settled, except what needed no negotiating on either side, viz., that there is to be no incitement to violence. I do not say that in this state of things there should have been no treating with the Government though much can be said in support of the view. When it was found that the game had to be played out, it would have been quite legitimate for two such honourable adversaries as yourself and Lord Reading to agree to the rules of the game, so as to avoid foul play on either. These rules would, of course, apply to all who took part in the game, and not to certain favoured individuals only. The most essential thing was to agree upon the weapons to be used. While certain local Governments profess to meet propaganda by propaganda, they are really using repression of the worst type. Many other similar points would, in my opinion, be proper subjects of discussion, even when no agreement could be arrived at on the main issue.

"I hope you will not misunderstand me. I yield to none in my admiration of the sacrifices made by the Brothers, and consider it a high privilege to have their personal friendship. What has been preying upon my mind for some time past is, that we, who are directly responsible for many of our workers going to goal and suffering other hardships, are ourselves practically immune. For example, the Government could not possibly have devised any form of punishment which would cause some of us more pain and mental suffering, than sending innocent boys to goal for distributing leaflets, while the author remained free. I think the time has come, when the leaders should welcome the opportunity to suffer, and stoutly decline all offers of escape. It is in this view of the case that I have taken exception to the action of the Ali Brothers. Personally I love them."

The letter breathes nobility and courage. And those very qualities have led to a misapprehension of the situation. The unfortunate utterance of the Viceroy is responsible for the misunderstanding.

The apology of the Brothers is not made to the Government. It is addressed and tendered to friends, who drew their attention to their speeches. It was certainly not given 'at the bidding of the Viceroy.' I betray no confidence, when I say that it was not even suggested by him. As soon as I saw the speeches, I stated, in order to prove *bona fides* of the Brothers and the entirely

non-violent character of the Movement, that I would invite them to make a statement. There was no question of bargaining for their freedom. Having had my attention drawn to their speeches, I could not possibly allow them to go to gaol (if I could prevent it) *on the ground of proved incitement to violence*. I have given the same advice to all the accused, and told them that if their speeches were violent, they should certainly express regret. A non-co-operator could not do otherwise. Had the Brothers been charged before a Court of Law, I would have advised them to apologise to the Court for some of the passages in their speeches, which, in my opinion, were capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. It is not enough for a non-co-operator not to mean violence; it is necessary that this speech must not be capable of a contrary interpretation by reasonable men. We must be above suspicion. The success of the Movement depends upon its retaining its absolute purity. I therefore suggest to the writer and to those who may think like him, that the whole principle of Non-co-operation has not only not been 'given away' as the writer contends, but its non-violent character has been completely vindicated by the Brothers' apology, and the case therefore greatly strengthened.

What, however, is galling to the writer, is that whilst the Brothers have remained free, the lesser lights are in prison for having spoken less strongly than they.

That very fact shows the real character of Non-co-operation. A Non-co-operator may not bargain for personal safety. It was open to me to bargain for the liberty of the others. *Then* I would have given away the whole case for Non-co-operation. I did not bargain even for the Brothers' liberty. I stated in the clearest terms, that no matter what the Government did, it would

be my duty on meeting the Brothers to advise them to make the statement to save their honour.

We must 'play the game,' whether the Government reciprocate or not. Indeed, I for one do not *expect* the Government to play the game. It was when I came to the conclusion that there was no honour about the Government that I non-co-operated. Lord Reading may wish, does wish to do right and justice. But he will not be permitted to. If the Government were honourable, they would have set free all the prisoners, as soon as they decided not to prosecute the Ali Brothers. If the Government were honourable, they would not have caught youths and put them in prison, whilst they left Pandit Motilal Nehru, the arch-offender, free. If the Government were honourable, they would not countenance bogus Leagues of Peace.* If the Government were honourable, they would have long ago repented for their heinous deeds, even as we have for every crime committed by our people in Amritsar, Kasur, Viramgam, Ahmedabad, and recently in Malegaon. I entertain no false hopes or misgivings about the Government. If the Government were to-morrow to arrest the Ali Brothers, I would still justify the apology. They have acted in the square, and we must all do likewise. Indeed, inasmuch as the Government are still arresting people for disaffection, they are arresting the Ali Brothers.

The writer is, again, not taking a correct view of Non-co-operation in thinking that Non-co-operators, who are in gaol, are less fortunate than we who are outside. For me, solitary confinement in a prison cell,

* *Amansabhas* or Leagues of Peace were established in the province under official pressure and influence to combat Non-co-operation, especially in the U. P.

without any breach on my part of the code of Non-co-operation, or private or public morals, will be freedom. For me, the whole of India is a prison, even as the master's house is to his slave. A slave, to be free, must continuously rise against his slavery, and be locked up in his master's cell for his rebellion. The cell-door is the door to freedom. I feel no pity for those who are suffering hardships in the goals of the Government. Innocence under an evil Government must ever rejoice on the scaffold. It was the easiest thing for the Brothers to have rejected my advice, and embraced the opportunity of joining their comrades in the gaols. I may inform the reader that when during the last stage of the South African struggle I was arrested, my wife and all friends heaved a sigh of relief. It was in the prisons of South Africa that I had leisure and peace from strife and struggle.

It is perhaps now clear why the Non-co-operation prisoners may not make any statement to *gain their freedom*.

THE AGREED STATEMENT

The following appeared in "Young India" of 4th August 1921:

His Excellency's attention has been directed, and notably by Mr. Gandhi, to various statements that have appeared, and to inferences that have been drawn in the public Press, relating to the conversations between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi, concerning Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali, which in some respects do not correctly represent the purport of those communications.

The interviews between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi resulted from a conversation between the Viceroy and Pandit Malaviya, relating to the conditions generally prevailing in India. His Excellency informed Pandit Malaviya of the Government's decision to commence criminal proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali for having made speeches inciting

to violence and the discussion turned upon the disturbances that might possibly ensue. Pandit Malaviya expressed the opinion that it would be of advantage for His Excellency to meet Mr. Gandhi. His Excellency replied that he would be glad to meet Mr. Gandhi and hear his views, if he applied for an interview. On the next day, Mr. Andrews saw His Excellency and suggested that he should see Mr. Gandhi. It should be observed that various important matters were discussed during these conversations and that the proposed interview between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi was intended to have reference to the situation generally. His Excellency is, however, aware that Pandit Malaviya, in inviting Mr. Gandhi to Simla, did not refer to the contemplated proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali.

In due course Mr. Gandhi came to Simla, at the request of Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Andrews, and asked for an interview, with His Excellency, which was immediately arranged. At the first interview, no mention was made of the proposed prosecutions. The conversation related to the causes of discontent in India. Upon the next occasion, His Excellency stated that, according to the Government reports, responsible Non-co-operators had made speeches inciting to violence, contrary to the doctrine advocated by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi repudiated incitement to violence on the part of any of the responsible Non-co-operators and said that, if he was satisfied that any of them had incited to violence, he would publicly repudiate them and their teachings, unless they withdrew their statements that amounted to incitement to violence. His Excellency mentioned the names of the Ali brothers and promised to show Mr. Gandhi passages in their speeches which, in his opinion, were calculated to incite to violence, and when the passages were actually read to Mr. Gandhi he admitted that they were capable of bearing the interpretation His Excellency put upon them. He, however, asserted that he was convinced that it was not intended by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali to incite the audience to violence. Mr. Gandhi added that he would see them as soon as he left Simla and advise them to express publicly their regret for the unintentional incitement, contained in the passages. His Excellency, thereupon, asked whether, in view of the importance of the document, Mr. Gandhi would show him the draft of the statement he intended to advise Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali to publish.

It was at this stage the Viceroy said that it was proposed to institute criminal proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr.

Mahomed Ali in respect of these passages and that, if Mr. Gandhi showed him the statement and it satisfied him from the standpoint of his Government, he would use his influence to prevent the institution of prosecution, for, the Viceroy said, the object of the Government would be attained if the making of speeches of a violent character was in future prevented. Mr. Gandhi readily agreed to show the statement. The draft statement was duly shown by Mr. Gandhi to His Excellency, who pointed out that the introduction of certain paragraphs gave the statement the appearance of a manifesto, including that of the religious creed of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali. The Viceroy observed further that the statement was incomplete so far as it did not contain a promise to refrain in the future from speeches inciting to violence and added that after publication of the statement Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali could give any explanation by means of speeches, provided they did not infringe the law. Mr. Gandhi agreed to delete the paragraphs in question and to add a passage to cover promises of future conduct. His Excellency then informed Mr. Gandhi that if Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali signed the statement as then altered by Mr. Gandhi, with the addition of the promise as to the future conduct, steps would be taken to suspend the institution of proceedings and that no prosecution would take place so long as the promises given in the published statement were observed. The Government remained free to take up prosecutions for the past speeches. The Viceroy added that, in the event of the publication of the statement by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali and of the Government refraining in consequence from the prosecutions, it would be necessary to issue a *communiqué* explaining the attitude of the Government. There was, however, no desire to bargain. Mr. Gandhi even said that, whether the prosecutions took place or not, he would be bound, after having shown the extracts to his friends for their own honour and that of the cause, to advise them to express publicly their regret.

During the whole discussion, His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi were actuated by the desire to prevent any untoward events that might result from the prosecutions, as also to prevent speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy informed Mr. Gandhi that he might not be able to prevent the commencement of proceedings, if the statement was not published with the least possible delay. There was already much discussion of the speeches not only in India but also in the United Kingdom. Mr. Gandhi agreed that the statement should be published without delay. Mr. Gandhi then left Simla and some days afterwards

telegraphed to His Excellency that Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali had signed the statement with immaterial alteration and sent it to the Press for publication. The alteration was as follows : For the passage in Mr. Gandhi's draft statement, " We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, but we recognise that certain passages in our speeches are capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them," Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali put, " We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation."

After the publication of the statement, an official *communiqué* was issued by the Government. The terms of the *communiqué* were not actually settled until just before its issue and Mr. Gandhi never saw it although the substance of it, as already indicated, had been communicated to him. The main part of the interviews between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi consisted of conversations which ranged over the various causes of discontent in India, including the Punjab disturbances, the Khilafat agitation, the Treaty of Sevres and the general condition of the people. Mr. Gandhi did not submit any scheme of Swaraj to His Excellency, nor was a scheme of Swaraj discussed at the interviews.

Commenting on the above "Agreed statement," Mahatma Gandhi wrote :

His Excellency, the Viceroy, has now issued a statement agreed between him and me regarding the interviews, I had the honour of having with him. The statement sets forth all the details that the public need know. I do not propose to discuss it. In my opinion it makes it clear that the apology, as I have called the statement of regrets, initiated with me, that it was conceived before I ever knew of the impending prosecution for the speeches that were shown to me and that it was neither suggested nor made for fear of the prosecution of the Brothers, certainly not to avoid imprisonment.* It is my

* The Ali Brothers were arrested and prosecuted in the second week of September, 1921. The following appeared in *Young India* of 29th September, *inter alia* in an appeal to the Muslims :

firm belief that the Brothers have rendered a great service to the cause by making the statement. I do not regret having given them the advice. I wish also to

Whilst the arrest of Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali has touched every Indian heart, I know what it has meant to you. The brave brothers are staunch lovers of their country, but they are Mussalmans first and everything else afterwards. It must be so with every religiously-minded man. The brothers have for years past represented all that is best and noblest in Islam. No two Mussalmans have done more than they to raise the status of Islam in India. They have promoted the cause of the Khilafat as no two other Mussalmans of India have. For they have been true, and they dared to tell what they felt, even in their internment in Chindwara. Their long internment did not demoralise or weaken them. They came out just as brave as they went in.

And since their release from internment, they have shown themselves true nationalists, and you have taken pride in their being so.

The Brothers have by their simplicity, humility and inexhaustible energy fired the imagination of the masses as no other Mussalman has.

All these qualities have endeared them to you. You regard them as your ideal men. You are, therefore, sorry of their separation from you. Many besides you miss their genial presence. For me, they had become inseparable. I seem to be without arms. For anything connected with Mussalmans, Shaukat Ali was my guide and friend. He never once misled me. His judgment was sound and unerring in most cases. With the Brothers among us, I felt safe about Hindu-Muslim unity, the value of which they understood as few of us have.

But whilst we all miss them we must not give way to grief or dejection. We must learn, each one of us, to stand alone. God only is our infallible and eternal guide.

To be dejected is not only not to have known the Brothers, but it is, if I may venture to say so, not to know what religion is.

For do we not learn in all religions, that the spirit of the dear ones abides with us even when they physically leave us? Not only is the spirit of the Brothers with us, but they are serving better by their suffering, than if they were in our midst giving us some of their own courage, hope and energy. The secret of Non-violence and Non-cooperation lies in our realising that it is through suffering that we are to attain our goal. What is the renunciation of titles, councils, law

place on record my appreciation of the willingness with which Lord Reading approached my request for the publication of an agreed statement. In the lengthy

courts and schools but a measure (very slight indeed) of suffering? That preliminary renunciation is a prelude to the larger suffering—the hardships of a gaol life and even the final consummation on the gallows, if need be. The more we suffer and the more of us suffer, the nearer we are to our cherished goal.

The earlier and the more clearly we recognise that it is not big meetings and demonstrations that would give us victory, but quiet suffering, the earlier and more certain will our victory be.

I have made your cause my own, because I believe it to be just. Khilafat, I have understood from your best men, is an ideal. You are not fighting to sustain any wrong or even misrule. You are backing the Turks, because they represent the gentlemen of Europe, and because the European and especially the English prejudice against them is due, not to the Turks being worse than others as men but to their being Mussalmans and not assimilating the modern spirit of exploitation of weaker people and their lands. In fighting for the Turks, you are fighting to raise the dignity and the purity of your own faith.

You have naturally, therefore, chosen pure methods to attain your end. It cannot be denied, that both Mussalmans and Hindus have lost much in moral stamina. Both of us have become poor representatives of our respective faiths. Instead of each one of us becoming a true child of God, we expect others to live our religion and even to die for us. But we have now chosen a method that compels us to turn, each one of us, our face towards God. Non-co-operation presumes that our opponent with whom we non-co-operate resorts to methods which are as questionable as the purpose he seeks to fulfil by such methods. We shall therefore find favour in the sight of God only by choosing methods which are different in kind from those of our opponents. This is a big claim we have made for ourselves, and we can attain success with in the short time appointed by us, only if our methods are in reality radically different from those of the Government.

Hence the foundation of our movement rests on complete non-violence, whereas violence is the final refuge of the Government. And as no energy can be created without resistance, our non-resistance to Government violence must bring the latter to a standstill. But our

correspondence that ensued between us for setting the form and the language of the statement, I did not observe on His Excellency's part any inclination to

non-violence to be true must be in word, thought and deed. It makes no difference that with you non-violence is an expedient. Whilst it lasts, you cannot consistently with your pledge harbour designs of violence. On the contrary we must have implicit faith in our programme of non-violence, which presupposes perfect accord between thought, word and deed. I would like every Mussalman to realise, while the occasion for anger is the greatest, that by non-violence alone can we gain complete victory even during this year.

Nor is non-violence a visionary programme. Just imagine what the united resolve of seven crores of Mussalman (not to count the Hindu) must mean. Should we not have succeeded already, if all the titled men had given up their titles, all the lawyers had suspended their practice and all the students had left their schools and all had boycotted councils? But we must recognise, that with many of us the flesh has proved too weak. Seven crores are called Mussalman and twenty two crores are called Hindu, but only a few are true Mussalman or true Hindu. Therefore, if we have not gained our objective, the cause lies within us. And if ours is, as we claim it is, a religious struggle, we dare not become impatient save with yourselves, not even with another.

The brothers, I am satisfied, are as innocent as I claim I am, of incitement to violence. Theirs, therefore, is a spotless offering. They have done all in their power for Islam and their country. Now, if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are not redressed and Swaraj is not established during this year, the fault will be yours and mine.

We must remain non-violent, but we must not be passive. We must repeat the formula of the Brothers regarding the duty of soldiers and invite imprisonment. We need not think that the struggle cannot go on without even the best of us. If it cannot we are neither fit for Swaraj nor for redressing the Khilafat or the Punjab wrong. We must declare from a thousand platforms that it is sinful for any Mussalman or Hindu to serve the existing Government, whether as soldier or in any other capacity whatsoever.

Above all, we must concentrate on complete boycott of foreign cloth, whether British, Japanese, American, French or any other, and begin, if we have not already done so, to introduce spinning wheels

avoid mention of any relevant detail. On my part, I had informed him that I had no intention to hide anything whatsoever. The public, therefore, have a full statement from both sides.

The suffering must not be accompanied by any resentment against Government. On Pandit Motilal Nehru being arrested, Mr. Gandhi wrote *inter alia* in "Young India" of 8th December, under the heading, "Love, not Hate":

In the moment of our trial and our triumph let me declare my faith. I believe in loving my enemies. I believe in non-violence as the only remedy open to the Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews of India. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. The brunt of the battle must fall on the first three. The last named three are afraid of the combination of the first three. We must by our honest conduct demonstrate to them that they are our kinsmen. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in the remotest corner of India, as he professes to feel behind the machine gun.

and handlooms in our homes and manufacture all the cloth we need. This will be at once a test of our belief in non-violence for our country's freedom and for saving the Khilafat. It will be a test also of Hindu-Muslim unity, and it will be a universal test of our faith in our own programme. I repeat my conviction that we can achieve our full purpose within one month of a complete boycott of foreign cloth. For we are then in a position, having confidence in our ability to control forces of violence, to offer Civil Disobedience, if it is at all found necessary.

I can, therefore, find no balm for the deep wounds inflicted upon you by the Government other than non-violence, translated into action by boycott of foreign cloth and manufacture of cloth in our own homes.

Islam, Hiduism, Sikhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Judasim—in fact, religion is on its trail. Either we believe in God and His righteousness, or we do not. My association with the noblest of Mussalmans has taught me to see that Islam has spread not by the power of the sword, by the prayerful love of an unbroken line of its saints and fakirs. Warrant there is in Islam for drawing the sword; but the conditions laid down are so strict that they are not capable of being fulfilled by everybody. Where is the unerring general to order Jihad? Where is the suffering, the love and the purification that must precede the very idea of drawing the sword? Hindus are at least as much bound by similar restrictions as the Mussalmans of India. The Sikhs have their recent proud history to warn them against the use of force. We are too imperfect, too impure and too selfish, as yet, to resort to an armed conflict in the cause of God as Shaukat Ali would say. Will a purified India ever need to draw the sword? And it was the definite process of purification we commenced last year at Calcutta.*

Whilst we must not avoid arrest, we must not provoke it by giving unnecessary offence.

We must hold the Congress at any cost in spite of the arrest of every one of the leaders, unless the Government dissolve it by force. And if we are neither cowed down nor provoked to violence but are able to continue national work, we have certainly attained Swaraj. For no power on earth can stop the onward march of a peaceful, determined and godly people.

* Non-co-operation was first accepted by the Congress at Calcutta in September, 1920.

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CONDUCT IN PRISON

Why Suffer?—Imprisonments are not courted with the object of embarrassing the Government, though as a matter of fact they do. They are courted for the sake of discipline and suffering. They are courted because we consider it to be wrong to be free under a government we hold to be wholly bad. No stone should be left unturned by us to make the Government realise that we are in no way amenable to its control. And no Government has yet tolerated such upon defiance, however respectful it may be. It might safely therefore be said that, if we are yet outside the prison walls, the cause lies as much with us as with the Government. We are moving cautiously in our corporate capacity. We are still voluntarily obeying many of its laws. There was, for instance, nothing to prevent me from disregarding the Madras Government's order and courting arrest, but I avoided it. There is nothing to prevent me save my prudence or weakness from going without permission into the barracks and being arrested for trespass. I certainly believe the barracks to be the nation's property and not that of a Government which I no longer recognise as representative of the people. Thus there is an apparent inconsistency between the statement on the one hand that it is painful to remain outside the prison walls under a bad Government and this deliberate avoidance, on the other hand, of arrest upon grounds which are not strictly moral, but largely expedient. We thus avoid imprisonment, because first we think that the nation is not ready for complete civil revolt, secondly we think that the atmosphere of voluntary obedience and non-

violence has not been firmly established, and thirdly we have not done any constructive, corporate work to inspire self-confidence. We, therefore, refrain from offering Civil Disobedience amounting to peaceful rebellion, but court imprisonment merely in the ordinary pursuit of programme and in defence of complete freedom of opinion and action, short of revolt.

Thus it is clear that our remaining outside the gaols of a bad Government has to be justified upon very exceptional grounds, and that our Swaraj is attained when we are in gaol or when we have bent the Government to our will. Whether, therefore, the Government feel embarrassed or happy over our incarceration, the only safe and honourable place for us is the prison. And if this position be accepted, it follows that when imprisonment comes to us in the ordinary discharge of our duty, we must feel happy because we feel stronger, because we pay the price of due performance of duty. And if exhibition of real strength is the best propaganda, we must believe that every imprisonment strengthens the people and thus brings Swaraj nearer.—3rd November, 1921.

15th December, 1921

WORK IN GAOLS

An esteemed friend asks me whether now that the Government have provided an opportunity for hundreds to find themselves imprisoned and as thousands are responding, will it not be better for the prisoners to refuse to do any work* in the gaols at all? I am

*Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 17th November, 1921:

As Non-co-operators we *must* work in the gaols, for we do not non-co-operate with gaols as such. We submit to the courts' discipline

afraid that the suggestion comes from a misapprehension of the moral position. We are not out to abolish gaols as an institution. Even under Swaraj, we would have our gaols. Pure Civil Disobedience, therefore, must not be carried beyond the point of breaking the unmoral laws of the country. Breach of the laws to be civil assumes the strictest and willing obedience to the gaol discipline, because disobedience of a particular rule assumes a willing acceptance of the sanction provided for its breach. And immediately a person quarrels both with the rule and the sanction for its breach, he ceases to be civil and lends himself to the precipitation of chaos and anarchy. A civil resister is, if one may be permitted such a claim for him, a philanthropist and a friend of the state. An anarchist is an enemy of the state and is, therefore, misanthrope. I have permitted myself to use the language of war, because the so-called constitutional method has become so utterly ineffective. But I hold the opinion firmly that Civil Disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation. Of course, it becomes degrading and despicable, if its civil, *i.e.*, non-violent character is a mere camouflage. If the honesty of non-violence be admitted, there is no warrant for condemnation even of the fiercest disobedience, because of the likelihood of its leading to violence. No big or

when we are dragged to the courts. Civil Disobedience by its very nature requires us to yield complete obedience to gaol regulations, for as civil resisters *invite* imprisonment and, therefore, are bound to suffer the rigours of its discipline. But we can civilly resist such regulations as are not only irksome, or hard to bear but are humiliating or specially designed to degrade Non-co-operators. Our self-respect demands willing obedience to gaol discipline. The same self-respect may require resistance to misbehaviour, euphemistically called discipline. For instance, we would refuse to draw lines with our noses, whether within or without gaols.

swift movement can be carried on without bold risks, and life will not be worth living, if it is not attended with large risks. Does not the history of the world show that there would have been no romance in life, if there had been no risks? It is the clearest proof of a degenerate atmosphere that one finds respectable people, leaders of society, raising their hands in horror and indignation at the slightest approach of danger or upon an outbreak of any violent commotion. We do want to drive out the beast in man, but we do not want on that account to emasculate him. And in the process of finding his own status, the beast in him is bound, now and again, to put up his ugly appearance. As I have often stated in these pages, what strikes me down is not the sight of blood under every conceivable circumstance. It is blood spilt by the Non-co-operator or his supporters in breach of his declared pledge, which paralyses me as I know it ought to paralyse every honest Non-co-operator.

Therefore, to revert to the original argument, as civil resisters, we are bound to guard against universal indiscipline. Gaol discipline must be submitted to, until gaol government itself becomes or is felt to be corrupt and immoral. But deprivation of comfort, imposition of restriction and such other inconveniences do not make gaol government corrupt. It becomes that, when prisoners are humiliated or treated with inhumanity as when they are kept in filthy dens or are given food unfit for human consumption. Indeed, I hope that the conduct of Non-co-operators in the gaol will be strictly correct, dignified and yet submissive. We must not regard gaolers and warders as our enemies, but as fellow human beings, not utterly devoid of the human touch. Our gentlemanly behaviour is bound to disarm all suspicion or

bitterness. I know that this path of discipline, on the one hand, and fierce defiance, on the other, is a very difficult path, but there is no royal road to Swaraj. The country has deliberately chosen the narrow and the straight path. Like a straight line, it is the shortest distance. But even as you require a steady and experienced hand to draw a straight line, so are steadiness of discipline and firmness of purpose absolutely necessary, if we are to walk along the chosen path with an unerring step.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that it is not going to be a bed of roses for any of the civil resisters. And my head reels and the heart throbs, when I recall the lives of Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das in their palatial rooms, surrounded by numerous willing attendants and by every comfort and convenience that money can buy, and when I think of what is in store for them inside the cold unattractive prison walls where they will have to listen to the clanking of the prisoner's chains in the place of the sweet music of their drawing rooms. But I steel my heart with the thought that it is the sacrifice of just such heroes that will usher in Swaraj. The noblest of South Africans, Canadians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans have had to undergo much greater sacrifices than we have mapped out for ourselves.

29th December, 1921

A MODEL PRISONER

"Should Non-co-operators shout *Bande Mataram* inside jails against jail discipline which may excite ordinary prisoners to violence, should Non-co-operators go on hunger strike for the improvement of food or other conveniences, should they strike work

inside jails on *hartal* days and other days? Are Non-co-operators entitled to break rules of jail discipline unless they affect their conscience?" Such is the text of a telegram I received from a Non-co-operator friend in Calcutta. From another part of India when a friend, again a Non-co-operator, heard of the indiscipline of Non-co-operator prisoners, he asked me to write on the necessity of observing jail discipline. As against this, I know prisoners who are scrupulously observing in a becoming spirit all the discipline imposed upon them.

It is necessary, when thousands are going to jail, to understand exactly the position a Non-co-operator prisoner can take up consistently with his pledge of non-violence. Non-co-operation, when its limitations are not recognised, becomes a licence instead of being a duty and therefore becomes a crime. The dividing line between right and wrong is often so thin as to become indistinguishable. But it is a line that is breakable and unmistakable.

What is then the difference between those who find themselves in jails for being in the right and those who are there for being in the wrong? Both wear often the same dress, eat the same food and are subject outwardly to the same discipline. But whilst the latter submit to discipline most unwillingly and would commit a breach of it secretly, and even openly if they could, the former will willingly and to the best of their ability conform to the jail discipline and prove worthier and more serviceable to their cause than when they are outside. We have observed that the most distinguished among the prisoners are of greater service inside the jails than outside. The co-efficient of service is raised to the extent of the strictness with which jail discipline is observed.

Let it be remembered that we are not seeking to destroy jails as such. I fear that we shall have to maintain jails even under Swaraj. It will go hard with us, if we let the real criminals understand that they will be set free or be very much better treated when Swaraj is established. Even in reformatories by which I would like to replace every jail under Swaraj, discipline will be exacted. Therefore we really retard the advent of Swaraj, if we encourage indiscipline. Indeed the swift programme of Swaraj has been conceived on the supposition that we being a cultured people are capable of evolving right discipline within a short time.

Indeed whilst on the one hand Civil Disobedience authorises disobedience of unjust laws or unmoral laws of a state which one seeks to overthrow, it requires meek and willing submission to the penalty of disobedience and therefore cheerful acceptance of the jail discipline and its attendant hardships.

It is now therefore clear that a civil resister's resistance ceases and his obedience is resumed as soon as he is under confinement. In confinement he claims no privileges because of the civility of his disobedience. Inside the jail by his exemplary conduct he reforms even the criminals surrounding him, he softens the hearts of jailors and others in authority. Such meek behaviour springing from strength and knowledge ultimately dissolves the tyranny of the tyrant. It is for this reason that I claim that voluntary suffering is the quickest and the best remedy for the removal of abuses and injustices.

It is now manifest that shouts of *Bande Mataram* or any other in breach of jail discipline are unlawful for a Non-co-operator to indulge in. It is equally unlawful for him to commit a stealthy breach of jail regulations.

Non-co-operator will do nothing to demoralise his

fellow prisoners. The only occasion when he can openly disobey jail regulations or hunger-strike is when an attempt is made to humiliate him or when the warders themselves break, as they often do, the rules for the comfort of prisoners or when food that is unfit for human consumption is issued as it often is.* A case for Civil Disobedience also arises when there is interference with any obligatory religious practice.

* *The Ali Brothers.*—I reproduce the following telegram received from Karachi by post, because it would not be sent by the authorities :

“Moulana Mohammad Ali reduced 25 lbs. in jail. Light at night not permitted to him though recommended by Magistrate and Medical Officer. Superintendent opposed to allowing this.

“Medical Officer recommended groundnuts or extract of cheese by way of food for Moulana Mohammad Ali on account of diabetes. Superintendent not disposed but after all provided groundnuts worth one anna per day and on Moulana's insistence raised it to two annas. This serves as his morning meal.

“Deviating from usual treatment Moulana Shaukat Ali, Doctor Kitchlew, Moulvi Nisar Ahmad, Pir Gulam Majdid all convicted at Karachi trial for conspiring to seduce Indian troops from their allegiance were asked on Saturday the 28th, to submit to search of their person, a practice commonly followed in case of convicts. This consists in making the prisoners absolutely naked with the exception of a *langoti* made loose. The prisoners in this condition are asked to raise hands and open their mouths as though to show if there was anything hidden anywhere. This humiliation Moulana Shaukat Ali and his companions were saved so far. On Saturday 28th, on being asked to submit to this they refused. On Monday the 30th, their person was forcibly searched and as punishment for refusing voluntarily to submit to this indignity and humiliation the forenamed leaders have been confined to solitary cells for one month. In solitary cells prisoners are allowed insufficient bedding and that at night alone. Moulana Shaukat Ali and his companions thus forced to say their prayers on uncleaned ground contrary to their religious susceptibilities. Moulvi Nisar Ahmad was searched while offering his prayers.

“Moulana Mohammad Ali protests and demands like treatment.

“The leaders in jail ready to obey all Jail Rules except those that

[D]

ON PICKETING

The Indian Social Reformer contests the utility of picketing in its own vigorous style. Without entering upon any examination of its argument, I would perhaps

offend against their Religion or against their sense of honour and dignity as Indians or human beings.

“The jail authorities were up to the last moment asked by the leaders to refer the matter to Government but they refused to wait.”

It is evident that instructions have gone forth that the policy of wise discretion is to give place to the policy of cast iron rigidity of enforcement of prison rules. Imagine Maulana Shaukat Ali or any of the high-spirited prisoners standing almost naked before the Jailor and in the presence of one another and submitting to what to them must be a most humiliating examination. I can understand the necessity and utility of such examination of confirmed criminals for whom alone the ordinary prison regulations are framed, but it is nothing short of lunacy to enforce obedience to such regulations on the part of men who apart from their political agitation have been regarded as orderly citizens and in some cases even as distinguished public men. To enforce some of the present regulations in respect of such prisoners is hopelessly to ignore the reality and to court trouble. Ordinary discipline must be exacted from the best of men when they happen to be in prison, more so when they court imprisonment. Discomfort of jail life they must expect and cannot grumble at. Respect for the jail officials must be exacted from them if they will not give it voluntarily and gracefully. Our discipline must not take the form of humiliation. Discomfort must not be torture, and respect must not take the form of crawling on one's belly. And therefore, on pain of being put in irons in solitary confinement or of being shot, Non-co-operating prisoners must decline even in the name of discipline to stand naked before the jailor, must decline in the name of discomfort to wear stinking clothes or to eat food that is unclean or indigestible and must similarly decline even in the name of respect to open out their palms or to sit in a crouching position or to shout '*Sarkar Ek Hai*' or '*Sarkar Salam*' when a jail official is passing. And if the Government is now intent upon putting us through the fire in the jails and subject us to physical

take up less space if I simply state my view and experience. Picketing in its nature must be temporary, but it is like what a stimulant is in medicine. Drink is more

pains in order to bend us, we must respectfully decline to be humiliated and must fall back upon God to give us strength to withstand studied humiliation and to suffer physical tortures instead. Let the proud Brothers and their comrades purify the Karachi Jail.

But be the treatment what it may, the course before those who are put in prison is clear. We must not be irritated into taking a false or a hasty step. Our final salvation lies in the strictest adherence to our pledge. If we feel keenly, let us be still more non-violent, not less so; let us further concentrate on Civil Disobedience, let us lose no time in fulfilling the conditions necessary for Civil Disobedience. Let Hindus, Mussalmans and other races come still closer, let us rid ourselves of the remnants of foreign cloth still in our possession, let us bestir ourselves to manufacture more handspun *khadi*. Our progress depends upon calmly fulfilling the programme mapped out by ourselves, and not wasting a single minute in idle fretting and fuming. Let us not worry about the ill-treatment of those who are in jail. The Government have made no terms with us as to treatment. We have unconditionally surrendered our bodies to them even to be hacked to pieces without a quiver, if God will give us the strength. We must not lose temper on any account.

Moulana Shaukat Ali's suggestions.—In the course of a letter, dated 21st January, 1922, to his son, on the subject which was published in *Young India* of 22nd February, 1922, Moulana Shaukat Ali suggested the following instructions to prisoners :

(1) They must be courteous to all especially to their fellow prisoners and Indian warders who are weak and helpless and made to do dirty work. We must lift them up and give them real courage and teach them patriotism and discipline. Along with this, we must have full confidence in ourselves and in our capacity for suffering.

(2) We must ask for clean food, clothing and bedding. But this is the least important thing in my opinion. The more important things come later.

(3) We must do as much work as we can easily accomplish, without detriment to our health. If forced to do more than our strength or circumstances permit, we can readily retaliate by refusing to work, the

a disease than a vice. I know scores of men who would gladly leave off drink if they could. I know some who have asked that the temptation might be put away from

only weapon in our hands. It is a strong weapon and so as to be used carefully. This weapon can always bring the jail people to their senses, but it is not easy to wield it. We must cheerfully face the penalties and through suffering defeat them. Hunger-strike is another weapon; it is here weak and Muslims cannot use it. It only weakens our health while we must really get strong here, both physically and spiritually. *We must teach this Government both outside the jail and inside of it that it cannot coerce or force us to do things against our wishes.* At the same time we must not shirk work or show that we are not capable of bearing hardships. There are some very humiliating practices which we *must* refuse to perform :

(a) Every evening all cloths are taken off and only in a little flin we show that we have not concealed anything in our loins.

(b) Jail parade, where you are made to do things which kill self-respect and in the name of discipline, humiliates you.

(c) Paying the call of nature with many people round about you and a warder watching you and so forth.

(d) *Azan* must be openly said by each 5 times daily at prayer time. They objected to my calling *Azan* but I smiled and told the Superintendent that he should never expect such a thing from me and should not even mention them. He kept quiet. The result is that now nearly four times more people say their prayers than before, and *Azan* the beautiful is heard in four places daily. Of course we must see that no violence is used. Tell our great chief that non-violence is maintained by prisoners also. They love and respect us and I think will obey us cheerfully. The Superintendent thinks that if all political prisoners were like me his life would be happy, I never complain, never ask for anything, and I am always laughing and singing."

Mahatma Gandhi commented on the above as follows :

I do not think that I need add anything to the letter by way of supplementary instructions. Besides laying down the instructions, it serves another useful purpose. It sets at rest all doubts as to the Brothers' attitude. I know that they are not implacable. They are most reasonable but, thank God, they are also firm. They will yield not an inch out of *their* weakness. They will yield everything by

them. In spite of the temptation having been put away at their instance, I have known them to steal drink. I do not, therefore, think that it was wrong to have removed the temptation. Diseased persons have got to be helped against themselves.* If I have a son who is

*Mr. S. N. Ray of Benares wrote to *Young India* of 15th September, asking Mr. Gandhi to explain why, while he disapproved of sitting *Dharna* he approved of picketing. He wrote with reference to Calcutta boys picketing the examination hall:

When the picketing party laid themselves before the gateway, they did so on the very argument that "diseased persons have got to be helped against themselves." As brothers who deemed themselves blessed in truly understanding your advice about modern education and in possessing boldness enough to leave their colleges, they thought it a duty incumbent upon them to dissuade their brothers from appearing at the examination. Lying flat on the ground is indisputably an oriental way of moral persuasion. It was nothing but humility preached in its real aspect. If I am truly inspired with the feeling that drinking is a dire vice and every one has to be saved from its clutches, shall I be deemed using physical force if I lie down in front of the drinking den and ask the intending drinker to trample over my body and get his drink? Here in this case I appeal to his heart. And by moral persuasion I understand appealing to the heart. By laying themselves in front of the Senate House, the Bengal pickets appealed to the heart of the examinees and certainly that was moral persuasion,

Mr. Gandhi replied as follows:

The writer assumes, without warrant, that I would countenance liquor-shop picketing of the type described in his letter. If the unseemly obstruction of the passage had been persisted in there would have been a revulsion of feeling in the country, such as would have thoroughly discredited Non-co-operation. Moreover it is a far-fetched analogy to compare the drink habit with education. In the matter of education, it is a conflict of ideals, and Non-co-operation is for this generation a new ideal. Whereas of drink the conflict is between

reason. Being God-fearing they are capable of entering into their opponents' real difficulties. Given perfect sincerity in the opponent and readiness to do right and acknowledge the wrong, no opponent need fear or distrust them. But to think of placating Musalmans without placating the Brothers is to attempt to ignore Islam in India.

addicted (say) to gambling, and a gambling company imposes itself on me to tempt my boy, I have either violently to knock the company down or to post watches at its offices, in order, if possible, to shame my son into not going there. It is true that there are other gambling companies some distance for my place. Still I take it, I would be held in the right in having posted a watch at the company's door. I must make it difficult for my son to gamble. If the *Reformer* accepts the doctrine of state prohibition, it must accept the corollary of picketing, so long as the state is a tyranny being perpetrated in the face of public opinion. What, for instance, should the public do, if the state were to build palaces in every street for women of ill fame, and issue to them licences to play their trade? Will it not be its duty, unless it destroys these palaces inhabited by vice, to quarantine them and warn the public of the danger of falling an easy prey to the temptation forced on it? I recognise the necessity of using only men and women of character as pickets and of guarding against violence being offered to those who insist on drinking in the face of public opinion. Picketing is a duty a citizen must discharge, when he is not helped by the state. What is a police patrol, if it is not picketing against thieves? The police use the gun, when the thief betrays an incli-

abstinence and a recognised vice. A young lad considers it a virtue to go to a Government college, a drinker knows drinking to be an evil habit. The educated youth reads newspapers, knows all the argument for and against. Visitors to liquor-shops read nothing and not being in the habit of attending meetings, hear nothing. Picketing therefore, in the case of colleges and schools was not only superfluous, but in the manner it was carried out, constituted a sort of violence utterly unjustified in any event and for a Non-co-operator a breach of his pledge. I am glad, therefore, that the picketing stopped, if it did, as a result of my severe criticism.

nation to break into another's house. A picket uses the pressure of shame, *i.e.*, love, when he warns a weak brother against the dangers or the drink evil. The *Reformer* has attributed to picketing claims never put forth on its behalf.

22nd December, 1921

THE RIGHT OF PICKETING

The Government must have thought that Bombay having stopped picketing of liquor-shops, all other places would necessarily follow suit. But Poona has shown that it is a right that cannot be abandoned without good cause. As soon as orders were issued to prohibit picketing, "we decided to break the orders," says Mr. Kelkar, "and this morning notice has been sent to the District Magistrate that we shall even to-day proceed to break the order, at a place and time specified. Myself, my son and Messrs. Bhopatkar, Gokhale, Paranjpye and about 16 others will form the first batch. Succession will, I am sure, be provided for by those who are left behind. Let us see how far Poona gives an account of itself in this matter." The party went, they were arrested, their names taken, and they were let off. Fresh parties have since been regularly going with the same result. Of course, Maharashtra will never lag behind in suffering. It possesses the hardest body of workers in India. It is remarkable how in every province the front rank leaders have run the boldest risks. But whilst Mr. Kelkar and his party had not the good fortune to be imprisoned, the Ajmer people fared better. On prohibition notices being issued, the workers regarding picketing as a 'religious right' took up the challenge. "Swaraj Seva volunteers

were posted," says Pandit Chand Karan Sarda, "on all liquor shops. The Government also posted its police force and mounted Sewars on each shop with orders to arrest the pickets, As soon as one batch was arrested, the reserve volunteers took their place. The police arrested only 17 volunteers who were summarily tried and sentenced to 4 months and 3 weeks rigorous imprisonment." They offered no defence. No more arrests seem to have been made at Ajmer. Where picketing can be practised without violence and ill-will against the liquor dealer or the drinker, it is a moral duty. That it has advanced the cause of temperance as nothing else has, no one can deny. Only the other day, at Karamsad, the Christian and Hindu Dheds gratefully informed me that as a result of picketing they had banished drink from their midst. Bombay has forfeited the right for the time being at any rate, because of its wanton and malicious destruction of Parsi liquor shops and its disgraceful behaviour towards Parsis and Christians on the fateful 17th November, and the two following days. I hope, however, that wherever picketing is practised, it will be entrusted to men or women of unimpeachable character, and carried on in the friendliest spirit. We do not want to make people virtuous by force.

23rd February, 1922

OUR LAXITY

A reliable correspondent writes to me saying that in Allahabad and Benares, the volunteers have been enlisted without regard to their qualifications.* Hardly

*The following appeared in *Young India* of 23rd February, 1922, under the heading "rather free, than sober":

50 could be found dressed in handspun *khaddar* from top to toe. Some more could be found wearing *khaddar* for outer covering, all the rest being foreign cloth. The same correspondent says that some of the volunteers do not mind an occasional drink and that they are not tested as to their belief in non-violence and that in many instances the local Congress officials have lost control over them. It has been officially reported that there are 96,000 volunteers enlisted in the United Provinces. If it is a fact that there are so many volunteers on the roll and that the vast majority of them do not conform to the Congress conditions, they are worse than useless. The complaints mentioned by me are formidable, yet as a matter of fact, I have not exhausted them all. The same news comes from Calcutta, again from a reliable source. My informant tells me that

Just as I am writing these notes, my assistant puts into my hand a cutting from the *Leader*, containing the text of Pandit Gopinath Kunzru's letter, describing in the calmest manner possible what befell him and his friend when they were purchasing in Agra brandy from a liquor shop for outward application for a patient. The volunteers would not allow them to take the brandy in spite of all the assurance of *bona fides* given by Pandit Kunzru. This is not only not non-violence but is unadulterated violence. Peaceful picketing does not mean that so long as no physical violence is used, any kind of pressure could be exercised. The volunteers, if they had remained true to their pledge, would have allowed safe passage to Pandit Gopinath and his friend. The picketers' duty is merely to warn drinkers against the vice of drink, not molest them or otherwise prevent them if they will not listen. If we may force temperance upon the people believing it to be good for them, the English administrators and their Indian supporters are certainly performing an analogous operation. They too force the present system on us well believing that it is good for us. If the *Swaraj* volunteers may, therefore, take such liberties as they have undoubtedly taken in respect of Pandit Gopinath Kunzru, they are seeking not to change the *system*, but the *masters*. I would rather have India to be free than sober if freedom has to be sold to buy sobriety.

hundreds who have gone to jail know nothing about the pledge,* are not dressed in *khaddar*, are not dressed even in Indian mill cloth but have gone to jail wearing foreign cloth, and that they have had no training in non-violence. A correspondent from Rohtak writes bitterly complaining that in many parts of that district the volunteers do not obey instruction and make the position of Congress officials most difficult and embarrassing.

If one-tenth of these complaints is true, I fear that we have not been able to cope with the wonderful awakening and to bring under control all the new additions to the Congress organisation. It is possible that it is nobody's fault that this is so. The Government precipitated a crisis by hurling the notifications about public meetings and volunteers at us. The challenge had to be and was taken up. New and inexperienced men

* The following about volunteer pledge, on the lines of which the Ahmedabad Congress also adopted a pledge, appeared in *Young India* of 22nd December, 1921 :

To show the thorough nature of the work of ensuring peace that is being done in Delhi, I extract the following remarkable pledge from Mr. Asaf Ali's letter which he wrote when he offered himself and fifty-two others for arrest :

" With full consciousness of the omnipresence and omniscience of God I declare that it shall be my solemn duty (1) to attain Swaraj by peaceful means, (2) to preserve and foster unity between the members and followers of the various communities and religions of India, (3) to regard no class or community as contemptible or untouchable, (4) to sacrifice life and property for the honour and interest of my country, (5) to wear clothes made of cloth handspun and hand-woven in the country, (6) to obey without demur the orders of the officers, (7) so long as I am not discharged from the Corps, to observe myself and persuade others to observe non-violence (or as long as the Congress continues to follow this policy) and finally I will cheerfully bear privations and troubles which may confront me during my connection with the National Volunteer Corps and neither I nor any of my dependents and relations expect any compensation. "

found themselves clothed with office and they were called upon to deal with a crisis which would have taxed to its utmost the capacity even of the experienced leaders withdrawn from public guidance.

There is much to be said in favour of this argument. No one need therefore be blamed, but we must not blink the facts. On the contrary, we must face them sternly, boldly and set our own house in order. No army in the world has yet marched to victory, which has not consisted of soldiers possessing the qualities of them. An army of peace has greater need to exhibit the qualities laid down for its soldiers. It would not do to retort that the standard is too high. A recruiting officer who takes recruits below the standard renders himself guilty of dishonesty, if he takes such recruits knowingly. All he can do is to report to the head-quarters that he cannot get recruits on the conditions prescribed, but on no account will he be justified in departing from them.

The conditions laid down by the Congress were read by myself in detail to the whole audience last December in the Congress pandal. They were exhaustively discussed by the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee, and then they were explained by me to the delegates and visitors from the different provinces at numerous informal discussions. The plea of impossibility of fulfilment cannot therefore be accepted. The delegates knew what they were about. They were nearly 6,000. They came to represent their respective constituencies and there should have been no difficulty about the fulfilment of the conditions.

I should personally be satisfied with 300 volunteers thoroughly understanding and complying with the conditions, but I should not care to lead a struggle with 30,000 volunteers who know nothing of and care less

about the conditions. The reason is obvious. In the one case I have at least 300 stalwarts to support me, in the other case I have to carry a burden of 30,000 men, not volunteers, who are a drag upon me. The 300 would help me, would obey instructions, but 30,000 will certainly not carry out instructions and may throttle me. We must therefore once for all make up our minds that all the resolutions which are passed by the Congress Working Committee have to be fulfilled literally. They are part of a swift and practical programme upon whose due fulfilment rests the future of India, the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj. Resolutions by themselves mean nothing if they are not to be carried out in full. We used to complain when our resolutions, which were in days gone by addressed to the Government, were not carried out by it. Who is to complain when the resolutions voluntarily and deliberately passed by us are not carried out by ourselves? I, therefore, strongly advise all Congress and Khilafat organisations to see that they are strictly enforced in their respective jurisdictions. If they do not, it is they who will endanger the movement and no one else. It is for us to make or mar the future.

[E]

2nd February, 1922

POLITICAL AGENCIES

Repression is slowly spreading its net in all directions, and now-a-days precedes the Prince's visit as if to prove to the people the might His Royal Highness represents. As he is expected in Indore, Babus Badrilal Aryadutta and Chhotelal have been deported from Indore Camp by

the Agent to the Governor-General. Orders have also been issued prohibiting public meetings within the Residency area. It may be that public life is not so well organised in these Residencies as in British India proper. But if it is, I have no doubt about the duty of the residents of the camp. If they can retain the non-violent spirit and if they are at all well organised, they should hold meetings notwithstanding the orders, and risk deportation or imprisonment. In my opinion, those who are deported should return to be arrested.

A similar story comes from Kathiawad. It seems that the Princes of Kathiawad have arranged Shikar parties and other non-political but expensive amusements for H. E. the Governor. The subjects of the States are angry, not over the Governor's visit, but over the expensive amusements arranged in his honour. Probably the Governor does not even appreciate them. Why should these functionaries always want amusements? It is not as if they are without any, whilst they are working at headquarters. Indeed these amusements themselves must become a task for at least some of them. Neither party can be natural at these shows. They must put on their best behaviour and observe their respective distances. They must always act both officially and correctly even when they are meeting unofficially. In the circumstances, it would certainly save a great deal of time and expense if these amusements were cut down and the visits limited to State business only. Moreover, the Shikar parties offend vegetarians of Kathiawad. The people of Kathiawad cannot but resent, even when they say nothing, the waste of animal life for no purpose whatsoever. I am told that, in order to draw the beasts of prey, goats have to be sacrificed for days in advance. Such Shikar, over which so much

innocent blood is spilt and is without any risk of life or limb on the part of the Shikari, is robbed of all charm and becomes a mild copy of the law that prevails between the Government and the people in India, whereby the public are always the sport of the Government which never runs any risk. It is not the Mosaic law of tooth for tooth, but it is the law of bullets against brickbats, life for a scratch. When the hunter runs no risk, it is not good sport but is downright cruelty. But the Agent to the Governor in Kathiawad evidently could not tolerate protest meetings even against the extravagance of the Princes and has therefore, it appears, prohibited public meetings and arrested Messrs. Munilal Kothari and Mansukhlal Rajibhai Metha.

All this activity in the Agencies is a new development. I congratulate those who are arrested. The law of non-violence is just as imperative in the Agencies and the States as it is in the pure British area. What is more, the residents in the States must not embarrass the latter in respect of or in the interest of the movement of Non-co-operation with the Government. They may fight against their local grievances but even then not in the intensive Non-co-operation manner except under very grave circumstances and except when public opinion is with them. In the States, the subjects cannot claim to have exhausted all their resources with the Princes themselves. They must form public opinion, carry on agitation and otherwise organise themselves. I often hear the talk that the Congress became useful only when Non-co-operation came in. This is an utterly wrong view of the situation. The Congress agitation paved the way for Non-co-operation. The latter was the fitting corollary to the previous Congress activities. The Congress has always been in India the greatest demonstra-

tive and effective agency for ventilating people's grievances. It has always been a true register of popular strength and weakness. The States subjects, too, must have their Congress and Conferences quite apart from the British Indian prototype and probably differently managed. They may learn from the mistakes of the parent body but they have to go through that preliminary discipline. A mere unexaggerated exposure of a wrong is by no means a small matter. Wrong like vice flourishes in secrecy. It dies of sunlight. Therefore let the subjects of States organise themselves quickly and in a methodical manner without mixing up and spoiling their local matters with the National Congress. The States subjects can work as so many are doing on the Congress and for the Congress outside the States area.

TOO SACRED FOR PUBLICATION

9th February, 1922

There are things one does not like to see published, not because there is anything secret about them but because they are too sacred for publication. Sometimes the published version gives an impression totally different from the spoken word, even though the reporting may be ever so accurate. When I call a little child a fiend in perfect good humour or with a frown, it would not do to report me as having called some one a fiend without giving long explanations as to the why and the how. Some such disservice has been done by the manifestly friendly reporter of a conversation and a discourse at Satyagraha Ashram as reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 2nd instant. I dislike such things being reported. In a swift conversation

there are many things understood. An accurate report of such a conversation is impossible without copious footnotes. I am, for instance, reported as having said that Shantiniketan is for material progress and Satyagraha Ashram exists solely for spiritual progress. When the Poet sees this, he will either laugh at it if he remembers that I could not possibly say or mean any such thing about Shantiniketan, or he will be angry and despondent that even I should be so hopelessly ignorant and inartistic as not to see the spirituality of Shantiniketan. The Poet, I feel sure, is not likely to do me the injustice of thinking me capable of holding the belief imputed to me. I could say to the Poet, as indeed I have done, that Shantiniketan lacks discipline. He had laughed over it and even endorsed my criticism and justified it, saying he was a Poet and Shantiniketan was for his amusement. He could only sing and make others sing. I was free to introduce all the discipline I liked but he was only a Poet. The reader must know that I have lived at Shantiniketan for more than once. I am permitted to regard it as a home of retreat. My boys have had shelter there and at the Gurukula when I was away in England. My conversation with the Hindi teacher was on the basis that both he and I were lovers of Shantiniketan. How can Shantiniketan be otherwise than spiritual when the author of pure spiritual poetry is the dominating spirit there? I am not so dull as to think that a place where Devendranath Tagore lived could be devoid of spirituality. The readers of *Young India* are aware that I receive spiritual draughts from Shantiniketan from time to time sent by Badadada* who is incessantly watching over me and praying for the success of my mission. I

*Dwijendranath Tagore.

hasten to inform the reader that I regard many professors and teachers of Shantiniketan as highly spiritual and good men whose association I have valued as a privilege. I must further inform the reader that I consider Bengal to be the most spiritual among our provinces. The whole of my conversation which is unfortunately reported was carried on in a humorous strain. I have often claimed among lovers of Shantiniketan greater spirituality for Satyagraha Ashram than Shantiniketan. But such competition and claim must not be interpreted into an assumption of superiority. I am most desirous to keep Satyagraha Ashram veiled from the public. We are there a band of humble unlettered workers knowing our own failings, trying to understand them still further and undoubtedly intent upon finding the truth and wanting to live and die for it. Comparisons between kindred, but not identical, institutions must never be made. But if a comparison must be made, in spite of the early rising and the discipline of Satyagraha Ashram, I would vote really and sincerely for Shantiniketan as an elder brother. It is older by far in age and I know it is so also in wisdom. But there is that 'but'. The inmates of Shantiniketan must beware of the race that the little place in Gujerat is running.

Having said so much of Shantiniketan by way of reparation, I have no time or space left for giving my version of the morning course nor must I attempt it. It came from the very pith of my soul. I could not report it myself with the same force. I heard a sister give it in one sentence. It was so true. I wish the unknown friend had never thought of reporting it. The report does not convey the central truth of it.

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*Dwijendranath Tagore.

hasten to inform the reader that I regard many professors and teachers of Shantiniketan as highly spiritual and good men whose association I have valued as a privilege. I must further inform the reader that I consider Bengal to be the most spiritual among our provinces. The whole of my conversation which is unfortunately reported was carried on in a humorous strain. I have often claimed among lovers of Shantiniketan greater spirituality for Satyagraha Ashram than Shantiniketan. But such competition and claim must not be interpreted into an assumption of superiority. I am most desirous to keep Satyagraha Ashram veiled from the public. We are there a band of humble unlettered workers knowing our own failings, trying to understand them still further and undoubtedly intent upon finding the truth and wanting to live and die for it. Comparisons between kindred, but not identical, institutions must never be made. But if a comparison must be made, in spite of the early rising and the discipline of Satyagraha Ashram, I would vote really and sincerely for Shantiniketan as an elder brother. It is older by far in age and I know it is so also in wisdom. But there is that 'but'. The inmates of Shantiniketan must beware of the race that the little place in Gujerat is running.

Having said so much of Shantiniketan by way of reparation, I have no time or space left for giving my version of the morning course nor must I attempt it. It came from the very pith of my soul. I could not report it myself with the same force. I heard a sister give it in one sentence. It was so true. I wish the unknown friend had never thought of reporting it. The report does not convey the central truth of it.

I HAVE LOST ALL CREDIT

23rd February, 1922

A friend from Lahore without giving his name sends me the following thundering note :

"On Tuesday the 14th, I read the *Tribune* and the resolutions therein, passed at the emergency meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee.* On Monday when I came from my office, I heard a flying rumour that Mahatmaji had postponed the date of the mass Civil Disobedience, but at that time I thought the news devoid of foundation. After a short time, a friend of mine hawked me at my house and we went to bazaar. His face was somewhat sadder than usual. I enquired of him the reason of his sadness. He said he was utterly disgusted and so gave up the idea of following this movement. Mahatmaji was going to give up the lead of this movement and at the same time he had advised all the Provincial Congress Committees not to enrol any more volunteers. No picketing propaganda should be undertaken as long as the special session of the All-India Congress Committee had not confirmed what to do further.

"The people are of this opinion that you have turned your face and become fickle-minded. They will co-operate with the Government without any hesitation and join the ceremony of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Some say that they will not observe *hartal* and will accord a hearty reception at Lahore.

"Some merchants are under the impression that you have removed all the restrictions from all liquor shops and *videshi* cloth.

"Truly speaking, each and every one in Lahore city is holding meeting in the bazaar as well as in the house, and you will forgive me if I will say boldly that they are condemning the action of the All-India Congress Committee.

'I now for my sake ask you these questions.

"(1) Will you now give up the lead of this movement? If so, why?

"Will you be good enough to let me know why you have given such instructions to all Provincial Congress Committees? Have you given an opportunity to Pandit Malaviya for a Round Table Conference for a settlement, or has Pandit Malaviya agreed to embrace your movement in case the Government has not turned true to its words?

* Where the "Bardoli decision" suspending Civil Disobedience was arrived at.

"(3) Grant a compromise is arranged and the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are redressed and in the case of Swaraj the Government may only extend the reforms, will you be satisfied with that or continue your activities till you have got the full dominion status ?

"(4) Suppose no decision is arrived at. Will Pandit Malaviya and all others who are connected with this conference come to your side, or will their fate remain in the balance just as now ?

"(5) In case no decision is arrived at, will you give up the idea of Civil Disobedience, if there is danger of violence ?

"(6) Is your intention now to disband the present volunteer corps and enlist those who know spinning and wear handspun and handwoven *khaddar* ?

"(7) Suppose violence has made appearance when you have started your mass Civil Disobedience, what will you do at that time ? Will you stop your activities at the very moment ?"

There is much more criticism in this letter than I have reproduced. The writer tells me that the people are so disgusted that they now threaten to become co-operators and are of opinion that I have sold Lala Lajpat Rai, Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Ali Brothers and others, and tell me that if I give up the leadership, there are thousands who will leave this world by committing suicide. I may assure the citizens of Lahore, in particular and the Punjabis in general, that I do not believe what is said of them. I used to receive such letters even during the Martial Law days, because of the suspension of Civil Disobedience, but I discounted all the news and on my reaching the Punjab in October, I found that I was right in my analysis of the Punjab mind and I discovered that there was no one to challenge the propriety of my act. I feel still more confident of the correctness of the decision of the Working Committee, but if it is found that the country repudiates my action, I shall not mind it. I can but do my duty. A leader is useless when he acts against the promptings of his own conscience,

surrounded as he must be by people holding all kinds of views. He will drift like an anchorless ship if he has not the inner voice to hold him firm and guide him. Above all, I can easily put up with the denial of the world, but any denial by me of my God is unthinkable, and if I did not give at this critical period of the struggle the advice that I have, I would be denying both God and Truth. The telegrams and letters I am receiving from all parts of the country thanking me for my decision—telegrams from both non-co-operators and co-operators—confirm my belief that the country appreciates the decision and that the Lahore writer has given undue prominence to some heated bazaar talk which was bound to take place after the Bardoli decision which, all of a sudden, disturbed all previous calculations. I can understand the effect of the first shock, but I am also sure that when the people begin to analyse the implications of non-violence, they will come to no other conclusion than that of the Working Committee.

And now for the questions of the correspondent :

(1) I am not likely to give up the lead of the movement unless I have a clear indication that the people want me to. One method of giving that indication is an adverse vote of the Working Committee or the All-India Congress Committee.

(2) I assure the public that Pandit, Malaviyaji had absolutely no hand in shaping my decision. I have often yielded to Panditji, and it is always a pleasure for me to yield to him whenever I can and always painful to differ from one who has an unrivalled record of public service and who is sacrifice personified. But so far as the decision of suspension is concerned, I arrived at it on my reading the detailed report of the Chauri Chaura

tragedy in the *Chronicle*. It was in Bardoli that telegrams were sent convening the Working Committee meeting and it was in Bardoli that I sent a letter to the members of the Working Committee advising them of my desire to suspend Civil Disobedience. I went thereafter to Bombay at the instance of Panditji, who, together with the other friends of the Malaviya Conference, undoubtedly wished to plead with me for a suspension and who were agreeably surprised when I told them that, so far as I was concerned, my mind was made up, but that I had kept it open so that I could discuss the point thoroughly with the members of the Working Committee. The suspension has no reference to a round table conference or to any settlement. In my opinion, a round table conference is bound to prove fruitless. It requires a much stronger Viceroy than Lord Reading has proved to be to perceive the situation in the country and then to describe it correctly. I certainly feel that Pandit Malaviyaji has already come into the movement. It is not possible for him to keep away from the Congress or from danger, but the Bardoli decision was arrived at purely on its merits, and I could not have shaken from the original purpose, had I not been unnerved by the Chauri Chaura tragedy which was the last straw.

(3) Nothing short of a full Dominion status is likely to satisfy me personally, and nothing short of complete severance will satisfy me, if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs remain unredressed, but the exact form does not depend upon me. I have no clear-cut scheme. It has to be evolved by the people's representatives.

(4) At the present moment there is no question of a settlement. Therefore, the question as to what Panditji and all others will do is premature, if not irrelevant,

But assuming that Panditji holds any conference and that its resolutions are ignored by the Government, Panditji and others will act as all self-respecting men do in such circumstances.

(5) I can never give up the *idea* of Civil Disobedience, no matter what danger there is of violence, but I shall certainly give up the idea of *starting* mass Civil Disobedience, so long as there is a certain danger of violence. Individual Civil Disobedience stands on a different footing.

(6) There is no question of disbanding any Volunteer Corps, but the names of those who do not conform to the Congress pledge have certainly to be removed from the list, if we are to be honest.

(7) If we have understood the essential parts of non-violence, we can but come to one conclusion that any eruption of widespread violence—and I call the Chauri Chaura tragedy widespread for the purpose—automatically stops mass Civil Disobedience. That many other parts of the country have nobly responded to the spirit of non-violence is good, but it is not good enough to continue mass Civil Disobedience even as a most *peaceful* meeting is disturbed if one man obstructs or commits violence. Mass Civil Disobedience for becoming successful requires a non-violent environment. The reason for restricting it to one single small area is to prevent violence elsewhere. It, therefore, means that mass Civil Disobedience in a particular area is possible when the other areas passively co-operate by remaining non-violent.

REPLY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The Government of India in a Communique published on the

6th February replied to Mr. Gandhi's Bardoli letter, repudiating his statements and urging that the issue before the country was no longer between this or that programme of political advance, but between lawlessness with all its consequences on the one hand and the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Governments. Mr. Gandhi issued the following rejoinder :

I have very carefully read the Government's reply to my letter. I confess that I was totally unprepared for such an evasion of the realities of the case as the reply betrays.

I will take the very first repudiation. The reply says they (the Government) emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of Civil Disobedience has been forced on the Non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and free press. Even a cursory glance at my letter would show that, whilst Civil Disobedience was authorised by the All-India Congress Committee meeting held on the 4th November, at Delhi, it had not commenced. I have made it clear in my letter that the contemplated mass Civil Disobedience was indefinitely postponed on account of the regrettable events of the 17th November, in Bombay. That decision was duly published and it is within the knowledge of the Government as also the public that herculean efforts were being made to combat the still lingering violent tendency amongst the people. It is also within the knowledge of the Government and the public that a special form of pledge was devised to be signed by volunteers with the deliberate purpose of keeping out all but men of proved character. The primary object of these volunteers' associations was to inculcate amongst the masses the lessons of non-violence and to keep the peace at all Non-co-operation

functions. Unfortunately, the Government of India lost its head completely over the Bombay events and, perhaps, still more over the very complete hartal on the same date at Calcutta. I do not wish to deny that there might have been some intimidation practised in Calcutta, but it was not, I venture to submit, the fact of intimidation, but the irritation caused by the completeness of the hartal that maddened the Government of India as also the Government of Bengal. Repression there was even before that time, but nothing was said or done in connection with it. But the repression that came in the wake of the notifications proclaiming the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the purpose of dealing with volunteers' associations and the Seditious Meeting Act for the purpose of dealing with public meetings held by Non-co-operators, came upon the Non-co-operation community as a bombshell.

I repeat, then, that these notifications and the arrests of Deshbandu Chittaranjan Das and Moulana Adul Kalam Azad in Bengal, the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his co-workers in the U. P. and of Lala Lajput Rai and his party in the Punjab made it absolutely necessary to take up, not yet aggressive Civil Disobedience, but only defensive Civil Disobedience, otherwise described as passive resistance. Even Sir Hormusji Wadia was obliged to declare that, if the Bombay Government followed the precedents set by the Governments of Bengal, U. P. and the Punjab, he would be bound to resist such notifications, that is, to enrol himself as a volunseer or to attend public meetings in defiance of Government order to the contrary. It is thus clear that a case has been completely made out for Civil Disobedience, unless the Government revised its policy which has resulted in the stopping of public meetings.

public associations and the Non-co-operation press in many parts of India.

Now for the statement that the Government have embarked on a policy of lawless repression instead of an ample expression of regret and apology for the barbarous deeds that have been committed by officers in the name of law and order. I regret to find in the Government reply a categorical denial of any lawless repression. In this connection, I urge the public and Government carefully to consider the following facts whose substance is beyond challenge: (1) Official shooting at Entally in Calcutta and the callous treatment even of a corpse, (2) The admitted brutality of the civil guards, (3) The forcible dispersal of a meeting at Dacca and the dragging of innocent men by their legs although they had given no offence or cause whatsoever, (4) Similar treatment of volunteers in Aligarh, (5) The conclusive (in my opinion) finding of the committee presided over by Dr. Gokhul Chand about the brutal and uncalled for assaults upon volunteers and the public in Lahore, (6) The wicked and inhuman treatment of volunteers and the public at Jullundur, (7) The shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the cruelly forcible dispersal of a public meeting of that place, (8) The looting admitted by the Bihar Government of villages by an officer and his company without any permission whatsoever, from any one, but as stated by Non-co-operators, at the invitation of a planter, assaults upon volunteers and the burning of Khaddar and papers belonging to the Congress at Sonepur, (9) the midnight searches and arrests in the Congress and Khilafat offices.

I have merely given a sample of the many infallible proofs of official lawlessness and barbarism.* I have

* *Young India* published from week to week detailed accounts of these cases of alleged lawless repression.

mentioned not even a tithe of what is happening all over the country. I wish to state, without fear of successful contradiction, that the scale on which this lawlessness had gone on in so many provinces of India puts into shade the inhumanities that were practised in the Punjab, if we except the crawling order and the massacre at Jallianwalabagh. It is my certain conviction that the massacre at Jallianwallabagh was a clean transaction compared to the unclean transactions described above, and the pity of it is that, because people are not shot or butchered, the tortures through which hundreds of inoffensive men have gone through do not produce a sufficient effect to turn everybody's face against this Government.

But as if this warfare against innocence was not enough, the reins are being tightened in the jails. We know nothing of what is happening to-day in Karachi jail, to a solitary prisoner in the Sabarmati jail and to a batch in the Benares jail, all of whom are as innocent as I claim to be myself. Their crime consists in their constituting themselves the trustees of national honour and dignity. I am hoping that these proud and defiant spirits will not be sent into submission masquerading in the official garb. I deny the right of the authorities to insist on high-souled men appearing before them almost naked or paying any obsequious respect to them by way of salaming with open palms brought together, or reciting to the intonation of "Sarkar-ike-hai." No God-fearing man will do the latter even if he has to be kept standing in his stock for days and nights, as a Bengal school-master is reported to have been for the sake of the dignity of human nature.

I trust that Lord Reading and his draftsmen do not know the facts that I have adduced or are being carried

away by their belief in the infallibility of their employees. I refuse to believe in the statements which the public regards as God's truth. If there is the slightest exaggeration in the statements that I have made, I shall as publicly withdraw them and apologise for them as I am making them now, but, as it is, I undertake to prove the substance of every one of these charges if not the very letter and much more of them, before any impartial tribunal of men or women unconnected with the Government. I invite Pandit Malaviyaji and those who are performing the thankless task of securing a round table-conference to form an impartial commission to investigate these charges by which I stand or fall.

It is the physical and brutal ill-treatment of humanity which has made many of my co-workers and myself impatient of life itself, and, in the face of these things, I don't wish to take public time by dealing in detail what I mean by abuse of the common law of the country but I cannot help correcting the mis-impression which is likely to be created in connection with the Bombay disorders, disgraceful and deplorable as they were. Let it be remembered that, of the persons who lost their lives, over 45 were Non-co-operators or their sympathisers, the hooligans, and of the 400 wounded, to be absolutely on the safe side, over 350 were also derived from the same class. I do not complain; the co-operators, the Non-co-operators and the friendly hooligans got what they deserved: they began the violence and they reaped the reward. Let it also not be forgotten that, with all deference to the Bombay Government, it was Non-co-operators, ably assisted by Independents and co-operators, who brought peace out of that chaos of the two days following the fateful 17th.

I must totally deny the imputation that the application

of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was confined to associations the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation. The prisons of India to-day hold some of the most inoffensive men and hardly any who are convicted under the law. Abundant proof can be produced in support of this statement as also of the statement of the fact that almost wherever meetings have been broken up, there was actually no risk of violence.

The Government of India deny that the Viceroy has laid down upon the apology of the Ali Brothers the civilised policy of non-interference with the non-violent activities of Non-co-operators. I am extremely sorry for this repudiation. The very part of the communique reproduced in the reply is in my opinion sufficient proof that the Government did not intend to interfere with such activities. The Government did not wish to be inferred that speeches promoting disaffection of a less violent character were not an offence against the law. I have never stated that breach of any law was not to be an offence against it, but I have stated, as I repeat now, that it was not the intention of the Government then to prosecute for non-violent activities, although they might amount to a technical breach of the law.

As to the conditions of the conference, the Government reply evidently omits to mention the two words "and otherwise" after the words "Calcutta speech" in my letter. I repeat that the terms "I would gather from the Calcutta speech and otherwise" were nearly the same that were mentioned in the resolutions of the Malaviya Conference. What are called the unlawful activities of the N. C. O. party, being a reply to the notifications of the Government, would have ceased automatically with the withdrawal of those notifica-

tions, because the formation of volunteer corps and public meetings would not be unlawful activities after the withdrawal of the offending notification. Even while the negotiations were going on in Calcutta, the discharge of Fatwa prisoners was asked for, and I can only repeat what I have said elsewhere that, if it is disloyal to say that military service under the existing system of Government is a sin against God and humanity, I fear that such disloyalty must continue.

The Government communique does me a cruel wrong imputing to me a desire that the proposed round table conference should be called merely to register my decrees. I did state, in order to avoid any misunderstanding the Congress demands, as I felt I was in duty bound, in as clear terms as possible. No Congressman could approach any conference without making his position clear. I accepted the ordinary courtesy of not considering me or any Congressmen to be impervious to reason or argument. It is open to anybody to convince me that the demands of the Congress regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj are wrong or unreasonable and I would certainly retrace my steps and, so far as I am concerned, rectify the wrong. The Government of India know that such has been always my attitude.

The communique, strangely enough, says that the demands set forth in my manifesto are even larger than those of the Working Committee. I claim that they fall far below the demands of the Working Committee, for what I now ask against the total suspension of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character is merely the stoppage of ruthless repression, the release of prisoners convicted under it and a clear declaration of policy. The demands of the Working Committee included a Round Table Conference. In my manifesto, I

have not asked for a Round Table Conference at all. It is true that this wanting of a Round Table Conference does not proceed from any expediency, but it is a confession of present weakness. I freely recognise that, unless India becomes saturated with the spirit of non-violence and generates disciplined strength that can only come from non-violence, she cannot enforce her demands, and it is for that reason that I now consider that the first thing for the people to do is to secure a reversal of this mad repression and then to concentrate upon more complete organisation and more construction. And here again the Communique does me an injustice by merely stating the Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character will be postponed until the opportunity is given to the imprisoned leaders of reviewing the whole situation after their discharge and by conveniently omitting to mention the following conclusion of my letter. "If the Government make the requested declaration, I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall therefore have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive Civil Disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuse to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India."

I venture to claim extreme reasonableness and moderation for the above presentation of the case. The alternative before the people, therefore, is not, as the communique concludes, between "lawlessness" with all its disastrous consequences on the one hand and on the other the maintenance of those principles

which lie at the root of all civilised Government." Mass Civil Disobedience, it adds, is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with "sternness and severity." The choice before the people is mass Civil Disobedience with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of the lawful activities of the people. I hold that it is impossible for any body of the self-respecting men for fear of unknown dangers to sit still and do nothing effective when looting of property and assaulting of innocent men are going on all over the country in the name of law and order.

24th November, 1921

THE BOMBAY RIOTS

A Deep Stain.—Under the foregoing heading, Mr. Gandhi published the following note after having witnessed the unfortunate disturbances in Bombay:

The reputation of Bombay, the hope of my dreams, was being stained yesterday even whilst in my simplicity I was congratulating the citizens upon their non-violence in the face of provocation. For the volunteers with their captain were arrested during the previous night for pasting posters under authority on private property. The posters advised the people to byocott the welcome to the Prince. They were destroyed. The Swaraj Sabha's office was mysteriously entered and the unused posters, so far as I am aware not declared unlawful, were also removed. The Prince's visit itself and the circumstances attending the cermonials arranged and public money wasted for the manufacture of a welcome to His Royal Highness constituted an unbearable provocation. And yet Bombay had remained self-restrained. This, I thought, was a matter for congratulation. The burning of the pile of foreign cloth was an eloquent counter-demonstration to the interested official demonstration.

Little did I know that at the very time that the Prince was passing through the decorated route and the pile of foreign cloth was burning, in another part of the city the mill hands were in criminal disobedience

of the wishes of their masters emptying them, first one and then the others, by force, that a swelling mob was molesting peaceful passengers in the tramcars and holding up the tram traffic, that it was forcibly depriving those that were wearing foreign caps of their head-dresses and pelting inoffensive Europeans. As the day went up, the fury of the mob now intoxicated with its initial success rose also. They burnt tramcars and a motor, smashed liquor shops and burnt two.

I heard of the outbreak at about 1 o'clock. I motored with some friends to the area of disturbance and heard the most painful and the most humiliating story of molestation of Parsi sisters. Some few were assaulted, and even had their *sadis* torn from them. No one from among a crowd of over fifteen hundred who had surrounded my car denied the charge, as a Parsi with hot rage and quivering lips was with the greatest deliberation relating the story. An elderly Parsi gentleman said, "Please save us from this mob rule." This news of the rough handling of Parsi sisters pierced me like a dart. I felt that my sisters or daughters had been hurt by a violent mob! Yes, some Parsis had joined the welcome. They had a right to hold their own view-free of molestation. There can be no coercion in Swaraj. The Moplah fanatic who forcibly converts a Hindu believes that he is acquiring religious merit. A non-co-operator or his associate who uses coercion has no apology whatsoever for his criminality.

As I reached the Two Tanks, I found a liquor shop smashed, two policemen badly wounded and lying unconscious on cots without anybody caring for them. I alighted. Immediately the crowd surrounded me and yelled "Mahatma Gandhiki jai." That sound usually grates on my ears, but it has grated never so much as it did yesterday when the crowd unmindful of the two sick brethren choked me with the shout at the top of their voices. I rebuked them and they were silent. Water was brought for the two wounded men. I requested two of my companions and some from the crowd to take the dying policemen to the hospital. I proceeded then to the scene a little further up where I saw a fire rising. There were two tramcars which were burnt by the crowd. On returning, I witnessed a burning motor car. I appealed to the crowd to disperse, told them that they had damaged the cause of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. I returned sick at heart and in a chastened mood.

At about five, a few brave Sindhi young men came to report that in Bhindi Bazaar the crowd was molesting every passer-by who had a foreign cap on and even seriously beating him, if he refused to give

up his cap. A brave old Parsi who defied the crowd and would not give up his *Pugree* was badly handled. Maulana Azad Sobhani and I went to Bhandi Bazaar and reasoned with the crowd, told them that they were denying their religion by hurting innocent men. The crowd made a show of dispersing. The Police were there but they were exceedingly restrained. We went further and, on retracing our steps, found to our horror a liquor shop on fire. Even the fire brigade was obstructed in its work. Thanks to the efforts of Pandit Nekiram Sharma and others the inmates of the shop were able to come out.

The crowd did not consist of hooligans only or boys. It was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all mill hands. It was essentially a mixed crowd unprepared and unwilling to listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head. And it was not a crowd but several crowds numbering in all not less than twenty thousand. It was bent upon mischief and destruction.

I heard that there was firing resulting in deaths and that in the Anglo-Indian quarters every one came in for hard beating, if he did not put off his *Khadi* cap or shirt. I heard that many were seriously injured. I am writing this in the midst of six Hindu and Mussalman workers who have just come in with broken heads and bleeding and one with a broken nasal bone and other lacerated wounds and in danger of losing his life. They went to Parel led by Maulanas Azad Sobhani and Mozzam Ali to pacify the mill hands, who, it was reported, were holding up tramcars there. The workers, however, were unable to proceed to their destination. They returned with their bleeding wounds to speak for themselves.

Thus the hope of reviving mass Civil Disobedience has once more in my opinion been dashed to pieces. The atmosphere for mass Civil Disobedience is absent. It is not enough to say that such an atmosphere is to be found in Bardoli, and, therefore, it may go on side by side with the violence in Bombay. This is impossible. Neither Bardoli nor Bombay can be treated as separate, unconnected units. They are parts of one great indivisible whole. It was possible to isolate Malabar. It was also possible to disregard Malegaon. But it is not possible to ignore Bombay.

Non-co-operators cannot escape liability. It is true that Non-co-operators were ceaselessly remonstrating everywhere with the people at considerable risk to themselves, to arrest or stop the mischief and that they are responsible for saving many precious lives. But that is not enough for launching out on Civil Disobedience or to discharge us from liability for the violence that has taken place. We claim to

have established a peaceful atmosphere, i.e., to have attained by our non-violence sufficient control over the people to keep their violence under check. We have failed when we ought to have succeeded. For yesterday was a day of our trial. We were under our pledge bound to protect the person of the Prince from any harm or insult. And we broke that pledge inasmuch as any one of us insulted or injured a single European or any other who took part in the welcome to the Prince. They were as much entitled to take part in the welcome as we were to refrain. Nor can I shirk my own personal responsibility. I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being the spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit. I must do penance for it. For me the struggle is essentially religious. I believe in fasting and prayer, and I propose henceforth to observe every Monday a twenty-four hours' fast till Swaraj is attained.

The working Committee will have to devote its attention to the situation and consider in the light thereof whether mass Civil Disobedience can be at all encouraged until we have obtained complete control over the masses. I have personally come deliberately to the conclusion that mass Civil Disobedience cannot be started for the present. I confess my inability to conduct a campaign of Civil Disobedience to a successful issue unless a completely non-violent spirit is generated among the people. I am sorry for the conclusion. It is a humiliating confession of my incapacity, but I know that I shall appear more pleasing to my Maker by being what I am instead of appearing to be what I am not. If I can have nothing to do with the organised violence of the Government, I can have less to do with the unorganised violence of the people. I would prefer to be crushed between the two

APPEALS ON THE SITUATION

As soon as riots broke out in Bombay on November 17th, Mahatma Gandhi engaged himself wholly in re-establishing peace by visiting the disturbed areas and issuing appeals to his co-workers as well as to the breakers of peace. These were published in "Young India" of 24th November and 1st December as well as

in the Press. We give below a summary of these appeals :

Mr. Gandhi's Appeal to Bombay Citizens.—This appeal Mr. Gandhi wrote at 3 30 A.M. on the 19th November. "I must refuse," he said in it, "to eat or drink anything but water till the Hindus and Mussal-
mans of Bombay have made peace with the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews, and till the Non-co-operators have made peace with the co-operators." "The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils." "I invite my fellow-workers," he added, "not to waste a single word of sympathy for me. I need or deserve none. But I invite them to make a ceaseless effort to regain control over the turbulent elements." "The Mussalman have to my knowledge," concluded the Mahatmaji, "played the leading part during the two days of carnage. It has deeply hurt me. I ask every Mussalman worker to rise to his full height, to realise his duty to his faith and see that the carnage stops."

An Appeal to the Mavalis (Hooligans) of Bombay.—In this appeal which Mr. Gandhi issued on the 21st November, he wrote *inter alia* : "Whether you call yourself a Hindu, Mussalman, Parsi, Christian or Jew, you have certainly failed to consider even your own religious interests. . . . You have used the mass awakening for your own lust for plunder, rapine, and even indulging in your worst animal appetite. Some of my friends would, I know, accuse me of ignorance of human nature. If I believed the charge, I would plead guilty and retire from human assemblies and return only after acquiring knowledge of human nature." Mr. Gandhi went on to state that he had no difficulty in controlling the Indian Mavalis of S. Africa and concluded by asking them to stop retaliation and give him and his workers a chance to work among them.

To Co-workers.—In his appeal to co-workers dated 22nd November, Mahatma Gandhi stated that the majority being weak enough to do violence, the minority, Jews, Parsis and Christians, sought Government aid and indulged in retaliatory madness with that aid against the white cap-wearing innocent men without the police or the military raising a finger to stop it. "So the task before the workers," he said, "is to take the blows from the Government and our erring countrymen." "We must secure the co-operation of the rowdies of Bombay They must either be amenable to our love or helplessly submit to the bayonet. They may not seek shelter under the banner of non-violence for the purpose of doing violence. . . . We must reach

the rowdy element, befriend them and help them to understand the religious character of the struggle. We must neither neglect them nor pander to them. We must become their servants." Continuing Mr. Gandhi emphasised that the workers must respect the freedom of others to co-operate, to use foreign cloth or whatever they like to do. "Our struggle," he concluded, "consists in winning opponents, including Englishmen to our side. We can only do so by being free from ill-will against the weakest or the strongest of them. And this we can only do by being prepared to die for the faith within us and not by killing those who do not see the truth we enunciate."

Fast Broken.—Peace was restored the next day and, at the instance of the leaders of all the communities of all political parties, Mahatma Gandhi publicly broke his fast at a public breakfast. Speaking on the occasion, he said he found peace only in an empty stomach as a result of the disturbances and exhorted all not to resort to violence in the future but each community and party to respect the freedom of the other.

MOPLAH OUTBREAK

On August 19th, the Moplahs of Malabar broke out in open revolt. The immediate cause for the outbreak was the attempted arrest by the District Magistrate of some Khilafat workers at Tirurangadi. The Moplahs, however, seem to plead grave provocation in the shape of ruthless repression of all legitimate activities. The Moplahs not only resisted the arrests, but broke out in open rebellion at first against Government, but subsequently against the Hindu population as well. There were innumerable cases of looting Hindu houses, forced conversions and unmentionable atrocities on the Hindu population as a result of Moplah ignorance and fanaticism. The Muslim public were naturally unwilling to believe these and at least one or two Muslim public men almost condoned these. Moulana Hasrat Mohani, for instance, was one such and he said that Moplahs simply fought for their religion. The Congress workers in Malabar naturally resented this. Mahatma Gandhi, writing under the heading "Hindus and Moplahs" in *Young India* of 26th January, 1922, while sympathising with the Hindus, pointed out that Non-co-operation was self-realisation and that the Hindus must develop sufficient strength of will to withstand brute force and die in the act, if necessary.

Under the heading, "The two incompatibles," Mr. Gandhi wrote in

Young India of 6th September, 1921, condemning Moplah violence and pointing out that violence is the obstacle to success.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

Amritsar, Calcutta, Nagpur and Ahmedabad resolutions are summarised in the History of Non-co-operation given in the beginning of the book.

DELHI CONDITIONS

See the "History of Non-co-operation" given in the beginning of the book.

CHAURI CHAURA RIOTS

See the "History of Non-co-operation" in the beginning of the book.

SWADESHI VOW

The following is the Swadeshi vow suggested for adoption by all :
" With God as my witness, I solemnly declare that from to-day I shall confine myself for my personal requirements, to the use of cloth manufactured in India from Indian cotton, silk and wool ; and I shall altogether abstain from using foreign cloth in my possession."

It will be noticed that the above permits the use of Indian mill-made cloth. The two other vows were more difficult of fulfilment.

THE SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE

The following is the text of the Satyagraha Pledge :

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919, and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

[F]

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ORGANISATION

As adopted by the Congress of 1908, and amended by the Congresses of 1911, 1912, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1920

THE OBJECT

ARTICLE I.—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

ARTICLE II.—*The Sessions of the Congress.*—(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such a place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session; and the Articles of this Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each session.

Component Parts of the Congress Organisation

ARTICLE III.—The Indian National Congress Organisation shall consist of the following:

(a) The Indian National Congress. (b) Provincial Congress Committees. (c) District Congress Committees. (d) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tehasil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees. (e) The All-India Congress Committee. (f) Such other committees outside India as may, from time to time, be recognised by the Congress in this behalf. (g) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tehasil, Firka, or other Local Congress Committees such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tehasil or other Local Conferences.

ARTICLE IV.—*Membership*—No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations, referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid

down in Article I of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

Provincial Congress Committees

ARTICLE V.—The following shall be the Provinces with headquarters mentioned against them and, where no headquarters are mentioned or in every other case, the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

PROVINCE	LANGUAGE	HEAD-QUARTER
1 Madras	... (Tamil)	Madras
2 Andhra	... (Telugu)	
3 Karnatak	... (Canarese)	Gadag
4 Kerala	... (Malayalam)	Calicut
5 City of Bombay	... (Marathi & Gujrati)	Bombay
6 Maharashtra	... (Marathi)	Poona
7 Gujrat	... (Gujrati)	Ahmedabad
8 Sindh	... (Sindhi)	
9 United Provinces	... (Hindustani)	Allahabad
10 Punjab	... (Punjabi)	Lahore
11 Frontier Prov.	... (Hindustani)	Peshawar
12 Delhi	... (Hindustani)	Delhi
13 Ajmer, Merwar, & Br. Rajputana	... (Hindustani)	Ajmer
14 Central Prov.	... (Hindustani)	Jubbulpore
15 Central Prov.	... (Marathi)	Nagpur
16 Behar	... (Marathi)	Amraoti
17 Behar	... (Hindustani)	Patna
18 Utkal Orissa	... (Oriya)	
19 Bengal & Surma Valley	... (Bengali)	Calcutta
20 Assam	... (Assamese)	Gauhati
21 Burma	... (Burmese)	Rangoon

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular Provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All-India Congress Committee to particular Districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this Constitution. Such reorganisation shall be final, until it is revised by the All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE VI.—(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise district and other committees referred to in article III and shall have the power to frame rules for laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business, not inconsistent with his constitution or any rules made by the All India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representative elected annually by the members of the district and other Committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committees.

ARTICLE VII.—*Membership of local Congress Organisation*—Every person not disqualified under article IV and paying a subscription of 4 as. per year shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by Provincial Congress Committees.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Election of Delegates*—Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress creed.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand of the inhabitants of the Province in its jurisdiction, including the Native States therein, in accordance with the last census: provided, however, that the inclusion of Native States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates and representation of minorities, special interests of classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing Session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee

not later than the 15th day of December every year, and in the case of an Extraordinary Session, not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

ARTICLE IX.—*Subscription* (a) Each provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No Member of the Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates or be elected as such, unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

ARTICLE X.—*Delegation Certificates*—Each committee referred to in the Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached, marked appendix A, and signed by the Secretary of the Committee.

ARTICLE XI.—*Delegation fees*—Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress Pandal.

ARTICLE XII.—*Right to vote*—Delegates shall alone have the power of voting that the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

ARTICLE XIII.—*Reception Committee*—The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee, at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The Members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

ARTICLE XIV.—The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office bearers from among its own members.

ARTICLE XV.—It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article, and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests, and as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit a statement of receipt and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within 4 months of the Congress Session.

ARTICLE XVI.—*Election of President*.—The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are, in their opinion, eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress as the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July,

submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one, but not more, of such names, and the Reception Committee shall as far as possible meet on the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee, present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the president recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees, or in the case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September: in either case the election shall be final provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the provinces in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee, subject to the same Provision.

ARTICLE XVII.—*Disposal of Funds.*—(a) The Reception Committee shall, through, the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress Session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the deligation fees from the Congress Fund.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the Province in which the session was held to from the Provincial Congress Fund for that province.

ARTICLE XVIII.—*Audit.*—The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors, appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the Auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee

ARTICLE XIX.—The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of Ex-Officio members. The Ex-Officio members shall be all past president of the Congress and the General Secretaries and treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committee within their jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of the population according to the linguistic redistribution of Provinces or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee, and shall be published by the All-India Congress Committee before the 31st day of January, 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily be in the month of November.

The first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th June 1921. Until then the members of the All-India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.

ARTICLE XX.—The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee, to the persons so elected.

ARTICLE XXI.—The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress from year to year and deal with all the new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose, the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this Constitution.

ARTICLE XXII—(a) The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

ARTICLE XXIII.—*The General Secretaries*—The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and submit it with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year ; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

ARTICLE XXIV.—*Working Committee*.—The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and nine other members which shall perform such functions as may

be delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XXV.—*Meetings of the All-India Congress Committee*—The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

The Subjects Committee

ARTICLE XXVI.—*Subjects Committee*—The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or the extraordinary session following.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

ARTICLE XXIX.—The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

ARTICLE XXX.—The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the Congress Session.

Contentious subjects, and Interests of Minorities.—(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates as a body object by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number; and if, after the discussion of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are by majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

ARTICLE XXXI.—*Rules.*—The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matter not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its articles.

ARTICLE XXXII.—*Repeal.*—The article and the creed of the constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.

DRAFT MODEL RULES FOR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEES

The following draft rules were suggested in *Young India* :

1. The old Provincial Congress Committee or the old District Congress Committee of a newly created Province shall form the Provincial Congress Committee under the new Constitution.

2. The existing members who accept the new creed shall forthwith proceed to divide the Province into districts, the existing political districts being retained wherever possible.

3. Each such district shall divide itself into Talukas or Tahsils, the existing divisions being retained as far as possible.

4. Each Taluka shall divide itself into firkas or circles.

5. Each existing District Committee shall enrol, from among the villagers within its jurisdiction, as many members as are eligible under the constitution and these members shall form the electoral roll for the election of delegates to the Congress and representatives for the various district Congress Committees.

6. An alphabetical list of members with the full name and address and occupation of each shall be forwarded to the Provincial Congress Committee every Monday.

7. Each District Committee shall be responsible for the collection of subscription of the members and shall remit half of the proceeds to the Provincial Congress Committee at the same time as the list referred to in rule 6.

8. Each village containing more than five members of a Congress organisation formed for it shall elect its secretary, treasurer, chairman and two other members who shall form the Village Panchayat or Mahajan.

9. Each such Panchayat shall be responsible for the primary education of every child, male or female, residing in the village, for the introduction of spinning wheels in every home, for the organisation of hygiene and sanitation therein, and for carrying out all the other items of the Non-co-operation Resolution of the Congress, in so far as it is applicable to such village.

10. It shall be the duty of every District Committee to supervise and regulate the work of village and other organisations within its jurisdiction.

11. Each District Committee shall consist of ten members elected by the members belonging to the different organisations and shall as far as possible contain Mussalmans in proportion to the Mussalman

population of the District and shall contain so far as possible at least one member belonging to the female sex and one belonging to the depressed classes.

12. The representatives of a District Committee so elected shall from among themselves elect their chairman, treasurer, and secretary.

13. The representatives elected to the District Committees shall elect representatives to the Provincial Congress Committees subject to the same provisions as in rule II. The number to be ten more than the number attached for the A. I. C. C.

14. The representatives so elected shall elect from among themselves chairman, secretary, treasurer and four other members who shall conduct the affairs of the province and shall be responsible to the Provincial Committee for the due carrying out of the Congress resolutions from time to time.

15. The election of representatives to the District Congress Committees shall take place on the 21st February 1921 and shall be on the basis of the roll of members as on the 15th day of February, at 5 p.m.

16. Elections shall take place at a convenient place to be appointed by each District Congress Committee in an open manner and at a meeting of the electors convened for the purpose, the secretary of the committee shall be the convener and the election officer.

17. The election of representatives of the Provincial Congress Committee shall take place on the 4th March 1921 at the head-quarters of the Province. The Secretary of the outgoing Provincial Congress Committee shall be the convener and the election officer.

18. Electors of the Provincial Congress Committee may register their vote by post.

19. Results of all elections shall be sent to the press for publication by the Secretary.

20. The Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and the District Congress Committee should, so far as possible, be whole-time workers and may if necessary be paid out of the Provincial or District funds.

21. Election of delegates to the Congress shall take place on the 15th November 1921.

22. The Provincial Congress Committee shall assign as far as possible in proportion of the population of each Taluka of delegates to be elected by it. And the elections shall take place in such Taluka at a central place to be selected by the District Committee and shall be supervised by agents affiliated by the District Committees.

23. The result of elections shall be forwarded by the respective District Committee not later than the 1st December 1921.

24. The Provincial Congress Committee shall meet at least once every month and consider reports from District organizations and adopt measures for the furtherance of the resolutions passed by the Congress.

25. These rules shall be in force for one year ending 31st December 1921 and till such time as they are received by the new Provincial Congress Committee or altered or amended from time to time.

Commenting on the above, Mahatma Gandhi wrote :

For the purpose of facilitating the work of the Provincial Congress Committees, I have ventured to frame the foregoing draft rules which they will naturally alter as they please or reject in toto. They are merely designed to serve for guidance. There is no time to lose if we are to set the whole of the new machinery in motion by the end of June, as we are bound to, under the new constitution. If we can bring into being the new organisation in an orderly and efficient manner and succeed in enrolling hundreds of thousands of men and women as active workers, determined to carry out the Non-co-operation resolution, he who runs may see that we shall have accomplished a peaceful and bloodless revolution within one year. The whole of the scheme of Non-co-operation is based upon the supposition that the British control is independent upon the voluntary association with it of the people. It is true that it is unconscious ; it is true, too true, that is due to fear ; it is true that it is due to a variety of tempting inducements held out to a few of us. The present movement then is an attempt to show that the moment we cease to give our voluntary association, to fear and be tempted, that moment we become a free people. I hold that this process is not so difficult as many imagine. The current year will show whether my opinion is justified. The thousands who gathered under Congress pandal have shared my belief. It is now for them to translate their belief into action.

AN INSTRUCTIVE TABLE

The following appeared in *Young India* of January 1921 :

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Reception Committee, I am

able to give the following table, showing the number of delegates who attended the Congress and their composition

NUMBER OF DELEGATES

No.	Name of Province	No. of Delegates under the constitution	Actual arrivals
1	Andhra	360	383
2	Kerala	260	33
3	Maharashtra	192	263
4	Karnataka	320	304
5	Gujarat	185	185
6	Bombay	18	17
7	Burma	100	56
8	Punjab and N.W.F.	540	518
9	Sindh	71	63
10	Delhi	100	92
11	Rajputana	400	399
12	Utkal	300	108
13	C. P. (Marathi)	50	44
14	Assam	63	17
15	Berâr	61	58
16	Madras	410	162
17	Bengal	986	373
18	United Provinces	969	888
19	C. P. (Hindusthani)	209	205
20	Bihar	588	558
		<u>6,173</u>	<u>4,726</u>

ANALYSIS OF THE ATTENDANCE

No.	Ladies	Musal.	Parsiâ	Sikhs	Autyajas	The rest
1	8	10	...	...	...	365
2	...	1	...	...	...	32
3	1	9	...	...	...	253
4	9	29	...	...	...	266
5	11	22	5	...	2	145
6	3	2	...	...	...	15
7	...	2	...	...	...	51
8	17	67	...	54	...	380
9	1	11	...	...	...	61

No.	Ladies	Musal.	Parsis	Sikhs	Antyajas	The rest
10	7	13	...	4	...	68
1	11	13	...	...	...	376
12	...	3	...	...	...	105
13	1	5	...	...	...	38
14	...	2	...	...	...	15
15	2	5	...	...	...	5
16	2	13	...	...	...	147
17	10	36	...	4	...	323
18	10	114	...	3	...	761
19	11	29	...	...	...	170
20	7	83	...	...	...	468
	<u>106</u>	<u>469</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4079</u>

It will be noticed that out of the total permissible (6,175) as many as 4,726 attended the Congress. Hitherto the number has been swelled by local delegates who could under the old constitution become delegates for the asking by simply paying Rs. 10. This time not even Pandit Malaviyaji could be regarded as a delegate because he was not elected. The actual attendance of 4,726 was therefore a fine record. That the United Provinces and Bengal, in spite of so many arrests, could have sent 888 and 373 respectively, and the far off Assam should have sent 17 and Utkal 108, shows the keen interest that is being taken in the National Assembly. No less remarkable is the attendance of 106 lady delegates representing almost all the provinces. The attendance of 65 Sikhs delegates must also be regarded as altogether remarkable. Hardly few Sikhs attended two years ago. But not that community is everywhere pushing itself forward in all national movements. The number of 469 Mussalman delegates is a good number, but we must not be satisfied till we have got the full quota which must be more than 1200. I am sure that there were more than 2 'untouchable' delegates. I cannot imagine the Punjab and the Andhra provinces not sending any such delegates. The presence of 5 Parsi delegates is of course beyond their numerical proportion which is, 2. The Parsis, as I have so often remarked, have in proportion to their numbers occupied the foremost place whether in point of sacrifice, attendance, ability or generosity. I know as a matter of fact that there were at least two Christians. And of course, if Messrs. Stokes and George Joseph had been free, they would have attended. But it is up to the Hindus and

non-possession. We wear foreign goods in preference to simple goods made in our own hand looms because custom attributes greater beauty to them. Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a Brahmachari ; he will, therefore, avoid the use of any but the simplest goods. Therefore, the vow of Swadeshi requires the use of simple and simply made clothing to the exclusion of even buttons, foreign cuts, etc., and so will Swadeshi be applied to every department of life.

2. FEARLESSNESS

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly follow Truth or Ahimsa. Managers will, therefore, endeavour to be free from the fear of kings, people, caste, families, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers and even death. A truly fearless man will defend himself against others by truth-force or soul-force.

VERNACULARS

It is the belief of the managers that no nation can make real progress by abandoning its own languages ; they will, therefore, train themselves through the medium of their respective vernacular and as they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will learn the chief Indian language, they will learn that also.

HAND LABOUR

Managers believe that bodily labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. We may, therefore, resort to bodily labour alone for our sustenance and use our mental and spiritual powers for the common good only, and as the largest percentage in the world lives upon agriculture, managers will devote some part of their time to working on the land : and when such is not possible, perform some other bodily labour.

HAND LOOMS

Managers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of cotton-spinning wheels and hand looms. They will, therefore, make a great effort to revive this industry by working upon hand looms themselves.

POLITICS

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not considered to be independent branches of learning but that they are all rooted in religion.

An effort will, therefore, be made to learn Politics, Economics, Social Reform, etc., in a religious spirit, and work in connection with these matters will be taken up by the managers with energy and devotion.

CANDIDATES

Those who are desirous of following out the foregoing programme but they are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as candidates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to the observances referred to above, though they do not take the vows, whilst they are in the Ashram and they will occupy the status of managers, when they are able to take the necessary vows.

(3) STUDENTS

1. Any children whether boys or girls from four years and upwards may be admitted.

2. Parents will have to surrender all control over their children.

3. Children may not be permitted to visit their parents until the whole course of study is finished.

4. Students will be taught to observe all the vows observable by the managers.

5. They will be taught principles of religion, agriculture, hand loom weaving and literature.

6. Literary knowledge will be imparted through the respective vernaculars of the students and will include History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, etc., learning of Sanskrit, Hindi and at least one Dravidian Vernacular is obligatory.

7. English will be taught as a second language.

8. They will be taught Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu and Devanagiri characters.

9. Managers believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years. Upon reaching the age of majority, students will be given the option of taking the vows referred to in section I or retire from the Ashram, if its programme has not commended itself to them.

10. This option they will exercise when no longer they will require, the assistance of their parents or other guardians.

11. Every endeavour will be made to teach the students from the very beginning not to have the fear, "what shall I do for my maintenance if and when I become an independent man."

12. Grown up persons also may be admitted as students.

13. As a rule the simplest and the same style of clothing will be worn by all.

14. Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and no condiments will be used generally except salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk and its products being a hindrance to a celebate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis, and having the same stimulating qualities as meat will be most sparingly used if at all. Food will be served thrice. In it dried and fresh fruits will be liberally used. All in the Ashram will be taught principles of Hygiene.

15. There will be no vacation in this Ashram and no holidays as a rule, but during 1½ days per week the ordinary routine will be altered and students will have leisure to attend to their private personal work.

16. During 3 months in the year those whose health permits will be enabled to travel mostly on foot in the different parts of India.

17. No fees will be charged either against students or candidates, but parents or members themselves will be expected to contribute as much as they can towards the expenses of the Ashram.

MISCELLANEOUS

The management will be controlled solely by the managers. The chief manager will control all admissions. The expenses of conducting the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the chief manager and being received from friends who are more or less believers in this Ashram. The Ashram is situated in a house on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. It is expected that in a few months about 100 acres of ground will be acquired for locating the Ashram thereon.

Visitors are requested during their stay at the Ashram to observe as nearly as possible the rules of the Ashram. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable; but they will confer upon the management a favour if they will bring with them their bedding and eating utensils. Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to visit the Ashram. No children will be admitted without being thoroughly examined as to their mental and moral condition.

[G]

The following are the three articles published in "Young India" which formed the subject matter of the charge against Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Banker:--

19th September 1921

TAMPERING WITH LOYALTY

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay had warned the public sometime ago, that he 'meant business', that he was not going to tolerate the speeches that were being made. In his note on the Ali Brothers and others he has made clear his meaning. The Ali Brothers are to be charged with having tampered with the loyalty of the sepoy and with having uttered sedition. I must confess that I was not prepared for the revelation of such hopeless ignorance on the part of the Governor of Bombay. It is evident that he has not followed the course of Indian History during the past twelve months. He evidently does not know that the National Congress began to tamper with the loyalty of the sepoy in september last year, that the Central Khilafat Committee began it earlier still, for I must be permitted to take the credit or the odium of suggesting that India had a right openly to tell the sepoy and everyone who served the Government in any capacity whatsoever, that he participated in the wrongs done by the Government. The Conference at Karachi merely repeated the Congress declaration in terms of Islam, but speaking for Hinduism and speaking for nationalism I have no hesitation in saying that it is sinful for anyone, either as soldier or civilian, to serve this Government which has proved treacherous to the Mussalmans of India and which had been guilty of the inhumanities of the Punjab. I have said this from many a platform in the presence of sepoys. And if I have not asked individual sepoys to come out, it has not been due to want of will but of ability to support them. I have

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not hesitated to tell the sepoy that, if he could leave the service and support himself without the Congress or the Khilafat aid, he should leave at once. And I promise that, as soon as the spinning wheel finds an abiding place in every home and Indians begin to feel that weaving gives anybody any day an honourable livelihood, I shall not hesitate, at the peril of being shot, to ask the Indian sepoy individually to leave his service and become a weaver. For, has not the sepoy been used to hold India under subjection, has he not been used to murder innocent people at Jallianwala Bagh, has he not been used to drive away innocent men, women and children during that dreadful night at Chandpur, has he not been used to subjugate the proud Arab of Mesopotamia, has he not been utilised to crush the Egyptians? How can any Indian having a spark of humanity in him and any Mussalman having any pride in his religion feel otherwise than as the Ali Brothers have done? The sepoy has been used more often as a hired assassin than as a soldier defending the liberty or the honour of the weak and the helpless. The Governor has pandered to the basest in us by telling us what would have happened in Malabar but for the British soldier or sepoy. I venture to inform His Excellency that Malabar Hindus would have fared better without the British bayonets, that Hindus and Mussalmans would have jointly appeased the Moplas, that possibly there being no Khilafat question there would have been no Moplah riot at all, that at the worst supposing that Mussalmans had common cause with the Moplas, Hinduism would have relied upon its creed of non-violence and turned every Mussalman into a friend, or Hindu valour would have been tested and tried. The Governor of Bombay has done a disservice to himself and his cause (whatever it might be) by

fomenting Hindu-Mussalman disunion, and has insulted the Hindu as, by letting them infer from his note, that Hindus are helpless creatures unable to die for or defend their hearth, home or religion. If however the Governor is right in his assumptions, the sooner the Hindus die out the better for humanity. But let me remind His Excellency that he has pronounced the greatest condemnation upon British rule, in that it finds Indians to-day devoid of enough manliness to defend themselves against looters, whether they are Mopla, Mussalmans or infuriated Hindus of Arrah.

His Excellency's reference to the sedition of Ali Brothers is only less pardonable than his reference to the tampering. For he must know that sedition has become the creed of the Congress. Every Non-co-operator is pledged to preach disaffection towards the Government established by law. Non-co-operation, though a religious and strictly moral movement, deliberately aims at the overthrow of the Government, and it is therefore legally seditious in terms of the Indian Penal Code. But this is no new discovery. Lord Chelmsford knew it. Lord Reading knows it. It is unthinkable that the Governor of Bombay does not know it. It was common cause that so long as the movement remained non-violent nothing would be done to interfere with it.

But it may be urged that the Government has a right to change its policy when it finds that the movement is really threatening its very existence as a system. I do not deny its right. I object to the Governor's note, because it is so worded as to let the unknowing public think that tampering with the loyalty of the sepoy and sedition were fresh crimes committed by the Ali Brothers and brought for the first time to His Excellency's notice.

However, the duty of the Congress and Khilafat workers is clear. We ask for no quarter; we expect none from the Government. We did not solicit the promise of immunity from prison so long as we remained non-violent. We may not now complain, if we are imprisoned for sedition. Therefore our self-respect and our pledge require us to remain calm, unperturbed and non-violent. We have our appointed course to follow. We must reiterate from a thousand platforms the formula of the Ali Brothers regarding the sepoy, and we must spread disaffection openly and systematically till it pleases the Government to arrest us. And this we do, not by way of angry retaliation, but because it is our *Dharma*. We must wear *Khadi* even as the Brothers have worn it, and spread the Gospel of Swadeshi. The Mussalmans must collect for Smyrna Relief and the Angora Government. We must spread like the Ali Brothers the Gospel of Hindu-Muslim Unity and of non-violence for the purpose of attaining Swaraj and the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

We have almost reached the crisis. It is well with a patient who survives a crisis. If on the one hand we remain firm as a rock in the presence of danger, and on the other observe the greatest self-restraint, we shall certainly attain our end this very year.—M.K.G.

15th December 1921

A PUZZLE AND ITS SOLUTION

Lord Reading is puzzled and perplexed. Speaking in reply to the addresses from the British Indian Association and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, His Excellency said: "I confess that when I contemplate the activities of a section of the community, I find myself still, notwithstanding persistent study ever

since I have been in India, puzzled and perplexed. I ask myself what purpose is served by flagrant breaches of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government in order to compel arrest?" The answer was partly given by Pandit Motilal Nehru when he said on being arrested that he was being taken to the house of freedom. We seek arrest because the so-called freedom is slavery. We are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government. We want to *compel* its submission to the people's will. We desire to show that the Government exists to serve the people, not the people the Government. Free life under the Government has become intolerable, for the price exacted for the retention of freedom is unconscionably great. Whether we are one or many, we must refuse to purchase freedom at the cost of our self-respect or our cherished convictions. I have known even little children become unbending when an attempt has been made to cross their declared purpose, be it ever so flimsy in the estimation of their parents.

Lord Reading must clearly understand that the Non-co-operators are at war with the Government. They have declared rebellion against it in as much as it has committed a breach of faith with the Mussalmans, it has humiliated the Punjab and it insists upon imposing its will upon the people and refuses to repair the breach and repent for the wrong done in the Punjab.

There were two ways open to the people, the way of armed rebellion and the way of peaceful revolt. Non-co-operators have chosen, some out of weakness, some out of strength, the way of peace, *i. e.*, voluntary suffering.

If the people are behind the sufferers, the Government

must yield or be overthrown. If the people are not with them, they have at least the satisfaction of not having sold their freedom. In an armed conflict the more violent is generally the victor. The way of peace and suffering is the quickest method of cultivating public opinion, and therefore when victory is attained it is for what the world regards as Truth. Bred in the atmosphere of law Courts, Lord Reading finds it difficult to appreciate the peaceful resistance to authority. His Excellency will learn by the time the conflict is over that there is a higher court than courts of justice and that is the court of conscience. It supersedes all other courts.

Lord Reading is welcome to treat all the sufferers as lunatics, who do not know their own interest. He is entitled therefore to put them out of harm's way. It is an arrangement that entirely suits the lunatics and it is an ideal situation if it also suits the Government. He will have cause to complain if having courted imprisonment, Non-co-operators fret and fume or 'whine for favours' as Lalaji puts it. The strength of a Non-co-operator lies in his going to goal uncomplainingly. He loses his case if having courted imprisonment he begins to grumble immediately his courtship is rewarded.

The threats used by His Excellency are unbecoming. This is a fight to the finish. It is a conflict between the reign of violence and of public opinion. Those who are fighting for the latter are determined to submit to any violence rather than surrender their opinion.—M.K.G.

23th February 1922

SHAKING THE MANES

How can there be any compromise whilst the British Lion continues to shake his gory claws in our faces?

Lord Birkenhead reminds us that Britain has lost none of her hard fibre. Mr. Montagu tells us in the plainest language that the British are the most determined nation in the world, who will brook no interference with their purpose. Let me quote the exact words telegraphed by Reuter:—

“If the existence of our Empire were challenged, the discharge of responsibilities of the British Government to India prevented and demands were made in the very mistaken belief that we contemplated retreat from India, then India would not challenge with success the most determined people in the world, who would once again answer the challenge with all the vigour and determination at its command.”

Both Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Montagu little know that India is prepared for all the hard fibre that can be transported across the seas and that her challenge was issued in the September of 1920 at Calcutta that India would be satisfied with nothing less than Swaraj and full redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. This does involve the existence of the ‘Empire, and if the present custodians of the British Empire are not satisfied with its quiet transformation into a true Commonwealth of free nations, each with equal rights and each having the power to secede at will from an honourable and friendly partnership, all the determination and vigour of ‘the most determined people in the world’ and the ‘hard fibre’ will have to be spent in India in a vain effort to crush the spirit that has risen and that will neither bend nor break. It is true that we have no ‘hard fibre’. The rice-eating puny millions of India seem to have resolved upon achieving their own destiny without any further tutelage and without arms. In the Lokamanya’s language it is their ‘birthright’, and they will

have, it in spite of the 'hard fibre' and in spite of the vigour and determination with which it may be administered. India cannot and will not answer this insolence with insolence, but if she remains true to her pledge, her prayer to God to be delivered from such a scourge will certainly not go in vain. No empire intoxicated with red wine of power and plunder of weaker races has yet lived long in this world, and this British Empire, which is based upon organised exploitation of physically weaker races of the earth and upon a continuous exhibition of brute force, cannot live if there is a just God ruling the universe. Little do these so-called representatives of the British nation realise that India has already given many of her best men to be dealt with by the British 'hard fibre'. Had Chauri Chaura not interrupted the even course of the national sacrifice, there would have been still greater and more delectable offerings placed before the Lion, but God had willed it otherwise. There is nothing, however, to prevent all those representatives in Downing Street and Whitehall from doing their worst. I am aware that I have written strongly about the insolent threat that has come from across the seas, but it is high time that the British people were made to realise that the fight that was commenced in 1920 is a fight to the finish, whether it lasts one month or one year or many months or many years, and whether the representatives of Britain re-enact all the indescribable orgies of the Mutiny days with redoubled force or whether they do not. I shall only hope and pray that God will give India sufficient humility and sufficient strength to remain non-violent to the end. Submission to the insolent challenges that are cabled out on due occasions is now an utter impossibility.—M.K.G.

[H]

SATYAGRAHA MANIFESTOES

[About March and April 1919, Mahatma Gandhi issued a number of manifestoes, messages and leaflets expounding and popularising the doctrine of Satyagraha. The Satyagraha leaflets particularly are not now available anywhere. We give in this section a collection of these which have been secured with greatest difficulty.]

FIRST STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

Mr. M. K. Gandhi sent the following to the Press under date 2nd March 1919:—

I enclose herewith the Satyagraha pledge regarding the Rowlatt Bills. The step taken is probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been hastily taken. Personally, I have passed many a sleepless night over it. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position, but I have been unable to find any justification for the extraordinary Bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report. I have gone through its narrative with admiration. Its reading has driven me to conclusions just the opposite of the Committee's. I should conclude from the report that secret violence is confined to isolated and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to society. But the passing of the Bills, designed to affect the whole of India and its people and arming the Government with powers out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with, is a greater danger.

The Committee utterly ignore the historical fact that the millions in India are by nature the gentlest on earth.

Now, look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances, given by the Viceroy regarding the Civil Service and the British commercial interests. Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the Civil Service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire. Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon this vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant, not in name, but in deed, and let the British commercial house understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements, and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture, and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills. They, I promise, will successfully deal with any conspiracy against the State.

Sir George Lowndes* simply added fuel to the fire when he flouted public opinion. He has forgotten his Indian history or he would have known that the Government he represents has, before now, surrendered its own considered opinion to the farcé of public opinion.

It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep seated disease in the governing body. It needs, therefore, to be drasti-

* The then Law Member of the Government of India.

cally treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous and hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the state, of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. The Indian Covenanters, by their determination to undergo every form of suffering, make an irresistible appeal to the Government, towards which they bear no ill-will, and provide, to the believers in the efficacy of violence as a means of securing redress of grievances, with an infallible remedy and withal a remedy that blesses those that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it. I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods.

THE PLEDGE

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills, known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919, and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter

appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

MESSAGE TO MADRAS

On 30th March 1919, at a meeting at the Madras Triplicane Beach the following message of Mahatma Gandhi, who could not attend the meeting, as he had left for Bezwada that day, was read:—

I am sorry that I shall not be with you for this evening's meeting, as I must take the train for Bezwada in order to keep my engagement with our Andhra friends. But before my departure, I would like to reduce to writing my impressions of the tour through the Southern part of the Presidency, which I have just completed, and to answer some criticisms and some doubts that have been offered by friends.

I have visited Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tuticorin and Negapatam; and taking the lowest estimate, the people addressed must have been not less than thirty thousand. Those who have a right to give us warnings, to express misgivings and who have just as great a love of the motherland as we claim to have, have feared that however well-meaning we may be, and however anxious we may be to avoid violence, the people who may join the movement under an enthusiastic impulse may not be able to exercise sufficient self-control and may break out into violence, resulting in needless loss of life, and what is more, injury to the national causes. After embarking upon the movement, I began addressing meetings at Delhi. I passed then through Lucknow, Allahabad and Bombay to Madras. My experience of all these meetings.

shows that the advent of Satyagraha has already altered the spirit of those who attend the Satyagraha meetings. In Lucknow, upon an innocent remark by the Chairman as to the manifesto signed by some of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council disapproving of our movement, the audience cried out "Shame, Shame!" I drew their attention to the fact that Satyagrahis and those who attended Satyagraha meetings should not use such expressions and that the speeches at our meetings ought not to be punctuated with either marks of disapproval or of approval. The audience immediately understood the spirit of my remarks and never afterwards made any demonstration of their opinion. In the towns of this Presidency as elsewhere, whilst it is true that the large crowds have refrained from any noisy demonstration out of regard for my health, they have fully understood the necessity of refraining from it on the higher ground. The leaders in the movement have also fully understood the necessity for self-restraint. These experiences of mine fill me with the greatest hope for the future. I never had any apprehensions of the danger our friends fear; and the various meetings I have described, confirm my optimism. But I would venture further to state that every precaution that is humanly possible is being and will be taken to avert any such danger. It is for that reason that our pledge commits the signatories to the breach of those laws that may be selected for the purpose by a Committee of Satyagrahis; and I am glad that our Sindh friends have understood their pledge and obeyed the prohibition of the Hyderabad Commissioner of Police to hold their inoffensive procession, for it is no part of the present movement to break all the laws of the land, the breach of which is not inconsistent with the pledge. A Satyagrahi is no-

thing if not instinctively law-abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts from him implicit obedience of the highest law, i.e., the voice of conscience, which over-rides all other laws. His Civil Disobedience even of certain laws is only seeming disobedience. Every law gives the subject an option, either to obey the primary sanction or the secondary; and I venture to suggest that the Satyagrahi by inviting the secondary sanction obeys the law. He does not act like the ordinary offender who not only commits a breach of the laws of the land whether good or bad, but wishes to avoid the consequences of that breach. It will seem, therefore, that everything that prudence may dictate has been done to avoid any untoward results.

Some friends have said, 'We understand your breach of the Rowlatt legislation, but as a Satyagrahi there is nothing for you in it to break. How can you however break the other laws which you have hitherto obeyed, and which may also be good?' So far as the good laws are concerned, i.e., laws which lay down moral principles, the Satyagrahi may not break them, and their breach is not contemplated, under the pledge. But the other laws are neither good nor bad, moral or immoral. They may be useful, or may even be harmful. These laws one obeys for the supposed good government of the country. Such laws are laws framed for purposes of revenue, or political laws creating statutory offences. These laws enable the Government to continue its power. When, therefore, a Government goes wrong to the extent of hurting the national fibre itself, as does the Rowlatt legislation, it becomes the right of the subject, indeed it is his duty, to withdraw his obedience to such laws, to the extent it may be required to bend the Government to the national will.

A doubt has been expressed during my tour, and by friends who have written to me, as to the validity in terms of Satyagraha of the entrustment of the selection of the laws for breach to a committee. For, it is argued that it amounts to a surrender of one's conscience to others. This doubt betrays a misunderstanding of the pledge. A signatory to the pledge undertakes, so far as he is concerned, to break if necessary all the laws which it would be lawful for a Satyagrahi to break. It is not, however, obligatory on him to break all such laws. He can, therefore, perfectly conscientiously leave the selection of the laws to be broken, to the judgment of those who are experts in the matter and who in their turn are necessarily subject to the limitations imposed by the pledge. The worst that can happen to any signatory is that the selection may not be exhaustive enough for him.

I have been told that I am diverting the attention of the country from the one and only thing that matters, viz., the forthcoming Reforms. In my opinion the Rowlatt legislation, in spite of the amendments which, as the Select Committee very properly says, does not affect its principle, blocks the way to progress, and therefore to the attainment of substantial reforms. To my mind, the first thing needful is to secure a frank and full recognition of the principle that public opinion properly expressed shall be respected by the Government. I am no believer in the doctrine that the same power can at the same time trust and distrust, grant liberty and repress it. I have a right to interpret the coming reforms by the light that the Rowlatt legislation throws upon them; and I make bold to promise that, if we do not gather sufficient force to remove from our path this great obstacle in the shape of the Rowlatt legislation, we shall find the Reforms to be a whited sepulchre.

Yet another objection to answer. Some friends have argued, "Your Satyagraha movement only accentuates the fear we have of the onrush of Bolshevism." The fact, however, is that if anything can possibly prevent this calamity descending upon our country, it is Satyagraha. Bolshevism is the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization. Its insensate worship of matter has given rise to a school which has been brought up to look upon material advancement as the goal, and which has lost all touch with the finer things of life. Self-indulgence is the Bolshevik creed, self-restraint is the Satyagraha creed. If I can but induce the nation to accept Satyagraha, if only as a predominant factor in life, whether social or political, we need have no fear of the Bolshevik propáganda. In asking the nation to accept Satyagraha, I am asking for the introduction in reality of nothing new. I have coined a new word for an ancient law that has hitherto mainly governed our lives, and I do prophesy that, if we disobey the law of the final supremacy of the spirit over matter, of truth and love over brute-forces, in a few years' time we shall have Bolshevism rampant in this India which was once so holy.

DUTY OF SATYAGRAHIS

Mr. Gandhi wrote the following letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* under date 3rd April 1919.

I venture to seek the hospitality of your columns to make a few remarks on the Delhi tragedy. It is alleged against the Delhi people who were assembled at the Delhi Railway Station,

(1) that some of them were trying to coerce the sweetmeat sellers into closing their stalls;

(2) that some of them were forcibly preventing people from boarding tramcars and other vehicles ;

(3) that some of them threw brickbats ;

(4) that the whole crowd that marched to the station demanded the release of the men who are said to be the coercers and who were for that reason arrested at the instance of the Railway authorities ;

(5) that the crowd declined to disperse, when the Magistrate gave the order to disperse.

I have read Sanyasi Swami Shraddanandji's account of the tragedy. I am bound to accept it as true, unless it is authoritatively proved to be otherwise, and his account seems to me to deny allegations 1, 2, and 3. But assuming the truth of all the allegations, it does appear to me that the local authorities in Delhi have made use of a Nasmyth hammer to crush a fly. On their action, however, in firing on the crowd, I shall seek another opportunity of saying more.

My purpose in writing this letter is merely to issue a note of warning to all Satyagrahis. I would, therefore, like to observe that the conduct, described in allegations 1 to 4, if true, would be inconsistent with the Satyagraha pledge. The conduct, described in allegation 5, can be consistent with the pledge, but if the allegation is true, the conduct was premature, because the committee contemplated in the pledge has not decided upon the disobedience of orders that may be issued by Magistrates under the Riot Act. I am anxious to make it as clear as I can that in this movement, no pressure can be put upon people who do not wish to accept our suggestions and advice. The movement being essentially one to secure the greatest freedom for all, Satyagrahis cannot forcibly demand the release of those who might be arrested, whether justly or unjustly. The essence of the pledge

is to invite imprisonment. And until the committee decides upon the breach of the Riot Act, it is the duty of Satyagrahis to obey without making the slightest addition to magisterial orders to disperse, etc., and thus to demonstrate their law-abiding nature. I hope that next Sunday at Satyagraha meetings, all speeches will be free from passion, anger or resentment. The movement depends for its success entirely upon perfect self-possession, self-restraint, absolute adherence to Truth and an unlimited capacity for self-suffering.

Before closing this letter, I would add that in opposition to the Rowlatt legislation, the Satyagrahis are resisting the spirit of terrorism which lies behind it and of which it is a most glaring symptom. The Delhi tragedy imposes an added responsibility upon Satyagrahis of stealing their hearts and going on with their struggle until the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn.

TO MY COUNTRYMEN

Mr. Mahadev Desai wired as follows to the President under date 10th April 1919:

Mahatma Gandhi, on his way to Delhi, was at Kosher served with an order not to enter the Punjab, and not to enter Delhi, and restrict himself to Bombay. The officer serving the order, treated him most politely, assuring him it would be his most painful duty to arrest him if he elected to disobey, but that there would be no ill-will between them. Mr. Gandhi smilingly said, he must elect to disobey, as it was his duty and that the officer ought also to do what was his duty.

In the few minutes that were left to us, he dictated the following message, laying special emphasis in his oral

messages to me as in the written message, that none shall resent this arrest or do anything tainted with untruth or violence which were sure to damn the sacred cause.

The message reads :

It is a matter of the highest satisfaction to me, as I hope to you, that I have received an order from the Punjab Government not to enter that province, and another from the Delhi Government not to enter Delhi, while an order of the Government of India served on me immediately later, restricts me to Bombay. I had no hesitation in saying to the officer who served the order on me that I was bound in virtue of my pledge to disregard it which I have done, and I shall presently find myself a free man, my body being taken by them in their custody.

It was galling to me to remain free whilst the Rowlatt legislation disfigured the statute Book.

My arrest makes me free. It now remains for you to do your duty which is clearly stated in the Satyagraha pledge. Follow it and you will find it will be your *Kamadhenu*.

I hope there will be no resentment about my arrest. I have received what I was seeking, either withdrawal of the Rowlatt Legislation or imprisonment. The departure from truth by a hair's breadth or violence committed against anybody, whether Englishmen or Indian, will surely damn the great cause the Satyagrahis are handling.

I hope the Hindu-Muslim unity which seems now to have taken a firm hold of the people will become a reality and I feel convinced that it will only be a reality if the suggestions I have ventured to make in my communication to the press are carried out. The responsi-

bility of the Hindus in the matter is greater than that of the Mahomedans, they being in a minority, and I hope they will discharge their responsibility in a manner worthy of their country.

I have also made certain suggestions regarding the proposal of Swadeshi. Now, I commend them to your serious attention and you will find that as your ideas of Satyagraha become matured, the Hindu-Muslim unity are but parts of Satyagraha.

Finally, it is my firm belief that we shall obtain salvation only through suffering and not by reforms dropping on us from England, no matter how unstintingly they might be granted. The English are a great nation, but the weaker also go to the wall if they come in contact with them. When they are themselves courageous, they have borne untold sufferings and they only respond to courage and sufferings, and partnership with them is only possible after we have developed indomitable courage and the faculty for unlimited suffering. There is a fundamental difference between their civilization and ours. They believe in the doctrine of violence or brute force as the final arbiter. My reading of our civilization is that we are expected to believe in soul force or moral force as the final arbiter, and this is Satyagraha. We are groaning under the sufferings which we would avoid if we could, because we have swerved from the path laid down for us by ancient civilization.

I hope that Hindus, Mohamedans, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, Jews and all who are born in India or who made India their land of adoption will fully participate in these national observances, and I hope too that women will take therein as full a share as men.

SATYAGRAHA AND DURAGRAHA

Mr. Gandhi returned to Bombay on the 11th April having been prevented from entering the Provinces of Punjab and Delhi. An order was soon after served on him requiring him to confine his activities within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. On arrival, he issued the following message :

I have not been able to understand the cause of so much excitement and disturbance that followed my detention. It is not Satyagraha. It is worse than Duragraha. Those who join Satyagraha demonstrations were bound one and all to refrain at all hazard from violence, not to throw stones or in any way whatever to injure anybody.

But in Bombay we have been throwing stones. We have obstructed tramcars by putting obstacles in the way. This is not Satyagraha. We have demanded the release of about 50 men who had been arrested for deeds of violence. Our duty is chiefly to get ourselves arrested. It is breach of religious duty to endeavour to secure the release of those who have committed deeds of violence. We are not therefore justified on any grounds whatever in demanding the release of those who have been arrested. I have been asked whether a Satyagrahi is responsible for the results that follow from that movement. I have replied that they are. I therefore suggest that if we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence from our side the movement might have to be abandoned or it may be necessary to give it a different and still more restricted shape. It may be necessary to go even further. The time may come for me to offer Satyagraha against ourselves. I would not deem it a disgrace that we die. I shall be pained to hear of the death of a Satyagrahi, but I shall consider it to be the

proper sacrifice given for the sake of struggle. But if those who are not Satyagrahis, who shall not have joined the movement, who are even against the movement, received any injury at all, every Satyagrahi will be responsible for that sinful injury. My responsibility will be a million times heavier. I have embarked upon the struggle with a due sense of responsibility.

I have just heard that some English gentlemen have been injured. Some may even have died from such injuries. If so, it would be a great blot on Satyagraha. For me, Englishmen too are our brethren. We can have nothing against them, and for me since such as I have described are simply unbearable, but I know how to offer Satyagraha against ourselves. As against ourselves what kind of Satyagraha can I offer? I do not see what penance I can offer, excepting that it is for me to fast and if need be, by so doing, to give up this body and thus prove the truth of Satyagraha. I appeal to you to peacefully disperse and to refrain from acts that may in any way bring disgrace upon the people of Bombay.

RULES OF CONDUCT AT MEETINGS

On 14th April 1919, Mr. Gandhi has issued the following advice to the public :

In order that Satyagraha may have full play and a chance of permeating the masses, in my humble opinion the following instructions should be strictly obeyed :

Some of the items may require change later, the rest are inviolable principles of Satyagraha. No procession, no organised demonstration, no hartal on any account whatsoever without instructions of the Committee.

All police orders to be implicitly obeyed.

No violence, no stone-throwing, no obstructions to tramcars and other traffic, no pressure to be exercised against any one.

At public meetings no clapping hands, no demonstrations of approval or disapproval, no cries of shame, no cheers, perfect stillness, perfect obedience to instructions of volunteers or management.

SUSPENSION OF THE FIRST CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN

On 18th April 1919, Mr. Gandhi, who arrived in Bombay that day from Ahmedabad, addressed the following letter to the Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha:

'It is not without sorrow that I feel compelled to advice temporary suspension of Civil Disobedience. I give this advice, not because I have less faith in its efficacy, but because I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of Satyagraha which impels to suggest suspension. I am sorry that 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. But whilst doing so, I wish to say that from a careful examination of the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgam, I am convinced that Satyagraha had nothing to do with the violence of the mob and that many swarmed round the banner of mischief raised by the mob largely because of their affection for Ansuya Ben and myself. Had Government in an unwise manner not prevented me from entering Delhi and so compelled me to disobey their orders, I feel certain that Ahmedabad and Viramgam would have

remained free from the horrors of the last week. In other words, Satyagraha has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything, the presence of Satyagraha has acted as a check, howsoever slight, upon previously existing lawless elements.

As regards the events in the Punjab, it is admitted that they are unconnected with the Satyagraha movement. In the course of the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa several thousand 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 decide not to do so. I went further and for fear of our strike being classed with the strike of Europeans, in which methods of violence and the use of arms found prominent place, ours was suspended and Satyagraha from that moment came to be recognized by the Europeans of South Africa as a humble and honest movement and, in the words of General Smuts, a "constitutional movement."

I can do no less at the present critical moment. 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. Satyagraha is like a banyan tree with innumerable branches. Civil Disobedience is

one such branch. Satya (truth) and Ahimsa (non-violence) together make the parent 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 (truth) and Ahimsa (non-violence) 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.

My attitude towards the Rowlatt legislation remains unchanged. Indeed I do feel that the Rowlatt legislation is one of many causes of the present unrest, but in a surcharged atmosphere I must refrain from examining these causes.

The main and only purpose of this letter is to advise all Satyagrahis to temporarily suspend Civil Disobedience, to give Government effective co-operation in restoring order and by preaching and practice to gain adherence to the fundamental principles mentioned above.

MR. HORNIMAN'S DEPORTATION

On 27th April Mr. Gandhi issued the following manifesto on receipt of the news of Mr. Horniman's deportation :

To brothers and sisters,—With great sorrow and equal pleasure I have inform you that Government have to-day removed Mr. Horniman from Bombay and he has been placed on board a steamer bound for England. Mr. Horniman is a very brave and generous Englishman.

He has given us the *mantram*, *liberty*. He has fearlessly exposed the wrong wherever he has seen it and thus has been an ornament to the race to which he belongs and rendered it a great service. Every Indian knows his services to India. I am sorry for the event because a brave Satyagrahi has been deported while I retain my physical liberty. I am glad because Mr. Horniman has been given the occasion of fulfilling his pledge. The publication of the *Chronicle* will, for the time being, be discontinued because the directors have wisely decided not to accede to the improper demands of Government. In reality, however, the continuance of the *Chronicle* without Mr. Horniman would be like an attempt to sustain a body when the soul has departed. The condition I have described is truly serious. Satyagraha is on the anvil. At the same time this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with Satyagrahis and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity. I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every Satyagrahi by the separation of a brave comrade. The National cause will certainly feel hurt to find that the one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this Satyagrahis and others will in my opinion demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman by only remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern civilisation challenges the ancient. The Satyagraha now going on is based upon the teachings of the ancient civilisation, and if India accepts Satyagraha, the superiority of the ancient civilisation will be indicated. The world will see modern civilisation in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps. The

following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you.

There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan; there should be no large public meetings of protests, no processions; no violence of any kind whatsoever; every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask Satyagrahis and the sympathisers not to lose faith in the efficacy of Satyagraha and firmly to believe that the Satyagraha pledge will be carried out in its entirety.—M. K. G.

SATYAGRAHA LEAFLETS

DISTRIBUTION OF PROHIBITED LITERATURE

The following was issued on 7th April, 1919, on behalf of the Bombay Satyagraha Sabha :

Satyagrahis should receive copies of prohibited literature for distribution. A limited number of copies can be had from the Secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha. Satyagrahis should, as far as possible, write their names and addresses as sellers so that they may be traced when wanted by the Government for prosecution.

Naturally, there can be no question of secret sale of this literature. At the same time, there should be no forwardness either, in distributing it. It is open to Satyagrahis to form small groups of men and women to whom they may read this class of literature. The object in selecting prohibited literature is not merely to commit a civil breach of the law regarding it, but it is also to supply people with clean literature of a high moral value. It is expected that the Government will confiscate such. Satyagrahis have to be as independent of finance as possible. When, therefore, copies are confiscated, Satyagrahis are requested to make copies of prohibited literature themselves or by securing the assistance of willing friends and to make use of it until it is confiscated by giving readings to the people from it. It is stated that such readings would amount to dissemination of prohibited literature. When whole copies are exhausted by dissemination or confiscation, Satyagrahis may continue Civil Disobedience by writing out and distributing extracts from accessible books.

THE "SATYAGRAHI"

On 7th April 1919, Mr. Gandhi issued as Editor the first number of the "Satyagrahi," an unregistered single sheet newspaper, in contravention of the Press Act. It was issued for sale at one pice per copy.

It thus referred to the risks it underwent: "The editor is liable at any moment to be arrested, and it is impossible to ensure the continuity of publication until India is in a happy position of supplying editors enough to take the place of those who are arrested. It is not our intention to break for all time the laws governing the publication of newspapers. This paper will, therefore, exist so long only as the Rowlatt Legislation is not withdrawn."

The article went on to give the following advice to Satyagrahis: "We are now in a position to expect to be arrested at any moment. It is, therefore, necessary to bear in mind that if any one is arrested, he should, without causing any difficulty, allow himself to be arrested, and, if summoned to appear before a Court, he should do so. No defence should be offered and no pleaders engaged in the matter. If a fine is imposed with the alternative of imprisonment, the imprisonment should be accepted. If only fine is imposed, it ought not to be paid; but his property, if he has any, should be allowed to be sold. There should be no demonstration of grief or otherwise made by the remaining Satyagrahis by reason of the arrest and imprisonment of their comrade. It cannot be too often repeated that we court imprisonment, and we may not complain of it when we actually receive it. When once imprisoned, it is our duty to conform to all prison regulations, as prison reform is no part of our campaign at the present moment. A Satyagrahi may

not resort to surreptitious practices. All that the Satyagrahis do can only and must be done openly.

Regarding the civil breach of the law governing the publication of newspapers, the idea is to publish in every Satyagraha centre a written newspaper without registering it. It need not occupy more than one side of half a foolscap. When such a newspaper is edited, it will be found how difficult it is to fill up half a sheet. It is a well known fact that a vast majority of newspapers contain much padding. Further, it cannot be denied that newspaper articles written under the terror of the very strict newspaper law have a double meaning. A Satyagrahi for whom punishments provided by law have lost all terror can give only in an unregistered newspaper his thoughts and opinion unhampered by any other consideration than that of his own conscience. His newspaper, therefore, if otherwise well edited, can become a most powerful vehicle for transmitting pure ideas in a concise manner and there need be no fear of inability to circulate a hand-written newspaper, for it will be the duty of those who may receive the first copies to re-copy till at last the process of multiplication is made to cover if necessary the whole of the masses of India and it must not be forgotten that we have in India the tradition of imparting instruction by oral teaching.

SELF-EXAMINATION

Satyagraha has made unexpectedly rapid progress in the course of one short week. But it is necessary to consider whether the movement is progressing in the right direction or not. Several very regrettable and untoward incidents have occurred.

It has been brought home to Satyagrahis that Satyagraha is not an easy weapon to handle. Satyagrahis have been often asked if they are not responsible for the varied consequences of this struggle. We have always answered this inquiry in the affirmative. Satyagrahis will always follow truth, and will not by thought, word, or deed, hurt anybody. They will carry on the struggle with such self-restraint and discipline as will enable them to acquire firm control over the people whose sympathy and co-operation they desire and have already been successful in winning in such an appreciable degree. The experience of the last week has clearly shown that Satyagrahis are not yet in a position to control the masses. The true spirit of Satyagraha has not yet permeated the people with the result that they are not yet able to express their feelings in a manner worthy of Satyagraha. This undoubtedly casts a slur upon Satyagraha.

All the same, the Satyagrahi will not be discouraged. It is only when the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn or when he has sacrificed himself at the altar of truth that he will rest. He will learn from his daily experiences during the struggle, educate the people, explain to them in public and in private the secret of Satyagraha. He will make it clear to them what priceless happiness can be found in suffering, in refraining from returning evil for evil, in adhering to truth, in sacrificing himself. He will capture their hearts with love and will show them how to conquer our enemies by love. The path of a Satyagrahi is beset with insurmountable difficulties. But in true Satyagraha there is neither disappointment nor defeat. As truth is all powerful, Satyagraha can never be defeated. India is a vast country and the ancient law of Satyagraha appears new to our countrymen, but this

cannot deter us. Satyagrahis will work day and night to educate the people and will show to them that true Satyagraha can be our "Kamadhenu." If he is not heeded, he will plead with the people, will offer Satyagraha even to them, by fasting unto death and so will induce his countrymen to join in the crusade, which must end in victory.—*16th April 1919.*

"TO MY SISTERS AND BROTHERS"

I could not speak to you at length in my address at the Satyagrahashram on Monday last; but I wish to place my thoughts before the public through a few leaflets. Let me first render accounts. I had received till yesterday Rs. 770 towards the Fund suggested by me. I request that there should be no delay with regard to this fund, and that none in Ahmedabad should be found wanting in his duty. This fund has had its origin in the idea of penance, but its public utility is no less than its penitential value. I visited the Civil Hospital yesterday in company with Ben Anasuya and Mr. Krishnalal Desai, and spoke to all the patients there. I see that we shall have to get pecuniary help to the families of the many of the wounded. I learnt on the spot that 22 of the men brought there had died of the wounds. There is no doubt, there have been many more deaths. A clear duty, therefore, lies upon us, as citizens, to find out the families of the deceased and to give them what help we can. I have been asked as to who will be the beneficiaries of these moneys? I am afraid that we could not compensate those, who have sustained loss of property; we can render some little help only to the families of the dead and wounded. These include two or

three Englishmen ; (now ascertained to be one) ; our first duty is to render help to their families, since we are responsible for their deaths. We had no excuse whatsoever for killing them. They have been killed simply out of animosity. If we do really repent for what we have done, it is our duty to aid their families. That is the least penance we can do. I have been able to see that most of our brethren, too, who have died, were altogether innocent. I saw amongst the wounded several boys of 10 or 11. Our next duty is to help all these. A man from Viramgam came to me complaining that he had lost two of his brothers. Very likely many more such cases will be forthcoming. If Viramgam also pays its quota to the Fund, we might be able to extend our help to them. If it fails, I am afraid, we shall not be able to render that assistance.

Some of us believe that we can obtain our rights by such acts of terrorisation, violence and arson. Satyagraha, on the contrary, holds that the rights so obtained should be rejected. I admit that, of the two parties using brute force, the one possessing more of it than the other apparently gains its end. My 40 years' experience tells me that objects so attained do not permanently benefit the winner. There may well be two opinions on this point. But there can be no difference of opinion on the fact that, so far as brute force is concerned, we are no match for the Government. Our physical force is as nought before theirs. I would dare say, therefore, that those who advise us to use physical force are sadly mistaken, and we should never listen to their advice. Expediency tells us that there is one and only one recourse for us and that is Satyagraha or Dharmabala (*i.e.* spirit force). Now Dharmabala can spring only from suffering. Oppressing, harrasing, or assaulting

others cannot add to our spiritual strength. The events in Ahmedabad would have been impossible, had we but a true sense of Dharma. It is one of our duties to prevent mischief. If the men and women of Ahmedabad could be brave, all mischief would cease. It is obviously a far greater thing to overcome mischief by Spirit Force, than to do so by Brute Force. We have seen that violent outbreaks have not benefited us at all. I have already said that they had nothing to do with my release. The outbreaks commenced on the 10th. The decision to release me in Bombay was arrived at on the 9th. It cannot therefore have been in any way the result of those outbreaks. Moreover, those who have faith in Satyagraha should be the last men to resort to violence to secure my release.

Let us now consider what further loss we have sustained. I reminded you on Monday that the Offices which were burnt down belonged to ourselves. But we have an indirect ownership therein, and the fact that the expenses of rebuilding them may perhaps not fall directly on us may make us indifferent to the mischief done. The loss to our commerce by closing of the Telegraph Office may also fail to affect us. But consider the consequence of burning down the University Examination Pandal. I understand that it was erected by a contractor, it was his property and was worth about Rs. 18,000. Who will compensate the contractor? Can we imagine the soreness of his feelings? Surely the incendiaries must never have thought of making up for the loss. I am informed that there were many ornaments deposited in the District Court Treasury as being matter of dispute in Civil cases and otherwise. Some estimate their value at Rs. 50,000, while others value them at a higher figure still. We know nothing about

the owners of these ornaments. They have lost them for good. Government may not compensate them; and even if they do, it will be from our money. The poor innocent people, who have thus lost their ornaments, will not perhaps so much as approach the Government to demand them. Where was the justice of our ferreting out from Rao Bahadur Bulakhidas' house, all the things therein and making a bonfire of them? I have been told the Rao Bahadur's career has been far from good; that he harasses the people. Granting that this is so, may we, therefore, burn the property of such officers? If people were thus to take the law into their own hands, there would be an end to peace and public safety and a perpetual reign of terror would prevail. If any and every person, aggrieved by an officer's conduct, were to be regarded as within his rights to violate the person and property of that officer, no officer would be safe. A country, where such a state of affairs prevails, is not considered to be civilised, and the people there live in constant fear. Consider the hideous barbarity of burning alive the Aval Karkun of Viramgam. What offence had he committed? Or if he had committed any, why had we not the courage to obtain his dismissal? Sergeant Fraser, an innocent Englishman who had sought refuge in an Indian house, was marched out of the house and hacked to pieces. What can India gain out of such a piece of brutality? One direct result we have already had and that is, the bitterness of feeling between the English and ourselves has been augmented, and several innocent lives have been lost. The only result to obtain rights through association and co-operation with such hooligans can be that if such attempts succeed, the rights so obtained could be enjoyed only on conditions imposed by the hooligans. Rights so obtain-

ed are not rights at all, they are rather the signs of our enslavement. The events of Ahmedabad and Viramgam are no indication of our heroism; they do not in any way prove our manliness; they have simply disgraced us; our movement has received a set-back; Satyagraha has had to be restricted. In giving you this bare picture, my purpose is to show how thousands of people, who disliked such violence, put up with it as helpless and powerless creatures. It indicates that at this moment, we do not possess the true force of Dharma and Truth. It is therefore that I have said that there is no salvation for India except through Satyagraha. I shall endeavour as best as I can, to explain what this Satyagraha is in later leaflets, which I entreat my sisters and brothers to carefully read and understand and ponder upon and carry out the suggestions made therein.

M. K. G.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S WRITINGS

There are two poems published and being distributed, entitled "Mahatma Gandhino Satyagraha" and "Mahatma Gandhina Udgar." They bear the signature of Labhshanker Harjiwandas Dihorkar. The ideas expressed in these verses are not mine. Some of them are poisonous, calculated to promote ill-will and excite passions. They are, therefore, opposed to Satyagraha. I therefore advise all brothers and sisters not to accept anything as written by me unless it is signed by me. The present times are so critical that one cannot be too cautious about anything lest he might be led astray.

My writings cannot be poisonous, they must be free from anger, for it is my special religious conviction that we cannot truly attain our goal by promoting ill-will

against the rulers or any one else. There can be no room for untruth in my writings, because it is my unshakable belief that there is no religion other than truth and because I am capable of rejecting aught obtained at the cost of truth. My writings cannot but be free from hatred towards any individual because it is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth. There only is life where there is love. Life without love is death. Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is truth. It is my firm faith and it is my experience of forty years that we can conquer the world by truth and love. I believe that we can remedy the mistakes of our rulers by means of truth and love, and my writings can therefore have no incitement to violence to person or property. It is obviously not possible for me to read everything that is written or printed in my name and I would therefore ask everyone to apply the above-mentioned test to all that purports to be published in my name and I further wish and pray that every one should reject anything that has the slightest trace of untruth, disaffection, hatred, violence and the like. I do not know the author of the poems mentioned above, but should he see this leaflet, I advise him that it is necessary for him before attributing any words or statements to any one to show them to him and obtain his permission to publish them as his. This is the least that prudence and self-restraint demands.

M. K. G.

WHAT THEN OUGHT WE TO DO?

It is a good omen for Satyagraha that Bombay has preserved peace in spite of the unendurable separation of Mr. Horniman from us. I hope that it will be preserved whenever our other friends are arrested and

even if I am arrested. The Government are entitled to arrest those whom they suspect. Moreover, 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. By the arrest of a Satyagrahi, violence ensued in Ahmedabad and we have experienced the results of that violence. The people there are cowed down. Gujerat which never had the military in its midst has had an experience of it. It is my firm conviction that the victory of Satyagraha is attainable only by adherence to truth, avoidance of violence and by suffering. My experience in South Africa, Champaran, Kaira and other places fully bear out the truth of my statement. So long as we do not appreciate this truth, we are in no way fitted for Satyagraha. The question arises—"What then ought we to do? Are we to sit with folded hands in spite of Mr. Horniman's deportation?" I reply that the observance of perfect calm is itself a demonstration of our grief over the separation, and of our intense activity along Satyagraha lines, and by maintaining the same calmness of spirit we shall be better able to reach our goal and to welcome back our friend. When Hindustan accustomed in the course of this struggle to rely only upon truth and non-violence, we shall be able to begin Civil Disobedience. Some say that it will take years before India recognises

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. For, what is needful is to produce an impression of Truth and Non-Violence upon their hearts and to infect them with faith in the efficacy of these two forces. If the Satyagrahis are true it need not take longer than a month or two to bring about this result.

I venture to tender the following advice in order that, as suggested above, Truth and Non-Violence may permeate the masses with an ever-increasing velocity. Great movements all the world over depend for their success largely upon the mercantile class. Bombay is a great emporium of trade in Hindustan, indeed in the world. With what rapidity will the force of truth move if the merchants of Bombay 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. What greater honour can we pay to Mr. Horniman than by adopting honesty as our watch-word in our mercantile transactions? The foundations 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? I feel convinced that it is not difficult for those merchants of Bombay who have regard for Mr. Horniman to act according to the advice tendered by me that, if we can impress the Government with the truth in us and by strictly observing the principle of non-violence assure them of their harmlessness, it may not be necessary for us to resume Civil Disobedience.—

28th April 1919.

M. K. G.

BE PATIENT AND HAVE FULL FAITH

Brothers and Sisters,

Friends have been incessantly telling me, a strong feeling prevails that some way ought to be found to give expression to popular feeling in the matter of Mr. Horniman's deportation. The desire is quite natural. But as I have already observed, the fact that we have preserved peace is itself an eloquent demonstration of our feelings. It is my special opinion that such preservation of peace is only possible where Satyagraha is going on. I believe that the authorities have also been amazed at the profound peace prevailing throughout the city. And no wonder. The Government know that popular feeling regarding Mr. Horniman runs high. In order that a demonstration of this feeling may not run in undesirable channels, the Government have made elaborate military dispositions. But it is highly creditable to Bombay that the Military have had to remain idle. It is a worthy achievement for Satyagraha. I have no doubt that if people could thus restrain themselves on all occasions, the nation would occupy a much higher status. No one need assume that we have not been taking or that we shall no longer take measures for getting Mr. Horniman back in our midst. Of all measures the present calmness is the greatest. Yet I suggest that those who are kept on suspension of business may devote a day's profits to some public activity. But the chief thing I am desirous of in this leaflet is the following: The agitation, hitherto, adopted in this country is as different from Satyagraha as the North Pole is from the South. An appreciation of this fact will of itself remove many of our perplexities. We have seen that there is a difference between Satyagraha

meetings and others. Satyagraha is based upon Religion. In it only truth, calmness, serenity, patience, fearlessness, etc., should alone be seen. A Satyagraha strike must differ from the others. I have already quoted an occasion when a Satyagraha strike had to be suspended when a different strike was declared. 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. And I, therefore, beseech all not to be agitated because they see no outward demonstration over Mr. Horniman's deportation. I ask them to be patient and to have full faith that by going along the path of Satyagraha we shall meet our brother all the sooner for it.—*28th April 1919.*

M. K. G.

OBSERVE SELF-RESTRAINT

Sisters and Brothers,

I have two letters from Mr. Horniman which I expect you must all be anxious to read. The one addressed to me reads:—

My Dear Mahatmaji,

They are taking me away at last. I have been rushed off without notice. This is only to say 'Au revoir' and to ask your blessing. God speed you in your work for the Indian people.

I shall do what I can wherever I am.

Ever Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) B. G. HORNIMAN

That to Mr. Jamnadas is as follows:—
My dear Jamnadas,

I hope whatever happens Bombay will remain quiet.
I don't know whether this letter will reach you, but if it does, give my love to every body. In the meanwhile, I shall work for India wherever I may be.

Ever yours,
(Sd.) B. G. HORNIMAN.

Both these letters were written by him from S. S. "Takada." Further news is that his health is alright, that he is being well looked after and that the officers have treated him with all courtesy. The order of deportation means that Mr. Horniman will be absolutely free on reaching England, that there will be no restriction whatsoever on his liberty, and as he is resolved to work for India wherever he is, it is likely that he will render great service to India while in England. This, however, is but a poor consolation for the people. They would be satisfied only if the order of deportation is withdrawn and we cannot sit still till we find him back in our midst. We know how we can get him back in our midst. The first and the foremost thing is to observe self-restraint and to learn to keep peace. If we break the peace we shall only be delaying Mr. Horniman's return and paining him.—*30th April 1919.*

M. K. G.

SATYAGRAHA AND CIVIL OBEDIENCE

Brothers and Sisters,

Letters continue to pour in containing complaints about the so-called inactivity regarding Mr. Horniman's deportation. Most of these letters are anonymous. One

of them states that it does not matter even if violence be the result of our holding large meetings etc. It adds that we shall gain nothing without violence and that without it we shall not be able to bring Mr. Horniman back to India.

It is simple enough to give a reply to the foregoing along the lines of Satyagraha. If violence be the condition of Mr. Horniman's return to India, then Satyagrahis have to be content with separation. But there is absolutely no fear of any such result from non-violence. We can certainly bring about his return by Satyagraha. Indeed we can hasten it by Satyagraha alone—Satyagraha consists at times in Civil Disobedience and other times in civil obedience. It consists at times in declaring *hartal*, or holding large public meetings or arranging processions and other times in refraining from any one or all of these things. Satyagrahis may not do a single thing that would bring about or encourage violence. At the present moment people are in a ferment, they are angry and it is likely that large meetings, processions, *hartals* may increase excitements and even end in violence. Both the people and the Police are liable to err and both may have to suffer for the mistake of either. It is therefore clear that Satyagrahis ought to prevent such untoward results by every means at their disposal. Therein lies their Satyagraha. The nation can only rise higher by reason of the effort to be put forth, the discipline to be undergone and the soul-force to be exerted for the attainment of such an end. When the people have disciplined themselves to remain calm, to curb anger, to handle processions with self-restraint, to bring about *hartals* without threat or violence, when volunteers are so trained that the people listen to and act according to their instructions, we are in a position to hold meetings,

declare *hartals* and arrange processions. It is enough to see that the just demands of a people so trained become irresistible. The present activity is directed towards the attainment of that end and I urge all to read this leaflet and those who are able to help, to go to the Satyagraha Sabha offices and have their names registered as helpers.

Now let us for a moment examine, not from the Satyagraha but from the ordinary standpoint, the proposition that we can by violence bring about Mr. Horniman's early return or accomplish our other objects. I believe that what is true and possible in other countries is not necessarily true and possible in Hindustan. India has from times immemorial received a different training. In India one cannot recall a time when the whole people were engaged in the use of brute-force. It is my belief that India deliberately abandoned universal use of brute force. We have noted the results of violence in the Punjab. Ahmedabad is still suffering. We shall hereafter be able to measure the full dreadful effect of violence. One such effect is the suspension of Civil Disobedience. We ought, therefore, to consider as erroneous the belief that by violence we can hasten Mr. Horniman's return or gain other objects.

In one of the letters received by me, it is argued that Satyagrahis have no right to advise others to refrain from demonstrations etc., even if they choose to do so. But we observe at the present moment in Hindustan a vast number of people are desirous of taking part in all Satyagraha activities, other than Civil Disobedience. This state of things causes as much anxiety as pleasure. It throws a tremendous responsibility upon Satyagrahis. One of them is this: if the people are interested in Satyagraha and are desirous of experien-

cing its wonderful results, Satyagrahis have to so act that the people may become trained to participate in the movement in strict accordance with its principles and its fundamental principle is adherence to truth and non-violence to person or property, and when the people have accepted this principle the whole work will have a demonstration of the efficacy of Satyagraha.—1st May 1919.

M. K. G.

WHEN IS SATYAGRAHA GOING TO BE RESUMED?

When is Satyagraha going to be resumed? is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that Satyagraha has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so, so long Satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when Satyagrahis are only a handful, then we have to devise other methods deducible from Satyagraha. One such method is *Civil Disobedience*. I have already explained the reason why this Civil Disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following Civil Disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as Civil Disobedience, but it is disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil, and devoid of truth. Satyagrahis may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of Civil Disobedience can however be hastened by the Satyagrahis completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in Satyagrahis has led me to assume that we shall be fitted for resuming Civil

impossible. We are aware that the question regarding Turkey etc., have caused greater hurt to our Mahomedan brethren than has been caused to Hindus, Mahomedans and others by the Rowlatt legislation. But they cannot solve their difficulties by ill-will. These difficulties can only be solved by proper deliberation, by properly framing and publishing their demands and by firm adherence thereto. So doing, they can enlist the help of Hindus, Parsis, Christians: in fact the whole world and thus make their demands irresistible. If we harbour ill-will or anger against the Government on account of the Rowlatt legislation or Islamic or other questions and therefore resort to violence, we shall be powerless even to consolidate Indian opinion. The gulf between the English and ourselves will widen and we shall be no nearer the goal. Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary. Then there is increase of ill-will between both the parties and each prepares to give battle to the other. There is no such untoward end to Satyagraha. A Satyagrahi, by reason of suffering for his principle, draws towards himself universal sympathy and even melts the heart of the so-called enemy. Had we not erred in Ahmedabad and Viramgaum the history of the movement would have been written differently. There would have been no increase of ill-will between the English and ourselves, no military dispositions such as we see about us and yet our determination to get rid of the Rowlatt legislation would have remained just as firm. The movement against it would have gone much further forward; probably by this time it might have been crowned with success resulting at the same time in a bridging of the gulf between the English and ourselves. It is however never too late to mend: we can retrace our

steps. The retracing consists in curbing anger and ill-will against the English and therefore refraining from violence. As a matter of fact, the mistake in passing the Rowlatt legislation is not of the English nation nor of the English in India. It is purely of those in authority. Nations are often ignorant of what is done in their names. The powers that be do not make deliberate mistakes, they act as they think fit. That fact however does not cause the people any the less harm and therefore whilst we harbour no ill-will against those in authority, we spare no pains in taking effective steps for mending the mistake but regarding it only such and no more we refrain from violence and secure its reversal by self-suffering.—*3rd May 1919.*

M. K. G.

SATYAGRAHA IS IMPOSSIBLE SO LONG AS THERE
IS ILL-WILL

Brothers and Sisters,

We have seen in our last leaflet that the actions of a Satyagrahi should not be prompted by fear from without but by the voice from within and that a Satyagrahi should not think of attaining his objects by harbouring ill-will towards his opponents but should win him over by his friendliness. I see that many hesitate to accept the second proposition. They argue: 'How can we help being angry with wrong doers? It is against human nature to do otherwise. How can we separate the wrong from the wrong doer? How is it possible to direct our anger against the wrong without directing it against the wrong-doer?' A father, far from getting angry with his son, often expresses his disapproval of wrong action by taking suffering on his own person. Only on such

mutual conduct is continuance of friendly relations between father and son possible. These relations cease with the ceasing of such conduct. It is our daily lot to go through these experiences and hence the proverb 'Let quarrels perish.' We can live in peace and be free from our fearful position only if we apply the domestic law to our relations with the Government. The doubt need not be raised whether the domestic law can at all be extended to our relations with the Government and whether the law of love does not for its operation require reciprocity. In Satyagraha both the parties need not be Satyagrahis. Where both the parties are Satyagrahis there is no play for Satyagraha, no opportunity for the test of love. Insistence on truth can come into play only when one party practises untruth or injustice. Only then can love be tested. True friendship is put to the test only when one party disregards the obligation of friendship. We stand to love everything when we are angry against the Government. Mutual distrust and mutual ill-will are thereby augmented. But if we act without in the least being angry with the Government, but also without being cowed down by their armed force, and without submitting to what we believe to be injustice, injustice would of itself be removed and we would easily attain the equality which is our goal. This equality does not depend on our power to answer their brute-force with brute-force, but on our ability to stand our ground without fear of brute-force, and real fearlessness is not possible without love. A clear victory for Satyagraha is impossible so long as there is ill-will. But those who believe themselves to be weak, are incapable of loving. Let then our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day: 'I shall not fear anyone

on earth. I shall fear only God; I shall not bear ill-will towards anyone. I shall not submit to injustice from any one. I shall conquer untruth by truth and in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering'—*11th May 1919.*

M. K. G.

HARTAL

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay has borne with great calmness the separation of Mr. Horniman. The long-sustained calmness observed by Bombay even under unendurable circumstances has demonstrated its capacity for self-restraint. But the discussions at the meetings of the Satyagraha Sabha and reports of popular discussions show that the minds of the people are by no means appeased. They are desirous of publicly expressing their grief and feelings in some way or other. The desire is and must be irrepressible. The people will never forget what Mr. Horniman has done for them. He has given them a new life, a new hope and there is no doubt that they have remained calm in the hope that an occasion would be provided for them to mark their pure affection for Mr. Horniman. The Satyagraha Sabha last night decided after mature deliberation that next Sunday, 11th instant, should be the day of observance of *hartal*, fasting for 24 hours reckoning from previous evening, and private religious devotion in every home.

The first suggestion *i. e.* *hartal* is applicable to the City of Bombay. In times of unrest such as we are passing through, it does not seem proper to declare *hortal* in other places. Not to observe it in other places is for the people thereof an act of self-restraint and in the

City of Bombay, too, it is to be confined to independent business men. Those who are employed in public or private offices are in no way to suspend business unless they obtain leave. There should be no pressure exerted upon anybody, no force used against any one with a view to induce suspension. For suspension brought about by force is no suspension, for a mind acted upon by force continues to contemplate the act from which it is restrained by force. We are bound not only not to interfere with a man who wants to open a shop or a *Ghariwalla* who wishes to ply for hire, but to afford him every protection. I hope that both men and women in Bombay and elsewhere who have no religious or medical objection will observe the fast and devote the day to religious contemplation and try to understand the true nature of Satyagraha by recalling the illustrations of Satyagraha from their own scriptures. We shall consider hereafter the efficacy of fasting as an aid to national progress, to the development of national ideals and to the attainment of restraint over our passions such as hunger etc. For the time being it is enough that we observe an absolutely voluntary Satyagraha *hartal* next Sunday in the city of Bombay, we observe a fast everywhere and engage in private religious devotion in a spirit of calmness and love. We shall thereby add to our honour and speed Mr. Horniman's return.—5th May 1919.

M. K. G.

HARTAL: ITS RELIGIOUS SPIRIT

Brothers and Sisters,

To declare a *hartal* is no small matter. It requires strong reasons to support it. Let us therefore examine:

the justification for it. The citizens of Bombay are impatient to give some outward evidence of their deep affection for Mr. Horniman. They can provide it in a striking manner by means of *hartal*. Everybody's feelings will be tested thereby. Moreover, *hartal* is an ancient Indian institution for expressing national sorrow and we can therefore demonstrate through *hartal* our grief over the deportation, and *hartal* is the best method of marking our strong disapproval of the action of the Government. It is a means, more powerful than monster meetings, of expressing national opinion. Thus we serve three purposes by *hartal* and all of them are so great that we do not expose ourselves to the charge of exaggeration in declaring *hartal*.

This much is clear that none of the purposes above-named will be served if suspension of business is brought about through fear of public opprobrium or physical pressure. If suspension were to be brought about by terrorism and if Mr. Horniman came to know it, he could not but be displeased and grieved by the knowledge, and such artificial *hartal* would fail to produce any effect upon the Government. *Hartal* forcibly brought about cannot be considered Satyagrahi *hartal*. In any thing Satyagrahi there should be purity of motive, means and end. I therefore hope that no man or woman who is unwilling to suspend business will in any way be interfered with, but that he or she will be guaranteed protection from any harm whatsoever. *I would far rather wish that people did not suspend business on Sunday in the city of Bombay and that the organisers were exposed to ridicule than that force was used upon a single person in order to make him suspend business.* In order to avoid all risk of commotion in Bombay on Sunday, the idea of holding public meetings has been

discountenanced and all have been advised to remain indoors. As all Satyagraha activity should be guided by the religious spirit, I have suggested that we should fast for twenty four hours and devote the day to religious contemplation, and it is to be hoped that all the members of families including children and servants will take part in the religious observance. Hindus may have Bhagwad Gita read to them. It takes four hours to read through it with clear pronunciation and other Hindu religious books might be read in addition or in place of it. The Mahomedans and others may have their own scriptures read to them. It will be a proper way of spending the day to read the stories of great Satyagrahis such as Prahlad, Harishchandra, Mirabai, Imams Hasan and Hoosein, Socrates and others. It will be opportune also to explain to family gatherings Mr. Horniman's title to our affection. The chief thing to be remembered is that we may not fritter away next Sunday in playing cards, *Chowpat*, gambling or in sheer laziness, but that it should be so spent as to make us better men and women for national service. Better placed and well-to-do families will, I hope, invite such of their neighbours as may be poor, solitary or ignorant, to participate in the religious devotion. A brotherly spirit is cultivated not by words but only by deeds.

Mr. Motilal Dahyabhas Zaveri of Kalbadevi Road has just dropped in and informed me that before the news of the declaration of *hartal* next Sunday, he had issued invitations for a wedding party on that day. He also said there were many such parties to be given on the same day. Mr. Motilal was most anxious that he and his friends should take part in the observance. I venture to advise that so far as the religious part of the wedding ceremonial was concerned, it should be gone through

without disturbance, but that dinner parties and other rejoicings might be postponed to Monday. His patriotic affection for Mr. Horniman was such that he immediately accepted the advice and I tender it for the acceptance of those who may be similarly situated.—6th May 1919.

M. K. G.

HARTAL AND FASTING

Brothers and Sisters,

By *hartal*, fasting and religious devotion on Sunday next the people propose to demonstrate to the Government in terms of Satyagraha that it is not possible for them to bring about true contentment by force of arms. So long as the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn, so long as the Government continue to suppress men like Mr. Horniman who carry on innocent agitations against such acts of the Government, not only is true contentment impossible, but discontent must increase. All the world over a true peace depends not upon gunpowder but upon pure justice. When Government perpetrate injustice and fortify it by the use of arms, such acts are a sign of anger and they add injustice to injustice. If people also become angry by reason of such acts on the part of Government, they resort to violence and the result is bad for both, mutual ill-will increases. But whenever people regard particular acts of Government as unjust and express their strong disapproval by self-suffering, Government cannot help granting redress. This is the way of Satyagraha and the people of Bombay will have an opportunity on Sunday next of giving expression in a clean manner to such disapproval.

A *hartal* brought about voluntarily and without

pressure is a powerful means of showing popular disapproval, but fasting is even more so. When people fast in a religious spirit and thus demonstrate their grief before God, it receives a certain response. Hardest hearts are impressed by it. Fasting is regarded by all religions as a great discipline. Those who voluntarily fast become gentle and purified by it. A pure fast is a very powerful prayer. It is no small thing for lakhs of people voluntarily to abstain from food and such a fast is a Satyagrahi fast. It ennobles individuals and nations. In it there should be no intention of exercising undue pressure upon the Government. But we do observe that like so many other good acts this one of fasting too is sometimes abused. In India we often see beggars threatening of fast, fasting, or pretending to fast, until they receive what they ask for. This is *duragrahi* fasting and the person so fasting degrades himself and it will be the proper thing to let such people fast. It is false kindness to give anything under pressure of such fasting. If it were to be otherwise, fasting may be resorted to even for securing unlawful demands. Where it is a question of determining the justice or otherwise of a particular act there is no room for any other force but that of a reason regulated by the voice of conscience. The coming fast is thus in no way to be interpreted as designed to put pressure upon the Government.—7th May 1919.

M. K. G.

BOMBAY'S TEST

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay will be tested on Sunday. To observe *hartal*, fast, religious contemplation are easy enough for

sensible people. Bombay will prove her sensibility on Sunday. In England, more especially in Scotland, business is suspended every Sunday for religious reasons. Trains too are running most sparingly. Even in India public offices are closed on Sundays. There would therefore, generally, be no occasion for anxiety over *hartal*. There is just a little anxiety about our *hartal* because of the present unrest and because ours is intended to be an expression of our grief and respect. From the news received from different quarters and from the impression gathered from meetings that have been held to explain the reasons for the Sunday observance, there is every reason to hope that Bombay will do credit to herself and India by observing perfect calm on Sunday.

It is to be wished that in every mosque, church and temple and in every assembly visitors will be told to suspend business and advised to fast, and devote the day in religious contemplation and observe peace.

I have stated in the first leaflet on the *hartal* that employees may only suspend work on receiving permission from their employers. But those who are working in hospitals, or in connection with the sanitation of the town, dock-labourers handling the grain to be despatched to famine areas ought not to suspend work at all. In a Satyagrahi *hartal* we are bound to give the first place to public weal, more especially the requirements of the poor. And when we use the sense of discrimination fully in all our activities, our difficulties will disappear even as the mist before the morning sun.—9th May 1919.

M. K. G.

HATRED EVER KILLS—LOVE NEVER DIES

Brothers and Sisters,

My one request to Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews is that by our conduct to-morrow we may demonstrate to the Government our absolute harmless intention and show that nobody in Bombay wishes to commit a breach of the peace, and further show that Bombay is capable of discharging heavy responsibilities with patient calmness. We should at the same time demonstrate that we are capable of acting in perfect unity and determined to secure a fulfilment of our cherished will. But we do not desire to obtain justice by harbouring ill-will against the Government but by good-will. Hatred ever kills, Love never does. Such is the vast difference between the two. What is obtained by Love is retained for all time. What is obtained by Hatred proves a burden in reality; for it increases Hatred. The duty of human being is to diminish Hatred and to promote Love. I pray that Bombay will observe full hartal, fast and pray and do all this in a loving spirit.—10th May 1919.

M. K. G.

 PEACEFUL HARTAL

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm, and the citizens have shown by their peaceful hartal they have understood a portion of *Satyagraha*. They have done true honour to Mr. Horniman and demonstrated to Government that they disapprove of his deportation. Bombay has set a worthy example to the whole of India. It is a matter of pride for Bombay

the Satyagraha standpoint, that some shops were open. This fact proved the voluntary character of the *hartal*. Many causes contributed to the success of this remarkable demonstration, but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by volunteers under Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani. They had commenced operations from the commencement of the talk of *hartal*, and we had the results of their efforts yesterday. Our thanks are due also to the police. If aggressive military dispositions had been made, the people would have become excited and the task of preserving peace would have been much more difficult.

A nation enjoying or desiring to enjoy *Swaraj* must possess the following four attributes:—

(1) The police should be the least needed for self-protection and there should be concord between them and the people:—

(2) Jails should be the least patronised;

(3) The hospitals should have few cases; and

(4) The law courts should have the least work.

Where people do violence, commit crimes, and not exercising control over their senses and committing a breach of nature's laws become diseased and engage in perpetual quarrels resulting in law-suits, they are not free but in bondage. We shall learn the first chapter of *Swaraj* and Liberty when India adopts the example of Bombay as a permanent way of life.—12th May 1919.

M. K. G.

MAHATMAJI'S EARLIER WRITINGS

[On 27th April, 1919 when Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of The "Bombay Chronicle," was deported, Mahatma Gandhi was requested to supervise the editing of "Young India" which was then under the control of a Bombay Syndicate. Between this date and the October following when Mahatmaji secured full control and ownership of the journal and removed to Ahmedabad, many contributions from his pen appeared in the journal. Some of these which were typical of his writings in those days are given below.]

14th June 1919

THE BOMBAY MANIFESTO *

We are grieved to have to criticise the manifesto of loyalty issued by a number of well-known citizens of Bombay. With deference to the signatories, we feel constrained to observe that it is not a document that reflects any credit on Bombay, the first city of India. Our loyalty must be a very indifferent virtue if it requires periodical protestations. Englishmen, for instance, never protest their loyalty. They show it in their deeds. We hold that it should be above suspicion. Every Indian who asks for, agitates for reforms is loyal to the British connection because he seeks not to destroy it, but to alter its nature. He wishes to rise from the status of a serf to that of an equal partner in the Empire—by no means a mean or an unworthy ambition. We believe that the King's representatives will be

* Omitted in this Collection.

better advised if they will not foster the spirit of protesting loyalty. This constant protestation debases both parties—those who desire protestation and those who indulge in it. Action is the only true test. And we submit to all concerned that our atmosphere will be all the purer for being cleared of the cant of loyalty. We remember Lord Milner having once told a Boer deputation that was effusive in its loyal declarations that it would be monstrous if they were not loyal. He asked for deeds. We would appreciate a similar rebuke from a ruler against effusive demonstrations of loyalty which often mean nothing. We venture to suggest to the signatories that thousands of men and women throughout the length and breadth of India who stemmed the tide of violence in April were more truly loyal than they, and yet no declaration of loyalty is needed of them. They are the silent and most efficient police of the Empire of law and order. But for the Herculean efforts of hundreds of men who worked for peace in Bombay—and we would gladly add the forbearance of the authorities—the tale in Bombay would have been differently told. And yet they are not signatories to the document.

Let us examine the Manifesto. The citizens of Bombay who have signed the document “view with horror and detestation the atrocious deeds of lawlessness recently committed in certain parts of the Presidency and elsewhere in India.” Every sane man must share the view. But of what use can its expression be nearly two months after the outburst? It can only be justified on the assumption that the unfortunate disorder represented not a sporadic and unintentional outburst, but deliberate and continuing acts of a body of people bent on mischief directed against the Government. The fact that serious

disorder was confined only to the Punjab and certain parts of Gujarat only shows that it was a sudden outburst, due to local causes. Of the causes in Gujarat, we have enough evidence to prove that the outburst was sudden and not deliberately planned. That some evilly disposed persons took advantage of the temper of the mob and organised and directed it, is patent enough. But no academic pronouncement upon it by the citizens of Bombay at the present moment can affect what has passed. Many who took part in the events are probably much more sorry, than the signatories for the disorders to which they were unwittingly drawn. Of the Punjab the true causes have yet to be known. Evidence is daily coming in to show that probably the provocation given at the time to the mob was so great that it would form an extenuating circumstance of no mean importance. Any way, the unreserved condemnation of the Punjab disorders at this time of the day is as uncalled for as it is ungracious. And it is not a necessary ingredient in the support tendered to the Government of Bombay, which is what the signatories have set out to do.

We submit further that this one-sided condemnation represents but a partial truth. What was the cause of the sudden fury of people who have rarely, if ever before, been known to have taken part in such organised disorder? Have not Governmental acts and measures contributed to the resentment of the mob that found expression in deplorable lawlessness? We hold that a loyal citizen only half performs his function when he corrects the people and is silent about the mistakes of the rulers. For, the mere putting down of lawlessness, without removing the causes therefor, will be a remedy worse than the disease. It was the duty of the sig-

natories to help the authorities by tracing the causes of the disorders.

The second paragraph of the Manifesto ignores the lessons of History. English history is replete with instances of criminal disobedience, for, armed rebellions are no less resorted to for the purpose of bringing about reforms. Satyagraha being our creed, we would associate ourselves with condemnation of criminal disobedience in every case, for we would fain have India unlearn the lessons of English history and replace criminal by Civil Disobedience. But the illustrious authors of the Manifesto have condemned both civil and criminal disobedience. We wish that the doctrine of Civil Disobedience had been so "sedulously promulgated amongst ignorant people" as to make its promulgation successful. In that case, there would have been no disorders to deplore or condemn. By "binding" themselves "to combat these doctrines as far as possible by every means in our power", the signatories have, we firmly believe, actually, though ever so unknowingly, encouraged criminal disobedience. Disobedience of some sort is implanted in the human breast. An undisciplined man, impatient of what he believes to be wrong, resists it by force of arms, *i. e.*, by criminal disobedience. A disciplined man, knowing himself to be an imperfect being and likely to err, resists wrong by suffering in his own person, *i. e.*, by Civil Disobedience. A reformer, whether political or social, does some time or other resist authority which he ever obeys for the common well-being, never for its own sake.

A part of the last paragraph of the Manifesto is a repetition of the first, and the remainder gives the reason for issuing it which, to say the least, puts His Excellency, Sir George Lloyd, in a bad light before the

public. For, they say, "we make this declaration in response to the address made to us by His Excellency, Sir George Lloyd in his speech of April 16th last, wherein he appealed to all leading citizens to make clear their determination to uphold the cause of law and order and to trample underfoot the twin Demons of Lawlessness and Disorder." We should be sorry to think that His Excellency could ever have approved of the wording of the Manifesto, as the quotation would lead one to suppose. His Excellency appealed for help whilst the fire had hardly died out. He would be a bad helper who, when hailed to bring a bucketful of water to quench a fire, brought it after even the ashes had been removed. *Then*, they could have responded by prompt action in the shape of condemnation and going amongst the people to appease them and to understand their grievances. The response *now*, can best be made by suggesting preventive methods such as the removal of known causes of discontent, *e. g.*, the Rowlatt legislation and the Moslem grievance. An additional method would be to suggest the appointment of a committee of enquiry for investigating the other causes of discontent referred to by Mr. Montagu, as also the immediate cause of mob-violence. We regret to say that the authors of the Manifesto have failed either to act promptly, as they might have, on the outbreak of violence, or now to suggest, as they ought to have, preventive methods.

9th July 1919

THE DUTY OF SATYAGRAHIS

The above was the title given by Mr. Gandhi to the address which he delivered before a Nadiad audience, on Sunday last. Mr. Gokuldas D. Talati, President of the

Nadiad Municipality, presided. Between two to three thousand people were present. The following is the substance of Mr. Gandhi's speech as edited by himself:—

Mr. Gandhi speaking on the subject said that he had a special claim on the people of Nadiad in particular and the population of Kaira in general, as he had lived for so long in their midst and was surrounded with so much affection from them. His largest experiments were carried on in Kaira. It was no small matter for law-abiding people to suspend the payment of revenue. It was a very serious responsibility he had taken upon his shoulders in advising them to do so. The actual working of that experiment showed that there was no cause for regret. It was acknowledged by officers concerned that this was a most peaceful, orderly and becoming demonstration of their grievance. It was this exemplary and successful act of Civil Disobedience which betrayed him into the miscalculation of April last and, if he then considered his mistake to be as big as the Vindhya Range, now after longer experience he felt that it was a Himalayan miscalculation. Not only, however, was his claim upon the Kaira people based upon the revenue struggle but also upon the recruiting campaign.

Mr. Gandhi further said:—The first was to the people's liking: recruiting by reason of long disuse in the training of arms and of absence of real affection was unattractive and unpleasant, and yet I know that you had begun to respond nobly and I feel confident that had the war been prolonged, Kaira would have quite voluntarily contributed from the middle classes probably not less than 1,000 recruits. I had therefore hoped as I still hope that Kaira would play no mean part in the work of national regeneration and that my service to the motherland will be rendered largely through you or perhaps

more correctly speaking, Gujarat. And so as I may have to offer Civil Disobedience at a very early date, I thought I would speak to you to-day about the duty of Satyagrahis. It is hardly possible to understand this duty without a correct appreciation of the meaning of Satyagraha. I have already given its definition, but the mere definition often fails to convey the true meaning. Unfortunately, popular imagination has pictured Satyagraha as purely and simply Civil Disobedience, if not in some cases even Criminal Disobedience. The latter, as you all know, is the very opposite of Satyagraha. The former *i.e.*, Civil Disobedience, is undoubtedly an important branch, but by no means always the main part of Satyagraha. To-day, for instance, on the question of Rowlatt legislation Civil Disobedience has gone into the background. As Satyagraha is being brought into play on a large scale on the political field for the first time, it is in an experimental stage. I am therefore ever making new discoveries. And my error in trying to let Civil Disobedience take the people by storm, appears to me to be Himalayan because of the discovery I have made, namely, that he only is able and attains the right to offer Civil Disobedience who has known how to offer voluntary and deliberate obedience to the laws of the state, in which he is living. It is only after one has voluntarily obeyed such laws a thousand times that an occasion rightly comes to him civilly to disobey certain laws. Nor is it necessary for voluntary obedience that the laws to be obeyed must be good. There are many unjust laws which a good citizen obeys so long as they do not hurt his self-respect or the moral being, and when I look back upon my life, I cannot recall a single occasion when I have obeyed a law whether of Society

or the State because of the fear of punishment. I have obeyed bad laws of the Society as well as of the State, believing that it was good for me and the State or the Society to which I belonged to do so, and I feel that having regularly and in a disciplined manner done so, the call for disobedience to a law of Society came when I went to England in 1888, and to a law of the State in South Africa when the Asiatic Registration Act was passed by the Transvaal Government. I have therefore come to the conclusion that Civil Disobedience, if it has to be renewed, shall be offered in the first instance only by me as being the fittest to do so, and the duty of fellow Satyagrahis will be to assimilate for the time being the first essential just mentioned of Civil Disobedience. In the instructions I have drawn up, I have suggested that Civil Disobedience by the others should not be taken up for at least one month after I have been taken charge of by the Government. And then too by one or two chosen Satyagrahis, chosen in the sense above mentioned, and only if it is found that no violence has been offered after my incarceration by the Satyagrahis so-called or others acting in co-operation with them. The next duty then is for the remaining Satyagrahis themselves to observe perfect calm and quiet and to see that others do likewise. You will, therefore, see to it that after I have offered Civil Disobedience, if I do, there is no *hartal*, no public meetings, and no demonstrations of any kind whatsoever so as to give excitement. And I feel sure that if perfect peace is observed after my incarceration, Rowlatt legislation will go, by reason of that very fact. But it is quite likely that the Government may remain perfectly obstinate. In that event, under the conditions I have already mentioned, it will be open to the Satya-

grahis to offer further Civil Disobedience and continue to do so till every Satyagrahi has rendered a good account of himself.

For the intervening period, I have drawn up constructive work in the instructions. I have suggested the Swadeshi Movement as an item—Swadeshi in a religious and true spirit without even a suspicion of boycott, Swadeshi which would enable the Viceroy down to the humblest ryot to take part in. At the lowest estimate 80% of the population of India is agricultural. This makes over 24 crores. It is well-known that during half the year this population remains practically idle or has at least many hours at its disposal for useful work. If this population is given an easy substantial and profitable work to do, one of the highest economic problems will have been solved. In my humble opinion, such an occupation is hand-spinning. It can be easily learned by everybody and it is the most perfect way in my opinion of utilising the idle hours of the nation. Swadeshi is mainly a matter of production and manufacture. The more goods we manufacture, more Swadeshi there is in the country. The vows have been framed in order to serve as an incentive to manufacture and production. This work requires a large number of volunteers whose sole qualification needs to be perfect honesty and love of the country. I would like every man and woman in India to devote themselves heart and soul to this work. And I doubt not that, in an incredibly short time, we would have restored to its original vigour the lost art of weaving the finest cloth of the most effective design.

There is one more subject I have to touch upon. Painful as were, in their consequences, the tragic events of the mad mob in Ahmedabad and Viramgam in April last, some of the doings in Kaira were, if possible, still

more tragic, if you contemplate what might have happened. I refer to the cutting down of the telegraph wires and the tearing down of the railway. The acts of the mob in Ahmedabad betoken mad frenzy. The acts in Kaira betoken deliberation. They were also done in anger, but even in anger there can be thoughtlessness or thoughtfulness. The Kaira crimes, though far less disastrous in consequences than those of Ahmedabad, were from a Satyagraha standpoint more inexcusable, if there can be any excuse for any crime whatsoever. I understand that those who were responsible for the misdeeds of April, have not at all come forward to boldly confess the crime. It was a pity that Kaira which behaved so nobly during the revenue struggle should have forgotten itself during April, but it is a greater pity that the guilty ones should now try to hide themselves. It is therefore the plain duty of Satyagrahis to make an open confession if any of them is in any shape or form responsible for the crime and to persuade, if they have the knowledge, those who have committed the crimes to make the confession. It is cowardly enough to tear down the railway and thus endanger the lives of soldiers who were proceeding to restore peace and order. It is still more cowardly not to come forward boldly and admit the wrong. A hidden sin is like poison corrupting the whole body. The sooner the poison is thrown off, the better it is for society. And just as a bit of arsenic mixed with milk renders it none the less vitiating for the addition of pure milk, so also do good deeds in a society fail to cover unexpiated sins. I hope that you will strain every nerve to find out those whose mad grief betrayed them into unpardonable crimes and appeal to them to own up like men and thus purify the social, moral and political atmosphere of this district.

[I have considerably abridged the speech, but added one or two sentences to complete or amplify my meaning.—M. K. G.]

23rd July 1919.

THE CIVIL RESISTANCE PART OF SATYAGRAHA

The Government of India have given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that resumption of Civil Disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to the public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at interviews to which I was summoned. In response to this warning and to the urgent desire, publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume Civil Resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the Extremist Party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of Civil Resistance. When, in common with most other Satyagrahis, I came to the conclusion that time was ripe for the resumption of the Civil Resistance part of Satyagraha, I sent a respectful letter to His Excellency the Viceroy advising him of my intention so to do and urging that Rowlatt Legislation should be withdrawn, that an early declaration be made as to the appointment of a strong and impartial committee to investigate the Punjab disturbances with power to revise the sentences passed, and that Babu Kalinath Roy who was, as could be proved from the record of the case, unjustly convicted, should be released. The Government

of India deserve thanks for the decision in Mr. Roy's case. Though it does not do full justice to Mr. Roy, the very material reduction in the sentence is a substantial measure of justice. I have been assured that the Committee of Inquiry, such as I have urged for, is in the process of being appointed. With these indications of good-will, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government. Indeed my acceptance of the Government's advice is a further demonstration of the true nature of Civil Resistance. A Civil Resister never seeks to embarrass Government. He often co-operates and does not hesitate civilly to resist where resistance becomes a duty. He attains the goal by creating good-will, believing as he does that unflinching exercise of good-will even in the face of unjust acts of a Government can only result in good-will being ultimately returned by the Government. Further suspension of Civil Resistance is, therefore, nothing but a practical application of Satyagraha.

Yet it is no small matter for me to suspend Civil Resistance even for a day while Rowlatt Legislation continues to disfigure our statute book. The Lahore and Amritsar judgments make suspension still more difficult. Those judgments, read by me with an unbiassed mind, have left an indelible impression that most of the Punjab leaders have been convicted without sufficient proof and that the punishments inflicted on them are inhuman and outrageous. The judgments go to show that they have been convicted for no other reason than that they were connected with stubborn agitation against Rowlatt Legislation. I would, if I had my way, have therefore preferred to court imprisonment to retaining the restricted liberty vouchsafed to me by the Government of India. But a Satyagrahi has to swallow

many a bitter pill and the present suspension is one such. I feel that I shall better serve the country and the Government and those Punjabi leaders who, in my opinion, have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced, by suspension of Civil Resistance for the time being.

But this suspension, while it lightens my responsibility by reason of the feared out-break of violence, makes it incumbent upon the Government and the eminent public men who have advised suspension to see that the Rowlatt Legislation is removed without delay.

I have been accused of throwing lighted matches. If my occasional Civil Resistance be a lighted match, Rowlatt Legislation and persistence in retaining it on the statute book is a thousand matches scattered throughout India, and the only way to avoid Civil Resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation. Nothing that the Government have published in justification of that legislation has moved the Indian public from the attitude of opposition to it.

I have thus suspended Civil Resistance to hasten the end of that legislation. But Satyagrahis will pay for its removal by their lives if it cannot be removed by lesser means. The period of suspension is for Satyagrahis an opportunity for further discipline in an enlightened and willing obedience to the laws of the State. The right of Civil Resistance is derived from the duty of obedience voluntarily performed. And Satyagraha consists not merely, or even chiefly, in civilly resisting laws, but mainly in promoting national welfare by strict adherence to Truth. I would respectfully advise fellow-Satyagrahis and seek the co-operation of all great and small in the propagation of pure Swadeshi and promotion of Hindu-Moslem unity. Swadeshi is, I hold, a necessity

of national existence. No Englishman or Indian can view with equanimity the huge enforced waste of the labour of twenty crore peasants during half the year. That labour can be quickly and immediately utilised only by restoring to the women their spinning wheels and to the men their handlooms. This means the elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese menace. The elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest purifies the British connection and makes the position of equality possible. The elimination of the Japanese menace will avert a national and Imperial disaster. Extension of Japan's hold upon India through her commerce can end only in India's degradation or a bloody war.

The Hindu-Moslem unity is equally a national and Imperial necessity. A voluntary League between Hindus, Mahomedans and Englishmen is a league in my conception infinitely superior to, and purer than, the League of Nations just formed. Permanent union between Hindus and Mahomedans is the preliminary to such Triple Union. That unity can be materially advanced by the Hindus whole-heartedly associating themselves with the Mahomedans in their very just aspirations regarding the Caliphate, the holy Mecca and the other holy places of Islam.

The Swadeshi propaganda and work for Hindu-Moslem unity require powers of organisation, honesty of purpose, integrity in trade, and immense self-sacrifice and self-restraint. It is, therefore, easy enough to perceive that Swadeshi propaganda on the purest lines and promotion of Hindu-Moslim unity cannot but have an indirect, though none the less effective, bearing on the movement for securing withdrawal of Rowlatt Legislation for which the Government can claim no

justification—little as they can claim even now—when we give an unexampled demonstration of the qualities named above.—*21st July, 1919.*

M. K. G.

23rd August 1919

SATYAGRAHA—A MORAL REVOLUTION

The following letter from Mr. Gandhi was published in the "Times of India," in reply to an open letter published in the same paper, some days ago, over the signature of "Pennsylvanian." The open letter was not so much a criticism of the doctrine of Civil Resistance, as an appeal to Mr. Gandhi to devote his energies to improve the Society by an active, ceaseless propaganda of social, educational and economic reform, or as the writer put it, by 'evil resistance' and 'civil assistance.'

TO THE EDITOR "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

Sir,—You will perhaps permit me to reply to 'Pennsylvanian's' well-meant advice to me. I am aware that many Englishmen honestly hold the opinion 'Pennsylvanian' does, and I thank him for providing me with an opportunity for removing some of the misunderstanding that exists about Satyagraha.

'Pennsylvanian' has commended to me the example of his illustrious countryman, Abraham Lincoln. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to translate into my life one of his sayings, namely, "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

'Pennsylvanian' rightly insists on a "moral revolution." Now, Satyagraha is that and nothing else. Civil Resistance is but a part, though a necessary part, of it.

Its root meaning is "Insistence on truth at all cost." Life-Satyagrahis are under the pledge of absolute adherence to truth, non-violence, poverty and chastity. An institution is at present in existence at which practically the whole of the programme sketched by 'Pennsylvanian' is being carried out. English and American friends have visited it. I invite 'Pennsylvanian' to visit it and report upon it to the public. He will find there that men and women belonging to all station in life are living on terms of perfect equality, that the unlettered receive literary education in so far as the daily toil permits it, and that the lettered members do not hesitate to take up the pickaxe and the shovel. He will find there that, besides agriculture, the inmates are under the obligation to learn the art of spinning and weaving. By exploring the records of its past, he will discover that its members helped with medicine the people of the surrounding villages during the Influenza epidemic, that they helped the famine committee to distribute grain among the poor, that they distributed again for the same agency several thousand rupees against manufacture by the needy weaver and thus added to the production in the country, that through their labour several women who were but the other day earning nothing, are able by spinning cotton during their leisure hours, to earn a few coppers daily. In short, he will find that most of the items in the comprehensive programme sketched by 'Pennsylvanian' are being worked there to the utmost extent of the capacity of the Satyagrahis. This is the silent moral revolution going on in our midst. It suffers by advertisement and it is not without some hesitation that I have placed before the public the constructive work that is being done by Life-Satyagrahis.

Let me add further that the advent of Satyagraha has, to my knowledge, weaned many an anarchist from his blood-thirsty doctrine. He has found that secret societies and methods of secret murder have brought nothing but a military and economic burden on this unhappy land, that it has tightened the coil of the Criminal Investigation Department, and that it has demoralised and wrecked the lives of hundreds of youths who have been led astray by it. Satyagraha has presented the rising generation with a new hope, an open road and an infallible remedy for most ills of life. It has armed that generation with an indestructible and matchless force which any one may wield with impunity. Satyagraha tells the youth of India, self-suffering is the only sure road to salvation,—economic, political and spiritual.

For the most part Satyagraha is "evil resistance" and "civil assistance". But sometimes it *has* to be "civil resistance". Here I must call to my assistance another illustrious countryman of 'Pennsylvanian', Henry Thoreau. He asks: "Must the citizen ever for a moment or in the least degree resign his conscience to the legislator?" He answers: "I think that we should be men first and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right." I think that the position taken up by Thoreau is unassailable. The only question is that of the remedy to be applied for vindicating the rights of conscience. The remedy in vogue is that of inflicting violence on those who wish to wound your conscience. Thoreau in his immortal essay shows that Civil Disobedience, not violence, is the true remedy. In Civil Disobedience the resister suffers the consequences of disobedience. This was what Daniel did when he disobeyed the law of the

Medes and Persians. That is what John Bunyan did and that is what the raiyats have done in India from times immemorial. It is the law of our being. Violence is the law of the beast in us. Self-suffering, i.e., civil resistance, is the law of the man in us. It is rarely that the occasion for civil resistance arises in a well-ordered state. But when it does, it becomes a duty that cannot be shirked by one who counts his honour, i.e. conscience, above everything. Rowlatt Act is legislation that affects the conscience of thousands of us, and I respectfully suggest that an appeal should be addressed by Englishmen to the Government that they withdraw an act that hurts the self-respect of the nation and that has roused such unanimous opposition, rather than that I should be asked to refrain from civil resistance in respect of it.—20th August, 1919.

M. K. G.

13th September. 1919

“NAVA JIVAN”

In a leading article Mr. Gandhi gives the *raison d'etre* of “Nava Jivan.” We give a substance of the principal part of it.

Though his sense of his own limitations is overwhelming, Mr. Gandhi thinks that he has something to give to India which others do not possess in an equal degree. “With very great effort I have framed certain principles of life and have practised them and the pleasure and happiness I have derived therefrom has not seemed to me to be the privilege of others to enjoy. Many of my friends have borne testimony to this. I propose to lay my principles at the feet of India and to

let her share my joy and happiness. One of the media of doing this is a newspaper.

“Satyagraha, to me, is not a mere shibboleth. It is the rule of life. Everything appears to me to be lifeless without truth. I am convinced that untruth will never benefit the country, and even if untruth seem to bring immediate benefit, I firmly believe that truth ought never to be abandoned. I have grasped this truth ever since I learnt to think for myself, and I have been trying to put it into practice for the last 40 years. And still I feel that I have not been uniformly successful in preserving unity in thought, word and deed. But what matters it? Ideals seem to recede from us as we approach them. Manliness lies in accelerating our motion towards them all the more. ‘We fall to rise, are baffled to fight better.’ It will suffice simply if we never turn our backs.

“I have come across many gems in my search for the life-truth, and I think of placing them before the public by means of ‘Nava Jivan.’ I have found that it is our first duty to render voluntary obedience to law, but whilst doing that duty I have also seen that when law fosters untruth it becomes a duty to disobey it. How may this be done? We can do so by never swerving from truth and suffering the consequences of our disobedience. That is Civil Disobedience. No rules can tell us how this disobedience may be done and by whom, when and where, nor can they tell us which laws foster untruth. It is only experience that can guide us, and it requires time and knowledge of facts. ‘Nava Jivan’ will address itself to supplying this last thing.

‘Nava Jivan’ will try to demonstrate how though we may be fighting with the authorities in matters where we differ from them, we may still co-operate with them in matters where we do not differ.

“ But the relations between the rulers and the ruled do not exhaust the application of Satyagraha. Social and Religious reform, Hindu-Moslem Unity and many other allied questions can be solved by this sovereign remedy. All such questions will therefore be discussed in ‘Nava Jivan.’

“The agitation against the Rowlatt Legislation is an object-lesson in Satyagraha. ‘Nava Jivan’ will keep the agitation alive before the people. I have no doubt that the Act will be repealed before its time, because I am confident of the power of truth and the capacity of Satyagrahis.

“I firmly believe that India’s economic salvation lies in Swadeshi. Swadeshi is firmly founded on religion and no nation that has forsaken religion has risen. ‘Nava Jivan’ will therefore carry on a vigorous Swadeshi propaganda.

“I am by birth and action a Gujarati and believe that unless I become one with the people in Gujarat through their, *i.e.*, my mother tongue, I cannot truly serve my country. Gujarat should be my principal and first field of activities and it is through Gujarat and Gujarati that I can serve India. To how many can I teach my message through the medium of English? And the enthusiasm and energetic effort for English is after all misdirected. ‘Nava Jivan’ will demonstrate that also.

“India lives in the cottages of her peasants. The art of weaving reminds us of the ancient stories of our land. It is hence that I take pride in calling myself farmer and weaver. I want to send ‘Nava Jivan’ to the cottages of our farmers and weavers and I must approach them in their language. ‘Nava Jivan’ will deal with the stories of their weal and woe in their own tongue.

In a fear-stricken, indebted and diseased peasantry I see the ruin of India.

“It is my earnest desire that women in every home should read ‘Nava Jivan.’ Who else but women will protect our religion? If they remain ignorant and stupid, if they know nothing about the condition of their country, what would be in store for the future generation? ‘Nava Jivan’ will therefore try to keep women alive to their duties and well-informed, and it will also keep men awake to their duties towards women.

“This is a most ambitious programme, but no steady effort in the directions outlined can go in vain. In the present state of the Press law, how can messages be effectively given to illiterate India, someone will ask. That is, however, the question of the pessimist who does not know the great moral that love can break the chains of ignorance. And need love and truth fear the Press Act? ‘Nava Jivan’ will speak out what it must, without the fear of the Press Act. The manager and the editing staff of the ‘Nava Jivan’ have pledged themselves to do so.”

18th September 1919

SATYAGRAHA

The following is a translation of Mr. Gandhi's article in the Pateti number of the “Sanj Vartman” :—

I see so much misapprehension about Satyagraha amongst us, as well as Englishmen that though I have said and written much about it, I think it proper to say something even at the risk of repetition.

Satyagraha was a word coined in South Africa to

name a certain movement. First even the Gujarati word for the great movement our countrymen in South Africa were carrying on was 'passive resistance.' Once I happened to address a meeting of Europeans in connection with the movement and on that occasion the European President of the meeting said that there was nothing active in the power of Indians who were voteless and unarmed, to offer passive resistance, which could only be a weapon of the weak. He was my friend. He expressed these views without meaning any insult to us, but I felt humiliated. I was conscious that the nature of the fight that the Indians were offering in South Africa was not the result of their weakness. They had purposely decided on that sort of agitation. I took the next earliest opportunity to correct my friend's views and demonstrated to him that it was beyond the power of weak men to put up a fight of the nature the Indians in South Africa were doing. They were exhibiting a greater courage than that required of a soldier.

Whilst in connection with the same movement I was in England, I saw that the suffragist women were burning buildings and whipping officers, and were calling their own agitation by the name of 'passive resistance,' and people also called it so. In the agitation of the Indians in South Africa there was no room for these violent acts. I thus saw that to let our movement be known by the name of 'passive resistance' was fraught with dangers. I could not find an English word that could correctly express our movement. In the meeting of Europeans above referred to I called our movement one of 'soul force'. But I could not dare to make the word current as expressive of our movement. Some capable Englishmen could see the imperfectness of the word 'passive resistance', but they could not suggest a better

word. I now see that 'Civil Resistance' is the word which can correctly express our movement. Only some-time ago I somehow hit upon this word, and so I have now been using that word in English. 'Civil Resistance' expresses much more than is conveyed by the word 'Civil Disobedience,' though it expresses much less than Satyagraha.

I also saw that in South Africa truth and justice were our only weapons, that the force we were putting forth was not brute-force but was soul-force, be it ever so little. This force is not found to be within the power of the brutes and as truth ever contains soul-force, the South African agitation began to be known in our vernaculars by the name of 'Satyagraha.'

That Satyagraha is thus based on purity is no exaggeration. We can now understand that Satyagraha is not merely Civil Disobedience. At times it may be Satyagraha not to offer Civil Disobedience. When it appears to us to be our duty to offer Civil Disobedience, when not to offer it seems to us derogatory to our manliness, and to our soul, then only Civil Disobedience can be Satyagraha.

This Satyagraha can be offered not only against Government, but against family and society. In short, Satyagraha may be used as between a husband and wife, father and son and between friends. We may use this weapon in any sphere of life and to get redress of any grievance. The weapon purifies one who uses it as one against whom it is used. A good use of the weapon can never be undesirable, and it is ever infallible. If Satyagraha is converted into *Duragraha* and thus becomes fruitful of evil results, Satyagraha cannot be blamed.

This sort of Satyagraha consciously or unconsciously

appears to be used mostly in families. That is to say, if a son finds that his father is unjust to him, he does not put up with the injustice and pays the penalty with pleasure, and in the end he succeeds in winning over his callous father and in having justice from him. But a deadening inertia prevents us from carrying Satyagraha beyond the family sphere. And I have therefore thought the use of Satyagraha in the political and social sphere to be a new experiment. Tolstoy in one of his letters drew attention to the fact that this was a new experiment.

There are some who believe that Satyagraha may be used only in the religious sphere. My wide experience points to a contrary conclusion. We may use it in other spheres and spiritualise them and by so doing hasten the victory and are saved many a false thing. I am firmly of opinion that Satyagraha contains the observance of the manifest laws of economics, and therefore I believe Satyagraha to be a practical affair. Satyagraha being, as I have shown above, a new-fangled weapon may take time to be understood and accepted by the people—and things pregnant with results great and good do take time—but when it pervades the land, political and social reforms which to-day take very long time to be achieved will be obtained in comparatively less time, the gulf that separates rulers and the ruled will be bridged over, and trust and love will take the place of distrust and estrangement.

There is only one thing needful for a wide propagation of Satyagraha. If the leaders understand it correctly, and put it before the people, I am sure the people are ready to welcome it. To understand its true beauty, one should have unflinching faith in Truth and Non-violence. Truth does not require to be explained. I do not mean

to enter here into a minute explanation of Non-violence. It means in short that we should not be actuated by spite against those from whom we seek to obtain justice, that we should never think of obtaining anything from him by any violence to his person, but by pure civility. If we can trust ourselves to be equal to only this much non-violence, the required reforms can be easily achieved.

When the whole nation adopts Satyagraha as an eternal weapon, all our movements will take a new form. We shall be spared much of the hubbub and stump oratory, much of petition-making and passing of resolutions and much of our mean selfishnesses. I see nothing in which lies the social, economic and political advancement of the nation so much as in Satyagraha.

THREE LETTERS TO MAHATMA GANDHI

TOLSTOY ON SATYAGRAHA

The following is a translation of the letter by Count Tolstoy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, written in 1910 just at a time when Mr. Gandhi's efforts in the famous South African Passive Resistance campaign were about to be crowned with success. The letter shows how fully its writer had understood the position of Governments. He says: "The Governments know where their chief danger lies and they vigilantly guard in this question, not only their interests, but question: "To be or not to be?"

Kotchety-Russia. September 7, 1910.

I received your journal, and was pleased to learn all contained therein concerning the passive resisters. And I felt like telling you all the thoughts which that reading called up in me.

The longer I live and especially now, when I vividly

feel the nearness of death, I want to tell others what I feel so particularly, clearly and what to my mind is of great importance—namely, that which is called passive-resistance, but which is in reality nothing else than the teaching of love, uncorrupted by false interpretations. That love—i.e., the striving for the union of human souls and the activity derived from this striving—is the highest and only law of human life, and in the depth of his soul every human being (as we most clearly see in children) feels and knows this; he knows this until he is entangled by the false teachings of the world. This law was proclaimed by all—by the Indian as by the Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman sages of the world. I think this law was most clearly expressed by Christ, who plainly said that “in this only is all the law and the prophets.” But besides this, foreseeing the corruption to which this law is and may be subject, he straightway pointed out the danger of its corruption, which is natural to people who live in worldly interests, the danger, namely, which justifies the defence of these interests, by the use of force, or, as he said, “with blows to answer blows, by force to take back things usurped,” etc. He knew, as every sensible man must know, that the use of force is incompatible with love as the fundamental law of life, that as soon as violence is permitted, in whichever case it may be, the insufficiency of the law of love is acknowledged, and by this the very law is denied. The whole Christian civilisation, so brilliant outwardly, grew upon this self-evident and strange misunderstanding and contradiction, sometimes conscious, but mostly unconscious.

In reality, as soon as force was admitted into love there was no more, and there could be no love as the law of life, and as there was no law of life, there was no

law at all except violence—i.e., the power of the strongest. So lived Christian humanity for nineteen centuries. It is true that in all times people were guided by violence in arranging their lives. The difference between the Christian nations and all other nations is only that in the Christian world the law of love was expressed clearly and definitely, whereas it was so expressed in the religious teaching, and that the people of the Christian world have solemnly accepted this law, whilst at the same time they have permitted violence, and built their lives on violence and that is why the whole life of the Christian peoples is a continuous contradiction between that which they profess and the principles on which they order the lives—a contradiction between love accepted as the law of life and violence which is recognised and praised, acknowledged even as a necessity in different phases of life, such as the power of the rulers, courts and armies. This contradiction always grew with the development of the people of the Christian world, and lately it reached the highest stage. The question now evidently stands thus: either to admit that we do not recognise any religio-moral teaching, and we guide ourselves in arranging our lives only by power of the stronger, or that all our compulsory taxes, court and police establishments, but mainly our armies, must be abolished.

This year, in spring, at a Scripture examination in a Girls' High School at Moscow, the teacher and the bishop present asked the girls questions on the Commandments, and especially on the sixth. After a correct answer the bishop generally put another question, whether murder was always in all cases forbidden by God's law and the unhappy young ladies were forced by previous instruction to answer, "Not always"—that

murder was permitted in war and in execution of criminals. Still, when one of those unfortunate young ladies (what I am telling is not an invention, but a fact told me by an eye-witness) after her first answer, was asked the usual question, if killing were always sinful, she agitated and blushing, decisively answered, "Always" and to all the usual sophisms of the bishop, she answered with decided conviction, that killing always was forbidden in the old testament and forbidden by Christ, not only killing, but even every wrong against a brother. Notwithstanding all his grandeur and art of speech, the bishop became silent and the girl remained victorious.

Yes, we can talk in our newspapers of the progress of aviation, of complicated diplomatic relations, of different clubs and conventions, of unions of different kinds, of so-called productions of art, and keep silent about what that young lady said. But it cannot be passed over in silence, because it is felt, more or less dimly, but always felt by every man in the Christian world. Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Salvation Army, increasing crime, unemployment, the growing insane luxury of the rich and misery of the poor, the alarmingly increasing number of suicides—all these are the signs of that "internal contradiction which must be solved and cannot remain unsolved." And of course solved in the sense of acknowledging the law of love and denying violence. And so your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part.

I think that you will be pleased to know that here, in

Russia, this activity is also fast developing in the way of refusals to serve in the Army, the number of which increases from year to year. However insignificant is the number of our people who are passive resisters in Russia, who refuse to serve in the Army, these and the others can boldly say that God is more powerful than man.

In acknowledging Christianity even in the corrupt form in which it is professed amongst the Christian nations and at the same time in acknowledging the necessity of armies and armament for killing on the greatest scale in wars, there is such a clear clamouring contradiction, that it must sooner or later, possibly very soon, inevitably reveal itself and annihilate either the professing of the Christian religion, which is indispensable in keeping up these forces or the existence of armies and all the violence kept up by them, which is not less necessary for power. This contradiction is felt by all governments, by your British as well as by our Russian Government, and out of a general feeling of self-preservation the persecution by them (as seen in Russia and in the journal sent by you) against such anti-government activity as those above-mentioned, is carried on with more energy than against any other form of opposition. The governments know where their chief danger lies, and they vigilantly guard in this question, not only their interests, but the question: "To be or not to be?"

Yours very faithfully

Leo Tolstoy

[Translated from the original Russian by Pauline Padlashuk.—Johannesburg, November 15th 1910. *Indian Opinion*.]

The following letter has been sent to Mr. M. K. Gandhi by (Sir) Rabindranath Tagore and also communicated to the Press :—

Shantiniketan, 12th April 1919

Dear Mahatmaji,

Power in all its forms is irrational, it is like the horse that drags the carriage blindfolded. The moral element in it is only represented in the man who drives the horse. Passive resistance is a force which is not necessarily moral in itself; it can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to gain success, for then it becomes temptation.

I know your teaching is to fight against evil by the help of the good. But such a fight is for heroes and not for men, led by impulses of the moment. Evil on one side naturally begets evil on the other, injustice leading to violence and insult to vengefulness. Unfortunately such a force has already been started and either through panic or through wrath. Our authorities have shown us their claws whose sure effect is to drive some of us into the secret path of resentment and others into utter demoralisation.

In this crisis you, as a great leader of men, have stood among us to proclaim your faith in the idéal which you know to be that of India, the idéal which is both against the cowardliness of hidden revenge and the cowed submissiveness of the terror-stricken. You have said, as Lord Buddha has done in his time and for all time to come.

' Akkedhena jine, kodham asadhum jine '

'Conquer anger by the power of non-anger and evil by the power of good.'

○ This power of good must prove its truth and strength

by its fearlessness, by its refusal to accept any imposition which depends for its success upon its power to produce frightfulness and is not ashamed to use its machines of destruction to terrorise a people completely disarmed. We must know that moral conquest does not consist in successes, that failure does not deprive it of its dignity and worth. Those who believe in spiritual life know that to stand against wrong which has overwhelming material power behind it is victory itself: it is the victory of the active faith in the ideal in the teeth of evident defeat.

I have always felt, and said accordingly, that the great gift of freedom can never come to a people through charity. We must win it before we can own it. And India's opportunity for winning it will come to her when she can prove that she is morally superior to the people who rule her by their right of conquest. She must willingly accept her penance of suffering, the suffering which is the crown of the great. Armed with her utter faith in goodness, she must stand unabashed before the arrogance that scoffs at the power of spirit.

And you have come to your motherland in the time of her need to remind her of her mission, to lead her in the true path of conquest, to purge her present-day politics of its feebleness which imagines that it has gained its purpose when it struts in the borrowed feathers of diplomatic dishonesty.

This is why I pray most fervently that nothing that tends to weaken our spiritual freedom may intrude into our marching line, that martyrdom for the cause of truth may never degenerate into fanaticism for mere verbal forms, descending into the self-deception that hides itself behind sacred names.

With these few words for an introduction, allow me to

offer the following as poet's contribution to your noble work :—

I

Let me hold my head high in this faith that thou art our shelter, that all fear is mean distrust of those.

Fear of man? But what man is there in this world, what king, O King of Kings, who is thy rival, who has hold of me for all time and in all truth?

What power is there in this world to rob me of freedom? For, do not thy arms reach the captive through the dungeon-walls bringing unfettered release to the soul?

And must I cling to this body in fear of death, as a miser to his barren treasure? Has not this spirit of mine the eternal call to the feast of everlasting life?

Let me know that all pain and death are shadows of the moment; that the dark force which sweeps between me and thy truth is but the mist before the sunrise; that thou alone art mine for ever and greater than all pride of strength that dares to make my manhood with its menace.

II

Give me the supreme courage of love, this is my prayer, the courage to speak, to do, to suffer at thy will, to leave all or be left alone.

Give me the supreme faith of love, this is my prayer, the faith of the life in death, of the victory in defeat, of the power hidden in the frailness of beauty, of the dignity of pain that accepts hurt, but disdains to return it.

Very sincerely yours,
(Sd) Rabindranath Tagore.

(Sir) Rabindranath Tagore's eldest brother Babu Dwijendra Nath Tagore who is eighty years old, and who leads the life of a recluse at his peaceful hermitage at Shantiniketan has addressed the following letter to Mahatma Gandhi, supporting his passive resistance movement:—

Shantiniketan, April 11, 1919

My most revered friend Mr. Gandhi,

I wish with all my heart that you will go on unflinchingly with your work of helping our misguided people to overcome evil by good. At times it seems to me that the penance and fastings etc., which you enjoin are not quite the things that are necessary and therefore may be dispensed with. But on the second thought I find that we are not competent to judge the matter aright from our stand-point. You are deriving your inspiration from such a high source that instead of calling in question, the appropriateness of your sayings and doings, we ought to thankfully recognise in them the fatherly call of Providence full of divine wisdom and power.

May the Almighty and All-merciful God be your shield and strength in this awful crisis.

Your affectionate old friend,
Dwijendranath Tagore.

17th May 1919

THE SWADESHI VOW

The idea of Swadeshi was first broached on the 6th of April meeting at Chowpati when thousands of men and some women met together, but the Swadeshi Vow was not taken on that day. It has now been fully threshed

out and the way is clear. It is our duty to take Swadeshi Vow; in it lies the prosperity of India. To use foreign articles rejecting those that are manufactured in India is to be untrue to India, it is an unwarranted indulgence. To use foreign articles because we do not like indigenous ones is to be a foreigner. It is obvious that we cannot reject indigenous articles, even as we cannot reject the native air and the native soil because they are inferior to foreign air and soil. Cotton imports amounted to about Rs. 570,000,000 and silk imports to Rs. 4,00,00,000 in the year 1917-18. India has a population of three hundred millions and so it means that we sent out in that year about Rs. 2 per head, with starvation as the result. More than thirty million men in India hardly get more than one meal a day. Such a starvation must have been unknown when every house in India had its spinning wheel and when thousands of people were busy with their handlooms. No wonder that starvation and other ills arise whenever people depart from the path of duty. One of the remedies for these ills is Swadeshi. The Swadeshi Vow of which the text is given at the foot of this article has therefore been proposed and it has been divided into two classes. The first represents purer Swadeshi Vow, but the purest is that under which those taking it restrict themselves to the use of hand-woven clothes made out of hand-spun yarn. The ruin of the handloom industry makes such a vow for the time being impossible. But if those who take the first vow keep the ideal Swadeshi as their goal, we shall ere long be able to obtain sufficient hand-woven cloth.

I have already pointed out the great difference between Swadeshi and Boycott. I for one am sure that boycott cannot benefit India in the least. Resorting to

boycott amounts to cutting off the nose to spite the face. Shall we open our door wider for Japan by boycotting British goods in order to rid ourselves of the evil of the Rowlatt Bill? The fact is that Swadeshi has nothing to do with the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. A great movement like Satyagraha sets the people a-thinking about the duties and it is thus that the idea of the Swadeshi has possessed the people. We shall continue to observe the vow even after the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation and after India becomes an honoured partner in the British Empire. And our vow will then not be the limited Swadeshi Vow to-day, it will be a far wider one as we shall then have been capable of meeting in India itself many of our requirements. We shall appeal to our English brethren also to join us in this Swadeshi Vow,

In order to enable lacs of men and women to take and observe the Swadeshi Vow, commercial honesty will be a "sine qua non." The millowners will have to fix their rates in a patriotic spirit. Merchants, great and small will also likewise have to keep honest dealings. I have no doubt that Swadeshi cannot advance unless thousands of petty shopkeepers from whom the poor millions buy introduce honesty into their dealings. The organisers of Swadeshi have ventured to place before the nation the Swadeshi pledge for its acceptance upon the belief that our merchants possess the patriotic spirit and that for the sake of the country they will be kind to the poor and be truthful towards them.

Those who have foreign clothing seem to hesitate to take the pledge. Though this is natural, it is also painful. We want Swadeshi to produce big results. These cannot be attained without sacrifice. Moreover, it is hoped that the spirit of Swadeshi will bring in that of

simplicity, and those who take to simple, though more durable clothing, will be able to recoup themselves for any loss sustained by reason of the giving up of foreign articles.

It is necessary to give the warning that none should lay by a large stock of Swadeshi clothing. There is not enough cloth in Hindustan to enable many of us to have a stock to last four or five years. When there are many Swadeshists, there is no doubt that we will have many Swadeshi shops and that day by day we shall have more cloth woven in India. Those who take the pledge should have faith in the possibility of their being able to buy Swadeshi cloth whenever they need it. As a matter of fact, every one should learn to weave his own cloth and those who cannot should engage their own weavers. So doing they would avoid all cause for deceit and they would be able to have durable and pure cloth for their use. This is what we used to do in days gone by.

Swadeshi depends upon women adopting it. I hope that thousands of them will give up foreign cloth in their possession and take the Swadeshi pledge. It behoves us to suffer some inconvenience if only by way of penance for our past mistakes. Moreover, it is possible to put foreign cloth to other uses. It can even be sold for despatch out of India. Further the nation has a right to expect its women to cloth their children in Swadeshi garments.—*13th May, 1919.*

M. K. G.

PURE SWADESHI VOW

I solemnly declare that, henceforth, in Hindustan I shall not wear clothing except such as is made in India out of Indian cotton, silk or wool spun in India.

This vow shall be binding on me for life-years.

MIXED SWADESHI VOW

I solemnly declare that, henceforth, in Hindustan I shall not wear any clothing except such as is woven in India whether made out of foreign or Indian yarn, silk and wool.

This vow shall be binding on me for life-years.

Explanation.—The true Swadeshi ideal consists in the use of hand-woven cloth only made out of hand-spun yarn, but it is physically impossible to-day to secure a supply of such cloth for any large number of people. It is expected, however, that true lovers of Swadeshi and real art will not only themselves, even at some inconvenience, wear hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun yarn, but will also endeavour to set going as many handlooms and spinning wheels as possible.

Note 1.—It should be remembered that this movement has nothing to do with the agitation for securing repeal of Rowlatt legislation. Repeal of that legislation or the granting of other concessions or reforms will make no alteration whatsoever in the Swadeshi vow or the movement for the spread of Swadeshi.

Note 2.—The suggestion for destruction of foreign cloth in the possession of the signatories to the pledge has been totally abandoned lest a mistaken interpretation of the suggestion may lead to the growth or the promotion of ill-will against Europeans, the idea of ill-will being entirely foreign to the originators of the present Swadeshi movement. But the pledge precludes the use of any personal clothing of foreign make that the signatory may possess at the time of taking the vow.

Note 3.—Mahomadans, Parsis, Christians and Jews taking the Swadeshi pledge are not precluded from using and wearing foreign cloths, having a religious significance.

The following are among the signatories to the first vow:—

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Mrs. Kasturibai Gandhi, Mahadeo Haribhai Desai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobhani, Shankerlal G. Banker, Devji Damoder, Behan Ansuya Sarabhai, Lakhamidas Rawji Tersi, Jamnadas Madhawji Mehta, and Vaikunthray Ambalal Desai.

ECONOMIC SALVATION OF INDIA

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

The following is the text of the Swadeshi vow:—

“With God as my witness, I, solemnly, declare that from to-day I shall confine myself, for my personal requirements, to the use of cloth, manufactured in India from Indian cotton, silk or wool and I shall altogether abstain from using foreign cloth, and I shall destroy all foreign cloth in my possession.”

For a proper observance of this pledge, it is really necessary to use only handwoven cloth made out of handspun yarn. Imported yarn, even though spun out of Indian cotton and woven in India, is not Swadeshi cloth. We shall reach perfection only when our cotton is spun in India on indigenous spinning wheels and the yarn so spun is woven on similarly made handlooms. But requirements of the foregoing pledge are met if we all only use cloth woven by means of imported machinery from yarn spun from Indian cotton by means of similar machinery.

I may add that covenanters to the restricted Swadeshi referred to here, will not rest satisfied with Swadeshi clothing only. They will extend the vow to all other things as far as possible.

I am told that there are in India English-owned mills which do not admit Indian shareholders. If this information be true, I would consider cloth manufactured in such mills to be foreign cloth. Moreover, such cloth bears the taint of ill-will. However well-made such cloth may be, it should be avoided. The majority do not give thought to such matters. All cannot be expected to consider whether their actions promote or retard the welfare of their country. But it behoves those who are learned, those who are thoughtful, whose intellects are trained or who are desirous of serving their country, to test every action of theirs, whether public or private in the manner aforesaid, and when ideas which appear to be of national importance and which have been tested by practical experience should be placed before the people and, as has been said in the Divine Song, "the multitude will copy the actions of the enlightened." Even thoughtful men and women have not hitherto generally carried on the above-mentioned self-examination. The nation has therefore suffered by reason of this neglect. In my opinion, such self-examination is only possible where there is religious perception.

Thousands of men believe that by using cloth woven in Indian mills, they comply with the requirements of the Swadeshi vow. The fact is that most fine cloth is made out of foreign cotton, spun outside India. Therefore the only satisfaction to be derived from the use of such cloth is that it is woven in India. Even on hand-loom, for very fine cloth only foreign yarn is used. The use of such cloth does not amount to an observance of Swadeshi. To say so is simple self-deception. Satyagraha *i. e.*, insistence on truth is necessary even in Swadeshi. When men will say, "we shall confine ourselves to pure Swadeshi cloth even though we may have

to remain satisfied with a mere loin cloth, and when women will resolutely say, 'we shall observe pure Swadeshi even though we may have to restrict ourselves to clothing just enough to satisfy the sense of modesty,' then shall we be successful in the observance of the great Swadeshi vow. If a few thousand men and women were to take the Swadeshi vow in this spirit, others will try to imitate them as far as possible. They will then begin to examine their wardrobes in the light of Swadeshi. Those who are not attached to pleasures and personal adornment, I venture to say, can give a great impetus to Swadeshi.

Generally speaking, there are very few villages in India without weavers. From times immemorial, we have had village farmers and village weavers, as we have village carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, etc. But our farmers have become poverty-stricken and our weavers have patronage only from the poor classes. By supplying them with Indian cotton, spun in India, we can obtain the cloth we may need. For the time being it may be coarse, but by constant endeavours we can get our weavers to weave out of fine yarn and so doing we shall raise our weavers to a better status, and if we would go a step still further, we can easily cross the sea of difficulties lying in our path. We can easily teach our women and our children to spin and weave cotton, and what can be purer than cloth woven in our own home? I tell it from my experience that acting in this way, we shall be saved from many a hardship, we shall be ridding ourselves of many an unnecessary need, and our life will be one song of joy and beauty. I always hear divine voices telling me in my ears that such life was a matter of fact once in India. But even if such an India be the idle dream of the poet, it does not matter.

Is it not necessary to create such an India now, does not our 'Purushartha' lie therein? I have been travelling throughout India. I cannot bear the heart-rending cry of the poor. The young and old all tell me, 'we cannot get cheap cloth, we have not the means wherewith to purchase dear cloth. Everything is dear, provision, cloth and all. What are we to do?' and they heave a sigh of despair. It is my duty to give these men a satisfactory reply. It is the duty of every servant of the country, but I am unable to give a satisfactory reply. It should be intolerable for all thinking Indians that our raw materials should be exported to Europe and that we have to pay heavy prices therefore. The first and the last remedy for this is Swadeshi. We are not bound to sell our cotton to anybody and when Hindustan rings with the echoes of Swadeshi, no producer of cotton will sell it for its being manufactured in foreign countries. When Swadeshi pervades the country, every one will be set a-thinking why cotton should not be refined and spun and woven in the place where it is produced. And when the Swadeshi mantra resounds in every ear, millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India. Training for this does not require hundreds of years. When the religious sense is awakened, people's thoughts undergo a revolution in a single moment. Only selfless sacrifice is the *sine qua non*. The spirit of sacrifice pervades the Indian atmosphere at the present moment. If we fail to preach Swadeshi at this supreme moment, we shall have to wring our hands in despair. I beseech every Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian and Jew who believes that he belongs to this country to take the Swadeshi vow and to ask others also to do likewise. It is my humble belief that if we cannot do even this little for

our country, we are born in it in vain. Those who think deep will see that such Swadeshi contains pure economics. I hope that every man and woman will give serious thought to my humble suggestion. Imitation of English economics will spell our ruin.

21st June 1919

SWADESHI

The following address on Swadeshi delivered by Mr. Gandhi before the Missionary Conference of 1916 at Madras, being seasonable, is reprinted here for the benefit of those who are interested in the Swadeshi;—

It was not without great diffidence that I undertook to speak to you at all. And I was hard put to it in the selection of my subject. I have chosen a very delicate and difficult subject. It is delicate because of the peculiar views I hold upon Swadeshi, and it is difficult because I have not that command of language which is necessary for giving adequate expression to my thoughts. I know that I may rely upon your indulgence for the many short-comings you will no doubt find in my address, the more so when I tell you that there is nothing, in what I am about to say, that I am not either already practising or am preparing to practice to the best of my ability. It encourages me to observe that last month you devoted a week to prayer in the place of an address. I have earnestly prayed that what I am about to say may bear fruit and I know you will bless my word with a similar prayer.

After much thinking, I have arrived at a definition of Swadeshi that perhaps best illustrates my meaning. Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use

and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millenium. And as we do not abandon our pursuit after the millenium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi, even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come.

Let us briefly examine the three branches of Swadeshi as sketched above. Hinduism has become a conservative religion and therefore a mighty force, because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion to-day as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded, not in driving out as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the Swadeshi spirit, a Hindu refuses to change his religion, not necessarily because he considers it to be the best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of other great faiths of the world, only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in

what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom we owe a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytising, while continuing their philanthropic work? I hope you will not consider this to be an impertinence on my part. I make the suggestion in all sincerity and with due humility. Moreover I have some claim upon your attention. I have endeavoured to study the Bible. I consider it as part of my scriptures. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount competes almost on equal terms with the Bhagwad Gita for the domination of my heart. I yield to no Christian in the strength of devotion with which I sing "Lead kindly Light" and several other inspired hymns of a similiar nature. I have come under the influence of noted Christian missionaries belonging to different denominations, and I enjoy to this day the privilege of friendship with some of them. You will perhaps, therefore, allow that I have offered the above suggestion not as a biased Hindu, but as a humble and impartial student of religion with great leanings towards Christianity. May it not be that "Go ye unto all the world" message has been somewhat narrowly interpreted and the spirit of it missed? It will not be denied, I speak from experience, that many of the conversions are only so-called. In some cases the appeal has gone not to the heart but to the stomach. And in every case a conversion leaves a sore behind it which, I venture to think, is, avoidable. Quoting again from experience, a new birth, a change of heart, is perfectly possible in every one of the great faiths. I know I am now treading upon thin ice. But I do not apologise, in closing this part of my subject, for saying that the frightful outrage that is just going on in Europe,

perhaps shows that the message of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Peace, has been little understood in Europe and that light upon it may have to be thrown from the East.

I have sought your help in religious matters, which it is yours to give in a spécial sense. But I make bold to seek it even in political matters. I do not believe that religion has nothing to do with politics. The latter divorced from religion is like a corpse only fit to be buried. As a matter of fact, in your own silent manner you influence politics not a little. And I feel that if the attempt to separate politics from religion had not been made as it is even now made, they would not have degenerated as they often appear to have done. No one considers that the political life of the country is in a happy state. Following out the Swadeshi spirit, I observe the indigenious institutions and the village panchayat hold me. India is really a republican country, and it is because it is that that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates whether they were Indian born or foreigners have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in their turn seem to have rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered to its political needs. The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wonderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skillful that

organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet it is the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is true, I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the Swadeshi spirit. We, the educated classes, have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They recognize us not much more than they recognize the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness, not in reality, failure to organise but want of correspondence between the representatives and represented. If during the last fifty years had we been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge; the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasures as are the Ramayan and Mahabharat. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc., would have been solved long ago. The village panchayats would be now a living force in a special way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements and would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of organised assassination on its sacred soil. It is not too late to mend. And you can help if you will, as no other body or bodies can.

And now for the last division of Swadeshi. Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be to-day a land flowing with milk and honey. But that was not to be. We were greedy and so was England. The connection between England and India was based clearly upon an error. But she (England) does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the Swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without hurt, though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. This may be an utterly ridiculous proposition, and perhaps the best proof that it cannot be true is, that England is one of the largest importers in the world. But India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirements, within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly not legislation. Force of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The handloom industry is in a dying condition. I took

special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine, to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to proceed, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. This may all sound nonsensical. Well, India is a country of nonsense. It is nonsensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Mahomedan is ready to offer pure water to drink. And yet thousands of Hindus would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Mahomedan household. These nonsensical men can also, once they are convinced that their religion demands that they should wear garments manufactured in India only and eat food only grown in India, decline to wear any other clothing or eat any other food. Lord Curzon set the fashion of tea-drinking. And that pernicious drug now bids fair to overwhelm the nation. It has already undermined the digestive apparatus of hundreds of thousands of men and women and constitutes an additional tax upon their slender purses. Lord Hardinge can set the fashion for Swadeshi, and almost the whole of India will forswear foreign goods. There is a verse in the Bhagwadgita, which, freely rendered, means masses follow the classes. It is easy to undo the evil if the thinking portion of the community were to take the Swadeshi vow, even though it may for a time cause considerable inconvenience. I

hate legislative interference in any department of life. At best, it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British Colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British colony, Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It has often been urged that India cannot adopt Swadeshi in the economic life at any rate. Those who advance this objection do not look upon Swadeshi as a rule of life. With them it is a mere patriotic effort, not to be made if it involved any self-denial. Swadeshi, as defined here, is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to individuals. Under its spell the deprivation of a pin or a needle, because these are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things which to-day he considers necessary. Moreover, those who dismiss Swadeshi from their minds by arguing the impossible forget that Swadeshi after all is a goal to be reached by steady effort. And we would be making for the goal, even if we confined Swadeshi to a given set of articles; allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such things as might not be procurable in the country.

There now remains for me to consider one more objection that has been raised against Swadeshi. The objectors consider it to be a most selfish doctrine without any warrant in the civilized code of morality. With them, to practise Swadeshi is to revert to barbarism. I cannot enter into a detailed analysis of the proposition. But I would urge the Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is

arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India, when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family, and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation, and if you will, the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family, regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others, as for instance I may accept an employment which enables me to extort the money from people; I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the state. Or I may recognize that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that everyone followed this mode of life, we should have at once an ideal state. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth. But it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas.* It is not merely a legal maxim, but it is a grand doctrine of life. It is the way to a proper practice of *Ahimsa* or love. It is for you, the custodians of a great faith, to set the

fashion and show by your preaching, sanctified by practice, that patriotism based on hatred "killeth," and that patriotism based on love "giveth life."

28th June 1919

THE NECESSITY OF VOWS

The "Leader" has fallen foul of the Swadeshi vow and incidentally of all vows. Its remarks deserve attention. We, therefore, reproduce elsewhere* the whole of the criticism. It is certainly better not to take a vow than having taken it to break it. One cannot be too cautious about taking vows. But we hold that the vast mass of mankind need the binding force of pledges. They build up a man's character. They are, on the one hand, a recognition of the fickleness of the human nature and, on the other, an additional help to strong minds. Every one recognises the excellent effect produced by temperance pledges. With the support derived from such pledges, many have succumbed to the temptation to drink. A vow is a fixed and unalterable determination to do a thing, when such a determination is related to something noble which can only uplift the man who makes the resolve. A vow is to all other indifferent resolves what a right angle is to all other angles. And just as a right angle gives an invariable and correct measure, so does a man of vows, rightly followed, give of himself an invariable and correct measure. It is therefore hardly correct to say that Swadeshi based on a vow is Swadeshi based on a formula. No one takes or should take a vow blindly. It is and can be taken only when one is fully

* Omitted in this collection.

convinced of the necessity and the rightness of a particular step. It is a question of strengthening the flesh when the spirit is willing. Without the binding effect of a vow, one may easily succumb to the temptation of buying a fine looking foreign garment. With the binding power of a vow, a man recognising the necessity of supporting home industries would prefer the less attractive indigenous garment. It can only do good to a man to be able to say "I shall never tell a lie" in the place of saying "So far as possible, I shall never tell a lie." Whilst therefore we regard the institution of vows as a necessity in national evolution, we entirely agree with our contemporary in its remark that "no amount of Swadeshi vows will avail so long as the daily necessities of life are not produced in the country or are produced in very small quantities or of inferior quality. Swadeshi is a question of capital, organization, skill, enterprise and determination."

20th August 1919

SWADESHI AND SUPPRESSED CLASSES

Godhra, last week, showed what could be done by co-operation between the officials and the leaders. The occasion was Mr. Gandhi's visit to Godhra on the 14th instant to open the Swadeshi Bhandar. The organisers had decided to secure the co-operation of the officials in the non-political part of the heavy programme arranged by them. The chief items in it were two Swadeshi meetings, one specially for the women of Godhra and the other for the public in general. Mrs. Clayton had gracefully accepted the invitation to be present at the ladies' meeting and Mr. Clayton, the Collector, to preside

at the public meeting. He had naturally stipulated that the meeting should be purely non-political. There was also a conference arranged between the leaders and Mr. Clayton on the question of forced labour. Mr. Gandhi was present at the conference. Mr. Clayton was very conciliatory and courteous to the deputation and said that he was desirous of removing this and all difficulties by mutual discussion and co-operation, and wished the leaders to approach him whenever they found that there was a grievance, and assured them that though he might not always agree, they could always rely upon his giving every matter his best attention.

Before the interview, was performed the opening ceremony of the store. A silver lock and key locally made were presented to Mr. Gandhi. The owners who have taken up the enterprise purely from a public standpoint asked Mr. Gandhi to announce that they would not charge more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the cost price of the goods in Godhra, *i.e.*, the price in Bombay and the rail-age and packing. This applies only to the articles required for the Swadeshi vows. The store was opened before a large audience. Mr. Gandhi said the enterprise depended for its success on the integrity of the managers and the patriotism of the Godhra public.

WOMEN AND SWADESHI

The women's meeting came off at 4 p.m. Over one thousand women must have been present at the meeting. Mrs. Jerbanu Merwanji Kothawala, the accomplished wife of Khan Saheb Kothawala, presided. The following is the precis of Mr. Gandhi's address to the ladies :

Mr. Gandhi said he was grateful to Mrs. Clayton for her presence at the gathering and he was sure he had

his audience with him in expressing the sentiment. After briefly introducing Mrs. Clayton to the ladies present, the speaker said Swadeshi was that spirit in us which required us to serve our immediate neighbours before others and to use things produced in our neighbourhood in preference to those more remote. So doing we served humanity to the best of our capacity. We could not serve humanity by neglecting our neighbours. Similarly with our wants. We were bound to supply them through the agency of our neighbours and therefore prefer their labour and wares to those of others. India abandoned Swadeshi, a hundred years ago, and had consequently become comparatively poor and helpless. We were well able to supply all our cloth and to supply the world's market to a certain extent when we were observing the law of Swadeshi. During that period, the majority of the women of India spun yarn as a national duty and the men wove the yarn so spun. Now the 21 crore peasants of India had at least four months out of the year thrown on their hands. They did not shirk work. They had none to occupy their time and to supplement their earnings from cultivation. Swadeshi therefore was a question of finding a subsidiary industry for our farmers. No country in the world could prosper that had one third of time of the vast majority of its inhabitants lying unutilised. Moreover, there were other men and women who had many hours in the day at their disposal. If these idle hours of the nation were fully occupied in producing yarn and weaving it, we could manufacture the whole of our cloth and thus save crores of rupees going out of the country every year. The condition of success was that cultured men and women took up spinning and weaving. The poorer people would follow their example. Lady Dorab Tata, Lady Petit and Mrs.

Jayji Petit had promised to learn the art of spinning and introduce it to their sisters. Mrs. Ramabai Ranade proposed to introduce the music of the spinning wheel in her Seva Sadan. Mrs. Banker worked six hours a day and produced fine yarns and made of it a gift to the nation. We could expect no less from the sisters of Godhra. Mr. Gandhi did not hesitate to recommend it to his European friends. One such sister had already undertaken the work. He hoped that those who did not need pecuniary assistance would make it a point of honour to give at least one hour a day to the nation for producing yarn. As an encouragement in this direction he called upon his hearers to pledge themselves henceforth not to buy foreign cloth. Every village of India would thus become self-supporting and self-producing so far as the two main wants of life—food and clothing—were concerned.

The Chairwoman exhorted the ladies present to help the movement in the direction Mr. Gandhi indicated. Mrs. Clayton said she was glad she was able to be present at the meeting. She always was in favour of home industries.

THE PUBLIC MEETING ON SWADESHI

The women's meeting was followed by a brief recess. The Vanita Vishram was visited at 6-30 p.m. The public meeting came off at 9-15 p.m. There was a very large audience. It was held in the open air. Mr. Gandhi's address dealt with the religious and the economic aspect. At the outset he said he was deeply grateful to Mr. Clayton for presiding at the meeting. He knew and appreciated the condition under which he had accepted the invitation of the organisers. And he

would endeavour faithfully to carry out the compact. To him the economic and the religious aspects of Swadeshi were far more attractive than the political, and as it was his dream that all, from the Viceroy down to the sweeper, should accept the Swadeshi, he was desirous of conducting the Swadeshi propaganda from the economic and the religious standpoints. He was thankful too that Mr. Clayton had permitted the officials to be present at the meeting. To him the religious aspect was all sufficient. That elementary religion which was common to mankind taught us to be kind and attentive to our neighbours. An individual's service to his country and humanity consisted in serving his neighbours. If that was true, it was our religious duty to support our farmers, our artisans such as weavers, carpenters, &c. And so long as the Godhra farmers and weavers could supply the wants of the Godhra citizens, the latter had no right to go outside Godhra and support even 'say' the Bombay farmers and weavers. He could not starve his neighbour and claim to serve his distant cousin in the North Pole. This was the basic principle of all religions and they would find it was also of true and humane economics. India was suffering from a triple curse, the curse of disease—disease, not of a normal but of an abnormal kind, the curse of want of food and lastly that of want of clothing. All proceeded largely from the same cause, poverty, and poverty was due largely to the economic drain. We gave to the producers outside India, in 1917-18, the enormous sum of sixty crores of rupees. And we had not, in any measure worthy of consideration, provided the millions of our spinners and weavers with any other occupation. The whole of the labour thus unwillingly set free was running to waste

like a mighty torrent of water. The evil could only be corrected by our reversion to Swadeshi and by rehabilitating our spinners and weavers in their former honourable occupation. He sought, in this gigantic task, the help of the officials, the millionaires and the other leaders of society. It was the most urgent need of the country. We had twenty-one crore farmers. His own experience and the experience of authoritative writers showed that they had nearly four months of the year lying idle on their hands. This was a huge economic waste. No wonder that we were poor. Swadeshi therefore was the problem of inducing and enabling the farmers to take up the supplementary industry of spinning and weaving. Our Shastras and the history of spinning and weaving throughout the world showed that the queens down to their maids considered it an honour to spin cotton. Weaving was largely specialised. In those halcyon days when our mothers spun for the nation, we were able to produce the finest muslin. We could still regain the lost art and with it the lost prosperity. But one thing was needful for the people, to insist on getting only Swadeshi cloth and on producing it themselves as far as possible. In the Punjab, thousands of women of high birth spun their own yarn and got it woven by professional weavers. The Swadeshi vows were designed to create a taste for Swadeshi. They must not be ashamed of coarse cloth. As a matter of fact, there was more art about hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, however coarse, than about machine-made cloth however fine. But art, apart, they were bound by every tie of honour, every consideration of prudence and economics to wear what cloth every village could produce and be satisfied with it, till our skill, industry and enterprise could produce a better quality.

At the close of the proceedings, the chairman said he was glad to be able to preside at the meeting. He thanked Mr. Gandhi for his instructive address and exhorted the audience to support home manufacture. A vote of thanks to the chair brought the meeting to a close.

7th May 1919

THE VOW OF HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY

The following is a free translation, approved by Mr. Gandhi, of his leaflet on Hindu-Moslem Unity :

In the huge mass meeting of Hindus and Mahomedans held in the Sonapur Masjid compound, on Sunday the 6th April, the day of humiliation and prayer, a vow of Hindu-Moslem Unity was proposed to be taken as in the case of Swadeshi, proposed at the Chowpaty meeting, and I had to utter a note of warning on both the occasions. At times, in a fit of joyous passion, we are spurred on to certain courses of action for which we have afterwards to repent. A vow is a purely religious act which cannot be taken in a fit of passion. It can be taken only with a mind purified and composed and with God as witness. Most of what I have said whilst writing about the Swadeshi vow applies here. Acts which are not possible by ordinary self-denial, become possible with the aid of vows which require extraordinary self-denial. It is hence believed that vows can only uplift us. If the Hindu and Moslem communities could be united in one bond of mutual friendship, and if each could act towards the other even as children of the same mother, it would be a consummation devoutly to be wished. But before this unity becomes a reality, both the communities will have to give up a good deal, and will have to make radical changes in ideas held heretofore. Member of one

community, when talking about those of the other, at times indulge in terms so vulgar that they but accentuate the relations between the two. In Hindu society, we do not hesitate to indulge in unbecoming language when talking of the Mahomedans and *vice versa*. Many believe that an ingrained and ineradicable animosity exists between the Hindus and Mahomedans. In many places we see that each community harbours distrust against the other. Each fears the other. It is an undoubted fact that this anomalous and wretched state of things is improving day by day. The Time-Spirit is ceaselessly working on unchecked, and willy-nilly we have to live together. But the object of taking a vow is speedily to bring about, by the power of self-denial, a state of things which can only be expected to come in the fulness of time. How is this possible? Meetings should be called of Hindus—I mean the orthodox Hindus—where this question should be seriously considered. The standing complaint of the Hindus against the Mussalmans is that the latter are beef-eaters and that they purposely sacrifice cows on the Bakr-i-Id day. Now it is impossible to unite the Hindus and Mahomedans so long as the Hindus do not hesitate to kill their Mahomedan brethren in order to protect a cow. For I think it is futile to expect that our violence will ever compel the Mahomedans to refrain from cowslaughter. I do not believe the efforts of our cow-protection societies have availed in the least to lessen the number of cows killed every day. I have had no reason to believe so. I believe myself to be an orthodox Hindu and it is my conviction that no one who scrupulously practises the Hindu religion may kill a cow-killer to protect a cow. There is one and only one means open to a Hindu to protect a cow and that is that he should offer himself a sacrifice, if he cannot stand its

slaughter. Even if a very few enlightened Hindus thus sacrificed themselves, I have no doubt that our Mussalman brethren would abandon cowslaughter. But this is Satyagraha; this is equity; even as, if I want my brother to redress a grievance, I must do so by taking upon my head a certain amount of sacrifice and not by inflicting injury on him. I may not demand it as of right. My only right against my brother is that I can offer myself as sacrifice.

It is only when the Hindus are inspired with a feeling of pure love of this type that Hindu-Moslem Unity can be expected. As with the Hindus, so with the Mussalmans. The leaders among the latter should meet together and consider their duty towards the Hindus. When both are inspired by a spirit of sacrifice, when both try to do their duty towards one another, instead of pressing their rights, then and then only would the long standing differences between the two communities cease. Each must respect the other's religion, must refrain from even secretly thinking ill of the other. We must politely dissuade members of both the communities from indulging in bad language against one another. Only a serious endeavour in this direction can remove the estrangement between us. Our vow would have value only when masses of Hindus and Mussalmans join in the endeavour. I think I have now made sufficiently clear the seriousness and magnitude of this vow. I hope that on this auspicious occasion—and surely the occasion must be auspicious when a wave of Satyagraha is sweeping over the whole country—we could all take this vow of unity. For this it is further necessary that leading Hindus and Mahomedans should meet together and seriously consider the question and then pass a unanimous resolution at a public meeting. This con-

summation will certainly be reached if our present efforts are vigorously continued. I think the vow may be taken individually even now and I expect that numerous people will do so every day. My warnings have reference to the taking of the vow publicly by masses of men. If it is taken by the masses it should, in my humble opinion, be as follows :

“With God as witness, we Hindus and Mahomedans declare that we shall behave towards one another as children of the same parents, that we shall have no differences, that the sorrows of each shall be the sorrows of the other and that each shall help the other in removing them. We shall respect each other's religion and religious feelings and shall not stand in the way of our respective religious practices. We shall always refrain from violence to each other in the name of religion.”

11th June 1919

BABU KALINATH ROY

(By M. K. GANDHI)

By the courtesy of the “Young India” syndicate, composed as it is largely of Satyagrahis, since the deportation of Mr. Horniman I have been permitted to supervise the editing of this journal. I asked for such supervision because I was anxious that nothing should appear in it that was in any way inconsistent with the general principles of Satyagraha, *i.e.*, of truth and non-violence to person or property. In pursuance of the plan I have hitherto also written some leading articles in the usual editorial style. But, for this issue I wish to take the sole responsibility, if there be any, of writing on the

case of Babu Kalinath Roy, the Editor of the now defunct "Tribune".* Personally, I consider that even from the point of view of the authorities there is nothing wrong or out of the way in what I am about to say. But lest they may think otherwise, it is due to the public and to the "Young India" syndicate that the authorship of this writing should be known.

With reference to the Punjab disturbances, by my complete silence over them I have allowed myself to be misunderstood by many friends and, as is now well-known, I have been deprived of the co-operation, though never the friendship, of so respected and renowned a leader and co-worker as Sanyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanandji. But I still believe that I have done well in persisting in my silence, for I had no conclusive data to go upon. No public declaration of mine could have in any way affected for the better the action of the authorities. But Babu Kalinath Roy's case materially alters the situation. In my humble opinion the case represents a manifest and cruel wrong. I have not the honour of knowing him personally. When I took up the Judgment in the case, I approached it with a feeling that there would be at least a *prima facie* case made out against the accused on some isolated passages in his writings. But as I proceeded with it, the impression grew on me that it was a kind of special pleading in order to justify a conviction and a heavy sentence. In order to check myself I took up the numbers of the "Tribune," referred to in the Judgment, and on which the serious charge against Babu Kalinath Roy under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code was based, and a careful reading of every one of the writings in the "Tribune" more than confirmed the impression produced by a perusal of the

* Resumed publication a few days later.

Judgment and led me to think that the Martial Law Court had allowed its judgment to be warped and clouded by the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust surrounding it. The best proof of my statement must be the Judgment and the writings on which it is based. They are, therefore, reproduced* in this issue in full. I have prefaced the Judgment and the offending articles in the "Tribune" with extracts from the other numbers showing the whole tendency and tone of the writings from the beginning of April just after the Delhi affairs. They are not extracts torn from their context, but they are representative of the issue of the "Tribune" published after the 30th March last. The dominant note pervading all the issues is that the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation should be conducted with sobriety, truth and non-violence. I could nowhere trace in them ill-will, either against Englishmen in general, or against the English Government in particular. Indeed, it would be difficult to surpass the "Tribune" in calmness and self-restraint in the face of circumstances brought about by the Delhi affairs.

This is the test that the Special Tribunal put before itself for its guidance:

"You will have to consider whether this publication was or was not a calm and temperate discussion of the events that had occurred. The people have a right to discuss any grievances that they may have to complain of, but they must not do it in a way to excite tumult."

"You may point out to the Government their errors.

. . . . The question is always as to the manner. A question is made whether they (writings) shew an intention to instruct by appealing to the judgment or to irritate and excite to sedition. In other

* Omitted in this collection.

words, whether they appeal to the sense or the passions."

Judged by the standard set before the Court, the articles complained against do not warrant a conviction. They cannot excite tumult, when daily during a period of exceeding stress the writer asks his readers to refrain all violence, telling them in unmistakable terms that disturbance can only damage their cause. The Editor has continuously appealed to the judgment of the readers, by asking them not to prejudge, but to await the results of an inquiry which he persistently asked for. The Court's discussion of the passages and articles fails to convince one of the propriety of its decision. The Court has resented the use of the term "Delhi Martyrs" in the issues of the 6th and the 8th April. When you read the contents under the headings, the one has reference to prayer at the Jumma Musjid and the other to a Relief and Memorial Fund. The crime in the language of the Court was that "the accused chose to emphasise the memorial for martyrs and not the relief," and the Court proceeds, "inference from this is plain." The plain inference from this is that who ever put the heading felt that those who were shot down at Delhi were so dealt with, without sufficient cause. Why this should be considered seditious passes comprehension. And if such an inference shows, as it undoubtedly does, that the action of the Magistrate who gave the order for firing was wrong, is the drawing of such a deduction to be punished? We are told by the Court that one may point out to Government their errors. I submit that Mr. Roy justly pointed out the error of one of the local authorities. (Incidentally, I may mention that there is no such Editorial heading as "Memorial to Delhi Martyrs,"

referred to in the Judgment) The next indictment consists in the Editor having used the word "dupe" in connection with the action of some honorary magistrates and Municipal Commissioners who tried to dissuade shop-keepers from closing their shops. 'This is what the article describing the demonstration of the 6th April says: "The masses of India are no fools. . . . That they cannot be successfully duped ought to be clear from the very ignominious failure in this very case of certain Municipal Commissioners and honorary magistrates and several others who went round the city trying to persuade shop-keepers to keep their shops open." This is a bare statement of fact as the accused knew it. Then follows in examination of the other articles as to which the gravamen of the charge is the assertion of the Editor that the action of the Punjab Government was both "unjust and unwarranted," and that it had "exposed itself to the severest criticism at the [bar of public opinion." Here, too, the Editor has, after having reasoned to the reader, led him to the conclusion to which he himself has arrived—a procedure held to be entirely justifiable under the test accepted by the Court itself. The wrong would undoubtedly be if the Editor had misstated facts. But in every case, as would appear from the articles reproduced herewith the writer has fortified himself with what he believed to be facts, and which so far as the Judgment allows us to see, have not been controverted. The other two articles referred to by the Court are 'Delhi Tragedy' in the issue of the 9th and 'Blazing Indiscretion' in the issue of the 10th April. The "Delhi Tragedy" is a dispassionate review of the tragedy of the 30th March, and ends with an exhortation to the Government of India to appoint a public inquiry.

'Blazing Indiscretion' is undoubtedly an indictment against Sir Michael O'Dwyer about his speech before the Punjab Legislative Council. The speech analysed in the article in question certainly contains more than one "blazing indiscretion." The truth of the matter is that the wrong man was in the wrong box, the right man to have been in the box of the accused should certainly have been Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Had he not made inflammatory and irritating speeches, had he not belittled leaders, had he not in a most cruel manner flouted public opinion and had he not arrested Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, the history of the last two months would have been differently written. My purpose, now is not to prove Sir Michael O'Dwyer's guilt, but it is to prove Babu Kalinath Roy's complete innocence, and to show that he has suffered a grievous wrong in the name of British justice, and I do not hesitate to ask Englishmen as I ask my countrymen to join me in the prayer for Babu Kalinath Roy's immediate release. As Mr. Norton has shown, and quite recently Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, a Martial Law Tribunal was never contemplated to be one for the trial of cases involving delicate interpretations of difficult sections of ordinary enactments. Such tribunals are properly designed only for summary justice being meted out to men who are caught red-handed in acts of rebellion or crimes which mean, if left unchecked, complete disruption of society.

One thing more remains to be considered. Why should this case be singled out for special treatment when it is highly likely that an independent and impartial committee is likely to be appointed to overhaul the Martial Law administration in the Punjab and so revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Court? My

answer is that Mr. Roy's case does not admit of any doubt about it. It is capable of being immediately considered by the Government and if the articles on which the charge against Mr. Roy was based do not amount to sedition—as I hold it does not—he should be immediately set free. Moreover time is an important consideration in this case, for Mr. Roy, as Mr. Andrews has pointed out, has a very delicate constitution.

7th June 1919

MR. TILAK'S SERVICES: MR. GANDHI'S TRIBUTE

A public meeting was held on Saturday evening at Shantaram's Chawl, Girgaum, Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi, for the purpose of expressing appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Tilak to India, and calling upon his countrymen to contribute to the expenses incurred by him in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol. The following is a full translation of his speech in Gujarati:

I am thankful to the organizers of the meeting for asking me to preside. The goal of every thinking Indian must be the same, though the methods for its attainment may be different and it is a matter known to all that my ways differ from Mr. Tilak's. And yet I would wish to heartily associate myself with every occasion to pay a tribute to his great services to the country, his self-sacrifice, and his learning—and with the present occasion in especial. The nation does not honour him any the less for his defeat in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol. It honours him, if that were possible, all the more and this meeting is but a token of it. I have come to offer hearty support to it.

Truly speaking I am in no love with fighting in law courts. Victory there does not depend on the truth of your case. Any experienced vakil will bear me out that it depends more on the judge, the counsel, and the venue of the court. In English there is a proverb that it is always the man with the longest purse that wins. And there is a good deal of truth in this, as there is exaggeration in it. The Lokamanya's defeat therefore made me only wish he was a Satyagrahi like me, so that he would have saved himself the bother of victory or defeat. And when I saw that far from losing heart at the result of his case, far from being disappointed, he faced the English public with cool resignation and expressed his views to them with equal fearlessness, I was proud of him. He has been in his life acting to the very letter up to what he has believed to be the essential teaching of the Gita. He devotes himself entirely to what he believes to be his *karma*, and leaves the result thereof to God. Who could withhold admiration from one so great?

I think it our duty to contribute to the expenses of his suit. He surely did not fight for his personal ends, he fought in the public interests. I am sure, therefore, that you will accept the resolution that is going to be proposed this evening to find for Mr. Tilak the expenses of his suit, and to express our gratefulness for his services to the country.

19th July 1919

MANY HAPPY RETURNS

According to the Hindu year, Lokmanya Tilak enters upon his sixty-fourth year to-day. India is to celebrate

the event on the 23rd instant. Among the living Indians there are few to-day who have braved as many storms as Mr. Tilak has, there are few who occupy the place in the public estimation that Mr. Tilak does. One may differ from his views and his methods but none can doubt his intense patriotism and burning love for his country, his great intellectual gifts and his vast learning. It has often been said by his opponents that he is anti-English. We have good reasons to know to the contrary. He is undoubtedly an uncompromising opponent of bureaucracy but not of English connection or of the English people. Hot from the Congress work at Calcutta in 1917, the writer remembers his having appeared before a purely Indian audience before which he delivered a panegyric on British rule such as would have delighted the heart of any Anglophile. He paid an unstinted tribute to the British effort in the early fifties on behalf of the vernaculars. Indeed his very work in England is an eloquent demonstration of his faith in the desire of the British people to do well by India. We wish that the English officials in India could appreciate Mr. Tilak's worth and seek the assistance of nationalists like him in the difficult task of administration. They and the country lose by constant and mutual vilification and distrust. A little charity, a little trust and it is possible to remove the growing estrangement between the two classes. In wishing Lokmanya Tilak many happy returns of the day, we would commend the thought we have expressed, to the earnest attention of Englishmen who, we would wish, could share the national rejoicings that would take place on Wednesday next over the fact that the great Indian has been spared so long for the service of India. We would plead with the organisers of the demonstration that they would make

the day not one for reminding us of the many grievances which Mr. Tilak may be long spared to fight against, but that they would mark it as one on which we shall pray that we may fit ourselves by sacrifice and righteousness for the task before us of regeneration, and that Englishmen may be blessed with the needful wisdom to see that the fulfilment of their professed mission is to be sought not in distrusting but in fully trusting the leaders of the people.

27th September 1919

HOW NOT TO DO IT

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

At the very earnest request of Mayadevi, 16 years' old wife of Kesar Mal, I reproduce elsewhere * her picturesque petition praying for the release of her young husband, 21 years old. The case presented seems to me to be unanswerable but a good cause has been spoiled by a bad advocate. Though the petition is that of Mayadevi, it is quite clear that it is the handiwork of a draughtsman who has written in a fit of rage against what he has, undoubtedly and with good cause, believed to be a monstrous injustice. But anger is short of madness and noblest causes have been damaged by advocates affected with temporary lunacy. The petition is overlaid with useless adjectives and declamation. Whilst it has been a pleasure to me to dissect the many business-like petitions that have come from that land of sorrow, in the present instance I have been obliged to labour through violent language to what I consider to be a right conclusion. I do not happen to know the draughts-

* Omitted in this collection.

man of the petition. Mayadevi, who has sent a covering letter equally violently worded, gives me no information about the draughtsman. But I do wish as a practised draughtsman to warn writers of petition, whether they be pleaders or otherwise, to think of the cause they may be espousing for the time being. I assure them that a bare statement of facts unembellished with adjectives is far more eloquent and effective than a narrative glowing with exuberent language. Petition writers must understand that they address busy men, not necessarily sympathetic, sometimes prejudiced, and almost invariably prone to sustain the decisions of their subordinates. In the case of the Punjab they approach a Viceroy and a Lieutenant-Governor who have preconceived ideas. Petitions have to be read and analysed by public workers and journalists who have none too much time at their disposal. I know to my cost how difficult it is for me to do full justice to the value of the papers that pour in upon me week to week from the Punjab. I make a present of my valuable experience to young patriots who wish to try the art of advocating public cause by writing petitions or otherwise. I had the privilege of serving under the late Mr. Gokhale and for a time under the G. O. M. of India. Both told me that if I wanted to be heard I must be brief, I must write to the point and adhere to facts, and never travel beyond the cause under notice, and I must be most sparing in my adjectives. And if some success has attended my effort it is due to my acceptance of the golden advice given to me by the two illustrious deceased.

4th October 1919

MR. GANDHI'S THANKS FOR BRITHDAY GREETINGS

The following is the translation from Gujarati of the letter written by Mr. Gandhi in the "Nava Jivan" of the 28th September and addressed to those who celebrated his birthday :—

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I have received numerous telegrams, letters and post cards congratulating me upon my 51st birthday. How shall I requite all this love? In what words should I express my gratefulness? There is no doubt that I appreciate discriminating and wise affection and that I shun blind affection. It has, therefore, given me much pleasure to find that the affection has in many places taken a practical and beneficent form. I have such a vivid experience of India's deep poverty that whenever money is uselessly spent it seems to me that so much has been taken away from the poor. If all the money that has been spent over sending me telegrams had been devoted towards purchasing Swadeshi *khadi* and therewith clothing the deserving naked or towards feeding the helpless, would not they have blessed the donors? The curse of the poor has destroyed nations, has deprived kings of their crowns and the rich of their riches. Retributive justice is inexorable. The blessings of the poor have made kingdoms flourish.

The true method of bestowing affection on me is to copy such actions of mine as may seem to be worthy of imitation. No higher compliment can be paid to a man than to follow him. Many took the Swadeshi vow on my birthday. Many sisters have sent me parcels containing yarn spun by themselves. Many took the vow of serving the suppressed classes. The Ahmedabad

Swadeshi Store managers broke through the many difficulties that faced them and decided that day to lower their prices. The managers of the Swadeshi Bhandar in Surat have done likewise. Such methods of celebrating birthdays are a sign of enlightened affection and one would welcome such birthdays for ever so as to enable men and women to take forward steps from day to day.

Bhagini Samaj has decided to present me with a purse. This places a heavy responsibility upon me. It requires me to solve the difficulty of making the best use of it.

But this I am able to say without much forethought that I shall make use of it for some of the women of India. I shall feel grateful to those sisters and brothers—who will give me benefit of their advice as to the best way of utilising the funds.

All have wished me long life. My desire is to close this life searching for truth, acting truth and thinking truth and that alone and I request the blessings of the nation that that desire of mine may be fulfilled.

I hope that those who have sent me telegrams and letters will excuse me for my inability to send them separate acknowledgments.

M. K. G.

[J]

12th January 1922

NEXT IS GUNPOWDER

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

The reader will peruse with careful attention the informing *resume* * by K. of the new type of repression that is fast coming into vogue. It is possible that there is exaggeration in the details but almost all the reports hitherto received from non-co-operation quarters have proved so accurate and the denials so false that I am not disposed to discount the graphic details collected by K. from the correspondence received by me and from the newspapers.

The police are mostly our own countrymen but it is evident that they are being incited to become lawless by the example and the precept of their superior officers. When a mob becomes unruly, it knows no better; when the police become unruly, their action is deliberate and unpardonable. The mob frenzy can be controlled, the police frenzy spells disaster for an unprepared people. We have groaned under it all these long years. Thank God, India is to-day prepared to meet the ordered frenzy of the Government.

We must tear down the mask of the so-called enforcement of the ordinary law against so-called intimidators and we must invite and welcome honest martial law. O'Dwyerism and Dyerism are honest ideals, be they ever so indefensible. But what is going on in India to-day is indescribable hypocrisy.

* See p. 1312

If it is true that under the cover of distress warrants the police have entered our homes in Beqares and taken away ornaments even from the inmates, if it is true that in Bulandshaher under the pretence of preserving order they have entered people's homes in order to assault them if it is true that they have stripped prisoners almost naked in order to execute distress warrants, the case is complete for the fiercest Civil Disobedience of the most aggressive type consistently with the preservation of non-violence on our side. We must not wait for gunpowder to be used upon helpless people nor can we afford to put an undue strain upon the people's patience by merely remaining on the defensive and letting the Government agents pillage and plunder our homes. We must draw the gunpowder on our own heads and that too at the earliest possible opportunity. We the principal workers cannot afford to watch with philosophic calmness these exasperating criminal assaults upon inoffensive people although they are volunteers and have therefore undertaken to suffer.

The shooting of a Mussalman youth by a European 'youth' (are European youths armed?) for the crime of wearing or selling (whichever it was) a *Khadi* cap, cannot be passed by in silence. We must avenge the wrong if necessary by inviting the shooting on our own heads.

The Government want to goad us into violence or abject submission. We must do neither. We must retort by such Civil Disobedience as would compel shooting.

They want civil war. We must not play into their hands. Here is what I call open canvassing for civil war. The Magistrate of Aligadh is responsible for the following circular to the Raies of the Aligadh District:—

“As you are doubtless aware the Khilafat and Congress Volunteers have been declared by the Local Government to be illegal associations and orders have been received for their suppression. They are becoming very active in Aligadh and may at any time give trouble in Hathras also by picketing shops, intimidation and by causing loss and annoyance to private persons as well as to Government.

“The number of police at my disposal is limited and I am very reluctant to ask for military assistance in dealing with a matter of this kind unless it leads to actual and violent disorder.

“I am therefore writing to a number of the leading Rases and gentlemen of the District to ask for their assistance in case the present trouble proves to be too widespread for the police to deal without undue fatigue and harassment. If you are willing to help me in this matter, I would ask you kindly to select 50 of your retainers and tenants, stout able-bodied men, whom you could send in, on receiving a message that they are required for enrolment as special police.

“At present it is only necessary that selection of the men should be made and list prepared of their names and residence so that they can be readily collected when called for.

“I shall be glad to hear from you in due course.”

(Sd) J. C. Smith.

We must refuse the bait by letting the gullible Rases do as they like. We must seek only such forms of Civil Disobedience as would prevent any clash with our own people, whether turned into civil guard or still laymen. Given unflinching courage and preservation of complete non-violence, the fight can be brought to a victorious end inside of a month. May God grant India light and courage.

I had hoped that the pledge to face death was a distant event. Evidently God wills that we must be tested thoroughly and well. In His name was the battle begun. He must give us the strength to go through it.

12th January 1922

WHAT NEXT?

If arrests and imprisonments have become the order of the day, they are now being followed by frequent cases of assault and calculated brutality of which we have already given the reader some illustrations. Government censorship is preventing many cases from coming to light in proper time, but no veil of darkness can ever cover up truth from view for all time. And reports are pouring in from Assam, from Amritsar, from Bulandshaher and other parts of the country, of what the Government are doing to strike terror into the heart of the people, the only method which a Government, that is based on tyranny and finds its sap in the weakness of the governed; can by the very nature of things adopt to save itself from ruin.

And so from Assam the Secretary of the District Congress Committee of Gauhati writes, that the Government has given a *carte blanche* to the Gurkhas who have been posted there to behave themselves in any way they like. At Nalbari, Kamrup, after the order of processions under section 144 Cr. P. C. the police seized all the drums and other musical instruments in that little town. But after a day they were pleased to summon the owners of those instruments to return to them their things. But when the people got back their things, a party of Gurkhas fell upon them, broke all the instruments, and

assaulted with lathis indiscriminately. Seven volunteers whom the Gurkhas met on the road on another occasion were similarly assaulted. Many innocent passers by were also beaten by them at will. At Boka, some 50 miles away from Gauhati, which is a very strong centre of non-co-operation activities, Mr. Bentinck, the D. C. of Kamrup, went with a number of Gurkhas and constables and stayed for several days during which he flogged two men and threatened a third with shooting for refusing to work as '*Begar*.' But the latter, nothing daunted, exposed his breast to be fired at. The D. C. got a blank fire to be shot, but that did not shake the determination of the brave man.

From Assam let the reader turn his attention to Amritsar. A correspondent writes:—"On the 14th December, 38 volunteers were arrested. They are awaiting their trial as yet. On this occasion, as on a previous occasion, some three days back, the behaviour of the police and the officers over them was very mischievous and brutal. I call it mischievous because it was not an ordinary provocation. You have perhaps read some meagre account of the fact that the police even pulled the beard of a Mussalman volunteer. On the 14th, the assault was directed more on the surrounding spectators than the volunteers. The whip and the cane were mercilessly used on them. But thanks to the emphasis on non-violence and the discipline to which the country has been subjected under the Congress programme, there was no counter-madness, no counter-demonstration of violence. People bore this all boldly and many offered themselves for arrest."

After this, the correspondent relates the incident of the 19th, which has called forth a letter of strong and emphatic protest from the Municipal Commissioners of

Amritsar. Let us follow the narrative of the correspondent:—"A band of volunteers under their captain was out to be arrested and passed through many streets singing national songs. Near the Clock Tower Chauk, they were confronted with the mounted police and some fifty to sixty Gurkhas armed with big lathis mounted with brass-nobs. These lathis have replaced the rifles and bayonets. The Sowars had rifles, a belt of cartridges and a slim cane. The volunteers were at once surrounded. Upon this, they fell to their prayers, each according to the custom of his religion. A crowd of some fifteen to twenty thousands gathered to see the arrest of the volunteers. At the bidding of the Akalis or the volunteers all the people sat down. The Superintendent of Police who accompanied the force asked the people to move away, but they did not. Then began the beating and caning of the crowd. The Gurkhas charged as if they were thrusting in their bayonets. The cane was applied as furiously. The blows from lathis were thick laid. The Superintendent not only superintended all this, but himself played the hero. My nephew saw some three or four small boys of say eight or nine years receiving the lashes of a short riding whip. They were mercilessly lashed. I have it on good authority that the Kotwal remonstrated with the officer that they could arrest the people, but not beat them in that fashion, whereupon some hot words were exchanged between the two. Then the madness stopped. The beauty of all this was that the volunteers were not arrested at all."

But all these atrocious deeds seem to be overshadowed by what has been done in Bulandshaher where the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, with the knowledge of the District Magistrate, and perhaps also with his consent

descended to the level of a lawless marauder with all the weapons of law at his command. The situation developed in this way. Volunteers began to be enrolled from the 16th December. On the 17th, two batches of volunteers reached the Kotwali, of whom 14 from the first batch and 8 from the second were arrested by the Joint Magistrate. Then from the 18th to the 21st, the volunteers went on with their work unmolested. On the 22nd, the District was proclaimed, section 30 of the Police Act was promulgated and Indian and European military with four machine guns paraded through the town. On the 23rd, when some of the volunteers were returning from duty, they were caught up on the way by the police and mercilessly beaten with batons, canes, lathis and even shoes. But this did not demoralise the volunteers. They were again out on the 24th. When they reached the Chowk Bazaar, they met the civil and armed police under the command of a Sub-Inspector, who was accompanied by other Sub-Inspectors. On account of the previous day's happenings the public had crowded in very large numbers to see what was going to be done by the police who appeared to have come with a determined policy. As anticipated, the police at once began to belabour the public and the volunteers with thick canes, lathis and batons, quite indiscriminately and very severely. All remained firm and quite non-violent. One Shivilal was very mercilessly beaten and was left by the police in an unconscious state. He was quite unconscious till last night (December 27th). Owing to the exemplary attitude of the volunteers and the people, the hearts of the police began to fail and they called Mr. Niaz Mohd. Sub-Divisional Magistrate, for help. The strength of the crowd had by this time risen to several thousands. Soon after his arrival, Mr. M. Niaz

Mohd. allowed the volunteers to proceed and kept back the police. He also called the European military from their camping ground. The bazaar began to be closed mostly out of fear of military excesses and partly through the pressure of the police. The S.D.M. began to terrorise the people in many ways. He arrested B. Shiam Nath B.A., student of L.L.B. Class, B. Atar Singh, B.A., LL.B., Vakil practising at Bulandshaher, for reasons best known to him. Ch. Amar Singh and M. Cyed Ali were also arrested under the same circumstances. None of the four were enrolled as volunteers. The police began to chase people and beat them even in their interior streets and in their shops and houses, wherever they could overtake them. Efforts were made to create a panic in the whole town. All the four gentlemen were handcuffed in pairs and marched at their running speed, accompanied by the S.D.M., Police Sub-Inspectors and the rest of armed paraphernalia, consisting of civil and military police and European military, equipped with the machine gun, to the District Jail.

But the story does not end here. Again on 25th December 1921, a batch of Bugrasi volunteers, many of whom were sturdy Pathans, was out on its usual rounds. M. Niaz Mohd. with his police force went to meet them half way. There was no public with the volunteers as the latter had warned them on account of the anticipated action of the police. The S.D.M. first called the few volunteers, one by one. They were individually and consecutively belaboured by the S.D.M. and many a constable all at a time. Some of them received 25 to 50 cuts of batons, canes and lathis. They suffered all that without the least murmur or complaint. They then fell on the ground and fainted. The constables were then

ordered to carry them one by one in different directions. The rest of the volunteers were all standing in a dignified mood to await their share of sacrifice. They were then attacked all in a body by the entire police force and were most cruelly belaboured. Many of them had no strength left to cover even a few paces of distance and were consequently found lying on the ground in streets close by.

The S. D. M. with his other companions then turned towards the bazaar. He offered gratuitous insults and injuries to individual shopkeepers and peaceful people who were busy marketing or doing other business. Such men were indiscriminately beaten by the S. D. M. and by the police at his command and were forcibly made to go to pointed directions on pain of punishment which was still more severely inflicted, if there was the least deviation in the way of obeying it. Normal pace also invited punishment, because it suited the fancy of the S. D. M. to see men running before him quite irrespective of any consideration of age or position. A prominent physician, while returning from a patient's house after a visit, happened to pass the same street. He was directed to move in a different direction than the one in which his house was. He was severely beaten in spite of his repeatedly telling the S. D. M. that he was going to his house which was quite close by. He was mercilessly belaboured by the S. D. M. and constables and the Sub-Inspectors and was ultimately left with the remark that he appeared to have gone mad. He is up till now in bed, unable to move and passes urine with difficulty and has had no motions. Men who had run upstairs to save themselves from such treatment were forcibly taken down and beaten. A Vakil of the High Court, standing alone in his residential quarters in the

second story, abutting the said road was ordered to move back and go into his interior rooms as such actions did not suit the fancy of the S. D. M. Three men, including a Doctor, were abusively addressed and compelled to salute him on pain of being beaten. A Mukhtiar, sitting on the same Doctor's dispensary, was ordered to go away to his house and while he was coming down from the shop was given a stroke of cane on his back for not going away as quickly as suited the fancy of the S.D.M. A compounder in the same place was also made to run away, but was spared the cane because he was pointed out to be in Government service. A shopkeeper with some of his friends was confined in a shop and bolted from outside by the Superintendent of Police for reasons best known to him. A police constable who has recently resigned on account of non-co-operation was beaten with a *danda* on his head which broke and began to bleed. The Congress Committee office was entered by the S. D. M. and some of the police force. Some volunteers were present there. The room was ordered to be vacated within a few minutes, otherwise opening of fire was threatened. Papers lying in the outer portion of the building were either torn to pieces and thrown outside or were taken away without preparation of any list of them or any other property. Drinking water vessels were broken and the lantern was smashed to pieces. Some beddings and blankets with some other property were taken away. The owner of the building was ordered to get the rooms vacated at once, which he did by locking the door of the office with his own lock. The room was left in a topsyturvy condition. The officer went into an interior *mohalla* and ascending the roofs of some of the houses uttered most indecent and foul abuse in the presence and within the hearing of *Pardanashin* ladies.

Judgment against the arrested volunteers has been passed and they have been sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment. But what is new and takes away even the forms of legality from the imposition of lawless laws of the Government is that the relatives of the accused volunteers have been penalised, and their movable property consisting of cooking utensils, lamps, and ornaments from the persons of the ladies of their families have been forcibly attached by the police, while in two cases, even the neighbours were made to pay fine in cash on behalf of the accused volunteers.

Another instance of unprovoked attack on harmless people comes from a place in the Rangpur District of Bengal, where on the 30th December last, a band of Gurkhas, numbering 30, fully armed, suddenly appeared at the *Hat* (bi-weekly bazaar) with a Sub-Inspector at their head. The *Hat* was attended by thousands of unarmed, inoffensive people of all ages to buy or sell things. The Gurkhas, without any cause or provocation, quite suddenly fell upon the unsuspecting assembly and charged with their weapons. Many people have been wounded, although the exact number has not yet been ascertained. Six are in local hospital, the condition of two of whom is regarded as serious.

Lawlessness of the worst kind is being adopted by the police in Benares to stifle the volunteer movement, instances of which are coming out from day to day in the columns of the local paper *Aj* as statements of volunteers and letters from other sufferers. In a note, the *Aj* writes that they do not hesitate to enter the Zenana, and attach anything they came across including things of immediate use, blankets, utensils &c., without even enquiring whether they belong to the accused persons or not. It is also alleged that ornaments were

taken off the person of women and that *Stridhan* was not respected. One volunteer states that, after the conclusion of their case, the volunteers were then and there denuded of their clothes after which it was announced that the things would be put up for auction sale. Things that were not saleable and especially the white caps were to be burnt. Another volunteer says that before their release at midnight from the *hajrat*, they were stripped of all clothing. One correspondent writes under heading,—“Is it attachment or dacoity?”—that the police came when he was not at home and forcibly entering the house took away cash, ornaments and other things. Two other correspondents write that in their absence the police broke open the lock of the doors of their houses, and while the one was lucky enough to save his things on payment of fifty rupees cash, the other found everything taken away in payment, as he heard from his neighbours on his return, of a fine of ten rupees imposed on one of his relatives who is a volunteer.

K.

19th January 1922

FLOGGING IN PRISONS

[The following is the translation of a letter received from Mr. Mahadev Desai on his way to the Agra jail. It is possible that the posting of the letter is a breach of jail discipline. I hate any breach of discipline, but in this instance I have no choice. Duty compels me to publish the letter as it has compelled Mr. Desai to post the letter. I do not mind Mahadev Desai being rewarded with flogging for the indiscipline which is certainly more mischievous than the refusal to wear lousy clothes or the innocent shouts of *jais*—M. K. G.]

Near Etawa,

En route to Agra,

Dated 10th morning.

I feel like one who has long been pent up in a dark and ill-ventilated cell and who all at once finds himself inhaling deep draughts of the fresh air of heaven. You can easily imagine what longing I must have had to write to you, I who was in the habit of writing to you almost daily and of thus easing the many troubles of my mind. We are permitted to write one letter in a fortnight; the letter again must be in English and must be forwarded through the Superintendent. How then could I hope to tell you everything that was happening behind the prison walls? But yesternight, we were set free, at least till we reached Agra. And this morning we are on our way thereto.

Yesternight, 39 of us started from Naini in a prison van comprising four barred compartments, each being 3 cubits long and 5 broad. The bars were apparently not considered to be an adequate safeguard; for the prison van has no doors and no windows. Only there are crooked holes, one inch broad by the side of the carriage for the passage of air. I asked the Sergeant who escorts us whether there was any intention of repeating the Moplah tragedy. The poor fellow naively replied that there was no fear, as it was winter and that it would have been intolerable, had it been summer. Besides the four prisoners' compartments, there was a fifth which was like ordinary third class and was meant for our friends, the guard. Should they not have sufficient light and air to be able to keep us in a suffocated condition?

Devdas and Durga (Mrs. Desai) were at Allahabad Station to see us. They could not have a view of our faces, but they stood outside, near the place where I was,

and we could have a hearty talk. From this prison van I could inform Devdas of the many horrors about which I had been unable to tell him anything in the jail; for, the police who escort us do not act as jailors. So some of the things in this letter will have already appeared in Devdas' *Independent* before this reaches you.

We had had hardly a wink of sleep from about one or two o'clock, when at four we were roused at Cawnpore. The sergeant said, 'Desai, Govind and Kfishnakant Malaviya, Shahsaheb and two others, follow me. We shall seat you elsewhere, so that there might be more room here.' I could not understand how this selection was made, but it looked like segregation, and so I said that any seven of us would come, but not the seven that were named. The sergeant replied that only those whom he named must come as he did not know the rest and therefore could not take the risk of seating any of them in an ordinary compartment. As 'political' prisoners, some of us had our own clothes on; with the exception of these three or four, the rest were in jail dress and in irons, so that our shame (even as it was) was boundless. To it was now added the insult of being considered more 'trustworthy' than the rest. I thought the three out of the seven would be ordinary prisoners, and that with the aid of light, I would have an opportunity of writing to you, an opportunity not lightly to be allowed to slip as I could not hope to have it anywhere else; and so we came out. I am writing this in an ordinary third class compartment. Seven policemen are mounting guard over us seven!

But I must cut this story short, as there is little time and much to write. How can I give you an idea of the perplexities we have suffered on account of your injunction, that we should obey all orders in jail? Every moment

we are troubled by doubts as to what to obey and what not to obey, as always the sun sets on novel experiences and on various oppressions. So I am not at all certain as to the propriety of my conduct on every occasion when I have been anxious to obey.

I am not going to detail here all the experiences in jail. That would take many letters like this, and this is hardly the time for it. I am going to give such select information as I think ought to be placed before the public.

I was taken to Naini jail on the 24th and was at once taken in the presence of the Superintendent, who said angrily, 'Look here. you may be a non-co-operator or anything you please, but here you are a prisoner like all others and will be treated accordingly. You will tire of your life out here, but I can't help it. We will not trouble you so long as you do not trouble us.'

This homily over, I was soon taken to my own cell. I had previously resolved that I should accept everything cheerfully including jail dress and irons. So I put on jail dress as soon as it was given to me. Fifteen members of the Provincial Committee had arrived here a week before me, and their cell was adjoining mine. I got the news, after I had changed my dress, that one of them had refused to put on jail dress and had consequently received a flogging. The jail authorities were somewhat surprised to find that I had accepted the change in dress without demur. I was given a rough woollen coat, worn almost threadbare by long use, a shirt worn out by some prisoner of twice my size and emitting horrible stink, an equally dirty pair of shirts and loincloth, along with two blankets as bedding. In a few minutes I felt an itching sensation, and an inspection at one or two places resulted in the find of a pretty big

house. It was difficult to say whether the vermin lived in the blanket or the shirt, but as there was fairly bitter cold, I had to choose between lice and offensive smell. I elected against the smell, placed the coat as a pillow, put away the shirt, and decided to pass the night under the sole protection of the blanket. I had thought that as I was dead tired, I would sleep soundly. But the lice in the blanket never ceased troubling me. My friends in the adjoining cell gave me from their place an account of the misbehaviour of the jailor and the superintendent. One of them was flogged for the grave offence of not standing up and pushing his hand out through the bars, when the jailor arrived! Another suffered the same punishment for refusing to wear dirty clothes! Add to the stings of lice the noisy cries, rending the heavens, with which prisoners were counted every quarter of an hour from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. and you can understand that I got hardly any sleep. But I knew that sheer physical necessity would induce sleep on the following days, no matter if I was unable to sleep on the first.

I took no food in the evening, as I did not feel inclined. I was given a large iron bowl for eating and drinking. In spite of all the scrubbing I could give it, I found in the morning that the water in it had turned blood-red with rust. We were taken out thrice in the day for drinking water and for natural purposes. There was a paved reservoir from which all of us were to have our water by putting our bowls into it. Filtering the water was out of the question, as we were not provided with any extra piece of cloth.

[At this point, the Sergeant sees me writing and gives me notice, that I should not pass any of my writing to my friends. So I must be brief.]

For bathing purposes, there was a long paved channel

joining with the reservoir mentioned above. We were all to sit in it and bathe. As for food, we were given *Dalia* (a porridge of pounded wheat) in the morning, wheat bread and *dal* at noon, and the same bread and a vegetable in the evening. What shall I say as to how I liked this appetising *menu*? The other prisoners were taking it all right, and so I can hardly describe it as falling within your definition of food, unfit for human consumption.

But let me now come to other matters. There is a rule that a newly arrived prisoner is only confined and not given any work for the first ten days of his term. So my friends of the Provincial Committee and myself, having no work, were given books which we read, heard the bitter language of the jailor and the superintendent in the mornings and saw prisoners striking and abusing one another. The second day, I requested the superintendent to give us spinning wheels or let us have them from our homes. He replied that wheels were given to women and that Government who spent 10 rupees on each prisoner had somehow to manage to raise a like amount out of his labour, and that therefore grinding was given to him. I said that, if the Government had commonsense, they could earn 500 rupees out of our work. He angrily asked, if he was to get us to write articles.

In answer to my companions, the superintendent said, 'Owing to you, disloyal people having arrived, I could not get my leave for ten days sanctioned. We have to suffer much on account of you. You must behave properly. Do not think I am alone. I have fifty millions of people behind me (referring to the population of England).

This went on for a few days. The ten days' period

of the Provincial Committee people was soon over, and they were made to wear an iron neckring and a wooden tablet, showing the Section against which they had offended and the term of the sentence of imprisonment. They already had irons on their feet. The same day they lost their lousy clothes and got new ones. My clothes were still the same, but I had remained bare-bodied for two days, and washed them thoroughly with earth. Thus the stink had disappeared and my friends had combined for one or two days to pick out the lice from my blankets in the sunshine.

When the friends left, I felt somewhat lonely and so gradually grew very friendly with the other prisoners, some of them dacoits. An old man with a term of seven years' imprisonment came near my cell and sat near the door. I read the Ramayana to him and he expounded it. He was a man of much common sense and knowledge. He had the Ramayana by heart. Then we recited *bhajans* and many prisoners began to sit near my cell. Prisoners here are finely divided into two classes, national and Government prisoners, *i. e.*, ordinary prisoners and politicals. The politicals are gratefully admired and served by the others.

While my new friendships were thus flourishing, I had heard that the Provincial friends had been given hard labour. Eleven had to grind fifteen seers of corn every day, and the deputy jailor had ordered the convict warder to harass them in all possible ways, in order that they might weaken and apologise. One or two of these poor men fell ill in two days. All had warts on their palms, but had in three or four days progressed up to about nine seers, when I received the news that the Government had directed that I should be treated as a political prisoner. I was sorry for this. While my friends were

given hard labour, I was denied the privilege of spiritual elevation through physical suffering. My own clothes, in which I had arrived in jail and in which I was furbished up for the day when Devdas and Durga were to see me in order that she might not take fright at the convict's dress, were returned to me, but the 'Gandhi cap' was withheld. I asked the superintendent what it was. He could not explain anything beyond saying that it was like the one I wore and that I would not be allowed to wear it. I might change the shape, he added, or wear a *Fez* like Sherwani's. I laughed and said that I would do neither. 'Then you must go bareheaded,' he said. I agreed. I had thought of refusing to take the other ordinary clothes, but then I remembered your 'Model Prisoner'* and quietly submitted.

I passed my first day as a political prisoner in great trouble. But the next day I was at ease, as I realised that even so there was an opportunity of suffering. Some of my friends described their personal experience. There is a young man, named Kailasnath, still in his teens, the son of a well-known pleader of Cawnpore and a political prisoner. Being religiously minded, he takes food after bath, worship and the application of sandal paint etc. to the forehead. The jailor had admitted sandal and other things for him, but when one day, he saw the sandal mark, he ordered Kailasnath to rub it out. The young man obeyed but refused to take food. And so the jailor arrived on the scene and threatened punishment, but Kailasnath persisted in his refusal all the same. For this, he received filthy abuse, was severely flogged with a wooden cudgel and kicked with boots. His utensils were dashed to the ground. The hero responsible for this is Hamilton, an Englishman who has been promo-

* See p. 1120.

ted to jailorship for his services during the war. This incident got into the newspapers, though not in detail, and there was an inquiry. The Inspector-General visited the prison and told Kailasnath that he must obey all orders. Apparently he took the jailer also to task, as the latter came to Kailasnath and abused the Inspector-General before him!

On hearing this, I could see that life even as a political prisoner need not be uneventful. Meanwhile the attitude of the jailor and the superintendent towards me had changed and I had friendly conversations with them about non-co-operation and other topics. I did not quite relish this development, as I was afraid that these officers might be trying to win me over as a prelude to oppressing the rest.

The same evening, I heard successive cries of 'Gandhijiki Jai.' In the morning, I had read your observations in *Young India* and wished I could communicate them to the friends who had been given hard labour. Here was no means of doing so. The cry started from one block and received a response from other blocks, one after another. To the superintendent and the jailor it looked like a mutiny. They ran up. One of those fifteen friends was seized, and the warder fell upon him like a wolf. The poor man was greeted with foul abuse and flogged with lathis along with an ironical order to repeat 'Gandhijiki Jai.' After he had received ten blows of a lathi, one inch and a half in diameter, his magnificent frame tottered to the ground and then he was beaten with fists etc.

The friend who thus suffered is Lakshminarayan Sharma, a pious and inoffensive young man of twenty-two, who used to be Secretary, Aligarh Congress Committee. The other prisoners could not bear the sight of

this suffering and offered to retaliate upon the warder. But Lakshminarayan prevented them all and said it was their duty to suffer. The others, however, were greatly enraged and continued the cries of 'Gandhijiki Jai' for which about fifty or sixty of them were cruelly flogged. As if this were not enough, the next morning all the prisoners were taken outside, including the Provincial Committee men, and in the presence of all of them, two prisoners who were suspects had their hands fastened with a stick and then caned. The caning was so severe that the cries of the sufferers could be heard in my cell at a distance of two or three furlongs. When a prisoner swooned after some blows, he was given rest; and as he revived, the caning was continued. In this way, two of them received 23 cuts. It is worthy of remark that at each cut the sufferer and his fellow prisoners sent up a joint cry of 'Gandhijiki Jai' in spite of the jailer and the superintendent, and these cries stopped only when the authorities were tired of inflicting any more punishment. After this, three or four were flogged with sticks and fists. One of them suffered so severely that there was an involuntary discharge of excreta and urine. Two or three are in hospital. I was told that prisoners had died in this jail before, in consequence of such oppression.

Having performed his 'dirty job' (Dyer's phrase) in this way, the jailer came to see me. I asked him for an explanation of the trouble. He replied that there might have been a big mutiny and that severe punishment was necessary to prevent it. I told him that, be that as it might, I would fast and pray for the day. He asked me why. I said I would pray not only for my brethren who were no doubt in error, but for those who despitefully used them. The jailer asked me what was the value of

prayer. The talk then turned upon the Bible. I explained to him that Jesus and the Bible were not the sole property of Christians like himself, but the joint estate of humanity at large. He then appeared to melt somewhat. I said how good it would be, if I was permitted to read to the prisoners Mr. Gandhi's observations pertinent to their case, and I offered to meet all of them and talk to them about our duty. But this was not at all acceptable to the jailer. Only last evening, he was saying to the prisoners, 'There is no victory to Gandhi here, the victory is to Government. So you must cry victory to Government.' He was however abashed a little, said it was no use crying over spilt milk and then left me.

After the jailer came the superintendent. He also tried to tease me, saying ironically how obedient my non-co-operator friends were. I was quiet and only said that he at least was amused by the whole affair. Then he told me I did not know the utility of punishment. I replied I did not care to, as there was a world of difference between his mentality and mine, and that he on his part had no appreciation of our methods. He then expatiated upon the value of 'force' and said, 'You Indians, are unpractical visionaries. We are practical. You only talk big.' I was listening quietly and contented myself with asking whether it was I or he that was talking big. He said nothing more and left me. Meanwhile I had obtained permission to see Lakshminarayan, that friend who had been so cruelly dealt with. I saw him. He showed me terrible marks of the flogging upon his body. I told him we were forbidden to cry 'Gandhijiki Jai' and that I read about it in the papers only the other day. On hearing this the young man burst into tears and said at once he must then tell the superintendent that he had done wrong. Thus he

evidenced the incomparable tenderness of his soul. But what does the enemy know or care about our tenderness? So that we can only learn to send forth like sandal-wood greater fragrance, the more roughly we are handled. I assure you, after the experiences that I have had, that our people are mastering this lesson in some miraculous manner.

But now I must close. There is much to say, but I shall rest content if this much reaches you by post for the present. We are not permitted to post letters, but how long should these facts be kept from the public? It is also a question to be considered how far we should obey the order not to give out anything.

I have had no sleep last night, am thoroughly fatigued and must seize an early opportunity of posting this. I will write in English if possible, but perhaps there may be no time.

We are all on our way to Agra, 39 in all including the members of the Provincial Committee and some Allahabad volunteers. Since he received the orders of removal, the superintendent was kindness itself to us. He must have heaved a sigh of relief at our departure as of some great trouble. On the last day he said, 'You are an awful nuisance. I should get an allowance of Rs. fifty for each one of you.' We are being removed, for the fear that we might influence the prison population and bring them to a knowledge of their slavery and ignorance.

19th January 1922

MR. GANDHI'S TWO SPEECHES

The following is the text, as revised by him, of Mr.

Gandhi's speech at the Congress Sessions, introducing the central resolution :—

It has taken me exactly 35 minutes to read the resolution in English and in Hindustani. I shall hope if I can at all avoid it not to take even the 30 minutes that Hakimji Saheb has allotted to me. And I do not propose if I can help it to take all that time because I feel that the resolution explains itself. If, at the end of fifteen months' incessant activity, you, the delegates, assembled in this Congress, do not know your own minds, I am positive that I cannot possibly carry conviction to you even in a two hours' speech; and what is more, if I could carry conviction to you to-day because of my speech, I am afraid I would lose all faith in my countrymen, because it would demonstrate their incapacity to observe things and events; it would demonstrate their incapacity to think coherently; because, I submit, there is absolutely nothing new in this resolution that we have not been doing all this time, that we have not been thinking all this time. There is absolutely nothing new in this resolution which is at all startling. Those of you who have followed the proceeding from month to month of the Working Committee, of the All-India Congress Committee every three months and have studied their resolutions, can but come to one conclusion, that this resolution is absolutely the natural result of the national activities, during the past fifteen months; and if you have at all followed the course, the downward course, that the repressive policy of the Government has been taking, you can only come to the conclusion that the Subjects Committee has rightly come to this resolution; and that the only answer that a self-respecting nation can return to the Viceregal pronouncements and to the repression that is over-

taking this land, is the course mapped out in this resolution.

I am not going to take the time of the English knowing friends over the religious subtleties of the pledge that the volunteers have to take. I wish to confine my remarks in Hindustani to that subject. But I want this assembly to understand the bearing of this resolution. This resolution means that we have outgrown the stage of helplessness and dependence upon anybody; this resolution means that the nation through its representatives is determined to have its own way without the assistance of any single human being on earth and with the help of only God above.

This resolution, whilst it shows the indomitable courage and the determination of the nation to vindicate its rights and to be able to stare the world in the face, also says in all humility to the Government: 'No matter what you do, no matter how you repress us, we shall one day wring reluctant repentance from you; and we ask you to think betimes, and take care what you are doing and see that you do not make 300 millions of India your eternal enemies.'

This resolution, if the Government sincerely wants an open door, leaves the door wide open for it. If the Moderate friends wish to rally round the standard of the Khilafat, and round the standard of the liberties of the Punjab and therefore of India, then this resolution leaves the door wide open for them too. If this Government is sincerely anxious to do justice, if Lord Reading has really come to India to do justice and nothing less,—and we want nothing more,—then I inform him from this platform, with God as my witness, with all the earnestness that I can command, that he has got an open door in this resolution if he means well, but the

door is closed in his face if he means ill, no matter how many people go to their graves, no matter what wild career this repression is to go through. There is every chance for him to hold a round-table conference, but it must be a real conference. If he wants a conference at a table, where only equals are to sit and where there is not to be a single beggar, then there is an open door and that door will always remain open. There is nothing in this resolution which any one who has modesty and humility need be ashamed of. This resolution is not an arrogant challenge to anybody, but it is a challenge to authority that is enthroned on arrogance. It is a challenge to the authority which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings. It is a humble and an irrevocable challenge to authority which in order to save itself wants to crush freedom of opinion and freedom of association--the two lungs that are absolutely necessary for a man to breathe the oxygen of liberty; and if there is any authority in this country that wants to curb the freedom of speech and freedom of association, I want to be able to say in your name, from this platform, that that authority will perish, unless it repents, before an India that is steeled with high courage, noble purpose and determination, even if every one of the men and women who choose to call themselves Indians is blotted out of the earth. God only knows, if I could possibly have advised you before to go to the round-table conference, I could possibly have advised you not to undertake this resolution of Civil Disobedience, I would have done so.

I am a man of peace. I believe in peace. But I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in stone; I do not want the peace that you find in the grave: but I do want that peace which you

find embedded in the human breast, which is exposed to the arrows of a whole world, but which is protected from all harm by the Power of the Almighty God.

II

The following is the revised speech, delivered in opposition to Maulana Hasrat Mohani's proposition on Independence:—

Friends, I have said only a few words (in Hindi) in connection with the proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani. All I want to say to you in English is that the levity with which that proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me. It has grieved me because it shows a lack of responsibility. As responsible men and women, we should remember what we did only an hour ago. An hour ago, we passed a resolution which actually contemplates a final settlement of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and transference of the power from the hands of the bureaucracy into the hands of the people by certain definite means. Are you going to rub the whole of that position from your mind by raising a false issue and by throwing a bombshell in the midst of the Indian atmosphere? I hope that those of you who have voted for the previous resolution will think fifty times before taking up this resolution and voting for it. We shall be charged by the thinking portion of the world that we do not know really where we are. Let us understand too our limitations. Let Hindus and Mussalmans have absolute, indissoluble unity. Who is here who can say to-day with confidence, "Yes, Hindu-Muslim Unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian Nationalism?" Who is here who can tell me that the Parsis and the Sikhs and the Christians and the Jews and the untouchables about whom you heard this afternoon—who will tell me that those very people will

not rise against any such idea? Think, therefore, fifty times before you take a step which will redound not to your credit, not to your advantage, but which may cause you irreparable injury. Let us first of all gather up our strength, let us first of all sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depths we do not know, and this proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani lands you into depths unfathomable. I ask you in all confidence to reject the proposition, if you believe in the proposition that you passed only an hour ago. The proposition now before you rubs of the whole of the effect of the proposition that you passed only a moment ago. Are creeds such simple things like clothes which a man can change at will? For creeds people die and for creeds people live from age to age. Are you going to change the creed which, with all deliberation and after great debate in Nagpur, you accepted? There was no limitation of one year when you accepted that creed. It is an extensive creed; it takes in all, the weakest and the strongest, and you will deny yourselves the privilege of clothing the weakest amongst yourselves with protection if you accept this limited creed of Maulana Hasrat Mohani which does not admit the weakest of your bretheren. I therefore ask you in all confidence to reject his proposition.

2nd March 1922

GOVERNMENT DENIALS

(1)

FLOGGING IN PRISONS

To

The Editor, Young India.

Dear Sir,—In continuation of my letter No. 402/C. dated the 17th February, 1922, I invite your attention to an article in the form of a letter from Mr. Mahadev Desai, which you headed 'Flogging in Prisons' and which you published in your issue of the 19th January last. In the course of that letter, no less than six cases of flogging are mentioned and the implication is that political prisoners were involved. In two instances, the names of certain persons are mentioned. They are Kailash Nath and Lachhmi Narayan Sharma. Enquiries have been made from the Superintendent of the Central Prison, Naini, with the result that the letter which you have published proves to be a series of glaring misstatements. I am concerned to deal only with the alleged floggings. Since June 1921, up to date, only two persons have been flogged in that jail. They were No. 13974 Kanhoi and 14370 Tará, both of whom were undergoing sentences of ten years' rigorous imprisonment for dacoity. Both of these persons received 25 stripes on the 7th January last for instigating to mutiny within the jail, being the ringleaders of a disturbance which took place on the night of the 6th preceding. The summary of the evidence was entered according to rule in the punishment register maintained in the jail. Neither of the two prisoners suffered any ill-effects from the flogging. I am able to affirm categorically that neither

Kailash Nath or Lachhmi Narayan, whose names were mentioned by the writer of the letter which you published, have never been flogged in the Naini Jail, nor were they given any punishment whatsoever, with the exception of No. 1488, Kailash Nath, who was 'warned' for refusing to work, when undergoing a sentence for rigorous imprisonment. As the highly coloured and false statements which have been made in this letter are causing considerable uneasiness in the public mind, I beg that you will give a prominent place to this denial in an early issue.

Lucknow,

18-2-22

Yours faithfully,

J. E. Gondge

Publicity Commissioner.

[The categorical denial is wholly unacceptable. Not till a full impartial investigation is made, can any contradiction of statements made by a public man of unimpeachable character be accepted, especially when the contradiction comes from interested quarters. I draw attention to the fact that the *Independent* of Allahabad publishes the statement that a prison official admitted to a Congressman the fact of the flogging of Mr. Lachhmi Narayan. There is just a chance that the prison authorities are quibbling when they deny 'flogging'. The letter published in *Young India* is a translation. The Gujarati word is the same for whipping, flogging and caning. I have known the habit of officials denying unofficial corporal punishments. I hope the Government do not wish the public to infer that if there is no record of corporal punishments in the jail register, it has not been administered. The contradiction I am publishing certainly makes me more uneasy than before, for it betrays an intention to persist in the inhumanity and to hush it by denials. The Publicity Commissioner ill-

performs his duty by sending unsupported contradictions by accused parties.—M. K. G.]

(2)

DEHRA DUN INCIDENT

To

The Editor, Young India.

Dear Sir,—In continuation of my letter No. 390/C, dated the 14th February 1922, I beg to draw your further attention to the fact that you quoted as the 7th item of "lawless repression" in your rejoinder to the Government of India communique, "the shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the forcible dispersal of a public meeting at that place". Whether intended by you or not, the obvious innuendo is that Government officials shot the boy. It is presumed that you are referring to the shooting incident on the 24th December, 1921, when a certain young European named Madden shot a Muhammadan youth. Madden is not a Government servant. The circumstances have been fully reported in the Press. The incident arose out of a personal quarrel and the promptest measures were taken to arrest Madden, the Superintendent of Police and the Joint Magistrate themselves going out at 10 p. m. The Civil Surgeon at the Magistrate's request came down in the night to see the injured boy. Madden was tried after the Xmas holidays and committed to sessions on charges under sections 307, 326 I. P. C. I venture to hope that you will correct in as explicit terms as possible the misrepresentation of fact which has been so widely advertised in your letter to the Government of India. Secondly, you have been undoubtedly misinformed as to the alleged cruel, forcible dispersal of a public meeting. The facts are as follows:—

(1) Volunteer processions had become an extreme nuisance in Dehra Dun and their behaviour on several occasions had been highly provocative.

(2) They were prohibited within certain areas by the Superintendent of Police with the Magistrate's assent, in the interests of non-co-operators themselves, as the temper of certain members of the public was being sorely tried.

(3) The local extremist organ "The Garhwali" had commented upon the unwisdom and folly of these demonstrations.

(4) The volunteers decided to defy the orders of the Superintendent of police and, to make their defiance more aggressive, posted a notice at the Police Station that they would have the procession on the 15th January. It is understood that emissaries were sent to the villages to make the demonstration more imposing. This challenge had to be taken up on penalty of seeing all authority set at naught and grave disorder ensuing. Events at Bareilly and Gorakhpur have proved that there are serious potentialities of disorder and lawlessness in these demonstrations.

(5) The meeting was dispersed with very little force. No one was hurt.

I trust that, considering the importance of the public pronouncement in which you made these allegations, you will see your way to give full publicity to this explanation.

Lucknow,
15th February.

Yours faithfully,
J. E. Gondge

[The Publicity Commissioner has certainly 'caught' me, regarding the shooting incident. I should have been more precise and stated that the shooting was not by a Government servant. I now see that the mention itself

was irrelevant and unjust to the Government. The shooting in question cannot in any way be as part of lawless repression. I tender my apology for the error which, I assure the authorities, was wholly unintentional.

The other contradiction, however, does not appeal to me at all. I deny the necessity in the first instance of the use of force. In the second instance the force used was out of all proportion to the requirements, if my correspondent's description is to be relied upon. The public will not trust the interested official denial. I hope that the mistake about the shooting will be used to discredit or underrate the account of the forcible dispersal. The mistake about the shooting was a thoughtless confusion of facts and their consequent mis-application.--
M. K. G.]

(3)

A PEEP INTO A BOMBAY JAIL

With the compliments of the Director of Information,
Bombay—

In the issue of "Young India" for January 19th an extract was printed from the "Hindu" dealing with the alleged ill-treatment of a certain "Rahmat Rasool, a Punjabi Martial law prisoner," in the Hyderabad Central prison. Enquiries show that the allegations made are unfounded. The article appears to refer to a Gujarati prisoner, named Himat Rasool, who was sentenced by the Ahmedabad Special Tribunal to transportation for life for cutting telegraph wires, setting fire to the telegraph office and rioting at Ahmedabad on 11th April 1919. The charges made and the actual facts relating thereto are as follows:—

"On their arrival in this jail from the Andamans, in November last, no meals were given them for three

days until the medical officer saw them and got them meals."

The prisoners (who arrived on December 6th) were seen daily both by the medical officer and the Superintendent, but they refused to take *jowari* diet as they wanted wheat diet. This was given them on Dec. 8th.

"Whenever the Superintendent approached them, they were required to raise their hands as a Muslim does, in prayer, with the greeting "Sarkar is one". This immoral rule, interfering with the fundamental principles of Islam, Rahmat Rasool refused to obey, telling the Superintendent that for him God alone is one and that he can raise his hand in prayer before God alone, when the Superintendent proudly replied that he, as representative of Government, was his God in Jail."

This is a pure invention. When the Superintendent or any official visits the prisoners, the latter stand with their hands open, the arms being at right angles to the elbows and the elbows in at the sides. The object of this is to show that there is nothing concealed in the hands with which an assault can be attempted. This attitude is obviously not that of a Muslim, raising his hands in prayer, and the procedure to which no objection has ever been raised, is common to all jails. It is absolutely untrue that the Superintendent used the words attributed to him.

"The prisoner refused to be led away from the path of religion, with the result that his religiousness was rewarded with the five-fold punishment of 30 stripes, 6 months' solitary confinement, six months' gunny clothing, 6 months' cross fetters and 6 months' bar fetters".

The facts are that on Dec. 13th, the prisoner refused to stand up when ordered, became very excited and was grossly impertinent to the Superintendent. He was

awarded, not the punishment alleged, but gunny clothing for one month and bar fetters for three months. Since the arrival of this prisoner in jail, he has been eleven times awarded punishments, including 30 stripes and cross bar fetters for ten days for gross insubordination and persistently refusing to work. He is at present undergoing a punishment of three months' separate confinement, awarded him in the Andamans for refusing to work and refusing to obey orders. His history sheet describes him as "a man of violent temper".

20th February 1922

[I venture to call this a brazen defence of a brutal punishment. It tells the public in so many words, "We have done it and we propose to continue." As I did not publish the incident for the edification of the Government, I remain unperturbed by the shameless admission. The reader will please note that in all this communique there is no denial of a single material particular. It makes no difference, whether the name or description of the prisoner is correctly given. The facts that the prisoner had to starve for three days, that he had to stretch forth his hands in a humiliating fashion, that he had gunny clothing for one month, bar fetters for three and thirty stripes and that he is now undergoing 'separate' confinement for three months is sufficient corroboration of the allegations of the *Hindu*. I am prepared to assume that every prisoner who receives punishment is, in official parlance, a man of violent temper'.—M. K. G.]

DEATH DANCE

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Why is there this chorus of condemnation of the doubling of the salt tax and other taxes on the necessities of life? Wonder is expressed that now there is no apology ever offered for the terrific military charges of sixty-two crores. The fact is, it is impossible to offer apology for the inevitable. The military charges must grow with the growing consciousness of the nation. The military is not required for the defence of India. But it is required for the forcible imposition of the English exploiters upon India. That is the naked truth. Mr. Montagu has bluntly but honestly stated this. The retiring President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce has said it and so has the Governor of Bombay. They want to trade with us not upon our terms but upon their terms.

It is the same thing whether it is done with the kid glove on or without it. The councils are the kid glove. We must pay for the glove. The reforms hang upon us like an incubus. They cover a multitude of defects including the blood-sucking salt tax.

They say to us, 'We propose to hold India whether you wish it or keep from fighting one another without the protecting power of the British arms.' And so, being afraid to die at the hands of our brothers, we are content to live as bond men.

It would be a thousand times better for us to be ruled by a military dictator than to have the dictatorship concealed under sham councils and assemblies. They prolong the agony and increase the expenditure. If we are so anxious to live, it would be more honourable to face the truth and submit to unabashed dictation than

to pretend that we are slowly becoming free. There is no such thing as slow freedom. Freedom is like a birth. Till we are fully free, we are slaves. All birth takes place in a moment.

What is this dread of the Congress but the dread of the coming freedom? The Congress has become a grim reality. And therefore it has to be destroyed law or no law. If only sufficient terror can be struck into the hearts of the people, the exploitation can last another century. It is another question whether India itself can last that time under the growing strain or whether the people must, during that time, die like flies. When a man begins to eat a cocoanut, he is not called upon to be tender to the kernel. When he has carved off the last bit he throws away the shell. We do not consider it a heartless performance. No more does the trader consider what he takes from the helpless buyer. A heartless performance, there never is any heart about it. The trader takes all he can and goes his way. It is all a matter of bargain.

The Councillors want their fares and extras, the ministers their salaries, the lawyers their fees, the suitors the decrees, the parents such education for their boys as would give them status in the present life, the millionaires want facilities for multiplying their millions and the rest their unmanly peace. The whole revolves beautifully round the central corporation. It is a giddy dance from which no one cares to free himself and so, as the speed increases, the exhilaration is the greater. But it is a death-dance and the exhilaration is induced by the rapid heart beat of a patient who is about to expire.

The expenditure is bound to grow so long as the dance continues. I should not be surprised if the increase is also laid upon the broad shoulders of Non-co-operators.

For them, there is only one lesson. They may look upon the increase with philosophic calmness, if they will be but true to their creed. The only way they can prevent it, the only way it will ever be prevented is the way of non-violence. For, the greatest part of Non-cooperation is withdrawal from the organised violence on which the Government is based. If we want to organise violence to match that of the Government, we must be prepared to incur greater expenditure even than the latter. We may not convince all the dancers of the fatal doom awaiting them, but we must be able to convince the masses who take part in it and sell their freedom to buy the so-called peace. This we can only do by showing them that non-violence is the way to freedom—not the forced non-violence of the slave, but the willing non-violence of the brave and the free.

30th March 1922

FROM BADA DADA

Writing on the conviction of Mahatma Gandhi, Sjt. Dwijendranath Tagore says:—

“The present Government appears to me to be bound, hand and foot, by the evil precedence of the high-handed British rulers of the past, and the short-sighted ill-advisers of the present times, so that it is incapable of doing towards the people of India anything that is wise, good, just and humane. On the contrary, it is always ready to do anything that is unwise, evil, unjust and inhuman, at the bidding of a handful of mercantile adventurers and those favourite priests of Jehova, whose god is the merciless God of Joshua and his gang, rather than the Heavenly Father of Jesus Christ, so far as it can do so with

impunity. Hence it is useless to expect anything good or great at the hands of the present Government. The only way which is open to us is to choose from amongst ourselves a resolute and capable man for our captain who is endowed by Providence with sufficient wisdom, goodness, energy and divine grace to steer the storm-tossed vessel—India as we see it to-day—to a safe harbour. And this man is, I doubt not, Mahatma Gandhi.

Yours Sincerely,

Dwijendranath Tagore.

HAKIMJI'S CONGRATULATIONS

Mrs. Gandhi has received the following telegram from Hakimji :—

Country's truest servant, your dear husband's conviction for no other offence than his uncompromising devotion to motherland, can't fail to give most powerful impetus to our vital national activities and is sure to prove in the future foundation of Swaraj. I, therefore, congratulate not only yourself and your family, but the whole of India on Mahatma's conviction.

Ajmal Khan.

30th March 1922

WHAT SHALL WE DO NOW?

Now that Mahatmaji has been arrested and is no longer free in body to help us with his advice, people are asking the above question among themselves—*What shall we do now?*

The answer has been given by Mahatmaji himself, in his final request to non-co-operators as embodied in his article—*"If I am arrested"*—in the latest issue of *Young*

India (March 9, 1922), on the day previous to his arrest. This is what he has asked us to do in the circumstances which have overtaken us. "There should be no *hartals*, no noisy demonstrations, no processions. I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honour paid to me by my countrymen, *What I would love to see, however, is the constructive work of the Congress going on with clock work regularity and the speed of the Punjab Express.* I would love to see people who have hitherto kept back, voluntarily discarding all their foreign cloth and making a bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive programme framed at Bardoli, and they will not also only release me and other prisoners, but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. Let them remember the four pillars of Swaraj,—Non-violence, Hindu-Moslem-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew Unity, total removal of untouchability, and of hand-spun and hand-woven *Khaddar* completely displacing foreign cloth."

A similar question was put to Buddha when He was about to leave His body and enter on His final Nirvan in the 80th year of His age. The disciples were weeping and asked him: WHO SHALL TEACH US WHEN THOU ART GONE? Buddha's answer was as follows:—

"Do not let yourselves be troubled, do not weep. Why shall I preserve this body of flesh *when the body of the excellent Law wilt endure?* I am resolved; having accomplished my purpose and attended to the work set before me, I look for rest.

"Seeking the way, you must exert yourselves and strive with diligence. It is not enough to have seen me; walk as I have commanded you; free yourselves from the tangled net of sorrow; walk in the path with

steadfast aim. A sick man may be cured by the healing power of medicine and will be rid of all his ailments without beholding the physician. He who does not do what I command sees me in vain. This brings no profit. A man may dwell beside me, and yet, being disobedient, will be far away from me; yet he who obeys the *Dharma* will always enjoy the bliss of my presence." (*From pages 217-218 of Gospel of Buddha by Dr. Paul Carus, 6th edition, 1898*).

Those who have been in intimate touch with Mahatmaji, living in the same house with him, following him in his tours throughout the length and breadth of India, attending public meetings and conferences almost every two hours, sitting up late nights with him when he was besieged by representatives of different sections of the community for advice and guidance, and in the Working Committees and in the sessions of the Congress and of the All-India Congress Committees besides seeing him writing endlessly in connection with his two weeklies and his daily correspondence, know full well the amount of hard work he has had to do, to what great strain his physical frame has been put. Truly, if we, his followers, are not spoilt children and our hearts are not hearts of stone, we must seek at all costs not only to please him and obey his last words and requests, but we must feel supremely pleased in the thought that at any rate he will have physical rest inside the prison-walls. So long as his body was free, he was not given a moment's rest by us, but now we should be better able to understand and appreciate the following words from his pen which concluded his article "If I am arrested—" "Fourthly and selfishly, it (Mahatmaji's arrest and imprisonment) "will give me a quiet and physical rest which perhaps I deserve."

Of course, to many of us, a prison is a prison—something namely, which is extremely disagreeable. But to Mahatmaji, as to all free innocent souls fighting the war of right against governmental wrong-doing, a prison is the true abode of freedom, while also to others like some of us who are undisciplined and are given to bursts of passion—jail-life is extremely disciplinary in every respect, if only we know when and how to resist humiliations of the spirit, degrading our manhood, which is the divine in us,

30th March 1922

MR. GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO THE PARSIS

Mr. Gandhi addressed the following message to the Parsis from the Sabarmati Jail, through Mr. B. F. Bharucha:—How can I forget to write to you? Please tell my Parsee sisters and brothers never to lose faith in this movement. It is impossible for me to give up my confidence in them. There is no other programme before me than that of Khadi and Charkha, Charkha and Khadi. Hand-spun yarn must be as current among us as are small coins. To attain this object, we can put on no other cloth than hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi. So long as India is not able to do this much, Civil Disobedience will be futile, Swaraj cannot be attained, and Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are impossible to be righted. If this conviction is driven home to you, keep on turning out yarn and using Khaddar. Be expert spinners.

Bande Mataram from
Mohandas.

13th April 1922

A LETTER FROM MAHATMA GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi has sent the following letter to Mr. C. F. Andrews from Sabarmati Jail, in answer to a letter expressing deep regret that on account of the railway strike, he was not able to leave his work and come to him before the trial was over:—

Sabarmati Jail, March 17.

“My dear Charlie, I have just got your letter. You were quite right in not leaving your work. You should certainly go to Gurudev, and be with him as long as he needs you. I would certainly like your going to the Ashram (Sabarmati), and staying there awhile, when you are free. But I would not expect you to see me in jail; I am as happy as a bird! My ideal of a jail life—especially that of a civil resister,—is to be cut off entirely from all connection with the outside world. To be allowed a visitor is a privilege—a civil resister may neither seek, nor receive a privilege. The religious value of jail discipline is enhanced by renouncing privilege. The forthcoming imprisonment will be to me more a religious than a political advantage. If it is a sacrifice, I want it to be the purest.

With love, Yours,

Mohan.

13th April 1922

THE SECRET OF BAPU

(To realise the full significance of the observance of the 18th as a national day, we must bear in mind the great personality for whom we observe it, and the noble ideals and principles that he stands for. “A lover of

Bapu" draws a living pen-picture of Mahatma Gandhi under the heading "The Secret of Bapu". "Bapu" means father and is the name by which Mahatma Gandhi is known amongst his devoted admirers. We draw special attention of our readers to the faithful and excellent pen-picture which we publish below.—Editor).

The secret of Bapu's hold upon the Indian masses is that Bapu loves them from the very bottom of his soul, as perhaps no man living has done. That love is also the secret of his incessant, interminable labours on their behalf. That love also explains Bapu's strange hankering for a peaceful renunciation of the body through the process of a prolonged fasting and prayer, when he conceived himself unworthy of the great trust that had been reposed on him. That explains again the internal agony which Bapu felt at the Chauri Chaura and the Bombay tragedies, and his longing to be sent to jail to suffer the severest punishment in some small expiation of the sins and crimes of those for whom he had laboured, but whom he had not been able to redeem. He would put on his khaddar loin-cloth in sheer love and devotion to a poverty-stricken, helpless people towards whom his heart went out in an endless prayer, and an endless ecstasy of suffering.

Bapu cannot bear the sight of evil and suffering, wherever they may be found. But he is no patriot in the technical sense of the term. He would not lift his little finger against anybody, even against the oppressor and the tyrant. For, Bapu cannot forget that he is his brother, only misled, mistrained, vicious,—aye, wicked. Bapu is a patriot, humanitarian and lover of God, all in one. For, he has no sense of hatred against any individuals or individual, because he considers himself as one of them. Bapu is a lover of India; for,

the Indian people at the present moment are the most long-suffering of peoples, poverty-stricken, emasculated, downcast and helpless ; and because also, India to him when she has once been set on her feet, would represent a civilisation which shall be a beacon of light to humanity.

Bapu's sufferings and agonies on behalf of India are almost divine, because they have not the least tinge of hatred in them ; and on that account are proving and shall prove to be paramount factors in saving India's soul. Therefore, the Lord is crucifying the lover for the sake of the beloved. His passionate devotion to Hindu-Muslim unity and his passionate repudiation of untouchability are, to those who have looked into Bapu's character, born of his innate love for man, whether friend or foe, high or low. There is nothing of the artificiality of civilised politics about Babu's politics ; although the latter has promoted, and shall always promote, a political cause. In truth, in Babu's view, lofty ethics—that spirit of love and humanity which manifests itself in endless suffering and sacrifice for others, if applied to the solution of our present day social, economic and political problems—are capable of setting the world on its feet. The attainment of his political Swaraj for India is, to Babu, a new and a loftier method of saving a down-trodden world, wallowing in the mire of selfish greed and earth hunger.

If these fundamental qualities of character do not entitle Bapu in his own estimation, to be called a Mahatma, or a Great Soul, it is because, like the greatest of all true souls, Bapu has no consciousness of his own greatness. Bapu is all love and pity and tenderness, and is lost in the ocean of the divine life, even in the midst of his harrowing labours amongst us. Such

greatness of soul, is truly transcendent, and lesser souls like ourselves can only look at his virtues from our own angle of vision. Nevertheless, Bapu's soul draws us from afar as would a star of transcendent brilliance draw the most recalcitrant amongst us towards him, even against our own selves, and we are helplessly carried along. Bapu is a force—a moral and spiritual force—that will live for all time and will affect the destiny of peoples and nations, even though he may not have succeeded in lifting within the short space at his disposal the weight of a wearied world. For Bapu has behind him the *SHAKTI* of the Lord to reinforce him and his labours, and may be, he may even be, His chosen instrument.

A Lover of Bapu.

18th March 1923

THE GREAT STATE-TRIAL

(BY N. C. KELKAR)

I feel indebted to Mahadeobhai Desai for asking me to sketch my impressions of the great Gandhi trial to which I was an eye-witness on the 18th March 1922. For it helps me to recall a vision which shall remain one of the cherished reminiscences of my life. Never were romance and reality rolled into a more vital unity than in that sublime spectacle.

As a member of the Working Committee of the Congress, I had that day the privilege of occupying one of the reserved seats in the Court-House. But the 'court-house' was only one term in a whole series of misnomers on that occasion. The reader can well imagine what ideas the name of a State-trial brings in its train. But

here everything was completely reversed. This State-trial was not so much a trial *by* the State as a trial *of* the State itself. And all else was naturally consonant.

The court-house was not the architectural, ill-lighted, awe-inspiring hall that, I fancy, it proverbially is in great State-trials. This was a mean, white-washed, inelegant, insipid room of the true barrack fashion. A hundred people could easily overcrowd it. From the interloper, who, for want of an admission ticket, spied with one eye from the farthest window, up to the Judge who presided over the trial, was one continuous assembly of human forms, knit together, as it were, by a real physical nexus. No one, high or low, among the hundred there could keep his distance.

The judge, I thought, was the most pathetic figure among them all in that memorable trial. Never was he charged with a more unpleasant duty. Never did he feel as he did on that day that an accused under judgement could be really superior to the judge himself. The bloom on Mr. Bloomfield's face had faded. A hectic pallor had taken its place. Neither the natural correctness of conduct nor the consciousness of prestige could keep off the creeping nervousness from him. For once in his official life a Civilian English Sessions Judge nodded respectful salutation to a native in the dock before he himself took his seat on the Bench. For once were the judicial words of a penal sentence belied by the tributary words of human admiration. "Would I not rather sit at your feet and learn a little of your nobility than send you to jail for six years?"—words like these might easily have come from the inner lips of Mr. Bloomfield when he stole a parting glimpse of Mahatma Gandhi.

The apologetic Advocate-general obviously felt quite

out of his element in conducting that State-trial. There was no tangled skein of a secret plot which his skill should unravel in the opening address. He felt the mockery of leading evidence where every thing was avowed and admitted. He winced at reading the articles charged, as every word in them was a bold indictment of the Government he represented, and left some unanswerable reproach sticking to the reader's soul, in spite of his assumed professional scornful manner. He regretfully missed the contentious opposition which he delights to meet in the Law Court every day, as it provides good sport for the keen file of his intellect or legal acumen. For once perhaps did Mr. Advocate-general also feel that the fat fees he would charge were simply wasted on him.

And what shall I say of the accused himself? Clad only in a Khadi enlargement of the proverbial fig-leaf, there was Mahatma Gandhi, with submission to none and yet with good-will to all, the grand accused, whom it was Mr. Bloomfield's rare privilege to try and judge. When he was brought from the jail to the court-house his guard looked more like an escort of honour. With his nimble feet he stepped into the court-room, and with one universal smile he at once shed a halo of the holy spirit of the blessed passive resister upon the whole assembly, from which even his prosecutors could not extricate themselves. But I doubt whether they really did not like to share in that glory. The accused was not only supremely serene but looked even festively joyful to a degree. Was it his trial or his own bridal ceremony? But he was even more jealous of his happiness than a bride-groom in that he had not even a single 'best man' by his side. No Counsel in robes or without robes appeared for him. He was himself his own Counsel.

And paradoxical as it may seem, also his own accuser. He needed no file of witnesses, no tomes of law-books, and no encumbering paraphernalia of authorities. A single type-writ sheet contained the whole of his defence, the greater part of it, however, being devoted rather to a justification and an aggravation of the offence than a defence in any shape or form.

Did he plead guilty to the charge? Yes, by all means. He was only eager that the great categorical question be put that he might answer it away, like a shot. For once in his life, Mr. Advocate-General realised that his task of prosecution could be a *thankful* task, and the convicting judge that, he could be complimented upon leniency *vis-a-vis* a penal sentence of six years' imprisonment.

Mahatma Gandhi thus succeeded in completely subduing all the latent or patent dramatic elements in the great State-trial by simply reversing the familiar points of view in the affair. And like a skilful railway pointsman, he shunted the train of the trial from the track of vulgar terror to that of refined sublimity. The hidden surprise upon, and the consequent humiliation of, the Prosecutor and the Judge might have turned the noble drama into a farce, if there were not elements of grandeur in it too pronounced to be turned into ridicule.

Great as were the efforts made by Mahatma Gandhi to keep the trial free from feeling, the Judge could not help giving it an emotional touch when he mentioned the name of Tilak in passing the sentence and trying to justify its severity by a precedent. And then Mahatmaji too could not help striking the sympathetic chord and declaring that he only felt honoured by the parallel cited. Swiftly did the memories of another great State-trial of fourteen years ago rush into the mind of

every one present; and the Judge proved an unconscious wizard so to convert the dead past into the living present by one key-word. There must be surely some magic charm in a sentence of six years' imprisonment that it should be regarded by Government as an effective amulet for the salvation of India, and two heroes like these—Tilak and Gandhi—should accept it as such in terms and spirit. Yes, by common consent imprisonment of six years for men like these could certainly do much to cure India of its present maladies!

I wonder if Mr. Bloomfield did not leave the Court with a secret feeling of self-reproach. Mr. Advocate-General was happier for not being elevated to the Bench, for he could actually shake hands with the accused, and thus earn the needed atonement for even such small animus as might remain to his debit, after the remarkably fair and even gentle treatment he had given to the Mahatma and his co-accused. And the Police officers in attendance for once felt completely floored. Their usual fussy business of looking after a convict this day was gone. They need not hurry him out, and they would not have done it even if they could. With the disappearance of the judge and the Advocate-General from the Court-room the assembly was turned into a social gathering, the Police being simply ignored.

And then commenced the re-enactment of a scene with which I had been familiar for about a couple of years before. There was Mahatmaji sitting in the centre with a *melee* of men women and children, engrossed in talking to Mahatmaji and being talked to by him in return, with all the welcome, because enjoyable, interventions of wit, wisdom and repartee. I heard Mahatmaji affectionately chaffing a young dandy of five years on wearing a suit of foreign cloth and a fashionable neck-

tie. He mildly reproached an old title-hunter advising him to get rid of his habit at least at that ripe age. By silent inspiration of courage he arrested the tears before they could moisten, and in his opinion tarnish, the eyes of some affectionate follower here; and to another there, more stern and practical, he would give a useful hint for further strenuous work allotted to him. The ladies felt caressed by his blessings, and the men felt they got a gift of strength by shaking his supple but saintly hands.

In half an hour the grand levee was over. One by one the gathering in the Court-house was dissolved. And even when the police escorted Mahatmaji back in the ominous motor-van of the jail, we all felt the trial yet vividly remaining behind of a spirit of rare devotion and self-sacrifice, which could not be suppressed by the proceedings of the State-trial for the moment, or even by the threatened absence of the hero, figuring in them, for six long weary years.

Four years ago, when I first read the prospectus of the Satyagrah-ashram founded by Mahatma Gandhi, the one word in it which attracted my attention most was the pledge of fearlessness prescribed for its inmates by this disciple of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. That, I said, must be the really more salient feature in the political design of this Ashram than the drastic code of puritanism that served as an adorning embroidery. And as I left the premises of the improvised Court-house I said to myself, 'Verily has this pledge been fulfilled.' Mahatmaji had by his personal example that day cast a true type of fearlessness which neither long time nor short memories can ever efface.

to enter here into a minute explanation of Non-violence. It means in short that we should not be actuated by spite against those from whom we seek to obtain justice, that we should never think of obtaining anything from him by any violence to his person, but by pure civility. If we can trust ourselves to be equal to only this much non-violence, the required reforms can be easily achieved.

When the whole nation adopts Satyagraha as an eternal weapon, all our movements will take a new form. We shall be spared much of the hubbub and stump-oratory, much of petition-making and passing of resolutions and much of our mean selfishnesses. I see nothing in which lies the social, economic and political advancement of the nation so much as in Satyagraha.

THREE LETTERS TO MAHATMA GANDHI

TOLSTOY ON SATYAGRAHA

The following is a translation of the letter by Count Tolstoy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, written in 1910 just at a time when Mr. Gandhi's efforts in the famous South African Passive Resistance campaign were about to be crowned with success. The letter shows how fully its writer had understood the position of Governments. He says: "The Governments know where their chief danger lies and they vigilantly guard in this question, not only their interests, but question: "To be or not to be?"

Kotchety-Russia. September 7, 1910.

I received your journal, and was pleased to learn all contained therein concerning the passive resisters. And I felt like telling you all the thoughts which that reading called up in me.

The longer I live and especially now, when I vividly

the fierce longing of my eyes, cannot be assuaged.' There is just this little difference. That he would get to see Rama, Bharata had no doubt; but he was not sure that he would bring him back. The key to Rama's recovery was with Rama as Bapu's recovery is with us. Even as Bharata rated himself for the exile of Rama, Mahomed Ali rates himself and his fellow men. It is we, he says, who have kept him in; let us, with trust in God, get him out.

One reads various prophecies about Kaliyuga, the present age, in ancient Sanskrit books. We read of the irreligion and immorality and iniquity, the diverse crimes against God and man, that man's race in India, at any rate, will in the Black Age perpetrate. It may be all true in proportion to one's quickness of perception and sensitiveness of conscience. But one thing the ancient sages' vision failed to prophesy is that a Muslim Mahomed Ali will be so devoted to a Hindu Gandhi, that he can find no rest or peace without him. Blessed we who have filled our eyes with their vision, with that friendship and brotherhood which ennoble and adorn both Hinduisms and Islam. The mad mobs in Saharanpur, Agra and other places may be too blinded with petty passions and animosities to see the significance of the return of Mahomed Ali and of his passionate cry. But it cannot long continue to be lost on them. In his return and the rallying cry that he has raised lies the key to Hindu-Muslim unity. Devotion to a great personality is indeed the key to all self-improvement, self-elevation, all unity—certainly to Hindu-Muslim unity. The strength of Islam and Christianity is the devotion to the Prophet and the Prince of Glory, cherished by every adherent of the respective religions. The strength of the religion of Indian Unity will be the devotion each

bears to the greatest men of faiths different from his. For the sign of the purity and strength of a faith, as of a nation, is the thought and act of its best and most representative man. That devotion binds Mahomed Ali to Mahatmaji and Mahatmaji to Mahomed Ali. Take up anyone of Mahatmaji's speeches in those days when he used to go about with the bigger and the younger brothers. Every one of them you will find prefaced with an exhortation to the people to see Hindu-Muslim unity embodied in his attachment to the brothers. Attachment to the brothers meant to him attachment to Islam and he wanted the people to see the greatness of the faith in the greatness of its representative adherents. Even so does Mahomed Ali to-day. His ardent cry for the release of Mahatmaji, his passionate declaration that Mahatmaji is dearer to him than his brother, is an exhortation to all, especially to the erring brethren of his faith, to see the greatness of Hinduism in the greatness of Gandhi and to forget the little things about them that stir up their prejudices and their animosities. In his self-surrender to Allah, he says that he will think that his task is unfulfilled if he fails to bring about Hindu-Moslem unity. But it is not difficult to see that in the search for the key to Yeravda is the solution of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Where, then is the key? Dr. Kitchlew in his straight, plain manner answered: 'Satyagraha'. The poetic Moulana gave a suggestive reply: 'I adhere to Mahatmaji's programme of non-violent Non-co-operation. There is absolutely no change in my views.' In the course of a reply to a telegram from Mr. Raza Ali he said:—

"If co-operation was *haram* according to the Islamic law two years ago, it cannot become *halal* to-day unless the *Jazirut-ul-Arab* is once more under an absolutely

independent and exclusive Muslim sovereignty and the Khilafat's relationship with the Muslim world is recognised according to the Islamic law. Have you been able to persuade the British Government to respect these religious requirements?"

The key then is not to be found in co-operation, not in the Councils, but in the way that the Master had shown. He knows he cannot insult Mahatmaji by seeking to release him with the help of Councils that do not represent his country—that will not represent it until we have Swaraj. He knows that the thing nearest his heart was exactly the one nearest to his own heart, viz., *Kurbani*. That is his life breath and he knows that it was Mahatmaji's life breath. In a passage of matchless vigour, Mahatmaji has revealed the miracle of *Kurbani* :—

"It is the magnitude of Irish sacrifice which has been the deciding factor. The late President Kruger, when with a handful of his undisciplined countrymen hurled his ultimatum against the British Empire, said he would stagger humanity. He meant that he would sacrifice every Boer man, woman and child and leave not a single Boer heart to subdue. And England yielded when she was choked with the bloody feast that the Boers had provided for her. And even so Ireland has been staggering humanity for many a long year. And England has yielded when she is no longer able to bear the sight of blood pouring out of the thousands of Irish arteries. I know for certain that it is no legal subtleties, discussions on academic justice or resolutions of Councils and Assemblies that will give us what we want. We shall have to stagger humanity even as South Africa and Ireland have been obliged to. Only instead of repeating South African and Irish histories, non-co-operators are

learning from the living examples of these two nations
the art of spilling their own blood without spilling that
of their opponents.

Mahadeo Desai.

[K]

AT THE HOSPITAL

On 13th January 1924, the whole of India was painfully surprised when the following statement issued by the Director of Information, Bombay :

Owing to his being found to be suffering from abdominal pain and fever, Mr. Gandhi was removed from Yerrowada Jail on Saturday morning and taken to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona.

An operation was performed in the evening and Mr. Gandhi was found to be suffering from suppurating appendix. The Civil Surgeon reports that Mr. Gandhi has stood the operation very well.

At the request of the Civil Surgeon and also by the wish of Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Dalal was asked to proceed to Poona.

A later Press Communique issued the same day by the Director of Information stated : Mr. Gandhi's condition this morning was as good as could be expected. His temperature was normal and the Doctors are so far quite satisfied with the result of the operation.

A special supplement of the "Navjivan" issued the same day at Ahmedabad says that Miss Anusya visited last Tuesday Indulal Yagnig in the Yerrowada Jail and learnt from him that Mr. Gandhi was suffering since Saturday from fever which once rose to 102 degrees. Therefore Mr. Ramdas Gandhi enquired by wire about his father's health to which the following reply was received last Friday : "Your father is suffering from ordinary fever. No cause for anxiety. You can see him when you like."

The Superintendent of the Yerrowada Jail wired yesterday evening saying "Your father removed to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona."

MR. SASTRI'S STATEMENT

The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., issued the following statement to the press the same day 13th January 1924:

"I was called suddenly to the Sassoon Hospital yesterday night to see Mahatma Gandhi. In view of the profound interest that the matter would have for the public I venture to make the following statement:—

"Dr. V. B. Gokhale came to me about 8-45 p. m. just as I was finishing my dinner and told me how the Yerrowada authorities had removed Mr. Gandhi to the Sassoon Hospital where he was in charge. He was about to be operated on for appendicitis. As the case was serious the patient had been asked whether he would like any doctor friends of his to be sent for. He had mentioned Doctor Dalal of Bombay and Doctor Jiviraj Mehta who was in Baroda. Both had been wired to and attempts had been made but in vain to get at Doctor Dalal by means of the phone. Meanwhile in view of the patient's temperature and pulse it had been decided to perform the operation immediately and he was asked whether he would like to have any friends brought to see him. He mentioned me Doctor Phatak of the Non-co-operation Party and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Doctor Gokhale and I started at once and took Doctor Phatak on the way, Mr. Kelkar being away at Satara.

On my entering the room we greeted each other and I enquired how he felt as to the operation. He answered firmly that the doctors had come to a definite conclusion

and he was content to abide by it, and in reply to further inquiry he said that he had full confidence in the medical men about him and that they had been very kind and very careful. Should there arise any public agitation he added that it should be made known that he had no complaint whatever to make against the authorities and that so far as the care of his body went their treatment left nothing to be desired. Then I enquired if Mrs. Gandhi had been informed of his condition. He said that she did not know the latest developments but she knew that for sometime he had not been well and he expected to hear from her. He then made enquiries of my wife and of my colleagues in the Servants of India Society, viz., Messrs. Devadhar, Joshi, Patwardhan and Kunzru. He asked: "Have your frequent journeys out of India benefited your health?" Doctor Phatak then read a draft statement to be signed by Mr. Gandhi conveying his consent to the operation. After hearing it once, Mr. Gandhi put in his spectacles and read it himself. Then he said he would like the wording to be changed and asked Colonel Maddock who was in the room what he thought. The Colonel said Mr. Gandhi knew best how to put it in appropriate language. His own suggestion would be of much value.

Then he dictated a lengthy statement* which I took down in pencil. It was addressed to Colonel Maddock who was to perform the operation. The letter acknowledged the exceeding kindness and attention which he had received from Col. Maddock, the Surgeon General, and other medical men and stated he had the utmost confidence in Colonel Maddock, officers and attendants. It proceeded to thank the Government for their consideration in owing him to send for his own doctors but

* See p. 1370.

as they could not be got, in spite of the best attempts made by Colonel Maddock and as delay would in the opinion of the Colonel involve serious risk, he requested him to perform the operation at once.

When it was finished I read it out to him once. Then he called Colonel Maddock to his side and I read it again at his desire. Colonel Maddock was quite satisfied and remarked: "Of course you know best how to put in proper language." He then drew up his proper posture for signing the paper, which he did in pencil. His hand shook very much and I noticed that he did not dot the "I." At the end he remarked to the doctor: "See how my hand trembles. You will have to put this right." Colonel Maddock answered: "Oh! We will put tons and tons of strength into you."

As the operation room was being got ready the doctors went out and I found myself nearly alone with the Mahatma. After a remark or two of a purely personal nature I asked him whether he had anything particular to say. I noticed a touch of eagerness as he replied as though he was waiting for an opportunity to say something. "If there is an agitation," he said, "for my release after the operation, which I do not wish, let it be on proper lines. My quarrel with the Government is there and will continue so long as the originating causes exist. Of course there cannot be any conditions. If the Government think they have kept me long enough they may let me go, that would be honourable if they think I am an innocent man and that my motives have been good. While I have a deep quarrel with the Government, I love the Englishmen and have many friends amongst them. They may release me. But it must not be on false issues. Any agitation must be kept on proper non-violent lines. Perhaps I have not expressed myself quite

well but you had better put it in your own inimitable style."

I mentioned the motions of which notice had been given in the Assembly and added that, though Government might in other circumstances have opposed it, I expected that they would take a different line.

I then pressed him again for a message to his people, his followers or the country. He was surprisingly firm on this subject. He said he was a prisoner of Government and he must observe the prisoners' code of honour scrupulously. He was supposed to be civilly dead. He had no knowledge of outside events and he could not have anything to do with the public. He had no message.

Briskly at this point the nurse came in with some articles of apparel for him, and signalled to me to depart. In a few minutes he was shifted to the operation room. I sat outside marvelling at the exhibitions I had witnessed of high-mindedness, forgiveness, chivalry and love transcending ordinary human nature, and what a mercy it was that the Non-co-operation movement should have had a leader of such serene vision and sensitiveness to honour.

The Surgeon-General and the Inspector-General of Prisons were also there. I could see from their faces how anxious they were at the tremendous responsibility that lay on them. They said that the patient had borne the operation very well indeed, that some puss had come out and that it was a matter of congratulation that the operation had not been delayed any longer. The patient had had morphia and was expected to sleep soundly for some time longer when we dispersed.

I learnt from the Doctor this morning that the patient's condition was thoroughly satisfactory.

I have read out this statement to Doctor Phatak who approves of it and adds that his inquiry as to a message elicited the same sort of answers.

Sassoon Hospital, Poona, Jan. 12 1924.

Dear Col. Maddock,

I know that you know the history of my illness during the past 6 months. You have been extraordinarily kind to me. You, the Surgeon-General and other medical gentlemen have come to the conclusion that any delay in performing the operation described by you to me involves considerable risk. You were kind enough to tell me that the Government had authorised you to send for any of my special medical friends. I therefore suggested the names of Dr. Dalal and Dr. Jivraj Mehta. You have tried your utmost to secure their presence but then you have not been able to get at either of them. I have the fullest confidence in you and regard being had to the serious nature of the case, I would ask you please to go on with the operation without delay.

I am,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

7th February 1924

AT THE SASSOON HOSPITAL

God in his infinite mercy has spared for us our Bapu, however little we might deserve him. When the news first reached me on the 13th, my guilty conscience began to whisper to me that the stock of my *punyam* was over,

and unless the good luck of the rest of my countrymen came to my aid, I would not have the privilege of seeing Bapu. But the privilege did come indeed, after full twenty-six months. I saw him ten days ago. In the flesh, he was hardly half himself, it was nothing less than torture to expect him to speak. But you could not stop him from torturing himself. He felt he must speak to us, at whatever cost, and he began telling us how he came to be removed to the Sassoon Hospital. He surely knew that we had all the details from Devadas and others. But he must shower extra affection on us by narrating the whole tale himself. We listened mutely wondering what we had done to deserve this excess of affection.

But if any one had asked me to write anything about Bapu that day I would not have had the heart to do it. He was so emaciated, so shrivelled up, that you could not bring yourself to be composed enough to say or write anything about his condition. But, thank God, he began picking up unexpectedly fast, and I am happy to say that I feel now able to say something about what is happening in this the greatest of our places of pilgrimage to-day.

These have been days which will live in our annals. The Nation had the good fortune to see its revered leader at work, to see him mould heroes out of clay whilst at work. It had yet to see his gospel go forth from his sick-bed and see it translated into act before his eyes. It has done so during the past fortnight. It is a living atmosphere of love of which you begin to feel the effects, as you approach the room which happens to possess to-day the light that transcends the bounds of time and space.

I have had the privilege, as unmerited probably as the

one I had two years ago, of being with him these ten days, though not the privilege of serving him. That privilege is being entirely monopolised by the hospital nurses. One of them is an Englishwoman of long experience. He cannot help smiling as she approaches him. One day she comes talking about her pet dogs; and draws Bapu in a conversation about the different varieties of dogs and their usefulness. Another day she talks about her experience in English and African hospitals, and tells him how she has lived throughout her life the lesson that her Doctors taught her of never trying to be popular. A third she decorates the room with the finest flowers and asks Bapu to admire her work. There was another nurse much younger, but equally fond of Bapu, who prided herself on having Mr. Gandhi as her first "private" patient after passing out as a trained nurse. "Nursing is not always a joy, at times it is a task", she used to say, "but it has been a pure joy and a privilege to nurse Mr. Gandhi. The Doctor comes and tells me, 'you did not use to print your reports like this ever before' and I tell him straightaway, 'Nor had I such a patient before.'" Another day she told me, 'my friends were chaffing me for getting fond of Mr. Gandhi; I told them they would do the same if they had the privilege of serving him.'

And the Surgeon's love for him is as undisguised as the nurses'. The Civil Surgeon has had letters and telegrams pouring on him to congratulate him for the way in which he was serving Mahatmaji, and it is not without a blush that he says, "how am I to reply to all of them? Shall I do it through the Press?"

I do not know if any one attending Bapu has the slightest consciousness that he is serving a state prisoner. A compelling love chokes all other consciousness.

But why? Even he who has to look upon him as a prisoner seemed scarcely different in his manner from the rest. Col. Murray, the Yerravda Superintendent, came to see Bapu the other day. "Do you think Mr. Gandhi, I have neglected you? No, I thought I should not disturb you. And as I see you now after some days I find you very much better. The Colonel also assures me you are quickly improving. Your friends remember you. Mr. Ganni especially asked me to tell you that he still gets up at 4 o'clock. Every one of them is happy, and misses you—I hope they do so permanently." His sweetness was touching. "Thank you Col. Murray," said Bapu, "but I assure you nothing will please me better than to be up and doing and be under your kind care once again at Yerravda." You never could tell, if you did not know him, that a jail Superintendent was speaking to one of his prisoners, and you could almost visualise the atmosphere of love created by Bapu in his prison cell at Yerravda.

But I must say something about Bapu's health, rather than go on talking about his alchemy of love. He looks still emaciated, but he is better than he might have been, as he told Mr. Rajagopalachariar, the other day, rating him for his ill-health, adding "and you are worse than you ought to be." His weight which at its best was 112 lbs, in jail cannot be now very much over a maund, though it is difficult to be precise, as he is still in bed, and cannot be moved out of it. There is no doubt, however, that he is getting stronger every day. There is a chain hanging down from the top of his bed of which he gets a hold to enable him to sit up or turn in bed. 'That's for my gymnastics' he said to a friend the other day. The fingers are still shaky, but not so much as before. His nourishment is nearly half his

usual quantity, and consists of about 2 pounds of milk, a couple or two oranges and grapes. The bowels open without the help of the enema, though a mild purgative is at times necessary. Above all he gets most restful sleep of the kind he has never had during the last few years. For even the days in jail were of 'toil unsevered from tranquillity.' From my talks with the Surgeon I can say that there is now no cause for anxiety, though the convalescence will certainly be prolonged and even indefinite.

And need I say anything about the torrents of love that have taken their course to Poona from all the parts of India? Devadas who should be privileged to be with his father for all the time has to content himself serving him by attending to the numerous letters and telegrams coming day and night inquiring after Bapu's health. But the telegrams and letters do not exhaust the affections. One day the residents of far off Tanjore write to say that they did their *archanas* and *abhishekams* in a particular Mandir, and send on the sacred ashes and *kumkum* for Mahatmaji, another day comes a letter from Kashi telling Devadas that special *japas* were performed in the temple of Mrityunjay Mahadeo (the Conqueror of Death), that hundreds of Brahmins will be continuing their *anushthanas* until Mahatmaji gets better, and they do not omit to send the sacred water of the Ganges and the sacred ashes also. Hindus from Shiyali, Tirupur, and Dindigul vie in their love with their Mussalman brethren of Nagore who send special *tabarruk* (prasadam) of some *Aulia*. A Parsi sister writes offering her blood if the Surgeons thought it necessary to put in blood in Mahatmaji, while an English lady writes detailed instructions about Bapu's diet, and Mrs. Gokhale from Bombay

writes to say that she will spin an extra couple of hours every day, now that Mahatmaji cannot spin,

One of the constant visitors at the hospital—and of these there is no end, my duty here being only that of standing at the gate to keep them away—is an Englishman, an old military pensioner who makes it a point to come every other day with a bouquet of flowers, and gets into Bapu's room unobstructed by any one. It is simply impossible to stop him. Impatiently he rushes to Bapu, shakes his hand, and delivers his message of cheer in a few seconds and walks away, "Cheer up old man! I see that you are very much better than yesterday. I know you must get better. How old are you? Fifty five. Oh it is nothing, You know I am 82, Get better, please do." One day he stopped and asked, "can I do anything for you Mr, Gandhi?" "No," said Bapu, "Please pray for me." "That I will but tell me if I can do anything for you. Please do tell me. Believe me to be your brother." To which Bapu replies with a smile, "Believe me I have amongst my friends a number of Englishmen whom I regard as more than my brothers." The man is deeply touched, moves out assuring us that he prays thrice every day that Mr. Gandhi may live up to his age, and also telling us that many Englishmen pray for him, and many officers inquire after him.

The picture will be incomplete if I did not say a word about the illustrious leaders who are now flocking to Poona to see their leader. They did not come until now, as they knew it would not be well to disturb him. A man like Mr. Jayakar says, "I will now come, but will only have his darshan from a distance," and Pt. Jawaharal assures Devadas that he would come last of all. The big brother comes, and insists that Mahatmaji should not talk to him, fumbles about on Mahatmaji's bed for

his legs, which he finds with some difficulty, opens out the covering, and kisses them. Shankerlal and others like him, are choked with tears and Pandit Motilalji has no heart to get away without bidding him good bye a second time, and deliberately misses a train. Lalaji comes eager to have a talk with him, but stands aside, almost inspite of himself, so that he may not draw him into a talk with him. He visits him again before leaving Poona. There is something in him which is struggling to find expression. Probably it checks the tears, or the tears check it. But ultimately it succeeds and bursts out. But Bapu with his inimitable smile says, "Lalaji, the joke is too big for my stomach. I would have a hearty laugh, but for the wound and the stiches." Lalaji, who would have gone otherwise with a heavy heart, goes away with a much lighter heart, not without assuring others also that we may not be sad now, but rejoice that God in His infinite mercy has blessed us.

Poona, 29-1-24,

Mahadev Desai.

P. S.

The above reached too late for the last issue. I should have followed up with more impressions. But the news the release must crowd out everything. I must warn the public that the A. P. I. telegram saying that Mahatmaji is quite well is far from the truth. And may I also say that the fact that Maulana Mahomed Ali had asked Mahatmaji to visit Ajmer immediately on discharge from the hospital alarmed me? He is still in bed, though he can just toddle in his room. It will be months before he gets fit and strong again. Let the country give him a long period of undisturbed rest and labour and pray that he may be long preserved to us.

6-2-24

M. D.

21st February 1924

THE TRUE RULER OF INDIA

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

On my arrival from England, I was quite shocked when I saw the emaciated form of Mahatma Gandhi in the Sassoon Hospital at Poona. Those who have been with him however informed me that I should have been far more greatly shocked if I had seen his condition only a few days before. At once I felt the truth of Rabindra Nath Tagore's words, that each day he was kept a prisoner was a day of humiliation for the rulers of the country. No order had yet come for his release and the Viceroy's speech contained no hint of it. To me it had seemed almost incredible that Christmas Day had passed as the day of peace and good-will, without such a simple and natural act of peace and good-will being done.

Now at last, as I write, the news has come. The release has been announced. Although its lateness detracts somewhat from its value, yet if it brings with it any change of heart in the rulers, it is welcome. The future alone will show.

Those who were near the sufferer in the hospital had many things to tell me about the kindness he had received. The Civil Surgeon's goodness, which had been so full of courage and skill, the nurses' tender care, the utter absence of all official restraint,—these represented a different gesture from the repression of former days. They had prepared the way for the final act of release.

It has been Mahatma Gandhi's supreme faith that there is a nobler element in man that may be won over by love. For this reason, he began his Non-co-operation movement, not in bitterness but in love. For this

reason, he spoke with the frankness of true love to the judge who condemned him to prison. For this reason, he wrote in the columns of *Young India* again and again explaining to the rulers the object which he had in view, so that there might be no possible misunderstanding. But, in spite of it all, it was nothing less than a tragedy in England to find how he had been misunderstood.

If the question is asked, what is the sum and substance of the charge which Mahatma Gandhi laid against the British Government in India, it may be summed up in a single phrase. He charged them with the oppression of the poor. In the statement which he made at his trial, his condemnation of the British Raj was this: They had oppressed the poor. The hungry skeleton-like figures, which Mahatma Gandhi had seen in Orissa and elsewhere, had haunted his mind till he could never forget them, by night or by day. He went so far as to offer to co-operate again, if the British rulers would join with him in a campaign to destroy the drink and drug traffic and to build up the industrial village-life by the encouragement of *Khaddar*. But such simple work of lowly service was beyond the ken of the present rulers. They must do their work in their own patronising way or not at all. The gorgeous magnificence of an Imperial Delhi obsessed their minds. They neglected to take note of the plain fact that all this magnificence would only be an added burden to the poor. They spent fabulous sums upon it, until the treasury was empty, and then doubled the burden of the salt tax in order to prevent a deficit. The crores of rupees spent on building a New Delhi over the ruins of old Delhi could not be sacrificed. The one necessary of life to the many millions of half-starving people must be taxed instead.

There is a weakness due to long ages of subjection which has invaded the mind of India itself and supports this vulgar craving for a display of pomp and power such as New Delhi affords. Mahatma Gandhi has called it a 'slave mentality'. It may be seen in our own day in the gaping crowds that frequent the race courses, whenever they are patronised by Viceroys and Governors in state procession. Extravagant durbars, royal visits, imperial pageants, British Empire Exhibitions, all draining away the wealth of the country, have become more frequent of late in order to captivate the waning attention of the common people. But the spiritual mind of India is not captivated by things so tawdry as these. Rather it pays silent homage to this one tired sufferer in the hospital at Poona, who has looked into the face of death without fear. For there is a ruler of India here, in this hospital, Mahatma Gandhi, whose sway is greater than all imperial power. His name will be remembered and sung by the village people long after the names of the modern governors in their palaces at New Delhi are forgotten. When all the buildings of Raisina have crumbled into ruins, such as those around the Kutub Minar and Taghlakabad, the name of Mahatma Gandhi will still be taught by mothers to their little children as one of the greatest of India's saints and saviours.

For there is a spiritual palace which Mahatma Gandhi has built up out of an eternal fabric. Its foundations are deeply and truly laid in the Kingdom of God. No oppression of the poor has gone to build it. Love and devotion and service to the poor are its golden decorations. No military pomp reigns within its borders, but only the peaceful harmony of human souls. No race or colour distinctions have any place in it. No clash of religious controversy mars its silence. Its empire is the heart.

Difficult indeed it is for me to snatch myself away from this hospital room with its patient, now that once the vision has been seen, the *darshan* for which I have waited so long in my journey across the sea. I came to the hospital at Poona with the expectation of going afterwards to Delhi. But the spirit within me has leapt up in revolt, as though it were impossible now to make any such proposal. For, here I have seen a vision which makes all thoughts of doing anything political at Delhi fade away. It might have been possible to have gone to Delhi, if I had not visited this hospital. But to go now, after this, would be almost like—I hardly know how to put it—a sacrilege. I could journey to Sabarmati Ashram; I could go to Shantiniketan; but not into the midst of the turmoil of politics at Delhi. Let me keep pure the vision which God has given me. For when such a gift has come, there is nothing else in life except to hold it fast.

NATIONAL PRAYER ON 18TH

Maulana Mohamed Ali, President of the Congress, issued the following message to his countrymen under date January, 15:

“Ever since news was received from Poona that Mahatma Gandhi was removed from Yerrawada Jail to the Sassoon Hospital for a surgical operation, the nation has been waiting for further news of his health with bated breath. The shock to the nation was almost too great even for prayers though what every feeling has all this time suffered is itself one long prayer to heaven. But the time has now come that we should organise ourselves to offer a national prayer, beseeching Almighty God to grant complete and speedy recovery to India's greatest son. Friday, 18th inst., being Gandhi Day,

seems to be the most suitable day for the purpose. Mussalmans will no doubt offer prayers in their mosques after Friday Service, but I suggest that the joint national prayer of men and women of all communities should be offered precisely at 5 p. m., standard time all over India and that mass meetings should be organised everywhere for this purpose. I trust my suggestion will meet with the Nation's approval and that steps will be taken immediately to act upon it."

WORKING COMMITTEE

At a meeting of the Congress Working Committee held at Bombay on January 30, 31, and February 1, the following resolutions were passed and business transacted, besides many others dealing with Congress administration:—

GANDHI MONTH

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is deeply thankful to merciful Providence that Mahatma Gandhi has passed safely through his recent grave illness and that his further services in the cause of freedom have thus been vouchsafed to the nation. The Committee appeals to the nation that in order to prepare for a great struggle to be carried on all over the country to wrench from Government his and the nation's freedom and establish Swarajya, a supreme effort should be made to strengthen the Congress organisation in every respect and for this purpose the month beginning from 18th February and ending on 18th March next should be observed as the Gandhi month and devoted to intensive national work by every man and woman desiring the emancipation of the country. The

Working Committee calls upon all Indians to put forth the utmost endeavour to cloth the nation in Khaddar, to enrol Congress members and to collect money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund. All Congress Committees are called upon to organise work at once in order to carry out the above resolution.

THE RELEASE ORDER

There was intense excitement in the hospital this morning when the news came that Mahatmaji had been released, telegraphed the special correspondent of the *Hindu* on February, 5, 1924, who was one intimately in touch with Mahatmaji :

The news reached the hospital in this manner. Mr. C. F. Andrews had gone early to the hospital and had been laughing and joking with Mahatmaji as he usually does each morning since his return from England. Mahatmaji enjoyed this and they were there engaged together when quite unexpectedly Colonel Maddock, the Doctor, came in and said to Mahatma Gandhi : "I am so glad to see you looking so well this morning." Mahatmaji introduced Mr. Andrews to him and they shook hands.

Then Colonel Maddock said : "I am so glad to tell you that I have some very good news to give you and I wanted myself to be the first to bring it to you. The order came last night by special messenger and here it is. You are unconditionally released."

The Mahatma remained entirely quiet and unmoved and said to Colonel Maddock : "Perhaps you would not mind reading to me the order."

When Colonel Maddock had read the order through, Mahatmaji smiled at the Colonel and said : "I hope you will not mind my remaining your guest and your patient

a little longer." This, he said laughingly, and the Colonel replied, with a smile: "I hope you will continue to obey all my instructions as a doctor."

Mahatmaji promised to do so. Then he turned to the Colonel and thanked him for all his exceeding kindness.

The scene was one that was wonderful to witness. There was a complete absence of any excitement and the main feature of Mahatmaji's attitude as he received the news with his characteristic smile and accepted the overpowering greetings from Mr. Andrews and all his other friends, including Maulana Shaukat Ali who happened to be in Poona, was that it was like the absence of all excitement which characterised the night of February, 10, two years ago when he received the news of a different nature with the same self-possession as a brave soldier of Satyagraha.

The doctors who have paid him hurried visits by turns since his release have had a glimpse of him in his unfettered freedom and have seen how unmoved he has been with the excitement all around him. They have acknowledged all his wishes with more than usual courtesy. Colonel Maddock, after dressing his wound with his own hands again this morning, expressed satisfaction at his progress. At the same time he gave a very strict warning that nothing must be done to tire the distinguished patient. He must be given all the rest and repose possible and must sleep whenever he could manage to do so both at night and during the day, for the tired body sorely needed rest.

Mahatmaji read through a message which Mr. Andrews has sent to the Associated Press at Mahatmaji's request. He passed it after it had been read. From this message it will be seen how important rest is for the patient and how there is need of patience on the

part of the general public so that there may not be the slightest relapse on account of the tiring visits of a multitude of friends which must be altogether avoided.

Telegrams begin to pour in almost immediately after the Colonel's visit.

Mahatma Gandhi has asked Mr. C.F. Andrews to go at once to Sabarmati in order to give there a message from Mahatmaji himself to the students and teachers and dwellers in the Ashram. He has already started, but will return immediately because his presence will be required again in Poona when Mahatmaji's message has been delivered. The first message that Mahatmaji sent was to the Parsee Rustomjee in Durban which will at once be telegraphed all over South Africa and will give there the joyful news.

MR. ANDREWS' STATEMENT

The news of Mr. Gandhi's release has been received, stated an Associated Press message issued on 5th February 1924, with great satisfaction by all sections of public and to-day it is the absorbing topic of conversation.

Mr. Gandhi had a long talk with Mr. C. F. Andrews this morning. It is learnt that he will remain in hospital for at least another fortnight.

Mr. Gandhi or none of his party had learnt anything of his release till 7-30 a.m. It was Col. Maddock who first informed him of the good news. Mr. C. F. Andrews was present at the occasion and he has issued a graphic statement of his impression which will be wired from Bombay. Mr. Gandhi has been removed to Division No. 9 nursing home which are private apartments this noon. He has a separate spacious room and nurse is in

attendance. Everything now has a cheery atmosphere and visitors are pouring in hundreds. Mr. Gandhi interviewed stated that he intends to issue a statement tomorrow.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has communicated the following statement to the Associated Press concerning Mr. Gandhi :

" I was present at the Sassoon Hospital this morning about 7-30 A.M. and found Mahatma Gandhi very bright and cheerful after a good night's rest. While we were talking, Col. Maddock, who has been in charge of the patient in the hospital, came in and announced to Mahatmaji the news of his unconditional release and congratulated him upon it most heartily. He then read out to him the words of the official message and said that it had come on Monday night by a special messenger. Therefore he had taken the earliest opportunity of coming to him as he wished to be the first man to bear the news that he was now free.

Mahatma Gandhi remained quiet for a few moments and then said to Col. Maddock with a smile : "I hope you will allow me to remain your patient and also your guest for a little longer". The Doctor laughed and told him that he trusted that his patient would go on obeying his orders as a Doctor and that he himself might have the very great pleasure and satisfaction of seeing him thoroughly restored to health.

Later on, in that morning after dressing the wound, Col. Maddock gave warning that the recovery of the patient which was going on so well might be seriously thrown back if any unnecessary excitement or tiredness was caused in the next few days by the visits of those who wished to see him. The kindest thing in the world would be for everyone, except those who were nursing him, to

give him all the rest possible at this critical time in his recovery. It had to be remembered that the wound, which had to be made while performing the operation, was not fully healed, and a little over-tasking of the strength of the patient might throw the recovery back. The next fortnight would be the time when every reserve of strength would be needed in order the wound might be fully healed. Everything had gone well up to the present but it was imperative that no unnecessary risks shall be incurred.

Mahatma Gandhi was removed by the Doctor's orders into another room with an outside verandah where he could be able to get the full benefit of the sunshine and open air.

Telegrams began to pour in upon him from an early hour. The first telegram reached the hospital very soon after Col. Maddock had left.

I would wish, if I may be permitted to do so after all I have seen in the hospital concerning Mahatma Gandhi's health, to add my own urgent request to the warning given by the doctor for, while undoubtedly, Mahatma Gandhi has recovered wonderfully hitherto, he is still in a weak condition and it must be remembered that the healing of the wound has still to go on and anything that in the slightest degree might bring about a relapse must be avoided. Every day of complete rest which he can now obtain, especially during the next fortnight will mean an immense difference for the future. It would be the greatest kindness possible if those to whom his health is most precious would strictly observe the doctor's instructions until the recovery has been fulfilled.

It will also be quite impossible for Mahatmaji to grant interviews to press correspondents.

After writing out this statement, I read it over to Mahatma Gandhi himself at his own request and he has passed it for the press.

MAHATMAJI'S STATEMENT

Mahatmaji has addressed the following to Moulana Mahomed Ali, President of the Indian National Congress :—

My dear Friend and Brother,

I send you, as the President of the Congress, a few words which I know our countrymen expect from me on my sudden release. I am sorry that the Government have prematurely released me on account of my illness. Such a release can bring me no joy, for I hold that the illness of a prisoner affords no ground for his release.

I would be guilty of ungratefulness if I did not tell you and through you the whole public that both the goal and the hospital authorities have been all attention during my illness. Colonel Murray, the Superintendent of the Yerrowada Prison, as soon as he suspected that my illness was at all serious, invited Colonel Maddock to assist him and I am sure promptest measures were taken by him to secure for me the best treatment possible. I could not have been removed to the David and Jacob Sassoon Hospital a moment earlier. Colonel Maddock and his staff have treated me with the utmost attention and kindness. I may not omit the nurses who have surrounded me with sisterly care. Though it is now open to me to leave this Hospital, knowing that I can get no better treatment anywhere else, with Colonel Maddock's kind permission, I have decided to remain under his care till the wound is healed and no further medical treatment is necessary.

The public will easily understand for sometime to come I shall be quite unfit for active work and those who are interested in my speedy return to active life will hasten it by postponing their natural desire to see me. I am unfit, and shall be for some weeks perhaps, to see a number of visitors. I shall better appreciate the affection of friends if they will devote greater time and attention to such national work as they may be engaged in and especially to hand spinning.

My release has brought me no relief. Whereas before release I was free from responsibility save that of conforming to goal discipline and trying to qualify myself for more efficient service, I am now overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility I am ill-fitted to discharge. Telegrams of congratulation have been pouring in upon me. They have but added to the many proofs I have received of the affection of our countrymen for me. It naturally pleases and comforts me. Many telegrams however betray hopes of results from my service which stagger me. The thought of my utter incapacity as to cope with the work before me humbles my pride.

Though I knew very little of the present situation in the country, I know sufficient to enable me to see that, perplexing as the national problems were at the time of the Bardoli resolutions, they are far more perplexing to day. It is clear that without unity between Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians and other Indians all talk of Swaraj is idle. This unity which I fondly believed in 1922 had been nearly achieved has, so far as Hindus and Mussalmans are concerned, I observe, suffered a severe check. Mutual trust has given place to distrust. An indissoluble bond between the various communities must be established if we are to win freedom. Will the thanksgiving of the nation

over my release be turned into a solid unity between the communities? That will restore me to health far quicker than any medical treatment or rest cure. When I heard in the gaol of the tension between Hindus and Mahomedans in certain places, my heart sank within me. The rest I am advised to have will be no rest with the burden of disunion preying upon me. I ask all those who cherish love towards me to utilise it in furtherance of the union we all desire. I know that the task is difficult but nothing is difficult if we have a living faith in God. Let us realise our own weakness and approach Him and He will surely help. It is weakness which breeds fear and fear breeds distrust. Let us both shed our fear, but I know that even if one of us will cease to fear we shall cease to quarrel. Nay, I say that your tenure of office will be judged solely by what you can do in the cause of union. I know that we love each other as brothers. I ask you therefore to share my anxiety and help me to go through the period of illness with a lighter heart.

If we could but visualise the growing pauperism of the land and realise that the spinning wheel is the only remedy for the disease, the wheel will leave us little leisure for fighting. I had during the last two years ample time and solitude for hard thinking. It made me a firmer believer than ever in the efficacy of the Bardoli programme and therefore in the unity between the races, the charka, the removal of untouchability and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods as indispensable for Swaraj. If we faithfully and fully carry out this programme, we need never resort to Civil Disobedience and I should hope that it will never be necessary, but I must state that my thinking prayerfully and in solitude has not weakened my

belief in the efficacy and righteousness of Civil Disobedience. I hold it as ever before to be a nation's right and duty when its vital being is in jeopardy. I am convinced that it is attended with less danger than war and whilst the former when successful benefits both the resister and the wrong-doer the latter harms both the victor and the vanquished.

You will not expect me to express any opinion on the vexed question of return by Congressmen to Legislative Councils and the Assembly. Though I have not in any way altered my opinion about the boycott of Councils, Law Courts and Government Schools, I have no data for coming to a judgment upon the alterations made at Delhi and I do not propose to express any opinion until I have had the opportunity of discussing the question with our illustrious countrymen who have felt called upon in the interests of the country to advise removal of the boycott of legislative bodies.

In conclusion, may I, through you, thank all the very numerous senders of congratulatory messages. It is not possible for me personally to acknowledge each message. It has gladdened my heart to see among the messages many from Moderate friends I have. Non-co-operators can have no quarrel with them. They too are well-wishers of their country and serve to the best of their lights. If we consider them to be in the wrong, we can hope to win them over only by friendliness and patient reasoning, never by abusing. Indeed, we want to regard Englishmen too as our friends and not misunderstand them by treating them as our enemies and if we are to-day engaged in a struggle against the British Government, it is against the system for which it stands, not against the Englishmen who are administering the system. I know that many have failed to understand

always bear in mind the distinction and in so far as we have failed we have harmed our cause.

Poona 7th February 1924

I am your sincere friend
and brother,
(Sd). M. K. Gandhi.

AN INTERVIEW BEFORE RELEASE

“Yuga Dharma,” an Ahmedabad literary vernacular magazine, edited by Dr. Sumant Mehta, published in the form of a letter an account of a visit the Editor had with Mahatmaji before his release, when the latter was a patient in the Sassoon Hospital, Poona.

Dr. Sumant enquired of Mahatmaji how it was that such a disease could attack a man like him (Mahatmaji), who was self-restricted (Sanyasin). Mahatmaji replied that, though he was moderate in food for many years, he had not yet been abstemious as he ought to have been. “I am sure,” said Mahatmaji, “that my body does not need much food. In fact very little food is required when one has to undergo mental work and a good deal of concentration. Perhaps my weight might have been decreased by being abstemious. But my body would have been surely improved.”

Mahatmaji was of opinion that there was no necessity of pulse as food for those who are used to brain work.

As regards the amelioration of the depressed classes, Mahatmaji expressed the necessity of working in the villages by encamping there.

He did not at all believe the rumour that there is a depression in the workers of Gujarat.

In a further conversation, Mahatmaji said: “I have plunged into politics simply in search of Truth. When I went to jail, I had fixed my programme for full six

years. I have dictated a little about South Africa to Indu Lal, but my thoughts about the Gita are still to be dictated and I want to show how to epitomise the Mahabharata. I also think of writing my auto-biography. Still I have to do much."

On Dr. Sumant commenting on the new Labour Government in England by saying that there were still people who hope to get sweets from the Labour Government, Mahatmaji answered with a rather grave voice: 'People, do not leave off the hope of getting help from outside. Who can give Swaraj? We have to take it. What about the depressed classes and what about solving the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity? What help can the Labour Government give you as regards these questions? Your future lies in your own hands. If you get sweet balls they will be made of stones.'

Dr. Sumant concludes his letter after describing some conversation with Mahatmaji about Indu Lal Yagnik.

28th February 1924

TO THE AKALIS

Dear countrymen,—It was with great distress that I heard about the shooting of an Akali Jatha on the orders of the Administrator of Nabha State resulting in several members being killed and many more wounded. In reply to telegrams beyond sending a message of sympathy I had no wish to say or do anything more. It is contrary to the wish of Col. Maddock who has covered me with every form of kindness during my illness that I am undertaking a moderate amount of activity in the shape of informing myself of the prevailing situation in the country. But the following telegram just received from Zira namely "Come, unminding health condition

soon, Akali Jatha" compels me to say something in connection with the tragedy just mentioned. I do not happen to know the sender of the telegram but had it been at all possible for me I would certainly have gone down in reply to the message. The wound being yet unhealed any such journey is a physical impossibility. I am therefore doing the next best thing. I need hardly assure the Akali Sikhs of my sympathy in the loss of so many brave men and many more being wounded.

Without the full facts before me I am unable to say whether the march of a large number of men in order to pay devotion to the shrine of Gangsur at Jaito was or was not justified. But I would ask the Akali Sikhs not to send any more Jathas without further deliberation and consultation with those leaders outside the Sikh community who have hitherto been giving them advice. It would be well to stop and watch developments arising out of the tragedy. One of telegrams received by me tells me that the Jatha was and remained throughout strictly non-violent. You have from the very commencement claimed that your movement is perfectly non-violent and religious. I would like every one of us to understand all the implications of non-violence. I am not unaware of the fact that non-violence is not your final creed. It is therefore doubly incumbent upon you to guard against any violence in thought or word creeping in the movement.

Over 25 years of the practice of non-violence in the political field has shown me as clearly as daylight that in every act of ours we have to watch our thoughts and words in connection with the movement in which we may be engaged. Non-violence is impossible without deep humility and the strictest regard for truth, and if such non-violence has been possible in connection with

the movement not termed religious, how much easier it should be with those like you who are conducting a strictly religious movement. I have deemed it necessary to reiterate what I used to say about non-violence before my imprisonment, because I have observed during my brief study of the events of the past years that we who claim to be engaged in a non-violent movement have not fully and in thought and speech, conformed to our creed during the past two years as we certainly did not during the previous years. I am sorry to have to say that what I wrote about ourselves in the pages of "Young India," during the three months prior to my arrest holds truer to-day with us than it did then. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that had we practised non-violence in the sense I mean during all these five years we would not only have achieved our common goal, but there would be to-day no differences and quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans.

In drawing your attention therefore to the necessity of non-violence in your special struggle about your Gurdwaras I do not wish to be understood to mean that there had been a greater disregard of the essentials of non-violence amongst you than the other communities. But a word of caution is more necessary in your case because you have never flagged. You have been incessantly active in the pursuit of your special goal. I would therefore have you to search yourselves and if you find that you have not been true to the standard you set before yourselves to cease further demonstration for the time being and perform the necessary cleaning process before beginning anew. I doubt not that your efforts will be crowned with success.

I remain your friend and servant,
Poona, Feb. 25. (Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

A MISCONCEPTION CLEARED

Mr. Gandhi, with a view to clear some misunderstandings about his letter to the Akalis, stated as follows to a Press representative on February 28 :

I have just read a paragraph on the news column of the "Chronicle" of the 29th February about the Jaito tragedy in which it is suggested that my open letter to the Akali Sikhs is based on wrong information supplied to me and that, in this respect, people mostly suspect Lala Lajpat Rai. In justice to Lalaji I wish to state that before he saw me I had read all I could about the tragedy and that when the telegram inviting me to go to the Punjab was received, I had made up my mind before Lalaji had seen that telegram, that I should make some such statement as ultimately I did make. As the telegram asking me to come down from Akali Jathas was received from Tira and I did not know anybody there and as I was anxious that the advice I tendered should reach the Akali Sikhs as early as possible, I adopted the method of the open letter. My letter was based purely on the information gleaned by me from the papers and the knowledge acquired by me after my release about the state of the spirit of non-violence in thought, word and deed in the country. Lalaji did see the letter and under his pressure I struck out a large number of passages which otherwise I would have retained and which were stronger than the final letter. Lalaji further pressed me to end the letter at the clause advising the Akali Sikhs not to send another Jatha before deliberation with non-Sikh advisers, but as I felt that a general reference to the implications of non-violence at this moment was of vital importance, I was obliged respectfully to differ from Lalaji's advice and retained the passages regarding non-violence.

27th March 1924

THE CLASS AREAS BILL

Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement to the Press on 23rd March :

The following cablegram has been received from Capetown signed by Mr. Pather, General Secretary, South African Indian Congress:—

“South African Indian community submits notwithstanding strongest protests Union Government determined carrying through Class Areas Bill violating pledges given. Bill indefensible. Foreigners, also Euro-Africans, Malays and Natives being exempted. Bill will apply only to India. Euro-Africans, Malays, and Natives assembled in thousands Capetown assured Mrs. Sarojini Naidu of support to Indians in opposition to Bill. Indians will never submit segregation. Inform India. Please take such action as you think best. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has made deep impression and won many hearts. Mrs. Naidu deferred leaving South Africa until 30th April owing great demand on her in interest of the cause.”

This is startling news, almost too bad even for South Africa, to be believed. I have already endeavoured to show why the Cape was to be excluded from the operation of the measure. If the information cabled by Reuter as to the exclusion of the Cape is correct, there is something wrong in the foregoing cable, or the information contained in it is applicable to the other three Provinces only, namely, Orangia, Transvaal and Natal. The position then will be that, so far as the Cape is concerned, the Cape Indians will still remain exempted from the operation of the measure, whereas in the other Provinces the measure will apply only to Indians. There is no

difficulty about understanding the exemptions, because the idea of segregation of Natives and Malays in the extreme sense is new. Every European household has natives of South Africa as domestic servants. Malays, as I have shown in a previous communication, are a negligible quantity except in the Cape. We have, therefore, the naked truth before us that the Bill in question is aimed merely at Indians and that it connotes not only segregation but indirect expulsion. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's visit to South Africa and her inspiring presence there will undoubtedly steel the hearts of the Indian settlers for further effort. Her presence is also bringing Europeans and Indians on the same platform. Let India, however, not be lulled into a sense of false security, because of the commanding presence of Mrs. Naidu in the midst of the sorely tried Indian settlers; after all, the cultured Europeans of South Africa are gentlemen, and I have little doubt that Mrs. Naidu is receiving all the attention that is due to her for her many and matchless gifts, but the South African Europeans have also a fixed and determined anti-Indian policy. General Smuts is a finished diplomat. On due occasion he can speak honeyed words, but he knows his mind, and let there be no mistake that unless India can make an effort adequate to the situation, the Bill will be carried through the Union Parliament in spite of Mrs. Naidu's resourcefulness.

MAHATMAJI AND JUHU

A message to the "A. B. Patrika," dated Poona, Feb. 28, stated:

A deputation consisting of Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, Kaki Abdul-Rehman Seth Isserdas and Mr. R. K.

Sidhva waited upon Mahatma Gandhi this morning requesting him to come to Karachi to restore his health. Mahatmaji was lying in bed and received the deputation cheerfully.

Mr. Sidhva acted as spokesman and said: "Your health will be immensely improved on the sea beach of Karachi where the weather is excellent."

Mahatmaji replying said: "I would wish I could come to Karachi to gain health because I know Clifton is an excellent place but I wish to remain in a central place so that friends would not find it inconvenient to see me from places far off. Hence I have decided to stay in Andheri near the sea."

Mr. Sidhva: "We look to your health first and those intending to see you could come even from thousands of miles. So you should come to Karachi. People are more anxious about your health."

Mahatmaji: "It is true, friends could come to see me from any distance but I don't want to trouble them. I had an invitation from Ceylon also and although I have not seen Ceylon, I am told it is a beautiful and lovely place but for the convenience of visitors with whom I have to consult often, I have decided to remain near Bombay. I had once decided to live at Dadabhoy Naoroji's house and I was glad that I would be staying in the house of persons under whom I had learnt politics."

A TOUCHING SCENE

A Correspondent wrote to the "Bombay Chronicle" from Poona on March 10:—

The students of the B. J. School of Medicine, Poona, had the unique privilege of paying their respects to

Mahatmaji and Mrs. Gandhi, on the eve of their departure from Poona. The staff of the Sassoon Hospital, including Col. Maddock, Major Coullie, Dr. Shikare, the Sister-in-charge, was present on the occasion.

The students presented Mahatmaji with a garland made of "Khadi" and expressed their heart felt wishes for Mahatmaji's rapid recovery. They also prayed for his long life and prosperity and expressed their thanks to Col. Maddock for his skill in operation.

At the express request of the students, Mahatmaji addressed a few words to the gathering. He said:

"You will excuse me for I am speaking, sitting on the chair, but my health does not permit me to stand. You have asked me to speak to you on the eve of my departure from Poona, but I am unfit to do so. I am doing Civil Disobedience to the commands of Col. Maddock, but it will be injustice if I would not speak a few words.

Col Maddock has become my friend since he was sent to Yerrawda to examine me by the Government. I was not willing for the operation, but Col. Maddock impressed upon me in such a way that I was obliged to keep my full confidence in him. I had full faith in his skill. I am not an expert to certify so, but it is the fact. I am still glad to hear from you that he is a friend of mine. I hope that Col Maddock will spend his leisure time in the cause of humanity, wherever he may go.

Non-violent Non-co-operation means sympathy and good feeling towards every man. It will grieve me much if I know others saying that I have ill-feeling towards any individual or person. It will also grieve me much after my death. I cannot keep silent without mentioning the kind attitude and help rendered to me by the staff, nurses, sisters and students. I have no sufficient words

to repay their help. I am very glad that I am assured by you that you will use 'Swadeshi cloth.' I do not mean that Swadeshi means ill-feeling towards any man. My stay in the hospital will be one of the treasures in my remembrance and I will carry it to the end of my life.

In fine, I pray God to give long life and prosperity to Col. Maddock and Mrs. Maddock wherever they are. I thank you all for giving me this opportunity."

REMOVAL TO SEA-SIDE

Mr. C. F. Andrews communicated the following statement to the Associated Press on March 11 :

The removal of Mr. Gandhi to sea-side at Andheri north of Bombay was undertaken last night with as little discomfort and inconvenience as possible. Everything passed off quietly and though the journey was a very tiring one for the patient it was not too much for his strength. What is needed now more than anything else is complete rest both of body and mind. The weather at the sea-side on the Bombay coast is cooler and fresher than at Poona at this time of the year and it is hoped that after the difficult journey which has now been successfully accomplished the change of air will make recovery more rapid. It need to be remembered however that because the physical weakness was very great when the operation was performed, full recovery of physical strength and vigour must necessarily be slower than in ordinary cases.

A DYING GIRL'S GIFT TO MAHATMAJI 1401

13th March 1924

A DYING GIRL'S GIFT TO MAHATMAJI

Om

The Vias Ville,

Lahore, 18-2-24.

I am enclosing herewith a currency note for Rs. 100 in compliance with the wishes of my youngest daughter Bibi Sarla Devi aged 16 years who died on the 6th instant. She heard the news of your release before her demise and was most happy for this. The girl used to keep pretty good health before going to Simla in April last. She was not only brisk in her long walks and was of very jovial and cheerful temperament. She was endowed with a strong commonsense and realised full well what her obligations were to herself, her family and her beloved country. She took the vow of Khadi in August 1921 before her mother and eldest sister, though against the wishes of the former, who was of opinion that it was perhaps unsafe for the unmarried girls to take such vows as they might not keep them up after their marriage. The girl pooh-poohed this argument of her mother. As ill-luck would have it, the eldest sister died on the 30th July 1922 after protracted illness of four months and poor Sarla fell ill on the 17th of August last. She was confined to bed for over five months and before her last breath said to her mother, whose heart was already lacerated in consequence of the demise of two adult sons and one daughter, that she was glad to have been enabled to stick to her vow of Khadi and that all her clothes should be given to orphan girls. After this she turned her eyes towards me and said with a fainting voice that a sum of Rs. 100 should be placed at your disposal as her dying contribution towards the Swaraj

Fund. Oh! how the poor girl longed to see her motherland restored to her lost grandeur and freedom. May God fulfil her desire!

Barkatram Thapur.

MAHATMAJI INTERVIEWED

The following is the text of the interview that the "Evening News of India" had with Mahatma Gandhi:

"I do not hope for very much from the Labour Government not because it is worse than a Conservative or a Liberal Government, but because of the traditions handed down from generation to generation which no Government, no matter however powerful, can in a day rid of." With these words Mr. M. K. Gandhi summed up his impressions of the Labour Government to a representative of the "Evening News of India," who visited him at Narotam Morarji's bungalow at Juhu on March 20.

Everybody in Bombay knows Juhu—that long palm-fringed beach where bathing parties resort to during week-ends. Latterly, however, Juhu has become more than a Mecca of pleasure-seekers; since Mr. Gandhi's arrival it has changed into a place of political pilgrimage. Nothing makes this clearer than the increased traffic on the roads leading to and from the beach. When the "Evening News" representative motored out this morning, he encountered several cars in his journey across the flats, and when he reached the vicinity of Narotam Morarji's bungalow, signposts were placed at convenient intervals to direct visitors, and the deeply rutted road bore evidence of heavy traffic.

Mr. Gandhi, although he is now able to take occasional walks, still spends the most of the day in bed, and he was sitting up in his couch, naked to the waist as is his

custom, when he received our representative this morning. His closely cropped hair is liberally sprinkled with grey, but otherwise he is looking quite well and is evidently making good progress towards recovery.

In answer to questions, Mr. Gandhi very willingly gave a few details of his daily routine. He gets up at four o'clock, a practice which he invariably follows. After family prayers in which the household join, he reads religious literature for a time and then goes off again in a short sleep. At six he has his breakfast of milk—Mr. Gandhi confessed with a twinkle in his eye that he was following scrupulously Colonel Maddock's instructions regarding food—and afterwards, still following his old medical advisers' advice, he takes a walk on the verandah and treats his wound to a sun-bath. Immediately after this, he attends to his correspondence, both English and Gujarathi. In order to deal with the former he has been provided with shorthand typists who greatly facilitate his work. His time until mid-day is occupied by correspondence, the study of political problems and the seeing of important political and other friends by appointment. Early in the afternoon he has his bath and at four o'clock is ready to see the very large number of visitors who call on him.

In the evening, about six, Mr. Andrews takes him for a walk along the sea-shore, and this walk has now been prolonged to about forty minutes. The day's work is over by about eight, at which hour Mr. Gandhi usually retires for the night. "Later on," he explained, "I hope to take up spinning once I am able to sit up without fatigue."

"What do you think of the new Labour Government?" was one of the first political questions which our representative put to Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi evidently did

not think much of it. "It has a precarious existence," he began. "It has to depend on the good-will of the other parties, and if it isn't to break in pieces, it has to conciliate its very exacting constituents and follow out its special domestic programme. I have no doubt that in trying to acquire the support of the majority of the House in pushing through its domestic programme, it will not hesitate to sacrifice its principles regarding Imperial policy affecting India, or Indians in South Africa and Kenya. In fact, I should not be surprised, seeing it is so weak if the Labour Government does worse even than its predecessors so far as Indian policy is concerned."

Mr. Gandhi concluded by admitting that he was not much perturbed over the Labour Government, because India had to rely upon her own strength and resources. "When she becomes irresistible," he added, "I have no manner of doubt that any Government, whether Labour, Conservative or Liberal, will fall in with India's demands."

On the subject of Council entry and recent events in the Central Provinces and in the Assembly, Mr. Gandhi frankly confessed he could say nothing. The Swarajist leaders are coming down from Delhi to see him at the end of the month, and he cannot give any opinion on their actions until he has discussed the whole position with them. After having done this, he will be in a position to formulate his policy.

Interrogated regarding the Colonies Committee, which has just sailed in connection with the Kenya question, Mr. Gandhi thought that the Committee could do a great deal if it was not fettered by too many restrictions. "Whether the personality of the Committee is strong enough to assert itself is very difficult to say," he added.

“Speaking apart from my views as a non-co-operator, I cannot help noticing the absence of Mr. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Andrews from the Committee. They are the men who have studied the question and know it in all its bearing, while Mr. Andrews is an expert. I cannot help saying that these omissions are glaring and inspire me with distrust as to the Committee’s findings.”

Mr. Gandhi gave an interesting explanation of the South African Government’s decision to omit the Cape Provinces from the operation of the Class Areas Bill. “This,” he said, “is merely an instance of selfishness on the part, principally, of the Dutch population. Nearly all the house work in the Cape is done by Malay women, and if the Segregation Act came into force, these Malay women would be affected by it. This would mean depriving a major part of the white population of its domestic help, which would give no end of inconvenience. Consequently, as the Indian population of the Cape is small—about 10,000 in all—the Cape people decided that they are not worth worrying about as far as segregation is concerned in view of the difficulties which segregation would bring in its train.”

In the course of the conversation, Mr. Gandhi paid a tribute to Colonel Maddock—“who was more than my doctor; he is my friend”—and to Mr. Andrews—or “Charlie Bhai” as he is familiarly known—who is his right hand man at Juhu and who writes articles incessantly from morning till night.

“I hope when India gets Swaraj, you will not pack us poor but honest European journalists back home,” laughingly remarked our representative. “Nothing is further from my mind,” replied Mr. Gandhi with a bright smile as he shook hands. As our representative

took his departure, Mrs. Gandhi, who is her husband's chief nurse, was quietly and efficiently propping him up in bed in order that he might take his second ration of bread and milk.

27th March 1924

TRUE LOVE TO BETTER ACCOUNT

Brothers and Sisters,

This request is addressed to those brothers and sisters, who come to see me or desire to see me.

I have already issued a request through the Press that those who cannot help seeing me, may visit me during the evening between four and five. My visitors are either unaware of this request or even though aware of this request cannot restrain themselves from seeing me and continue coming in at irregular hours. The result is bad for me. The little service I can render is affected adversely.

I possess very little vitality. I want to use that little for purposes of service alone. Next week I wish to resume the burden of editing "Young India" and "Navjiwan." For this purpose I want complete solitude. If my day is to be wholly passed in receiving and pleasing my visiting brothers and sisters, my whole energy will be taken up by it and it will be impossible for me to conduct these weeklies as I wish them to be.

Moreover, a visit to me can possibly do no good to my brothers and sisters. It is no doubt the symbol of their love for me, but this seems to me to assume rather an exaggerated form. I consider love to be a great force. Its use should be made in the service of the nation rather than in seeing me. This is my prayer. Whatever is to

be spent for the purpose of coming to see me, may be spent up for the production and propagation of Khaddar. The time taken up in visiting me, may be spent profitably in

- (1) spinning or carding .
- (2) spreading Khaddar, and
- (3) teaching one's neighbour to spin or to card.

Those who are not prepared to do it and who cannot restrain themselves from visiting may come between five and six in the evening on all days except Monday. I shall see them *en masse*, not individually.

Again, I pray to all visitors to bring the yarn spun by themselves. It will be used in the weaving of Khaddar. The money will be spent in spreading Khaddar.

I am sure, brothers and sisters, that you will accept this prayer of mine. I shall feel obliged in that case and my time will be spared for the services of my country.

M. K. Gandhi.

Juhu 24th March 1924.

" AT THE FEET OF MAHATMAJI "

Mr. D. B. Divanji writes to the "Voice of India" under date April 4 :

With the previous permission of Mahatmaji, a party of the students and teachers of the Bombay Rashtriya Sala (Gujarati Section) went to Juhu for his Darshan on Friday the 2nd instant. After a short prayer sung by the music teacher of the school the students of music gave a treat of their music to Mahatmaji. Lalit then sung the favourite song of Mahatmaji describing the qualities of a true Vaishnava. The Acharya then read out the address specially prepared for that occasion and

written on a piece of Khaddar woven out of the yarn spun by the students themselves. After this the following articles prepared by the students in the school were presented to Mahatmaji:—

(1) Flower-pot—made of clay (2) Incense-burner—made of clay (3) Waste-paper basket—made of cane (4) A mat for carding—made of cane (5) Holder and pencil-stand—made of wood (6) Book stand—made of wood (7) Book case—made of wood (8) Puja-pat—made of wood (9) Travelling Bag—made of wood and Khadi (10) Slivers prepared by the students (11) Garlands of yarn spun by the school.

Then Mahatmaji addressed a few words to the students and teachers to the following effect:—

I need not say to you that I am happy to see you all to-day. I am thankful to you for the little presents you have offered me. Two at least of these presents convey a special meaning to me at present. The mat for carding and the slivers prepared by you remind me that I must immediately take up the work of spinning and carding. I assure you that when I am engaged in doing that work, I feel Swaraj approaching nearer and nearer. Therefore I request you all to pray for my complete and immediate recovery in order that I may be able to take up work as early as possible. I desire that you also should devote yourself to the spinning wheel and I am sure you will also feel that it brings Swaraj nearer and nearer. If we concentrate upon the constructive programme we are sure to get all we want. You must have heard the beautiful song of Poet Narasimha Mehta sung by Lalitji. I wish you understand the meaning of such religious songs and I appeal to you that you will make all efforts to translate the noble ideals of such poems into your actions. But I warn you that even for

teachers it is a very difficult thing to act according to the ideals inculcated in these beautiful songs.

I remember that when I first visited your school, I told you that you had much to learn in the art of music. To-day I again have heard some of the students singing, but I am sorry to remark that you have not as yet made sufficient progress to earn my certificate. However, I do hope that when I next visit your school after my complete recovery, you will make yourself fit for passing—though complete mastery over that art may not be possible for you even then.

Then Mahatmaji left his seat and the small gathering dispersed.

3rd April 1924

FOR THE READERS PAST AND PRESENT OF
'YOUNG INDIA'

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

It is not without much hesitation that I resume the editorship of *Young India*. I do not know whether my health can yet sustain the energy required for conducting the paper. But I cannot foresee. I can only dimly understand God's purpose in bringing me out of my retirement in Yerrowada. In taking up the editorial control of *Navajivan* and *Young India* I am following the Light as far as I see It.

Nor have I any new message to deliver to the reader. I had hoped for release by an act of a Swaraj Parliament and to be able to take my humble share in serving Free India. That was not to be.

We have yet to attain freedom. I have no new programme. My faith in the old is just as bright as ever if

not brighter. Indeed one's faith in one's plans and methods is truly tested when the horizon before one is the blackest.

Though therefore so far as my mind can perceive, there will be no new method or policy developed in the pages of *Young India*, I hope they will not be stale. *Young India* will be stale when Truth becomes stale. I want to see God face to face. God *I know* is Truth. For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence—*Ahimsa*—love. I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is part of Truth. Only a free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my Swadeshi teaches me that being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to serve *her* and *she* has a prior claim to my service. But my patriotism is not exclusive ; it is calculated not only not to hurt any other nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

But if it is not to be such a menace, the means adopted for gaining it must be strictly non-violent. My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means, for their fruit will be not freedom but slavery in disguise. And if we have not yet attained our freedom, it is because we have not been non-violent in thought, word and deed. It is true that non-violence has been adopted as a policy *i.e.*, because we are convinced that by no other means can *India* achieve her freedom. Our policy is not, must not be, a camouflage. We may not harbour violence under cover of non-violence. Whilst we claim to be non-violent for a particular purpose and a particular period, our thought and word must accord with our practice for that purpose and that period. Even so does an honest gaoler act

towards a condemned man. He protects his life at the peril of his own till the date of the extreme penalty. He thinks and speaks of his safety. He is, for the time and the person, non-violent in thought, word and deed.

We pledged ourselves to be non-violent towards each other and our opponents whether administrators or co-operators. We were to appeal to their hearts and evoke the best in them, not play upon their fear to gain our end. Consciously or unconsciously the majority of us—the articulate portion—have not been true to our pledge. We have been intolerant towards our opponents. Our own countrymen are filled with distrust of us. They simply do not believe in our non-violence. Hindus and Mussalmans in many places have provided an object lesson not in non-violence but in violence. Even the 'changers' and the 'no-changers' have flung mud against one another. Each has claimed the monopoly of truth and with an ignorant certainty of conviction sworn at the other for his helpless stupidity.

The pages of *Young India* can only, therefore, illustrate the utility and the necessity of non-violence in dealing with the questions that engage public attention. So much for the central policy of *Young India*.

A word as to the business side. Some of the readers will recollect that I announced that when at the instance of Mr. Shankerlal Banker and other friends, I took up the editing of *Young India*, I told the public that it was run at a loss and that I would be obliged to give it up if the loss continued. I do not believe in publishing newspapers indefinitely at a loss or by means of advertisements. If a paper supplies a felt want, it must pay its way. The subscription list however ran up steadily week by week and it began to yield profits. But during the last two years as the reader is aware, the list has

fallen from 21,500 to 3,000 and it is now being run at a loss. Happily *Navajivan* has made up for it. But even that method is wrong. *Young India* must stand on its own bottom or fall. It is likely that if I still retain the personal affection of the old readers, *Young India* will soon pay its way. But I have mentioned the loss not only to acquaint the public with the true state of affairs but also as an introduction to an important announcement.

When Messrs. Banker and Yajnik suggested that the Gujarati *Navajivan* which was then a monthly, should be turned into a weekly and edited by me and when I undertook the responsibility, I announced that it would be given up if it proved a loss and that if there were profits, they would be utilized for some public purpose. *Navajivan* soon became profitable but at the instance of Sheth Jamnalaji, *Hindi Navajivan* was commenced. It too had just begun to pay its way when my arrest took place and the circulation steadily fell. It is now again being issued at a loss. But in spite of these losses the large circulation of *Navajivan* and other publications enable the management to devote Rs. 50,000 to public work. Swami Anandanand who is managing the *Navajivan* press has left it entirely to me to allocate the money and as I know no other and better method of utilising it, I propose to devote the sum through the agency of the Provincial Congress Committee to the spread of the spinning wheel and Khadi in Gujarat including Kathiawad. Preference will be given to their spread among poor women and the suppressed classes. It is due to my co-workers that I should inform the public that with some of them the work is a labour of love. Where they receive payment, it is just enough for their wants. The result of such work is before the

public. I know that if from the sweeper upward I could secure selfless workers, with the efficient management I have the good fortune to have to-day, it would be possible to show a better surplus.

I should also like to add that if *Young India* again shows profits, as it did before my imprisonment, they will be distributed for all-India work. If any profits are derived from *Hindi Navajivan*, they will be devoted to the spread of Hindi.

3rd April 1924

MY MISSION

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Pandit Ghasita Ram, "President, all-India Sub Assistant Surgeons' Association, Punjab Province, Amritsar," sent to the Editor some days ago 'an open letter' addressed to me. After omitting from it laudatory phrases and sentences of good wishes, and after correcting obvious grammatical errors, the letter reads :

"I am a Brahman, doctor and an old man like you. It will not be out of courtesy if I, in this triple capacity, offer you a piece of counsel. If you see wisdom and truth in it and if it appeals to your commonsense and sentiments, kindly take it to heart.

You have seen much of the world; you have read much of it. Consequently you possess a wonderful experience of it, but in this world of mortals none till now has been able to accomplish the task he has undertaken in his life-time. For instance Buddha in spite of his high morality could not convert the whole of India into Buddhism.

Shankaracharya in spite of his high intellectuality

could not make all India Vedantist. Christ in spite of his high spirituality could not bring into the fold of Christianity the whole Jewish nation. I do not think, and I am not prepared to believe for a single moment about the accomplishment of your task. Still in face of these historical facts if you believe in its accomplishment in your lifetime, then Sir, I venture to say that it is nothing but a dream.

This world is a place of trials, troubles, and turmoils. The more a man sinks into it the more he is restless and eventually he loses his spiritual calmness and peace of mind. Consequently the Mahatmas of olden time kept themselves aloof from the worldly worries, anxieties and cares and strove to gain perfect peace and true quality of mind and enjoyed an everlasting happiness and bliss thereby.

The Jail life has brought a great change in your life and vigour and the disease has reduced you much. Therefore in the fitness of things, you may live a calm life and spin the thread of your remaining days in a certain solitary cave in the meditation of God, and in realization of your own self in perfect spiritual tranquility and calmness, because your health will not allow you to bear the burden of the worldly cares any more. It shall not be out of place to mention that you are absolutely convinced of the goodwill, mercy and sympathy of good officers. That very system of European medicines and surgery which you condemned more than once, has saved you from the jaws of monstrous death. The English officers helped you in time of your trouble and needs.

“A friend in need is a friend indeed.” Now it remains for you to show your true friendship and to become the true ally of the British Raj in gratitude for the

safety of your life and your release from the jail. If anyhow you cannot do so by your words and deeds, then pray do not come into the arena of political activity but still if your restless soul does not allow you to sit in rest, then in this Bhumi—the motherland of great sages and saints, Rishis and Munis—take up the task of spiritualising your brother Indians, teach them a lesson of true realisation of the self. By doing so, instead of gaining this Kingdom of Earth, you will gain the Kingdom of Heaven.”

In my opinion, the writer is desperately in earnest and merits an answer on that account if for nothing else. But it enables me, too, to clear up certain misapprehensions about my mission in life.

Let me first however dispose of the advice about my views on medicine. I have not *Indian Home Rule* before me, but I recollect sufficient to be able to say that I have nothing to revise about the views set forth there. If I had written it for English readers and in English, I would have put the same thought in a manner that would have been more acceptable to the English ear. The original is in Gujarati and was written for the Gujarati readers of *Indian Opinion* of Natal. Moreover what is written there has reference to an ideal state. It is a common error to think that condemnation of measures involves that of men. Medicine does often benumb the soul of the patient. It may therefore be considered evil but not therefore necessarily medicine-men. I had precious medical friends when I wrote the book and did not hesitate to seek their advice in times of need. That was, as the writer implies, inconsistent with my belief regarding the use of medicine. Several friends have said to me the same thing in so many words. I plead guilty. But that is to

admit that I am not a perfect man. Unfortunately for me I am far from being perfect. I am a humble aspirant for perfection. I know my way to it also. But knowing the way is not reaching its end. If I was perfect, if I had acquired full control over all my passions even in thought, I should be perfect in body. I am free to confess that daily I am obliged to expend a great amount of mental energy in acquiring control over my thoughts. When I have succeeded, if I ever do, think what a store-house of energy would be set free for service. As I hold that appendicitis was a result of infirmity of thought or mind, so do I concede that my submission to the surgical operation was an additional infirmity of mind. If I was absolutely free of egoism, I would have resigned myself to the inevitable; but I wanted to live in the present body. Complete detachment is not a mechanical process. One has to grow into it by patient toil and prayer. As for gratitude, I have more than once publicly expressed my gratitude to Col. Maddock and his staff for the kindness with which they overwhelmed me. But there is no connection between the kind treatment I received from Col. Maddock and the system of Government I condemn. Col. Maddock himself would think little of me, if I revised my views about Dyerism because he, Col. Maddock, was a competent surgeon and did his duty as such. Nor have I any cause to be thankful to the Government for providing me with best surgical assistance or for prematurely releasing me. The former they were bound to provide for every prisoner. The latter has embarrassed me. I knew my course in prison whether well or ill. Outside the prison-walls, although I am slowly regaining my health, I do not know with certainty how to shape my course.

Now for the central point of the letter, the confusion in the writer's mind has arisen because of his misconception of the work of the prophets he names and of an awkward (for me) comparison between them and me. I do not know that Buddha did not accomplish his task which was to reach *Nirvana*. Tradition has it that he did. Conversion of others was a bye-product, if one may so describe a sacred function. The Gospels record it of Jesus that he testified on the Cross of his own work—'It is finished.' Nor has their work of love died after them. The truest part of it will live for ever. The two or three thousand years that have gone by since their ministry, are but a speck in the vast time circle.

I do not consider myself worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the race of prophets. I am a humble seeker after truth. I am impatient to realise myself, to attain *Moksha* in this very existence. My national service is part of my training for freeing my soul from the bondage of flesh. Thus considered, my service may be regarded as purely selfish. I have no desire for the perishable kingdom of earth. I am striving for the kingdom of Heaven which is *Moksha*. To attain my end it is not necessary for me to seek the shelter of a cave. I carry one about me, if I would but know it. A cave-dweller can build castles in the air whereas a dweller in a palace like Janak has no castles to build. The cave-dweller who hovers round the world on the wings of thought has no peace. A Janak though living in the midst of 'pomp and circumstance' may have peace that passeth understanding. For me the road to salvation lies through incessant toil in the service of my country and therethrough of humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives. In

the language of the Gita I want to live at peace with both friend and foe. Though therefore a Mussalman or a Christian or a Hindu may despise me and hate me, I want to love him and serve him even as I would love my wife or son though they hate me. So my patriotism is for me a stage in my journey to the land of eternal freedom and peace. Thus it will be seen that for me there are no politics devoid of religion. They subserve religion. Politics bereft of religion are a death-trap because they kill the soul.

3rd April 1924.

PLEA FOR PATIENCE

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Some correspondents are anxious for my views on Council entry and Hindu-Muslim questions. Others are equally insistent that I make no hasty pronouncement. I am myself most eager to express my opinion on both these questions but I want to avoid all avoidable mistakes. I owe a duty to those who differ from me. They are valued co-workers. They love their country just as much as I claim to do. Some of them have recent sacrifices to their credit to which I can lay no claim. They have a longer first-hand experience of the country than I have. Their opinions therefore deserve all the respect and consideration that are due to their position and ability. Above all, I must not embarrass them by any ill-considered opinion. Their's is a thankless task. The Government have rejected every advance made by them. The former have stood defiant behind their armed entrenchments even in such trifles (to them) as the removal of the prohibition against

Mr. Horniman and the release of Moulana Hasrat Mohani. In these circumstances, it would be improper on my part without the utmost consideration to say anything that may in any way disturb the plans the Swarajists may develop for meeting the emergency. I am trying to grasp the situation and understand their view-point. Nothing can possibly be lost by patience. Haste may cause unnecessary mischief.

The same may be said of the Hindu-Muslim question with greater emphasis. It is a problem that requires the most delicate handling. Every thought has to be examined. Every word weighed. A hasty adjective may cause an explosion. Though therefore I hold decided views on the question and am most anxious to express them, I must forbear. Both Hindus and Mussalmans occupying front positions in the community are asking me not to say a word without fully studying the situation. I have a letter which goes so far as to say that I shall know little until I have travelled and seen things for myself. Without going so far with my correspondents, I give my assurance to them and all who think with them that I shall not write or say a word without a careful and prayerful study of the question. For me the attainment of Swaraj depends not upon what the English Cabinet thinks or says but entirely upon a proper, satisfactory and lasting solution of the thorny problem. Without it all before us is dark. With it Swaraj is within immediate reach.

Whilst therefore these conferences are going on, I respectfully urge those who are interested in my opinion on these important questions to go on with the constructive programme. Every yard of yarn spun or khaddar woven is a step towards Swaraj. Every one who refrains from harbouring an evil thought of his Hindu

or Mussalman brother as the case may be contributes to the solution. Every writer in the Press who economises his adjectives and ceases to impute motives or inflame public opinion makes easy the path to a proper solution. The other day the *Times of India* published illuminating extracts from the vernacular press showing the present mentality of some writers. They tell us how not to do the thing. Granting that a Hindu or a Mussalman utters a hasty word, it is no business of a pressman who wishes well to his country immediately to advertise it. It would be criminal to exaggerate such blunders. I am not sure that the statements advertised in those extracts were even made by the parties concerned. No expression of opinion from anybody is needed to demonstrate the necessity of being accurate, of curbing our tongues and checking our pens.

10th April 1924

AM I UNFAIR ?

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

I have the good fortune to possess friends who keep me on the right path when I am inclined or likely to stray away from it. One such friend thought that in my letter last week to the readers of *Young India*, I was less than fair to the Government of Bombay inasmuch as I declined to render thanks to them for having given me best medical assistance and made the path to recovery easy by freely permitting friends to visit me. In my friend's opinion, the treatment was a sign of change of heart due to the advent of the new Governor. I have deeply thought over my friend's argument and I am reluctantly obliged to adhere to the conclusion that I

owe no thanks for the best medical assistance and the facilities given to friends to visit me, unless thanks are due to a Government every time it does its duty. I have made ample acknowledgement of the fact that Government did for me during my illness all that it could reasonably be expected to do in respect of a prisoner. But I am unable to render thanks to the Government as such in the same sense that I have rendered them to Col. Maddock, Col. Murray and Major Jones. They need not have been as kind as they were and I would still have to acknowledge that they had done all they could be expected to do in their respective spheres. The personal element was a factor in these gentlemen's conduct towards me, and I was bound to give them my thanks. To finish this part of the argument, if I may state it without indelicacy, I may say that my scrupulously correct conduct as a prisoner had not a little to do with the happy relations that subsisted between the officials and indeed also the Government and myself. I state this merely to emphasise the truth tested by me on scores of trying occasions that uniformly correct conduct will disarm the fiercest opposition, prejudice and suspicion.

Now for the supposed change of heart, I wish I could see it. I am longing for it. The reader may know that the slightest real change of heart will make me capitulate without delay. But it will have to be very real. The Government have failed even in so simple a test as the release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and the removal of the ban against Mr. Horniman. I own that from a strong believer I have become an equally strong unbeliever in this Government. I am however sane enough to be able to perceive a sincere change of heart. It has been suggested that Sir George Lloyd would not have treated me during my illness as His Excellency Sir Leslie

Wilson has done. I do not believe it. In spite of Sir George Lloyd's utter dislike of me, he would have given me the same medical assistance and facility that were given to be by the present Governor. Indeed it was he who sent Col. Maddock to examine me when I first became at all seriously ill in the Yerrowada goal about eight months ago. Col. Maddock was asked to visit me weekly during convalescence and send the Governor weekly reports. I have a higher opinion of the British officials than most people imagine. They have a high sense of duty. Only the honesty of an ordinary official does not travel beyond the line of policy. It is no fault of his. He is heir to a system handed down for generations—a system which is based on exploitation of the weak by the strong. The official breaks down when the system which sustains him is in jeopardy. But it is my belief that no other human being will do better under that system. The sooner therefore it is destroyed or radically altered the better for us all.

17th April 1924

SCHOOL MASTERS AND LAWYERS

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

“I hope you have by this time been able to consult friends who were led to modify, at Delhi, the Congress resolution regarding the Triple Boycott. What final decision have you come to? Are you going to preach them over again in the same form?”

“As to the boycott of Councils, I may not say anything; the leaders of the Swaraj Party might have clearly laid before you facts and arguments. The work

they are doing and are likely to do is before you. As to the boycott of schools and colleges it has, if I may say from my own experience, completely failed. I may refer to my own case. Here there are two full-fledged High Schools, attended by more than 500 pupils each, while the National High School has barely 30 boys on the roll. We have tried all possible ways and means for canvassing boys, but have failed. I have been convinced that people are not prepared for this boycott.

“As to the third boycott, there were only a very few lawyers who gave up their practice. Now almost all have rejoined. The number of court-going people never diminished. The *Lavad* Courts established by national workers never thrived and have since died. These courts having had no power to enforce their decisions, and the people being not trained to submit, cannot be expected to attain any palpable success.

“Under these circumstances what are we—who boycotted our further education and prospects at the clarion call of the Congress to sacrifice for the sake of the country only one year—to do? We have sacrificed not only one year but three. We established national schools for the people and the people heed them not. The sacrifice of the workers is not appreciated. Are not the national schools with such poor attendance a useless waste of the public money, energy and life? Does it not mean that our efforts and plans are premature? Our sacrifice gives no satisfaction to ourselves too. It is often a hindrance to patriotism or national enthusiasm. Khaddar is dearer than mill-cloth, and our means are poor. Though elected delegates to the Congress we cannot attend or have to refuse the seat for want of the necessary money required for travelling and other expenses. We have to earn money not for

luxury but as a necessity. But our ways are blocked by the Congress.

"I have a family to support and a delicate constitution, and hence cannot bear the hardships of village propaganda. The Congress has practically no work at present. What I think is that the Congress should arrange for the maintenance of workers and admit only those whom it can support. It should give permission to all others to follow their own pursuits patriotically and be soldiers of the militia (irregular army) ready at the country's call whenever required. Such people will enter Government and semi-Government schools and teach their prescribed books and lessons with a patriotic angle of vision. They will join the bar and show to the people at every step what a waste of time and money the Courts are. They will enter the military and refuse to fire on their own brethren. And so on. I know not what you intend to do after your recovery. In the meanwhile I seek your advice. I think that I am doing no better service to the people and to the country by remaining the head master of the national school here which is not appreciated and supported by the public. May I complete my law education and join the bar and do what humble services I can to the Motherland? Will you advise the Congress to remove these boycotts and advise some other ways and means for attaining freedom? Or are you going to take up these boycotts in right earnest again? May we wait?

P. S. It is no question of conscience and Religion. I look at Non-co-operation only as a means."

The foregoing letter sums up succinctly the argument advanced by my correspondent and visitors against the boycott of schools and law courts. As usual the sting is in the tail. The post script yields the secret of

unbelief in the boycott. One need not regard everything as a matter of conscience or religion to be able to stick to it through thick and thin. Even one's means may be so vital that giving them up may mean death. Lungs are the means whereby we breathe and sustain life. They are not life. But their destruction is destruction of life itself. No one questions that Non-co-operation is a means. The questions are:—Is Non-co-operation as conceived in 1920 the only means of reaching our goal? The Congress decided that it was. But the Congress merely represents the opinion of the delegates for the time being. Some of us evidently consider that it was a mistake to think that it was the only means. Some others think that it was one of the means and many more should have been adopted at the same time. Yet others, though they disbelieved in it, adopted it out of regard for the decision of the majority and because they think that the decisions of the Congress have a mandatory character and bind the minority whether in matters of principle or detail. Yet others adhere to the opinion formed by them in 1920 that Non-co-operation as then conceived is the only means for achieving our goal. I belong to the last category and it will be my humble duty from time to time to show why it is the only means. My correspondent evidently belongs to the opposite school.

I have repeatedly observed that no school of thought can claim a monopoly of right judgment. We are all liable to err and are often obliged to revise our judgments. In a vast country like this, there must be room for all schools of honest thought. And the least therefore that we owe to ourselves as to others is to try to understand the opponent's view-point and, if we cannot accept it, respect it as fully as we would expect him to

respect ours. It is one of the indispensable tests of a healthy public life and, therefore, fitness for Swaraj. If we have no charity and no tolerance, we shall never settle our differences amicably and must therefore always submit to the arbitrament of a third party, *i. e.*, to foreign domination. I invite the reader, then, to share with me the respect that is due to the view set forth by my correspondent, and if he belongs to the correspondent's school of thought, to bear with me, even though I cannot see eye to eye with him.

In my opinion, the boycott of schools and law courts has been both a failure and a success. It has been largely, not wholly, a failure in that schools and law courts have not been effective or even appreciably deserted. But it has been a success in that the halo surrounding Government schools and law courts has disappeared. People believe, much more now than they did before, in the necessity of independent national schools and settlement of disputes by panchayats. Lawyers and Government schoolmasters have lost much of the artificial prestige they enjoyed five years ago. I count these as no small gains. Let me not be misunderstood, I do not undervalue the sacrifices and devotion to the country of schoolmasters and lawyers. Dadabhai and Gokhale were schoolmasters. Pherozeshah Mehta and Budruddiq Tyabji were lawyers. But I would not have even these distinguished countrymen of ours to claim the exclusive monopoly of wisdom or ability to guide. The spinner, the weaver, the farmer, the artisan, the trader have just as much right to shape the destiny of the country as the member of the so-called liberal professions. As the latter have represented the arm of authority, we have been awed by them and to that extent they have accustomed us to think that we can satisfy

our wants only through the Government instead of teaching us that the Government is a creation of the people and merely an instrument for giving effect to their will. The false prestige of privileged classes has suffered a shock from which I hope it will never recover.

That national schools and panchayats have not flourished, as they might have, is due to a variety of causes, some avoidable and others unavoidable. We have been new to the work and therefore we have not known how to go about it. For me therefore, the poverty of results is not a cause for disappointment but for greater and more enlightened effort. Our failures we can convert into so many steps to success.

The village work frightens us. We who are town-bred find it trying to take to the village life. Our bodies in many cases do not respond to the hard life. But it is a difficulty which we have to face boldly, even heroically, if our desire is to establish Swaraj for the people, not substitute one class rule by another, which may be even worse. Hitherto the villagers have died in their thousands so that we might live. Now we might have to die so that they may live. The difference will be fundamental. The former have died unknowingly and involuntarily. Their enforced sacrifice has degraded us. If now we die knowingly and willingly, our sacrifice will ennoble us and the whole nation. Let us not flinch from the necessary sacrifice, if we will live as an independent self-respecting nation.

The difficulty with the Non-co-operating lawyers is greater still. They have unfortunately been used to a highly artificial life totally out of harmony with their national surroundings. I regard it as a crime that any lawyer or doctor should charge or get, say Rs. 1,000 per day or for that matter even Rs. 100 per day. It is no

answer to the indictment that it is the monied men who pay and there can be no harm, but it may be all to the good, if lawyers take money from the rich people and use a part for the public good. If the profession was disinterested and charged only enough for maintenance the monied men would also have to revise their budget. As it is, we seem to be moving in a vicious circle.

If under Swaraj we shall have to make the town life correspond to the village life, we shall be bound to simplify the town mode of life. The beginning has to be made now. Why should lawyers feel so utterly helpless as they seem to do now? Is starvation the only alternative if they cannot resume practice? Is it impossible for a resourceful lawyer to turn his attention to weaving or any other honourable toil?

It is difficult for me to advise Non-co-operating lawyers and schoolmasters. If they believe in the boycott they should face all difficulties and continue the boycott. If they do not believe in it, they can without any disgrace attaching to their action rejoin the profession. As I do not believe in the mandate theory, I do not consider it to be obligatory on any schoolmaster or lawyer to refrain from rejoining Government schools or law-courts because of the continuance of the boycott resolution. I would still advocate the retention of the boycott, to be worked out not by propoganda for emptying Government schools and courts (that was done and had to be done during 1920 and 1921) but by the constructive method of establishing and popularising national schools and panchayats.

8th May 1924

IS IT NON-CO-OPERATION?

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

The argument has been advanced that with the failure (in my opinion wrongly assumed) of the boycott of titles, schools, law-courts, and Councils, Non-co-operation is dead. The critics see nothing of Non-co-operation in the slow and unexciting Khaddar programme. They forget that the four-fold boycott is like a scaffolding which is absolutely necessary till the whole structure is ready. It does not matter that the institutions, which are the symbols of the authority we seek to destroy, continue to exist so long as *we* do not make use of them. The fact is that we cannot erect our structure without the scaffolding of the four-fold boycott. And we must succeed if we can work the Congress organisation without the aid of these institutions and even in spite of them. Moreover, let us not forget that our boycott is not four-fold, but five-fold. The fifth is by far the most important *i.e.*, boycott of foreign (not merely British) cloth.

The boycott is the negative, though on that account none the less useful, part of our programme. Khaddar, national schools panchayats, Hindu-Muslim unity, and uplift of the untouchable, the drunkard and the opium eater, is the positive part of our programme. The greater our progress in it, the greater will be the progress towards the boycott and therefore, towards Swaraj. Nature abhors a vacuum. Therefore, construction must keep pace with destruction. Even if all the titled friends gave up their titles, and if schools, courts and Councils were entirely deserted, and being thus embarrassed, the Government abdicated in our favour, and if we had no constructive work to our credit, we could not conduct

Swaraj. We should be entirely helpless. I often wonder whether it is sufficiently realised that our movement is not one for mere change of personnel but for change of the system and the methods. Full Khaddar programme is therefore, to me full Swaraj. The English interest in India is selfish and in conflict with the national interest. It is anti-national, because of the illegitimate cotton interest. To boycott, therefore foreign cloth, is to sterilise the English and all other foreign interests. Boycott merely of British cloth may harm the British, but can lead to no construction in India. Boycott of British cloth will be a jump out of the frying pan into fire. Not before the foreign piece-goods trade is entirely replaced by home-spun, will the bleeding process cease. Boycott of foreign cloth, therefore, is the centre of our boycott programme. This central boycott cannot succeed until we universalise Khaddar. In order to achieve the desirable end we will need to employ all our resources to the fullest extent. We shall need men, money and machinery *i.e.*, organisation. We cannot universalise Khaddar without Hindu-Muslim unity, without removing untouchability. To make Khaddar successful is to *demonstrate* our capacity for self-government. Khaddar is a people's programme, for success in which all, high and low, rich and poor, Hindu and non-Hindu, must take part.

But say the sceptics, 'How can Khaddar bring Swaraj? Will Englishmen then retire in our favour?' My answer is,—yes and no. Yes, because Englishmen will then find that their interest must be coincident with that of India. They will then be content to remain in India as her servants, for they will have then found that they cannot *impose* their custom upon us. When, therefore, Khaddar becomes successful, Englishmen's hearts will have been changed. They will regard it then as an

honour to be our allies instead of regarding it as they do now their right to be our masters. My answer is 'No,' if we intend to drive out Englishmen and ruin every English interest, legitimate or otherwise. Such is not the goal of the non-violent movement. Non-violence has its limits. It refuses to hate or generate hatred. Indeed by its very nature, it is incapable of so doing. 'But' the sceptics further argue, 'Suppose the English refuse to revise their system and insist upon holding India by the sword, what can universal use of Khaddar do?' In thus doubting the efficacy of Khaddar, they forget that Khaddar is an indispensable preparation for Civil Disobedience. And this, every one admits, is an irresistible force. Without the universal adoption of Khaddar, I see no chance whatsoever of universal civil, *i.e.*, non-violent, disobedience. Any single district that can be fully organised for Khaddar is, if it is also trained for suffering, ready for Civil Disobedience. And I have not a shadow of doubt that even one district thus organised can make itself irresistible even though the whole might of the Government may be matched against it.

'Who shall bell the cat?' is the last question. That question is, however, irrelevant to the present inquiry. The question I set out to answer was whether constructive programme *i.e.*, Khaddar could be considered part of Non-co-operation. I have attempted to prove that it is an integral part of Non-co-operation in its positive aspect.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE SWARAJIST

The following statement was issued to the Press by Mahatma Gandhi on 23rd May 1924 :

After having discussed with the Swarajist friends the vexed question of entry into the Legislative Assembly and the Councils by the Congressmen, I am sorry to have to say that I have not been able to see eye to eye with the Swarajists. I assure the public that there has been no lack of willingness or effort on my part to accept the Swarajist position. My task would be much simpler if I could identify myself with it. It can be no pleasure to me to oppose even in thought the most valued and respected leaders, some of whom have made great sacrifices in the cause of the country and who yield to no one in their love of freedom of the motherland, but in spite of my efforts and willingness I have failed to be convinced by their argument.

Nor is the difference between them and myself one of mere detail. There is an honest and fundamental difference. I retain the opinion that Council-entry is inconsistent with Non-co-operation as I conceive it. Nor is this difference a mere matter of interpretation of the word "Non-co-operation", but relates to the essential mental attitude resulting in different treatment of vital problems. It is with reference to such mental attitude that the success or the failure of the triple boycott is to be judged and not merely by a reference to the actual results attained. It is from that point of view that I say that to be out of the Legislative bodies is far more advantageous to the country than to be in them. I have, however, failed to convince my Swarajist friends, but I recognise that so long as they think otherwise, their place is undoubtedly in the Councils. It is the best for us all.

It was hardly to be expected that the Swarajists could be convinced by the arguments I advanced in the course of the conversations. They are, many of them, amongst

the ablest, most experienced and honest patriots. They have not entered the Legislative bodies without full deliberation and they must not be expected to retire from the position until experience has convinced them of the futility of their method.

The question, therefore, before the country is not an examination and determination of the merits of the Swarajist view and mine. The question is, what is to be done now regarding Council-entry as a settled fact? Are the Non-co-operators to keep up their hostility against the Swarajist method or are they to remain neutral and even help, wherever it is possible or consistent with their principles.

The Delhi and Cocanada resolutions have permitted those Congressmen who have no conscientious scruples to enter the Councils and the Assembly, if they wanted to do so. In my opinion, the Swarajists are therefore justified in entering the Legislative bodies and expecting perfect neutrality on the part of the "No Changers". They are also justified in resorting to obstruction because such was their policy and the Congress laid down no conditions as to their entry. If the work of the Swarajists prospers and the country benefits, such aocular demonstration cannot but convince honest sceptics like me of our error and I know the Swarajists to be patriotic enough to retrace their steps when experience has disillusioned them. I would therefore be no party to putting any obstacles in their way or to carrying on any propaganda against the Swarajists' entry into the Legislatures, though I cannot actively help them in a project in which I do not believe. The purpose of the Delhi and Cocanada resolutions was to allow the Swarajists a chance of trying the method of Council-entry and that purpose can be served only if the "No Chang-

ers." with scrupulous honesty allow the Swarajists full liberty to pursue their programme in the Councils unfettered by any obstruction from them.

With regard to the method of work in the Councils, I will say that I would enter a Legislative body, if only I found that I could at all use it to advantage. If, therefore, I enter the Councils, I should, without following a general policy of obstruction, endeavour to give strength to the Constructive Programme of the Congress. I should therefore move resolutions requiring the Central or the Provincial Government as the case may be:

(1) To make all their cloth purchases in handspun and handwoven khaddar;

(2) To impose a prohibitive duty on foreign cloth;

(3) To abolish the drink and drug revenue and at least correspondingly reduce the army expenditure.

If the Government refuse to enforce such resolution when carried in the Legislatures, I should invite them to dissolve them and take the vote of the electors on the specific point. If the Government would not dissolve, I should resign my seat and prepare the country for Civil Disobedience. When that stage is reached, the Swarajists will find me ready to work with and under them. My test of fitness for Civil Disobedience remains the same as before.

During the state of probation, I should advise the "No Changers" not to worry about what the Swarajists are doing or saying and to prove their own faith by prosecuting the Constructive Programme with undivided energy and concentration. The Khaddar and the National schools are enough to occupy every available worker who believes in quiet, honest and undemonstrative work. The Hindu-Muslim problem too will tax the best energy and faith of the workers. The "No Chan-

gers" can justify their opposition to Council-entry only by showing the results of their application through the Constructive Programme even as the pro-changers must justify their entry by results. The "No Changers" are in one respect in an advantageous position for they can secure the co-operation of the Pro-changers. The latter have declared their faith in the Constructive Programme but their contention is that by itself, the Constructive Programme cannot enable the country to reach the goal. In the prosecution, however, of the Constructive Programme outside the Legislatures, all "No Changers," Pro-changers and others can, if they will, work in unison through their respective organisations if necessary.

The statement is incomplete without an examination of the working of the Congress organisation. I hold drastic and definite views in the matter, but I must reserve their expression for a future, though early occasion.

29th May 1924

CONGRESS ORGANISATION

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

As I have said in my statement to the Press on the question of Councils-entry, it is not complete without an examination, in the light of my views, of the working of the Congress organisation. The difference between the Swarajists and myself is honest and vital. I believe that the frank recognition of honest differences will accelerate the country's progress as a patched up compromise designed to hide differences would have retarded it. Each party is now free to give the fullest play to its views unhampered by any consideration save that of the common cause.

It is, therefore, necessary to consider the way the Congress organisation is to be worked. It is clear to me that it cannot be jointly worked just as a government cannot be jointly and efficiently carried on by two parties with opposite views. I hold the boycott of titles etc., to be an absolutely integral part of the Congress programme. The boycott has two objects; first, to persuade those who hold titles etc., to give them up; secondly, to keep the Congress pure from the influence of the institutions boycotted. If the first had been immediately successful, we should have attained our goal at once. But the second is equally necessary, if we are ever to reach our goal through the programme of non-violent non-co-operation. For me the boycott is national so long as the National Congress enforces it in its own organisation. It cannot undermine the influence, the glamour and the prestige of Government institutions, if it cannot be run without the presence in it, of administrators, of title-holders, lawyers, school-masters and councillors who represent as it were, the voluntary branch of the Government administration. The idea running behind the programme of Non-co-operation was that if we could honestly, non-violently and successfully work the Congress organisation without such influence, and nay, even in spite of it, that fact by itself would be enough to give us Swaraj. Our numerical superiority is so great that an effective boycott carried out by the National organisation must make the Congress an irresistible power. It follows, therefore, that the executive organisation of the Congress must not contain titled persons, Government school-masters, practising lawyers and members of legislative bodies and persons who use foreign cloth or cloth manufactured even in our mills, and those who deal in such cloth. Such

persons can become Congressmen, but cannot and should not become members of executive organisations. They can become delegates and influence the Congress resolutions, but once the Congress policy is fixed, those who do not believe in that policy, in my opinion, should stand out of the executive bodies. The All India Congress Committee and all the local executive committees are such bodies, and they should contain only those members who whole-heartedly believe in and are prepared to carry out the policy. I am the author of the introduction into the Congress organisation of the system of single transferable votes. But experience has shown that so far as the executive organisations are concerned it cannot work. The idea that all opinions should be represented on these bodies must be abandoned if the executive committees are to become bodies for the purpose of carrying out the Congress policy for the time being.

One of the most important reasons why we have not been wholly successful is that the members of these executive bodies have not believed even in the Congress creed. I stand where I did when I wrote my impressions of the All India Congress Committee, which met at Delhi soon after the Bardoli resolutions were passed by the Working Committee. I saw then as clearly as possible that many members, if not indeed the majority, did not believe in non-violence and truth as an integral part of the Congress creed. They would not allow that 'peaceful' meant 'non-violent' and that 'legitimate' meant 'truthful.' I know that to-day there is more of the violent and the untruthful spirit in us than we had in February 1922. I would, therefore, urge that those who do not believe in the five boycotts and non-violence and truthfulness should resign from the Congress executive bodies. That is why I have said in my statement on the

Councils' entry that the constructive programme should be worked by different parties through their respective organisations. The thorough believers, if there are any, in the five boycotts and non-violence and truth, have no organisation other than the Congress. The most natural thing in my opinion, therefore, is for the Swarajists to work the constructive programme through their own organisations. So far as I can see, their method of working must be different from that of the boycotters. If they are to make the Councils-entry successful, they must devote the whole of their energy to that purpose, and therefore they can help the constructive programme by working it mainly through the Councils and the Assembly.

I, for one, can be no party to a tug of war in which each party tries to capture the Congress executive. That war may be fought out, if at all necessary, without heat and bitterness at the forthcoming sessions in December. The Congress is the debating and legislative body. The permanent organisations are purely executive bodies to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress. I am in a desperate hurry. I believe implicitly in the full and undiluted non-violent non-cooperation programme as passed by the Congress and no other. If I can get really non-violent and truthful workers who share my belief in the boycotts, in the potency of Khaddar, in Hindu-Muslim unity and in removal of untouchability, I would again feel Swaraj coming to us much quicker than most of us think possible. But if we wrangle on in the All India Congress Committee, we can only discredit and obstruct one another. Each party honourably and without jealousy and ill-will working separately (because they cannot do otherwise) can help one another.

I trust that all the members of the All India Congress Committee will attend the forthcoming meeting. If we can discuss the plan of action in a calm manner without imputing motives and make the composition of the All India Congress Committee homogeneous, we can do a tremendous amount of work during the forthcoming six months. I would respectfully invite each member to consider for himself or herself where he or she is in respect of the programme. If they do not believe in the programme as it is and in its capacity unaided to secure Swaraj, and if they really voice the feelings of their electors, I would not hesitate to advise the Committee even to take the risk of revising and radically altering the programme in anticipation of endorsement next year. No doubt for such a drastic change there must be a clearly made out case, there must be real public opinion behind it. Granted these two conditions, I have no doubt that in spite of anything to the contrary in the constitution, it is the duty of the All India Congress Committee to reverse the Congress policy at the risk of incurring condemnation and show useful and substantial work at the end of the year. Stagnation must be avoided at all cost.

After I had finished the foregoing, it was pointed out to me that it was possible that my views might tend to make Swarajists appear weaker than or inferior to the No-Changers in the estimation of the masses. Nothing can be further from my thought than any such idea. There is no question of quality. It is purely a question of temperamental differences. I have written simply with an eye to effective working of the Congress executives. That working is possible only if the executives are run only by one party. If the Swarajist view is more popular, the executive bodies should be

solely in their hands. The Congress must always represent the popular view whatever it may be, whether good or bad. And it is the duty of those who hold contrary views not necessarily weak or inferior, to stand out and work on the popular mind from outside. The No-Changers will be belying their trust if they regard pro-changers as, in any way, inferior to them by reason of their holding different views.

It has been further pointed out to me that in arguing for exclusive control of the executives, I am departing from the spirit, if not the letter, of the Delhi resolution reaffirmed at Cocanada. I have read both the resolutions carefully. In my opinion the Delhi resolution and more specially the Cocanda resolution does not contemplate joint control of the executives. The Cocanada resolution is not a mere reaffirmation, but it emphasises the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. But even if my reading of the resolutions is incorrect, my argument remains unimpaired. Mine is only an opinion to be accepted or rejected by the members of the A. I. C. C. And it is actuated by the sole consideration of expeditious working. I feel that both the parties can effectively help each other only if they work separately.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX OF THE WRITINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

PREPARED BY

MISS ELIZABETH S. KITE, *New York*

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	18	408		"	1075
	"	436		"	697
	"	527		10	710
	"	718		13	294
	"	741		"	567
	25	265		"	605
	"	364		"	634
	"	604		"	772
	"	566		"	783
	"	719		"	879
	"	814		21	209
June				"	745
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	"	789		"	731
	"	857		"	800
	"	1107		"	895
	11	327		"	896
	11	554		13	668
	"	736		"	898
	"	755		"	1089
	"	773		20	418
	18	182		"	495
	"	639		"	679
	"	752		25	775
	25	369		27	709
	"	413		"	777
	"	758	November		
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	8	186		"	545
	"	1080		"	689
	11	772		"	932
	15	502		"	1091
	"	554		"	1117
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	"	1091		"	933
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	"	543		"	701
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	"	864		"	1039
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