The Indian States' Problem

M. K. GANDHI



The Indian States' Problem

M. K. GANDHI



First Edition: 2,000 Copies, 1941 FOUR RUPEES

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The volume that is now presented to the public marks another addition to the series of collections of Gandhiji's writings and utterances on various subjects, and contains all that he has said or written on the Indian States' problem during the last twentyfive years. Part II contains full texts of important documents referred to by Gandhiji, and also writings of others which are supplementary to his own and which were originally published with his approval. The arrangement of the articles in chronological order possesses an obvious advantage in that it enables the reader to study the various stages of the evolution of Gandhiii's views in their proper historical perspective and in relation to the situations and events with which he had occasion to deal from time to time. The book thus becomes, to some extent, a history of the movement in so far as it was guided by Gandhiji, and several of the events have become like so many landmarks in the movement responsible government in Indian India, which essentially is part of the larger struggle for Indian freedom. The interest of the book, however, is not confined to the merely historical, because all that Gandhiji has said on this subject as well as others emanates from a ceaseless pursuit of those cardinal principles to the search and furtherance of which his life is dedicated, and which provide the springs of all his actions and form the basis of the guidance he has offered to the country all these years. subject with which this collection deals is still a live question, and those who are trying to tackle it will find much in the following pages which can illumine their path for a long time to come.

We regret to say the book has been in the press for a very long time. But the delay has been compensated for by the fact that we have been able to make the collection complete by adding Part III which contains all his recent writings till the time that the publication of *Harijan* was suspended in November last.

His latest pronouncement on the subject is contained in his brief foreword to Shri Pyarelal Nayar's articles on *The Status of Indian Princes*, and represents his final word on the subject. The warning therein given to the participators in the triple sin will remain for all time. Here are those words:

"The following seven chapters are a result of Pvarelal's deep study of the status of the Princes of India. They should have been published in pamphlet form long ago, and would have been but for my preoccupation. The writer is himself behind gaol walls. Therefore they are being published as they were written. They are an evergreen. They give to the busy public worker or student, in a compact form, an idea of the status of the Princes of whom there are nearly six hundred. The chief merit of the pamphlet is that it contains nothing but what is taken from authentic records. The existence of this gigantic autocracy is the greatest disproof of British democracy, and is a credit neither to the Princes nor to the unhappy people who have to live under this undiluted autocracy. It is no credit to the Princes that they allow themselves powers which no human being, conscious of his dignity, should possess. It is no credit to the people who have mutely suffered the loss of elementary human

freedom. And it is perhaps the greatest blot on British rule in India. But we are too near the event to realize the falsity called "Princes' India" or "Indian India". The system will break under its own intolerable weight. My humble non-violent effort is to induce all the three parties to wash the triple sin. Even one of them can take the decisive step and it will affect all. But it will be glorious if the three together realize the enormity of the sin and by a combined effort wash it."

15-3-1941

CONTENTS

PART I

Gandhiji's Writings and Utterances

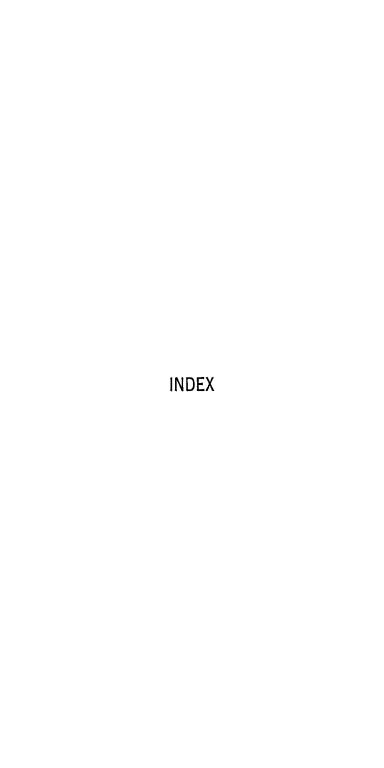
1. Lord Curzon's Durbar .	•		•	3-
2. "Strip Yourselves of Jewellery".				5.
3. Kathiawad Political Conference				7
4. Rulers and Ruled				29
5. 1 Cry to Conquer				37
6. My Incapacity				42
7. 'Alwar Atrocities' .				47
8. Kathiawad Political Conference .				49
9. From R. T. C. Speeches .			,	54
10. Kelkar-Gandhi Correspondence -		•		60
11. 'Matters of Agreement' .				67
12. The A. I. C. C				69
13. The States Resolution .				72
14. Price for Gaining Liberty .				76
15. The States				7 9
16. The Tragedy in Travancore .				82
17. The States and Responsibility				86
18. Non-intervention				92
19. The Travancore Situation .	•			94
20. A Correction		٠		96
21. To Travancore Students				9 7
22. The Travancore Amnesty .				98
23. Aundh Reforms	•		•	99
24. States and the People		•		101
25. A Caution	•		•	105
26. Advice to Travançore State Congress	5	•		106
27. Rajkot	•		•	108
• 28. Aundh Constitution				111

29. Travancore .					•	113
30. The Ban on Jamnalalji						117
31. 'Most Unfortunate'						121
32. Jaipur						122
33. Violence v. Non-violence						124
34. The States						128
35. Congress and States	,					131
36. Why the Withdrawal .						136
37. Rajkot						141
38. Rajkot and Jaipur .						145
39. "Kicks and Kisses"						147
40. Why Kasturba Gandhi?						152
41. "Not a War of Words"						154
42. Jaipur						157
43. "Barbarous Behaviour"						162
44. Untruth in Newspapers						164
45. Travancore .						167
46. Hyderabad						170
47. The Ethics of It .			•			172
48. Mewar						173
49. Not Guilty .						176
50. My Apology						179
51. Jaipur			•			181
52. Travancore Again .				•		182
53. Lawless Limbdi .	•		•			185
54. Question of Honour .						190
55. Rajkot Events .						196
56. A Mischievous Suggestion						201
57. The Fiery Ordeal.	•		•			204
58. "A Good Ending".		•				223
59. Its Meaning .	•					229
50. To the People of Rajkot-I		•				230
il. To the People of Rajkot-Il						232
52. Travancore						237
3. Fasting						239

					ix
64. Read the Signs					241
65. Requisite Qualifications					244
66. Jaipur Civil Disobedience					246.
67. Suspend Civil Disobedience.					248
68. Suspension should Continue					251
69. The States					254
70. Repression in Travancore					257
71. Have I Erred? .					258
72. Rajkot Events					262
73. The Tragedy of Talcher .					275
74. Unhappy Travancore .					278
75. I Am Defeated		•			282
76. Popular Violence in Ramdurg					287
77. Jaipur Prisoners					290
78. Heart-Searching .					292
79. The New Technique					297
80. Confession and Repentance	•				303
81. Talcher Again					307
82. New Light					309
83. New Technique in Action .		•		•	315
84. Leaders must Lead .					320
85, Jaipur Again					321
86. How Far?	. •				623
87. Its Implications					327
88. "Rajkot-Was it a Betrayal	?".				331
89. Non-violence v. Violence .				٠	333
90. Jaipur					339
91. To The Princes		•			342
92. A Repudiation .			•		347
93. Minority Administration .					34 9
94. Lesson of Dhami .			•		354
95. Confederation of Small States	•	•			357
96. The Arya Samaji	•		•		35 9
97. Plea for Voluntary Federation	D				361
98. Limbdi					364

99. A Maharaja's Threat	36.
100. Sirobi	376
101. Jaipur Satyagraba	378
102 Narsinghgarh	380
103. Unfortunate People of Travancore	382
104. Tweedledum and Tweedledee	386
105. Princes and Paramount Power	389
106. Travancore Again	390
107. Rajkot Reforms	397
PART II	
Important Documents	
and	
Others' Writings	
1. Haripura Congress Resolution regarding States .	401
2. The Mysore Settlement	404
3. Working Committee's Resolution	409
4. Working Committee's Resolutions .	411
5. A. I. C. C. Resolution .	412
6. Working Committee's Resolution .	414
7. The Jaipur State Authorities' Notification .	416
8. Jamnalalji's Letter	417
9. "Cold-blooded Breach ef a Solemn Covenant".	421
10. Reign of Repression in Rajkot	447
11. Travancore Bulletins	453
12. Paramountcy and Non-intervention (Pyarelal)	465
13. Civil Resistance Suspended (V. J. Patel) .	472
14. A God-given Fast (M. D.)	473
15. Ordeal by Fire (C. F. Andrews)	476
16. Tripuri Resolution	479
17. The Fast in the Foreign Press (M. D.)	481
18. More about the Fast (M. D.)	485
19. The Rajkot Fast	489
20. The States Today	540
21. The Rajkot Award	547

					хi
22. The Way of Satyagraha (Pyarela	.1)		• .		560
23. Rajkot Correspondence	-,		•		563
24. Confusion Worse Confounded (H	arek	rush	na		
Mahtab)					56 5
25. A Momentous Decision (M. D.)		·			573
26. The Decision and After (M. D.)			-		582
27. My Rajkot Speech (M. D.)		•		•	612
28. Kathiawad States (R. L. H.)	•		•		618
29. No Inquiry! (M. D.)		•		•	624
PART III	•		,		· .
Gandhiji's Recent Wr	iting	įs			
1. The Princes					629
2. Rajkot Reforms .					632
3. A Wise Step					633
4. Princes in Democratic India					634
5. Sirohi					635
6. Princes					636
7. State Praja Mandals .					638
8. The Princes					639
9. Jaipur State Praja Mandal .					640
10. Repression in Jodhpur .					641
11. A One-sided Inquiry					644
12. Peace in Sirohi .					647
13. Mysore Lawyers					648
14. Mysore Justice					654
15. Travancore					6 5 6
16. Travancore					659
17. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's E	Extra	vaga	inces		664
18. Aundh					665
19. Travancore					668
20. Indian States and Congress Act	ivity	,			671
21. Hyderabad					672
22. Jaipur					676
23. The Princes					677
lndex					679



INDEX

ACHUTHAN, 659,662,668-9 Ahimsa, See Non-violence Ahmed, Sultan, 54-5 Aiyar, C. P. Ramaswami, 82-4, 113, 183, 241-2, 315, 385,391-4,656-9,661-2,664 Alwar, 45,47 Ambedkar, Dr., 54 Amrit Kaur, Rajkumari, 114, 182,380 Amulakh Amichand, 188 Anada, P. P., 210, 236, 266, 273,423,441 Ansorge, 566 Ari, 191 Arundale, G. S., 515 Aryasamaj, 171,359-60,528 Aspinall, Col., 437,496 Atal, A., 149 Aundh, 99, 100, 111-2, 316, 651,665-7 Azad, Abul Kalanı, 359 BAJAJ, Jampalal, 47,104,117-20, 122, 131, 132, 156-7, 159-63, 177, 179-81, 290-1, 300, 321, 339-40, 378, 411, 417,420,640,676 Banker, S., 380,499 Baroda, 134-5,467-8 Bazalgette, R. L., 121,128 Bhagmal, 351 Bhagwanlal Harakhchand, 188 Bhatt, Gokulbhai, 376-7,647 Bhatt, Manishanker, 8

Bhavnagar, 618-20 Bhojwala, 422 Bikaner, 148,469 Birchell, 536 Birla, G. D., 517 Bombay Chronicle, The, 201 Bose, S., 201-3,490,539 Bradlaugh, J., 604 Brailsford, H. N., 57 Butler Committee Report, 621 CADELL, P., 108,172,176,421-2,429-31,431-6,438-40, 446 Canning, Lord, 466-7 Chamba, 349-50 Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi, 83 Cherian, A., 167 Chhotalal, 186 Chhotani, Mian, 597 Christ, Jesus, 483 Chudgar, P. L., 157,159-61 Cochin, 620 Communal unity, 27,226,603 Confederation, 357-8, 361-3, 618-23, See also Federation Congress and States, See States and Congress Cow-preservation, 46 Curzon, Lord, 3 Cutch, 320,347-8,618-9,622 Dadabhai Naoroji, 54 Dada Haji Valimohmed, 441 Dalhousie, Lord, 466 Daly, C. K., 438, 496-7

Gandhi, B., 188

Damodardas, 105 Dasappa, H. C., 648-50,654-5 Dave, Kevalram Mavji, 32 Desai, Bhaktiba, 187 Desai, Bhulabhai, 517,648 Desai, Gopaldas, 189 Desai, Mahadev, 327, 477-8, 492,510,514,517, 564, 588, 644 Deo, S., 191-3 Deshpande, G. B., 191-3,287 Dhami, 350-1,353-4 Dharamnarain, 149 Dharmendrasinh, 214, 264, 421, 427-8, 431, 434, 436, 440-1,452,550,552 Dhebar, U. N., 210-1, 236, 423, 443, 445, 493-4, 519, 564,612-3,632 Dhenkanal, 103,128,413 Dhorajiwala, 31 Dhrangadhra, 619 Dhrol, 619 Divakar, R. R., 287 Doddameti, 191,193 Doshi, R. M., 236 Durlabhji Umedchand, 188 Dyer, General, 84 FASTING, A METHOD, 205-7,223. 259, 483-4, 487-8, 514-5 Fatemamad Ahmed, 452, 493 Federation, 56,-7,201-3,361-3, 384,540-1,545-6 Se also Confederation -GADHDAWALA, M., 198, 219, 500,589 Gaekwar, Malhar Rao, 467 Gajjar, D. J., 423,441

Gandhi, Devadas, 478 Gandhi, J. K., 266,273,423 Gandhi, K., 505 Gandhi, Kasturba, 152-3,491, 498,506,509-10,512-4,516, 56**3,57**9,582,586 Gandhi, N., 509,616 Gandhi, P., 505 Gandhiji -and Jaipur, 417; -and Mysore, 405; -and Rajkot, 472, 560-2, 573-617; -and States, 150; -and Travancore, 456-7, 668;-correspondence with B. St. John, 159-61; -Correspondence with E.C. Gibson, 213, 220-2; -Correspondence with First Member Rajkot, 196-8;-Correspondence with N.C. Kelkar, 60-6; -Correspondence with ThakoreSaheb Rajkot, 209-14,216-7,262-7, 563; -Correspondence with Virawala, 564; Fast at Rajkot, 204-29, 473-9, 481-539; -Letter to A. Sheth, 67; -Maharaja of Patiala's Letter to,370-5 Gavin Jones, 55 George, K. C., 656-7,662

Gibson, E. C., 212-3,220,222,

506,510-1,514,518,5*7*8

Gilder, Dr., 490,492,507,516-7

Gokhale, G. K., 3

284,2)2,297,304, 311, 434-

5, 437.40, 495, 500, 504,

Gondal, 31 Govind Das, 499 Gregory, Major, 276 Gupta, G. S., 360 Gwyer Award, 262-8,270,272, 282, 298, 303-6, 310-2, 331-2, 538, 547-59, 573-80, - 582-7, 594, 612-6, See also Gwyer, M. Gwyer, M., 260 1,538-9,547, 559, 574, 579, 591-94, 599 See also Gwyer Award Gyan Nath, Raja, 676 HAKSAR, K., 149 Halifax, Lord, See Irwin Hannessey, Major, 275-6,307-8,566-8 Hardikar, N. S., 287 Hardinge, Lord, 4,5,471 Harijan, 96, 131, 136, 164-5, 190,327,331,347, 375, 389, 476,481,489,503,506,509, 526,604,609,618,629,668-9 Harijansewak, 375 Harrison, Agatha, 507-8,511-2, 514, 517, 519, 521, 530, 536,567 Harvey, 149 Heptubhai Abdulali, 441 🕡 Higginbotham, Sam, 6 Hind Swaraj, 301 Hindu Mahasabha, 171 Hindu, The, 87,648,661,663 Hindustan Times, The, 179-80 Hitter, 385,536 Holkar, Hari Rao, 468 Hunter, Justice, 669 Hydari, A., 89

Hyderabad, 42-44,89,90,105, 170-1,359-60,412,528,633, 672-5 IDAR, 619 Irwin (Halifax), Lord, 260 Ismail, M., 76-7,670 Lyer, Nagesvara, 644-5,648 JADEJA, J. D., 441 Jaiprakash, 639 Jaipur, 117-20, 122-3, 146, 156-63, 176-81,246-**7**, 250-1,321-2,325,378-9,411, 416-20, 526-7, 533-4, 640, 676 Jamkhandi, 411 Jamnagar, 32 Jasani, N., 198,219-20 Jeychand Valji, 187 Jobanputra, J., 421,436,438, 450 Jodhpur, 641-3 Joshi, G. B., 266,274,445 Joshi, J. H., 210,236,266,274 Junagadh, 522,619-20 KANABUR, 191 Kashmir, 413,470 Katju, K. N., 664 Kaujalgi, H. S., 287 Kelkar, N. C., 64,66-7 Kesavan, C., 457 Khadi, 15-7, 24-5, 40, 140, **246-7,278,3**00-1,598 Kherie, M. A. A., 117 Khwaja, Abdul Majid, 603 Korah, 251 Koshi, M. G., 279 Kripalani, Acharya, 407

Lalchand, 188 Limbdi, 186-9,364-6,522,619, 624-6 Linlithgow, Lord, 260,540,621 Lothian, 376 MACDONALD, R., 207 Madhav Rao, T., 379 Magadi, 287 Mahomed, Prophet, 483-4 Mahtab, H., 273-4,307,566-8, 572 Malaviya, Madan Mohan, 4, 42-3 Malaviya, P. D., 266, 273, 423,441 Manchester Guardian, The, 201-2,482 Mandan, M., 264-5,269 Mansa, 411 Mansukhlal, Bhai, 8 Mashruwala, K.G., 297,376-7, 604 Mathooradas Tricumji, 507 McGregor, 149 Meherally, Y., 347-8 Mehta, Dr. Jivraj, 490, 492, 507,516-7,519 Mewar, 166,173-5 Minto, Lord, 150 Miraj, 411 Misra, P., 301 Modi, P., 188 Modi, S. V., 210,236 Montagu, E., 30 Morning Post, The, 482 Morvi, 619-20 Mridulaben, 512-3,516,518. Mulraj, 320

Munawalli, 191-3,287 Munshi, K. M., 649 Muslim League, 201,603 Mysore, 70,76-8,86,404-8,468, 607,644-6,648-50,654-5 NARSINGHGARH, 380-1 Navajivan, 15,35 Nawanagar, 619-20 Nayyar, Dr. Sushila, 499,507, 509-10,518 Nehru, J., 369,538,609-10 Nehru, Motilal, 606 News Chronicle, The, 482 New York Times, The, 536 Nilgiri, 411 Non-violence, 88, 97, 124-7, 246-7, 293-6, 298-300, 302, 333-8, 344, 425, 501, 522, 525-6, 536-8, 575, 588-9, 600-3, 608, 639. See also Ahimsa Non-violent Coercion (Case), 608 Northbrook, Lord, 471 O'Dwyer, M., 32 Orissa States, 121,125-7 Oudh, 471 Palitana, 619 Pant, Appasaheh, 651,665, 667 Pant, G. B., 538 See Paramount Power, - Princes Patel, M. C., 421, 423, 436, 438,441,444,450,551,553-4 Patel, Maniben, 512-3, 516,

518

Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai, 105, 108, 113, 141-42, 145, 147, 150, 15+5, 172, 176, 191-2,197-8,200,213,215-6, 221, 229, 260, 262-73, 282, 285,296,305,361,407,421, 426-7,438-42, 446-50, 472, 479, 485, 490-1, 503, 511, 530, 535, 539, 547-56, 558, 560-1,564, 574-5, 578,609-10 Patiala, 367-75,467 Patil, K. S., 191 Pattani, A., 437,510 Pearson, 514,518 Phillipose, J., 248, 251, 257, 315, 391, 527 Pillai, A. Thanu, 241, 313, 385,391,453 Pillai, C. K. P., 94,96,453 Pillai, E. R., 278 Pillai, K., 251 Pillai, K. K., 251 Pillai, K. M. B., 273 Pillai, M. N. P., 656,662 Pillai, N. S., 252 Pillai, S., 455 Porbandar, 619 Princes, -and Paramount Power, 57-9, 102-3, 177, 2+1-2,307-8,337-8,350,352, 389, 465-71, 511-2, 519-21, 543-4, 578-9, 590-1,629-30, 651, 664,677;-and people, 20-3,33-6,40-1,49-53, 62-5, 149-51,168,336,467-71; -at Curzon's durbar, 3; -at Hindu University, 4, 5:

-their administration, 15, 541-6; -their autocratic powers, 385; -their extravagance, 3-5,13; -their future, 225,629, 634, 636-7,639,650-3,672-4; -their visits to Europe, 12 See also States Purushottamdas, Sir, 492 Pyarelal, 189, 327, 573, 629, 664 RADHANPUR, 619 Rajagopalachari, C., 69,649 Rajas, See Princes Rajkot, 90, 105, 108-10, 115, 129,134, 141-5, 152-7, 172, 176-8,196-200,204-36,258-74,282-6,292-9, 303-6, 309-14,323-7,331-2, 397-8, 421-52,472-9, 481-539, 547-64, 573-617,619,632 Rolland, Romain, 45 Ramachandran, G., 114,182-3,241,278,455-6,460,656-7, 661-3,668-9

Ramachandran, G., 114,182-3,241,278,455-6,460,656-7,661-3,668-9
Ramdurg, 190-5,287-9,411
Ramesam, Justice, 670
Rampur, 620
Ranga, Prof., 128
Ranpur, 127-8
Reilly, D., 654-5
Ripon, Marquis of, 468
Robertson, 149
Round Table Conference, 54,56
Roy, B., 508
SALAR JANG, 379

Santhanam, K., 659,662 Sastri, V. S. Srinivasa, 85 Satyagraha, 21,44,170,243-5, 254-6, 295, 328-30, 501-3, 524, 527-30, 533-4, 583-5, 592-3,603-4 Sebastain, P. J., 457,668-9 Shah, J., 236 Shankar, R., 278 Shauka: Ali, 31,34 Sheth, A., 68 Shukla, V. M., 210,266,274, 309,423,443,445,613 Sikar, 411 Sinha, Lord, 30,301 Sirohi, 376-7,635,647 Sitaramayya, B. Pattabhi, 201-2 Smuts, General, 293 Spectator, The, 487 St. John, B., 131,157-61 Star, The, 482 States, -and British India, 10, 55,241, 361-2, 636-7; -and Congress, 8,9,47-8, 54,60-75, **7**9, 92-3, 103-4; 132-3, 143 4;147 8, 164-5, 194-5, 242, 288-9, 328-9, 344-6; 352-6,369-70,401-3,406-15, 425,479-80,630-1,633,638, 651-3,671, 673-4,677; and minimum demand, 342-4; -and Paramount Power, See Princes; -and people, See Princes; ideal of, 19; under Swaraj, 9, 232-6. See also Princes Statesman, The, 166,333

Subrahmonier, E. R., 454 TAGORE, R., 476-7 Talcher, 128, 144, 166, 275-7, 30**7-**8,41**3,**565-72,609 Tank, M. M., 441 Tapubha, 188 Thakar, M., 188 Thakkar Bapa, 128,166,275-6 Thakkar, Dr., 516-7 Thangal, K. S., 278 The Indian States and Princes (Macmunu), 619 The Protected Princes of India (Lee Warner), 465 Thoreau, 365 Tilak, Lokamanya, 30 Times of India, The, 131,590 Times, The, 481-2 Travancore, 82-8, 94-8, 106-113-6, 130, 136-40, 167-9,182-5,237-8,241,248-53,257,278-81,315-9,382-8, 390-6,41**2,4**53-64,52**7,**53**2**-4,594,599, 605-7, 609,656-64,668-70 Tribune, The, 618

Untouchability, 18,26,39 Upadhyaya, H., 526 Vaidya, K., 380 Vaidya, M. P., 173 Vala, 41! Valeravala, 422 Valiji Abdulalli, 423 Variava, Dr., 507,510,517 Varma, M., 173-4

Velayudhan, V. K., 656,662

INDEX

Verghese, P. J., 257,280 Verghese, T. M., 94,315,386, 656-7 Vijayaben, 509 Viravala, Durbar, 208, 210, 228,283-6,293-7,303-5,309, 311-13,397,422-5,433,437, 440,445,475,493-4, 498-9, 503-4, 508, 515, 522, 526, 535,548,564,573-80,582, 584,587-9,594,612-3,615, 617 Vithalgadh, 522

Wadhwan, 619
Wankaner, 619
Wells, H. G., 674
Williams, R., 201-3
Winterton, Earl, 101-2
Yadavindra Singh, 375
Yalgi, 190
Young, F. S., 162,179,417
Young India, 15, 35, 43, 45, 302

ZETLAND, Lord, 511

WADHER, B. W., 265,273