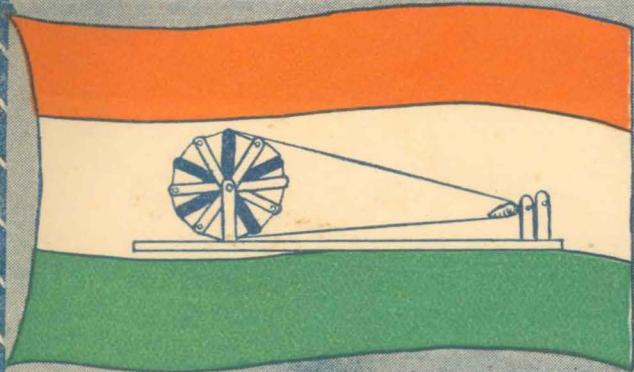


CONGRESS GOLDEN JUBILEE BROCHURE No. 1



SATYAGRAHA

IN GANDHIJI'S OWN WORDS

1910-35

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
ALLAHABAD



B.K.-1

Congress Golden Jubilee Brochure No. 1.

SĀTYAGRAHA

In Gandhiji's Own Words

(1910 to 1935)

"Life seemed the same from day to day,
Till the pre-destined hour came,
A hidden will leaped up in flame,
And through its deed the risen soul,
Strode on self-conquering to the goal."

Interpreters—A. E.

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CONTENTS

			Page
The Greatest Force	1 to 5
Satyagraha	6 to 14
Non-Cooperation	15 to 35
"Non-Violence"	35 to 54
Civil Disobedience	55 to 83
Stray Thoughts	85 to 99

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SWARAJ BHAWAN,

ALLAHABAD

NOTE

The Congress Jubilee Brochures written in popular style are meant to educate the general public and furnish them with a working knowledge of the current Indian political and cultural problems. The Congress as an organisation may be said to be in general agreement with the conclusions of the different authors, although it may not be possible for it to subscribe to every detail of what has been written. There may be minor points of difference here and there for which we as publishers, or the Congress as an organisation, can take no responsibility.

J. B. KRIPALANI,

General Secretary.

FOREWORD

A dear friend on seeing Rajendra Babu's letter asking for a pamphlet, among others, on the philosophy represented by the name 'Satyagraha,' asked me if I would write such a pamphlet. Rajendra Babu who knew my pre-occupations did not make any such demand upon my time. I, therefore, pleaded my inability when the suggestion came to me. Another suggestion was then put forward that some friends who knew my writings should make relevant extracts from them and prepare the booklet required. I readily endorsed it. The result was the following pages prepared after much labour of love. The workers desire to remain unknown. I glanced through the manuscript and I felt that the work was ably done. I believe that it will enable the reader to appreciate the very important implications of Satyagraha. The fascination of the doctrine as an epitome of non-violence is daily growing on me, and I doubt not that if an individual or a nation adopts it as a plan of life, it will promote their happiness and peace and it would be their highest contribution to the attainment of the world peace after which we are all hankering.

M. K. GANDHI

THE GREATEST FORCE

Non-violence is at the root of every one of my activities and therefore also of three public activities on which I am just now visibly concentrating all my energy. These are untouchability, Khadi and village regeneration in general. The Hindu-Muslim unity is my fourth love. But so far as any visible manifestation is concerned, I have owned defeat on that score. But let the public not assume therefrom that I am inactive. If not during my lifetime I know that after my death both Hindus and Mussulmans will bear witness that I had never ceased to yearn after communal peace.

Non-violence to be a creed has to be all-pervasive. I cannot be non-violent about one activity of mine and violent about others. That would be a policy, not a life-force. That being so, I cannot be indifferent about the war that Italy is reported to be waging against Ethiopia. But I have resisted most pressing invitations to express my opinion and give the lead to the country. I believe I have successfully cultivated the art of self-suppression so necessary for the observance of Truth and Non-violence. If India had as a nation imbibed the creed of non-violence, corporate or national, I would have had no hesitation in giving the lead. But inspite of a certain hold I have on the millions of this country, I know the very grave and glaring limitations of

that hold. India has an unbroken tradition of non-violence from times immemorial. But at no time in her ancient history as far as I know it, has it had complete non-violence in action pervading the whole land. Nevertheless, it is my unshakable belief that her destiny is to deliver that message to mankind. It may take ages to come to fruition. But so far as I can judge, no other country will precede her in the fulfilment of that mission.

Be that as it may, it is seasonable to contemplate the implications of that matchless force. Three concrete questions were the other day incidently asked by friends.

(1) What could ill-armed Ethiopia do against well-armed Italy, if she were non-violent?

(2) What England, the greatest and the most powerful member of the League could do against determined Italy, if she were non-violent in your sense of the term?

(3) What could India do, if she suddenly became non-violent in your sense of the term?

Before I answer the questions let me lay down five simple axioms of non-violence as I know it.

1. Non-violence implies as complete self-purification as is humanly possible.

2. Man for man the strength of non-violence is in exact proportion to the ability of the non-violent person to inflict violence.

3. Non-violence is without exception superior to violence, *i.e.*, the force at the disposal of a non-violent person is always greater than he would have if he was violent.

4. There is no such thing as defeat in non-violence. The end of violence is surest defeat.

5. The ultimate end of non-violence is surest victory—if such a term may be used of non-violence. In reality where there is no sense of defeat, there is no sense of victory.

In the light of these axioms, the foregoing questions may be answered.

If Ethiopia were non-violent, she would have no arms, and want none. She would make no appeal to the League or any other power for armed intervention. She would never give any cause for complaint. And Italy would find nothing to conquer if Ethiopians would not offer armed resistance, neither would they give co-operation willing or forced. Italian occupation in that case would mean that of land without its people. That however is not Italy's exact object. She seeks submission of the people of that beautiful land.

If Englishmen were as a nation to become non-violent at heart, they would shed imperialism, they would give up the use of arms. The moral force generated by such an act of renunciation would stagger Italy into willing surrender of her designs. England would then be a living embodiment of the

axioms I have laid down. The effect of such conversion would mean the greatest miracle for all ages. And yet if non-violence is not an idle dream, some such thing has some day to come to pass somewhere. I live in that faith.

The last question may be answered thus. As I have said, India as a nation is not non-violent. Neither has she any capacity for offering violence. Not because she has no arms. Physical possession of arms is the least necessity of the brave. Her non-violence is that of the weak and this betrays in her features every mark of weakness. She appears before the world today as a decaying nation. I mean here not in the mere political sense but essentially in the non-violent, moral sense. She lacks the ability to offer armed resistance. She has no consciousness of her strength. She is conscious only of her weakness. If she is otherwise, there would be no communal problems nor political. If she was non-violent in the consciousness of her strength Englishmen would lose their role of distrustful conquerors. We may talk as politically as we like and often legitimately blame the English rulers. But if we as Indians can but for a moment visualise ourselves as a strong people disdaining to strike, we would cease to fear Englishmen whether as soldiers, traders or administrators, and they to distrust us. Therefore, if we became truly non-violent we would carry Englishmen with us in all we do. In other words, we being millions will be the greatest moral force in the world, and Italy would listen to our friendly word.

Till my eyes of geometrical understanding had been opened, my brain was swimming, when I read and re-read the twelve axioms of Euclid. When they were opened, geometry seemed to be the easiest science to learn. Much more so is the case with non-violence. It is a matter of faith and experience; not of argument, beyond a certain point. So long as the world refuses to believe, she must await a miracle, *i.e.*, an ocular demonstration of non-violence on a mass scale. They say this is against human nature, non-violence is only for the individual. If so, is there no difference in kind between man and beast?*

* *Harjan*, October 12, 1935.

SATYAGRAHA

"THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH WILL LEAD YOU TO ALL TRUTH."

Holy Bible

1. Consciously or unconsciously we are acting non-violently towards one another in daily life. All well constructed societies are based on the law of non-violence. I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction and therefore there must be a higher law than that of destruction. Only under that law would a well ordered society be intelligible and life worth living. And if that is the law of life, we have to work it out in daily life. Wherever there are jars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love—in this crude manner I have worked it out in my life. That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved. Only I have found that this law of love has answered as the law of destruction has never done. Here in India we have had an ocular demonstration of the operation of this law on the widest scale possible. I do not claim therefore, that non-violence has necessarily penetrated the three hundred millions, but I do claim that it has penetrated deeper than any other message in an incredibly short time. We have not been all uniformly non-violent, and with the vast majority non-violence has been a matter of policy. Even so, I want you to find out if the country has not made phenomenal progress under the protecting power of non-violence.

1, Y. J. Oct. 1, 1931.

2. It takes a fairly strenuous course of training to attain to a mental state of non-violence. In daily life it has to be a course of discipline though one may not like it, take for instance, the life of a soldier. But I agree that unless there is hearty cooperation of the mind, the mere outward observance will be simply a mask, harmful both to the man himself and to others. The perfect state is reached only when mind and body and speech are in proper co-ordination. But it is always a case of intense mental struggle. It is not that I am incapable of anger, for instance, but I succeed on almost all occasions to keep my feelings under control. Whatever may be the result, there is always in me a conscious struggle for following the law of non-violence deliberately and ceaselessly. Such a struggle leaves one stronger for it. Non-violence is a weapon of the strong. With the weak it might easily be hypocrisy. Fear and love are contradictory terms. Love is reckless in giving away, oblivious as to what it gets in return. Love wrestles with those feelings that thwart it and ultimately gains a mastery over them all. My daily experience, as of those who are working with me, is that every problem would lend itself to solution if we are determined to make the law of truth and non-violence the law of life. For truth and non-violence are, to me, faces of the same coin.

3. Whether mankind will consciously follow the law of love I do not know. But that need not perturb us. The law will work, just as the law of gravi-

tation works, whether we accept it or not. And just as a scientist works wonders out of various applications of the laws of nature, even so can a man who applies the law of love with scientific precision. For the force of non-violence is infinitely more wonderful and subtle than the forces of nature, like, for instance, electricity. The man who discovered for us the law of love, was a far greater scientist than any of our modern scientists. Only our explorations have not gone far enough and so it is not possible for every one to see all its workings. Such, at any rate, is the hallucination, if it is one, under which I am labouring. The more I work at this law, the more I feel the delight in life, the delight in the scheme of this universe. It gives me a peace and a meaning of the mysteries of nature that I have no power to describe.

4. For me the law of Satyagraha, the law of love is an eternal principle. For the past thirty years I have been preaching and practising Satyagraha. The principles of Satyagraha, as I know it today constitute a gradual evolution.

5. Satyagraha differs from Passive Resistance as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak, and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.

6. The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years, and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of Passive Resistance.

7. Its root meaning is holding on to truth. Hence truth-force. I have also called it Love-force, or Soul-force. In the application of Satyagraha I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent; but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to one may appear to be error to another. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self.

8. Carried out to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or violence. Indeed, violence is the negation of this great spiritual force, which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women, and children. It is totally untrue to say

that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realise that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be Satyagrahis. This force is to violence, and therefore to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that Government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed.

9. And therefore the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedies open to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, are to compel him to yield to you either by physical force or by suffering in your own person, by inviting the penalty for the breach of his laws. Hence Satyagraha largely appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

10. The ordinary law breaker, breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to avoid the penalty; not so the civil resister. He ever obeys the laws of the State to which he belongs, not out of fear of the sanctions,

but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But there come occasions, generally rare, when he considers certain laws to be so unjust as to render obedience to them a dishonour. He then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their breach. And in order to register his protest against the action of the law-givers, it is open to him to withdraw his co-operation from the State by disobeying such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude.

11. The exercise of the purest soul-force in its perfect form, brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect Satyagrahi has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. Thus viewed, Satyagraha is the noblest and the best education. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but, if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of Satyagraha in us the better men we will become. Its utility, therefore, is, I think, indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionise social ideals and do away with despotism and the evergrowing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death, and which fairly promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East.

12. Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree of Satyagraha. It is my Kalpadrum—my 'zam-i-zam'—the Universal

Provider. Satyagraha is search for truth ; and God is truth. Ahimsa or non-violence is the light that reveals that truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that truth. Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Kheda or Champaran, and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate truth. Let us all strive to be perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest amongst us. For Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within, it is latent in every one of us. Like Swaraj it is our birth right.

13. Non-cooperation predominantly implies withdrawing of co-operation from the State that in the Non-cooperator's view has become corrupt and excludes Disobedience of the fierce or the criminal type. By its very nature, Non-cooperation is open even to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Civil Disobedience presupposes the habit of willing obedience to laws without fear of their

sanctions. It can therefore be practised only as the last resort and by a select few in the first instance at any rate.

14. Civil Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of a slave state. He has left a masterly treatise on the duty of Civil Disobedience. But Thoreau was not perhaps an out-and-out champion of non-violence. Probably, also, Thoreau limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue laws, that is, payment of taxes. Whereas the term Civil Disobedience covers a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signifies the resister's outlawry in a civil, *i. e.*, non-violent manner. He invokes the sanctions of the law and cheerfully suffers imprisonment.

15. It is also necessary to understand the exact distinction between aggressive Civil Disobedience and defensive. Aggressive, assertive or offensive Civil Disobedience is non-violent, wilful disobedience of laws of the State whose breach does not involve moral turpitude and which is undertaken as a symbol of revolt against the State. Thus, disregard of laws relating to revenue or regulation of personal conduct for the convenience of the State, although such laws themselves inflict no hardships and do not require to be altered, would be assertive, aggressive or offensive Civil Disobedience.

16. Defensive Civil Disobedience on the other hand, is involuntary or reluctant, non-violent, disobedience of such laws as are in themselves bad, and obedience to which would be inconsistent with one's self-respect or human dignity. Thus formation of volunteer corps for peaceful purposes, holding of public meetings for like purposes, publication of articles not contemplating or inciting to violence, inspite of prohibitory orders, is defensive Civil Disobedience. And so is conducting of peaceful picketing undertaken with a view to wean people from things or institutions picketed inspite of orders to the contrary.

17. The Satyagraha movement is not started with the intention of embarrassing a Government while ordinary political agitation is often started with that object. And yet, if a Satyagrahi finds his activities resulting in embarrassing the Government, he will not hesitate to face it. Satyagraha is, as I have conceived it, an extension of the domestic law to the political field and my experience has led me to the conclusion that that movement and that alone can rid India of the possibility of violence spreading throughout the length and the breadth of the land, for the redress of grievances.

NON-COOPERATION

"I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-cooperation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past non-cooperation has been deliberately expressed in violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavouring to show to my countrymen that violent non-cooperation only multiplies evil and that as evil can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-cooperation with evil. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you the Judge, is either to resign your post and thus dissociate yourself from evil, if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent; or to inflict on me the severest penalty, if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country, and that my activity is therefore injurious to the public weal."

Gandhiji's Statement before Court,
March 23, 1922

1. Non-cooperation is bred in the very marrow of every Indian, and if the crores and millions of the masses have responded to the call of non-cooperation as they have never responded to any other call, it is because I gave voice to that call. For non-cooperation is born, is bred in them—it is part of every religion—it is part of Hinduism—it is part of Islam, and it is for that reason, fallen though we are, helpless though we feel ourselves to be, that non-cooperation has awakened us from this long sleep. Non-cooperation has given us faith, has given us courage, has given us hope and strength.

1, Y. I. Feb. 2, 1921.

2. And if our educated leaders have not yet responded to the call of non-cooperation, let me say with all the humility that I can command that they are sceptical, they have not the religious fire of the people, the masses. They are saturated in modern civilization, or as we call it Western civilization. But I want you and myself to distinguish between the two. I want to make it clear that I am no hater of the West. I am thankful to the West for many a thing I have learnt from Western literature. But I confess that I am thankful to modern civilization for teaching me that, if I want India to rise to its fullest height, I must tell my countrymen frankly that, after years and years of experience of modern civilization, I have learnt one lesson from it and that is that we must shun it at all costs. What is that modern civilisation? It is the worship of the material, it is the worship of the brute in us—it is unadulterated materialism, and modern civilization is nothing if it does not think at every step of the triumph of material civilisation.

3. The primary motive of Non-cooperation is self-purification by withdrawing co-operation from an unrighteous and unrepentant Government. The secondary object is to rid ourselves of the feeling of the helplessness by being independant of all Government control or supervision, *i. e.*, to govern ourselves in all possible affairs; and in fulfilling both the objects, to refrain from doing or promoting injury or violence to any individual or property.

4. No country has ever risen without being purified through the force of suffering. The mother suffers so that her child may live. The condition of wheat growing is that the seed grain should perish. Life comes out of Death. Will India rise out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering ?

5. Some people fear non-cooperation because it would involve the sufferings of many. If Hampden had argued thus he would not have withheld payment of ship-money, nor would Wat Tyler have raised the standard of revolt. English and French histories are replete with instances of men continuing their pursuit of the right irrespective of the amount of suffering involved. The actors did not stop to think whether ignorant people would not have involuntarily to suffer. Why should we expect to write our history differently? It is possible for us, if we would, to learn from the mistakes of our predecessors to do better, but it is impossible to do away with the law of suffering which is the one indispensable condition of our being. The way to do better is to avoid, if we can, violence from our side and thus quicken the rate of progress, and to introduce greater purity in the methods of suffering. We can, if we will, refrain in our impatience from bending the wrong-doer to our will by physical force, as Sinn Feiners were doing, or from coercing our neighbours to follow our methods. Progress is to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone

by the sufferer. The purer the suffering, the greater is the progress. Hence did the sacrifice of Jesus suffice to free a sorrowing world. In His onward march He did not count the cost of suffering entailed upon His neighbours whether it was undergone by them voluntarily or otherwise. Thus did the sufferings of a Harischandra suffice to re-establish the kingdom of truth. He must have known that his subjects would suffer involuntarily by his abdication. He did not mind because he could not do otherwise than follow truth.

6. I have already stated that I do not deplore the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh so much as I deplore the murders of Englishmen and destruction of property by ourselves. The frightfulness at Amritsar drew away public attention from the greater though slower frightfulness at Lahore, where an attempt was made to emasculate the inhabitants by slow processes. But before we rise higher we shall have to undergo such processes many more times till they teach us to take up suffering voluntarily, and to find joy in it. I am convinced that the Lahorians never deserved the cruel insults that they were subjected to; they never hurt a single Englishman; they never destroyed any property. But a wilful ruler was determined to crush the spirit of a people just trying to throw off his chafing yoke. And if I am told that all this was due to my preaching Satyagraha, my answer is that I would preach Satyagraha all the more forcibly for that so long as I have breath

left in me, and tell the people that next time they would answer O'Dwyerean insolence not by opening shops by reason of threats of forcible sales, but by allowing the tyrant to do his worst and let him sell their all, but their unconquerable souls. Sages of old mortified the flesh so that the spirit within might be set free, so that their trained bodies might be proof against any injury that might be inflicted on them by tyrants seeking to impose their will on them. And if India wishes to revise her ancient wisdom and to avoid the errors of Europe, if India wishes to see the Kingdom of God established on earth instead of that of Satan which has enveloped Europe, then I would urge her sons and daughters not to be deceived by fine phrases, the terrible subtleties that hedge us in the fears of suffering that India may have to undergo, but to see what is happening in Europe and from it understand that we must go through the suffering even as Europe has gone through, but not the process of making others suffer. Germany wanted to dominate Europe and the Allies wanted to do likewise by crushing Germany. Europe is no better for Germany's fall. The Allies have proved themselves to be just as deceitful, cruel, greedy and selfish as Germany was or would have been. Victorious Germany would have avoided the sanctimonious humbug that one sees associated with the many dealings of the Allies.

7. What then is the meaning of Non-cooperation in terms of the Law of Suffering? We must volun-

tarily put up with the losses and inconveniences that arise from having to withdraw our support from a Government that is ruling against our will. Possession of power and riches is a crime under an unjust government, poverty in that case is a virtue, says Thoreau. It may be that in the transition stage we may make mistakes; there may be avoidable suffering. These things are preferable to national emasculation.

8. We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been roused to a sense of his iniquity. We must not for fear of ourselves or others having to suffer, remain participators in it. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrong-doer directly or indirectly.

9. If a father does an injustice, it is duty of his children to leave the parental roof. If the headmaster of a school conducts his institution on an immoral basis, the pupils must leave the school. If the chairman of a corporation is corrupt, the members thereof must wash their hands clean of his corruption by withdrawing from it; even so if a government does a grave injustice, the subject must withdraw co-operation wholly or partially, sufficiently to wean the ruler from his wickedness. In each case conceived by me there is an element of suffering whether mental or physical. Without such suffering it is not possible to attain freedom.

10. Ours is a non-violent struggle, it presupposes humility. It is a truthful struggle, and the consci-

ousness of truth should give us firmness. We are not out to destroy men. We own no enemy. We have no ill-will against a single soul on earth. We mean to convert by our suffering. I do not despair of converting the hardest-hearted or the most selfish Englishman. Every opportunity of meeting him is therefore welcome to me. Non-violent non-cooperation means renunciation of the benefits of a system with which we non-cooperate. We therefore renounce the benefits of schools, courts, titles, legislatures, and offices set up in the system. The most extensive and permanent part of our non-cooperation consists in the renunciation of foreign cloth which is the foundation for the vicious system that is crushing us to dust. It is possible to think of other items of non-cooperation. But owing to our weakness or want of ability, we have restricted ourselves to these items only. If then I go to any official for the purpose of seeking the benefits above named, I co-operate. Whereas if I go to the meanest official for the purpose of converting him, say to khaddar, or weaning him from service or persuading him to withdraw his children from a government school, I fulfil my duty as a non-cooperator. I should fail if I did not go to him with this definite and direct purpose.

11. I accept the interpretation of Ahimsa, namely, that it is not merely a negative state of harmlessness but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer. But it does not mean helping the evil-

doer, to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence. On the contrary, love, the active state of Ahimsa, requires you to resist the wrong-doer by dissociating yourself from him even though it may offend him or injure him physically. Thus if my son lives a life of shame, I may not help him to do so by continuing to support him ; on the contrary, my love for him requires me to withdraw all support from him although it may mean even his death. And the same love imposes on me the obligation of welcoming him to my bosom when he repents. But I may not by physical force compel my son to become good. That in my opinion is the moral of the story of the Prodigal Son.

12. Non-cooperation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state more active than physical resistance or violence. Non-cooperation in the sense used by me must be non-violent and therefore neither punitive nor vindictive nor based on malice, ill-will or hatred. It follows therefore that it would be sin for me to serve General Dyer and co-operate with him to shoot innocent men. But it will be an exercise of forgiveness or love for me to nurse him back to life, if he was suffering from a physical malady. I would co-operate a thousand times with this Government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment co-operate with it to continue that career. And I would be guilty of wrong-doing if I retained a title from it or a service under it or sup-

ported its law-courts or schools. Better for me a beggar's bowl than the richest possession from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jallianwala.

13. Our non-cooperation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our non-cooperation is with the system the English have established, with the material civilization and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak.

14. Our non-cooperation is a retirement within ourselves. Our non-cooperation is a refusal to co-operate with the English administrators on their own terms. We say to them "Come and co-operate with us on our terms, and it will be well for us, for you and for the world." We must refuse to be lifted off our feet. A drowning man cannot save others. In order to be fit to save others, we must try to save ourselves. Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive nor destructive. It is health-giving, religious and therefore humanitarian. India must learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity. The mice which helplessly find themselves between the cats' teeth acquire no merit from their enforced sacrifice.

15. The movement of non-cooperation, if it be considered a revolution by the Government, is not an armed revolt. It is an evolutionary revolution, it is a bloodless revolution. The movement is a revolution of thought, of spirit. Non-cooperation is a process of purification, and, as such, it constitutes a revolution in one's ideas. Its suppression, therefore, would

amount to securing co-operation by coercion. Orders to kill the movement will be orders to destroy, or interfere with, the introduction of the spinning wheel, to prohibit the campaign of temperance, and an incitement, therefore, to violence. For any attempt to compel people by indirect methods to wear foreign clothes, to patronise drink-shops, would certainly exasperate them. But our success will be assured when we stand even this exasperation and incitement. We must not retort. Inaction on our part will kill Government madness. For violence flourishes on response, either by submission to the will of the violator, or by counter violence. My strong advice to every worker is to segregate this evil Government by strict non-cooperation, not even to talk or speak about it, but having recognised the evil, to cease to pay homage to it by co-operation.

16. There is no doubt that non-cooperation is an education which is developing and crystalizing public opinion. And as soon as it is organised enough for effective action, we have Swaraj. We cannot organise public opinion in a violent atmosphere, Just as those who have been forced by the Moplas to recite the Kalma are no Mussalmans, even so those who call themselves non-cooperators from fashion or compulsion are no non-cooperators. They are a hindrance and no help. Our tyranny, if we impose our will on others, will be infinitely worse than that of the handful of Englishmen who form the bureaucracy.

Theirs is a terrorism imposed by a minority struggling to exist in the midst of opposition. Ours will be a terrorism imposed by a majority, and therefore worse and really more godless than the first. We must therefore, eliminate compulsion in any shape from our struggle. If we are only a handful holding freely the doctrine of non-cooperation, we may have to die in the attempt to convert others to our view, but we shall have truly defended and represented our cause. If however we enlist under our banner men by force, we shall be denying our cause and God and if we seem to succeed for the moment, we shall have succeeded in establishing a worse terror.

17. We shall also retard our cause if we suppress opinion by intolerance. For then we shall never know who is with us and who is against us. The indispensable condition therefore of success is that we encourage the greatest freedom of opinion. It is the least we can learn from the present 'masters.' Their Penal Code contains drastic punishments for holding opinions they do not like. And they have arrested some of the noblest of our countrymen for expression of their opinions. Our non-cooperation is a defiantly open protest against that system. We may not in the very act of fighting the restraint on opinion be guilty ourselves of imposing it on others.

18. Non-violence is the most vital and integral part of non-cooperation. We may fail in everything else and still continue our battle if we remained non-

violent. But we capitulate miserably, if we fail in adhering to non-violence. Let it be remembered that violence is the keystone of the Government edifice. Since violence is its shree anchor and its final refuge, it has rendered itself almost immune from violence on our side by having prepared itself to frustrate all violent effort by the people. We therefore co-operate with the Government in the most active manner when we resort to violence. Any violence on our part must be a token of our stupidity, ignorance and impotent rage. To exercise restraint under the gravest provocation is the truest mark of soldiership. The variest tyro in the art of war knows, that he must avoid the ambushes of his adversary. And every provocation is a dangerous ambush into which we must resolutely refuse to walk.

19. Let us be hard on ourselves. If we wish to walk along the straight and narrow path (which is necessarily the shortest) we must not be self-indulgent. We may not throw the blame for any mishap on the badmashes. We must be responsible even for their acts. Or we declare ourselves unfit for Swaraj. We must gain control over them. Even they must realise the necessity of not interfering with the national and the religious work we are engaged in. In a movement of purification, the whole country is lifted up not excluding the wicked and the fallen. Let there be no mistake, that is our deliberate claim. If it is merely a lip-claim, we shall prove ourselves guilty of

having set up a system more satanic than the one we condemn as such.

20. Therefore whilst we are following the course of non-violent non-cooperation, we are bound in honour to live up to it in thought, word and deed. Let us make the frank confession, if we are too weak or too incredulous to live upto our creed.

21. It is said that the declared object of non-cooperationists is paralysis of the Government and that "in their effort to achieve the object there is no source of discontent which they have not used." Now both these statements are half-truths. The primary object of Non-cooperation is nowhere stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary object is self-purification. Its direct result must be paralysis of a Government which lives on our vices and weaknesses. Similarly it is a dangerous half-truth to say that we have left no source of discontent unused. We could not help using sources of legitimate discontent. But Non-cooperationists have rigidly refrained from using any and every discontent, if only because we would weaken our cause if we did. It is said: Wherever they find discord between employer and employee, there some agent or emissary of Non-cooperation party proceeds at once to foster discontent and promote ill-feeling. This is not only untrue, but it is an incitement to the two to oppose Non-cooperation. The avowed policy of Non-cooperation has been not to make political use of disputes.

between labour and capital. They have endeavoured to hold the balance evenly between the two,—we would be fools if we wantonly set labour against capital. It would be just the way to play into the hands of a Government which would greatly strengthen its hold on the country by setting capitalists against labourers and vice versa. The Non-cooperator will not hesitate to advance the cause of the strikers where they have a just grievance. They have ever refused to lend their assistance to unjust strikes. “Where there is a racial ill-feeling these emissaries hurry on their evil errand” is the charge levelled against them. This is a false charge. There is a racial feeling between Englishmen and Indians. There is the memory of Jallianwala—an ever-green. But “these emissaries” have been veritable messengers of peace. They have everywhere restrained the fury of the unthinking. And I make bold to say that but for the existence of the spirit of non-violence, there would have been more innocent blood spilt in spite of the threat of Dyerism and O’Dwyerism. Our fault has lain in refusing to lick the boot that has kicked, in withdrawing co-operation until there was frank repentance. Non-cooperators are to be blessed for turning the fury of an outraged people from Englishmen to the system they are called upon to administer.

22. I do not deny that labour-strikes can serve political ends. But they do not fall within the plan of nonviolent non-cooperation. It does not require

much effort of the intellect to perceive that it is a most dangerous thing to make political use of labour until labourers understand the political condition of the country and are prepared to work for the common good. This is hardly to be expected of them all of a sudden, and until they have bettered their own condition so as to enable them to keep body and soul together in a decent manner. The greatest political contribution, therefore, that labourers can make is to improve their own condition, to become better informed, to insist on their rights and even to demand proper use by their employers of the manufactures in which they have had such an important hand. The proper evolution, therefore, would be for the labourers to raise themselves to the status of part proprietors. Strikes, therefore, for the present, should only take place for the direct betterment of the labourers' lot, and, when they have acquired the spirit of patriotism, for the regulation of prices of their manufactures.

23. Non-cooperation has brought to the surface all our weaknesses as also excesses of even our strong points. Social boycott is an age-old institution. It is co-eval with caste. It is the one terrible sanction exercised with great effect. It is based upon the notion that a community is not bound to extend its hospitality or service to an ex-communicant. It answered when every village was a self-contained unit, and the occasions of recalcitrancy were rare. But when opinion is divided, as it is to-day, on the merits of non-coope-

ration, when its new application is having a trial, a summary use of social boycott in order to bend a minority to the will of the majority is a species of unpardonable violence. If persisted in, such boycott is bound to destroy the movement. Social boycott is applicable and effective when it is not felt as a punishment and accepted by the object of boycott as a measure of discipline. Moreover, social boycott to be admissible in a campaign of non-violence must never savour of inhumanity. It must be civilised. It must cause pain to the party using it, if it causes inconvenience to its object. Thus, depriving a man of the services of a medical man, is an act of inhumanity tantamount in the moral code to an attempt to murder. I see no difference in murdering a man and withdrawing medical aid from a man who is on the point of dying. Even the laws of war, I apprehend, require the giving of medical relief to the enemy in need of it. To deprive a man of the use of an only village-well is notice to him to quit that village. Surely, non-cooperators have acquired no right to use that extreme pressure against those who do not see eye to eye with them. Impatience and intolerance will surely kill this great movement. We may not make people pure by compulsion. Much less may we compel them by violence to respect our opinion. It is utterly against the spirit of democracy we want to cultivate.

24. There are no doubt serious difficulties in our way. The temptation to resort to social boycott is

irresistible when a defendant, who submits to private arbitration, refuses to abide by its award. Yet it is easy to see that the application of social boycott is more than likely to arrest the splendid movement to settle disputes by arbitration which, apart from its use as a weapon in the armoury of non-cooperation, is a movement fraught with great good to the country. People would take time before they accommodate themselves to private arbitration. Its very simplicity and inexpensiveness will repel many people, even as palates jaded by spicy foods are repelled by simple combinations. All awards will not always be above suspicion. We must therefore rely upon the intrinsic merits of the movement, and the correctness of awards to make itself felt.

25. It is much to be desired, if we can bring about a complete voluntary boycott of law courts. But it was never expected that we would reach completion in any single item of non-cooperation. Public opinion has been so far developed as to recognise the Courts as signs not of our liberty, but of our slavery.

26. I hope therefore, that non-cooperators will beware of the snares of social boycott. But the alternative to social boycott is certainly not social intercourse. A man who defies strong, clear public opinion on vital matters is not entitled to social amenities and privileges. We may not take part in his social functions such as marriage feasts, we may not receive gifts from him. But we dare not deny social service. The latter is a duty. Atten-

dance at dinner parties and the like is a privilege which it is optional to withhold or extend. But it would be wisdom to err on the right side and to exercise the weapon even in the limited sense described by me on rare and well-defined occasions. And in every case the user of the weapon will use it at his own risk.

27. The programme of Non-cooperation does not require a man to hold it as a creed. Any person believing in non-violence and accepting the Non-cooperation programme can certainly become a non-cooperator. The nation has not embarked on complete Non-cooperation not for want of faith or will, but for want of ability. It has therefore, not called upon Government servants as yet to give up their posts. But any such servant is free to throw up his office whenever he likes. But there cannot be such a call until all reasonable precautions are taken against an outbreak of violence. Not until the nation is in a position to find occupation for such men, can the call therefor be made. Thus, here, there is no question of expediency as it is generally understood. But purest religion is highest expediency. Many things are lawful, but they are not all expedient. The law, the Ideal of Non-cooperation is before the country.

28. Non-cooperation is a measure of discipline and sacrifice, and it demands patience and respect for opposite views. And unless we are able to evolve a

spirit of mutual toleration for diametrically opposite views, non-cooperation is an impossibility. I have learnt through bitter experience the one supreme lesson to conserve my anger, and as heat conserved is transmuted into energy, even so our anger controlled can be transmuted into a power which can move the world. To those who have been attending the Congress, as brothers in arms I ask what can be better discipline than that, which we should exercise between ourselves.

29. It ever has been my purpose to show that dishonourable means cannot achieve an honourable end. I confess that the motive of all non-cooperators is not love but a meaningless hatred. I call it meaningless, for the hatred of so many of the non-cooperators has no meaning in the plan of non-cooperation. A man does not sacrifice himself out of hatred. He helplessly tries to inflict an injury on his supposed enemy. In non-cooperation the result to be achieved is not infliction of punishment but the attainment of justice. The end of hatred is never justice; it is retaliation: it is blind fury. The hatred of the mob at Amritsar resulted in the cruel murder of innocent men. But the hatred of a non-cooperator turning upon himself loses its point, purifies him and makes it possible for the object of his hatred to reform and retrace his steps. Thus a non-cooperator starting as an enemy ends by becoming a friend. What does it matter with what motive a man does the right thing?

A right act is right whether done for policy, or for its own sake. I recognise the danger of a thing done from policy being abandoned, if it does not produce the desired result. But the existence of such danger is not an argument against the morality of the act itself.

30. We must not expect non-cooperators to be perfect beings. If we were perfect there would be no occasion for non-cooperation. For there would have been no cooperation with evil. Non-cooperation is an attempt to purify or perfect oneself. And the majority follow the path of purification from faith, not from knowledge. In other words selfish non-cooperationists following a selfless leader will have done well in the end, for they will realise the virtue of non-cooperation as a doctrine of selflessness.

31. The difficulty of Englishmen lies really in believing that their rule is wholly an evil for India, *i.e.*, it has made India worse for the English rule in everything that counts. India is poorer in wealth, in manliness, in godliness and in her sons' power to defend themselves. It is sinful to coquet with evil. There is no meeting ground between good and evil—God and Satan. Let Englishmen pause and consider what is happening before their eyes. Let them turn the searchlight inward. Can they ask me to co-operate with a government that has betrayed the Mussalmans of India and stabbed humanity in the Punjab? Let

them not call the massacre of Jallianwala an error of judgment. Let them not believe the Prime Minister if and when he says that he has not committed a breach of solemn promise given to the Mussalmans of India. The cause is just: the means are equally just. The motive is mixed. The struggle is being prolonged, only because the motive is not as unmixed as the means and the end.

“NON-VIOLENCE”

“WHAT RELATION HAVE THE POLITICS OF TIME TO THE POLITICS
OF ETERNITY.”

Interpreters—A. E.

1. In the method we are adopting, fraud, lying, deceit and all the ugly brood of violence and untruth have absolutely no room. Everything is done openly and above board, for truth hates secrecy. The more open you are, the more truthful you are likely to be. There is no such thing as defeat or despair in the dictionary of a man who bases his life on truth and non-violence. And yet the method of non-violence is not in any shape or form a passive or inactive method. It is essentially an active movement, much more active than the one involving the use of sanguinary weapons. Truth and non-violence are perhaps the activist forces you have in the world. A man who wields sanguinary weapons and is intent upon destroying those whom he considers his enemies, does at least require

some rest and has to lay down his arms for a while in every twenty-four hours. He is, therefore, essentially inactive for a certain part of the day. Not so the votary of truth and non-violence, for the simple reason that they are not external weapons. They reside in the human breast and they are actively working their way whether you are awake or whether you are asleep; whether you are walking leisurely or playing an active game. The panoplied warrior of truth and non-violence is ever and incessantly active.

2. When a person claims to be non-violent, he is expected not to be angry with one who has injured him. He will not wish him harm; he will wish him well; he will not swear at him; he will not cause him any physical hurt. He will put up with all the injury to which he is subjected by the wrong-doer. Thus non-violence is complete innocence. Complete non-violence is complete absence of ill-will against all that lives. It therefore embraces even sub-human life not excluding noxious insects or beasts. They have not been created to feed our destructive propensities. If we only knew the mind of the Creator, we should find their proper place in His Creation. Non-violence is, therefore, in its active form good-will towards all life. It is pure love. I read it in the Hindu scriptures, in the Bible, and in the Quran.

3. Man does not become divine when he personifies innocence in himself. Only then does he become truly man. In our present state we are partly man

and partly beast, and in our ignorance, and even arrogance, say that we truly fulfil the purpose of our species, when we deliver blow for blow and develop the measure of anger required for the purpose. We pretend to believe that retaliation is the law of our being, whereas in every scripture we find that retaliation is nowhere obligatory, but only permissible. It is restraint that is obligatory. Retaliation is indulgence requiring elaborate regulating. Restraint is the law of our being. For highest perfection is unattainable without highest restraint. Suffering is thus the badge of the human tribe.

4. The goal ever recedes from us. The greater the progress, the greater the recognition of our unworthiness. Satisfaction lies in the effort, not in the attainment. Full effort is full victory.

5. I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.

6. I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its off-shoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The

Rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

7. Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

8. And so I am not pleading for India to practise non-violence because it is weak. I want her to practise non-violence being conscious of her strength and power. No training in arms is required for realisation of her strength. We seem to need it, because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognise that she has a soul that cannot perish and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of a whole world. What is the meaning of Rama, a mere human being, with his host of monkeys, pitting himself against the insolent strength of ten-headed Ravana surrounded in supposed safety by the raging waters

on all sides of Lanka? Does it not mean the conquest of physical might by spiritual strength? However, being a practical man, I do not wait till India recognises the practicability of the spiritual life in the political world. India considers herself to be powerless and paralysed before the machine-guns, the tanks and the aeroplanes of the English. And she takes up non-cooperation out of her weakness. It must still serve the same purpose, namely, bring her delivery from the crushing weight of British injustice, if a sufficient number of people practise it.

9. I have never presented to India the extreme form of non-violence, if only because I do not regard myself fit enough to redeliver that ancient message. Though my intellect has fully understood and grasped it, it has not as yet become part of my whole being. My strength lies in my asking people to do nothing that I have not tried repeatedly in my own life. I am then asking my countrymen to-day to adopt non-violence as their final creed, only for the purpose of regulating the relations between the different races, and for the purpose of attaining Swaraj. Hindus and Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis must not settle their differences by resorting to violence, and the means for the attainment of Swaraj must be non-violent. Hindus and Mussalmans prate about no compulsion in religion. What is it but compulsion, if Hindus will kill a Mussalman for slaying a cow? It is like wanting to convert a Mussalman to

Hinduism by force. And similarly what is it but compulsion, if Mussalmans seek to prevent by force Hindus from playing music before mosques? Virtue lies in being absorbed in one's prayers in the presence of din and noise. We shall both be voted irreligious savages by posterity if we continue to make futile attempts to compel one another to respect our religious wishes. Again, a nation of three hundred million people should be ashamed to have to resort to force to bring to book one hundred thousand Englishmen. To convert them, or, if you will, even to drive them out of the country, we need no force of arms, but force of will. If we have not the latter, we shall never get the former. If we develop the force of will, we shall find that we do not need the force of arms.

10. Acceptance of non-violence, therefore, for the purpose mentioned by me, is the most natural and the most necessary condition of our national existence. It will teach us to husband our corporate physical strength for a better purpose, instead of dissipating it, as now, in a useless fratricidal strife, in which each party is exhausted after the effort. And every armed rebellion must be an insane act unless it is backed by the nation. But almost any item of non-cooperation fully backed by the nation can achieve the aim without shedding a single drop of blood.

11. I do not say 'eschew violence in dealing with robbers or thieves or with nations that may invade

India.' But in order that we are better able to do so, we must learn to restrain ourselves. It is a sign not of strength but of weakness to take up the pistol at the slightest pretext. Mutual fisticuffs are a training not in violence but in emasculation. My method of non-violence can never lead to loss of strength, but it alone will make it possible, if the nation wills it, to offer disciplined and concerted violence in time of danger.

12. It is better if we can manfully stand persecution and allow ourselves to be robbed, instead of hitting in defence of our persons or property. That would indeed be our crowning triumph. But such forbearance can only be exercised out of strength and not out of weakness. Till that power is acquired, we should be prepared to resist the wrong-doer by force. Even when a policeman comes not to arrest but to molest, he travels beyond his authority. The citizen has then the inalienable right of treating him as a robber and dealing with him as such. He will therefore use sufficient force to prevent him from robbing. He will most decidedly use force in order to defend the honour of his woman-hood. But the villagers of Champaran flee from the police. They would strike and even kill a policeman, if they had no fear of the law. They gain no merit of non-violence but on the contrary incur the reproach of cowardice and unmanliness; they stand condemned before Government and man.

13. The people will put themselves in the wrong, if they resist the police in the lawful execution of their office, even though the execution may prove or appear to them unlawful. The police must not be resisted if they arrest without a warrant. The people must not take the law into their own hands but scrupulously obey it. The safeguard against any serious blunder lies in the fact that on no account are they to seek the protection of the law. If, therefore, they are in the wrong, they will invariably suffer punishment. And when they are in the right, they will most probably not suffer punishment and they will always have the satisfaction of having saved, or attempted to save, the property, or what is infinitely better, the honour of their women. It was cowardly on the part of the villagers to have fled at the approach of the police, it would have been right for them to have defended their women and their goods. If they had not fled, they, being so numerous, would easily have saved their property and protected their women merely by standing their ground. In no case would the villagers have been justified in doing more bodily injury than was needed on the occasion. It is invariably a sign of cowardice and madness to use excessive force. A brave man does not kill a thief but arrests him and hands him over to the police. A braver man uses just enough force to drive him out and thinks no more about it. The bravest realises that the thief knows no better, reasons with him, risks being thrashed and even killed, but does

not retaliate. We must at any cost cease to be cowardly and unmanly.

14. The whole of India was made to crawl on her belly inasmuch as a single Punjabi was made to crawl in that dirty lane in Amritsar; the whole womanhood of India was unveiled inasmuch as the innocent women of Manianwala were unveiled by an insolent officer; and Indian childhood was dishonoured in that school-children of tender age were made to walk four times a day to stated places within the Martial Law area in the Punjab and to salute the Union Jack, through the effect of which order two children, seven years old, died of sun-stroke having been made to wait in the noon-day sun.

15. Non-violence cannot be taught to a person who fears to die and has power of resistance. Before he can understand Non-violence he has to be taught to stand his ground, and even suffer death in the attempt to defend himself against the aggressor who bids fare to overwhelm him. To do otherwise would be to confirm his cowardice and take him further away from Non-violence. While I may not actually help anyone to retaliate, I must not let a coward seek shelter behind Non-violence so-called. Not knowing the stuff of which Non-violence is made many have honestly believed that running away from danger every time was a virtue compared to offering resistance especially when it is fraught with danger to one's life. As a teacher of Non-violence I must, so far as it is

possible for me, guard against such an unmanly belief. Man lives freely only by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause committed and inflicted on another, is a crime against humanity, but I see quite clearly that this truth about Non-violence cannot be delivered to the helpless. They must be taught to defend themselves.

16. The sceptic then argues: "You cannot teach Non-violence to the weak; and you dare not take it to the powerful. Why not admit that it is a futile creed?" The answer is, Non-violence can be effectively taught only by living it. When there is an unmistakable demonstration of its power and efficacy the weak will shed their weakness and the mighty will quickly realize the valuelessness of might, and becoming meek acknowledge the sovereignty of Non-violence. Self-defence is the only honourable course where there is unreadiness for self-immolation.

17. Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence. Thus when my eldest son asked me what he should have done, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1908, whether he should have run away and seen me killed, or whether he should have used physical force which he could and wanted to use, and defended me. I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was

that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu Rebellion and the late War. Hence also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the methods of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

18. But I believe that Non-violence is infinitely superior to violence. Forgiveness is more manly than punishment क्षमा वीरस्य भूषणम् । Forgiveness adorns a soldier. Abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it proceeds from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it is torn to pieces by her. I therefore understand the sentiment of those who cry out for a condign punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would tear him to pieces if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I want to use India's and my strength for a better purpose.

19. Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. An average Zulu is any day more than a match for an average Englishman in bodily capacity. But he flees from an English boy, because he fears the boy's revolver or those who will use it for him. He fears death and is nerveless in spite of his burly figure. We in India may in a moment realize that one hundred thousand Englishmen need not

frighten three hundred million human beings. A definite forgiveness would therefore mean a definite recognition of our strength. With enlightened forgiveness must come a mighty wave of strength in us, which would make it impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to heap affront upon India's devoted head. It matters little to me that for the moment I do not drive my point home. We feel too down-trodden not to be angry and revengeful. But I must not refrain from saying that India can gain more by waiving the right of punishment. We have better work to do, a better mission to deliver to the world.

20. If those that believe that we are becoming supine and inert because of the training in non-violence, will but reflect a little, they will discover that we have never been non-violent in the only sense in which the word may be understood. Whilst we have refrained from causing actual physical hurt, we have harboured violence in our breast. If we had honestly regulated our thought and speech in the strictest harmony with our outward act, we would never have experienced the fatigue we are doing. Had we been true to ourselves, we would have by this time evolved matchless strength of purpose and will.

21. The only virtue I want to claim is truth and non-violence. I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wear and am therefore as liable to err as any. My services have many

limitations, but God has up to now blessed them in spite of my imperfections.

22. For, confession of errors is like a broom that sweeps away dirt, and leaves the surface cleaner than before. I feel stronger for my confessions. The cause must prosper for the retracing. Never has man reached his destination by persistence in deviation from the straight path.

23. When I (suspended Civil Disobedience in 1922, it was urged that Chauri Chaura could not affect Bardoli, There was danger, it was argued, only if Bardoli was weak enough to be swayed by Chauri Chaura and was betrayed into violence. I have no doubt whatsoever on that account. The people of Bardoli are, in my opinion, the most peaceful in India. But its effort cannot succeed unless there is perfect co-operation from the other parts. Bardoli's disobedience would be civil only when the other parts of India remained non-violent. Just as the addition of a grain of arsenic to a pot of milk renders it unfit as food, so, would the civility of Bardoli prove unacceptable by the addition of the deadly poison from Chauri Chaura. The latter represented India as much as Bardoli.

24. Chauri Chaura was after all an aggravated symptom. I had never imagined that there had been no violence, mental or physical, in the places where repression was going on. Only I had believed, I still believe, that the repression was out of proportion to

the then insignificant popular violence in the areas of repression. The determined holding of meetings in prohibited areas I did not call violence. The violence referred to was the throwing of brick-bats or intimidation and coercion practised in stray cases. As a matter of fact in Civil Disobedience there should be no excitement. Civil Disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering. Its effect is marvellous and gentle though unperceived. I regarded certain amount of excitement as inevitable, certain amount of unintended violence even pardonable, *i. e.*, I did not consider Civil Disobedience impossible in somewhat imperfect conditions. Under perfect conditions disobedience when civil is hardly felt. But the movement was admittedly a dangerous experiment under fairly adverse conditions.

25. The tragedy of Chauri Chaura was really the index finger. It showed the way India might easily go, if the drastic precautions were not taken. If we were not to evolve violence out of non-violence, it was quite clear that we should have hastily retraced our steps and re-established the atmosphere of peace, re-arranged our programme and not thought of starting mass Civil Disobedience, until we were sure of peace being retained inspite of mass Civil Disobedience being started, and inspite of Government provocation. We should be sure of unauthorised portions not starting mass Civil Disobedience.

26. Suspension of Civil Disobedience and subsidence of excitement were necessary for further progress, indeed indispensable to prevent further retrogression. The opponent might glory in our humiliation or so-called defeat, but it was better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and sin against God. It is million times better to *appear* untrue before the world than to *be* untrue to ourselves.

27. The spirit of Non-violence necessarily leads to humility. Non-violence means reliance on God, the Rock of Ages. If we would seek His aid, we must approach Him with a humble and a contrite heart.

28. Our movement is not a movement of brag, bluster or bluff. It is a test of our sincerity. It requires solid and silent self-sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our capacity for national work. It is a movement that aims at translating ideas into action. And the more we do, the more we find that much more must be done than we had expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble.

29. A non-cooperationist strives to compel attention and to set an example not by his violence but by his unobtrusive humility. He allows his solid action to speak for his creed. His strength lies in his reliance upon the correctness of his position. And

the conviction of it grows most in his opponent when he least interposes his speech between his action and his opponent. Speech, especially when it is haughty, betrays want of confidence and it makes one's opponent sceptical about the reality of the act itself. Humility, therefore, is the key to quick success. I hope that every non-cooperationist will recognise the necessity of being humble and self-restrained.

30. Swaraj by non-violent means can never mean an interval of chaos and anarchy. Swaraj by non-violence must be a progressively peaceful revolution such that the transference of power from a close corporation to the peoples' representatives will be as natural as the dropping of a fully ripe fruit from a well-nursed tree. I say again that such a thing may be quite impossible of attainment. But I know that nothing less is the implication of non-violence. If we approach our programme with the mental reservation that after all we shall wrest the power from the British by force of arms, then we are untrue to our profession of non-violence. If we believe in our programme we are bound to believe that the British people are not unamenable to the force of affection as they are undoubtedly amenable to the force of arms.

31. I invite even the school of violence to give this peaceful non-cooperation a trial. It will not fail through its inherent weakness. It may fail because of poverty of response. Then will be the time for real danger. The high-souled men, who are unable to

suffer national humiliation any longer, will want to vent their wrath. They will take to violence. So far as I know, they must perish without delivering themselves or their country from the wrong. If India takes up the doctrine of the sword she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart. I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly. India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism.

32. There is no defence for my conduct in participating in the Boer War and the Great European War, weighed only in the scale of Ahimsa. I draw no distinction between those who wield the weapons of destruction and those who do Red Cross work. Both participate in war and advance its cause. Both are guilty of the crime of war. But even after introspection during all these years, I feel that in the circumstances in which I found myself, I was bound to adopt the course I did both during the Boer War and the Great European War, and for that matter the so-called Zulu "Rebellion" of Natal in 1906.

33. Life is governed by a multitude of forces. It would be smooth-sailing, if one could determine the course of one's actions only by one general principle whose application at a given moment was too obvious to need even a moment's reflection. But I cannot recall a single act which could be so easily determined.

34. Being a confirmed war resister I have never given myself training in the use of destructive weapons inspite of opportunities to take such training. It was perhaps thus that I escaped direct destruction of human life. But so long as I lived under a system of Government based on force and voluntarily partook of the many facilities and privileges it created for me, I was bound to help that Government to the extent of my ability when it was engaged in a war, unless I non-co-operated with that Government and renounced to the utmost of my capacity the privileges it offered me.

35. Let me take an illustration. I am a member of an institution which holds a few acres of land whose crops are in imminent peril from monkeys. I believe in the sacredness of all life and hence I regard it as a breach of Ahimsa to inflict any injury on monkeys. But I do not hesitate to instigate and direct an attack on the monkeys in order to save the crops. I would like to avoid this evil. I can avoid it by leaving or breaking up the institution. I do not do so because I do not expect to be able to find a society where there will be no agriculture and therefore no

destruction of some life. In fear and trembling, in humility and penance, I therefore participate in the injury inflicted on monkeys, hoping some day to find a way out.

36. Even so did I participate in the three acts of war. I could not, it would be madness for me, to sever my connection with the society to which I belong. And on those three occasions, I had no thought of non-cooperating with the British Government. My position regarding that Government is totally different today, and hence I should not voluntarily participate in its wars, and I should risk imprisonment and even gallows if I was forced to take up arms or otherwise take part in its military operations.

37. But that still does not solve the riddle. If there was a national Government, whilst I should not take any direct part in any war, I can conceive occasions when it would be my duty to vote for the military training of those who wish to take it. For I know that all its members do not believe in non-violence to the extent I do. It is not possible to make a person or a society non-violent by compulsion.

38. Non-violence works in a most mysterious manner. Often a man's actions defy analysis in terms of non-violence; equally often his actions may wear the appearance of violence when he is absolutely non-violent in the highest sense of the term and is subsequently found to be so. All I can then claim for my conduct is that it was, in the instance cited, actuated in the interests of non-violence. There was

no thought of sordid national or other interest. I do not believe in the promotion of national or any other interest at the sacrifice of some other interest.

39. I may not carry my argument any further. Language at best is but a poor vehicle for expressing one's thoughts in full. For me non-violence is not a mere philosophical principle. It is the rule and the breath of my life. I know I fail often, sometimes consciously, more often unconsciously. It is a matter not of the intellect, but of the heart. True guidance comes by constant waiting upon God, by utmost humility, self-abnegation, by being ever ready to sacrifice one's self. Its practice requires fearlessness and courage of the highest order. I am painfully aware of my failings. But the Light within me is steady and clear. There is no escape for any of us save through truth and non-violence. I know that war is wrong, is an unmitigated evil. I know too that it has got to go. I firmly believe that freedom won through bloodshed or fraud is no freedom. Would that all the acts alleged against me were found to be wholly indefensible rather than that by any act of mine non-violence was held to be compromised, or that I was ever thought to be in favour of violence or untruth in any shape or form. Not violence, not untruth, but non-violence, truth is the law of our being.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

"WHO LIVES IF INDIA DIES ?

WHO DIES IF INDIA LIVES" ? *

1. For the Congress, Dominion Status meant complete independence plus voluntary partnership with Britain as it might be with any other nation for mutual good. Lastly it has been of late loudly whispered that independence was illegal, and a resolution replacing Dominion Status by independence would mean the death of the Congress. This threat made it a sacred obligation for the Congress to incorporate complete independence in the Congress creed. The Congress would not be worthy to represent the nation, if for fear of consequences, it hesitated to enunciate the nation's birthright. If Swaraj was a doubtful word, it becomes unequivocal by becoming Poorna Swaraj.

2. But the Congress rejected by an overwhelming majority any change in the description of the means. They will remain 'Peaceful and legitimate'. There were members in the Subjects Committee who suggested that independence would not be vindicated by non-violent and truthful means. Violence there undoubtedly was in the air. But I feel that those who flock to the Congress session year by year have a living faith in non-violence as the only possible means for India at least to regain her lost freedom. Non-violence and truth are the vital need for India

* From an article by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from *F. I.* April 8, 1930.
1, 2 *F. I.* Jan. 9, 1930.

if the stupor of the millions is to be removed, if the warring communities are to be welded into one. A foreign power must be a necessary factor for any community that will coerce any other or the others into submission to its will. But the Congress must perforce remain non-violent if it will represent, as it claims to represent, all communities. Whether therefore it takes a year or ages to reach political independence, non-violence and truth are in my opinion the shortest way to it. Complete independence of the Congress is no menace to a single legitimate foreign interest or the presence of a single Englishman who will live as a friend willing to submit to the rules applicable to the whole of Independent India.

NOTE:—In conformity with the views of Gandhiji, as stated above, the Working Committee passed the now famous Independence Resolution which was whole-heartedly endorsed by the Congress in the open Session of 31st December, 1929 at Lahore. The resolution is given below:—
Editor,

“ We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it, or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom, but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually

We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain Swaraj, or Complete Independence.

“India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay, 20 per cent, are raised from the land revenue derived from peasantry and 3 per cent from salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

“Village industries, such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

“Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. The British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufacture, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses, but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of the exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

“Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority.

The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us, and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed, and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

“Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

“Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly, and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves, or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attack of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

“We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused the fourfold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves, by withdrawing so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We

therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Poorna Swaraj.”*

3. British rule in India is nurtured by immoral means. British statesmen assure us that it is the British bayonet that keeps the empire free from attack both from without and within. It is supported by revenue derived from immoral sources. I have sufficiently demonstrated the hideous immorality in the inhumanity of the salt tax. The immorality of the drink and drug revenue is self-demonstrative.

4. The immorality of the land revenue is not demonstrative. But those who have followed the Bardoli agitation, who have studied the so-called revenue laws and their administration cannot fail to perceive the immorality of the system. I call the revenue laws so-called because they give arbitrary powers to revenue officers whose decisions are not subject to judicial control. The land revenue like the salt tax, presses most heavily upon the poor ryot whether under the ryotwari system or the permanent system. How it oppresses the peasant under the ryotwari system, we saw in Bardoli, also in Matar and Mehmedabad. The permanent settlement crushed the ryots more than those affected by the ryotwari system. That the ryot himself is partly to blame for his woes, I have no hesitation in admitting. But

* Resolution read throughout India on Independence Day, January 26, 1932.

3, 4, J. J. April 10, 1930.

that fact is irrelevant to the present consideration. There is no inherent or independent right belonging to the State to tax the land, whether it be considered to be the State property or the individual's. The State has no more right to exact its toll from land under any circumstances than the owner of an ox has a right to exact work from it irrespective of its capacity. That there is a kind of classification of land and some regulations about remissions etc., is no answer to the charge here made. The claim here made is that in the vast majority of cases, the ryot is wholly unable to pay any tax. In shaping its taxation policy a wise State will always take note of the citizen's customs and even his weakness. This Government had not time for such consideration. It had its fixed minimum to exact anyhow: and so in the words of the late Lord Salisbury the lancet had to be applied where there was yet any blood to be drawn. So much about some of the visible sources of revenue. The invisible sources are equally tainted if not much more so. The unconscionable forced inflation of the rupee had, by a stroke of the pen, drained India of millions. The favoured treatment of the British cloth in a variety of unseen ways drains India of sixty crores of rupees annually, leaving behind partial unemployment of the starving millions. Thus the Government trades upon our vices and exacts payments by questionable methods principally from those who are least able to make it. There is therefore no way open to the people save to end a system whose very foundations are

immoral. Let us therefore pray and work for the destruction of this demonstrably immoral system and for ending it take the boldest risks consistently with the national creed or policy of non-violence.

5. There is undoubtedly a party of violence in the country. It is growing in strength. It is as patriotic as the best amongst us. What is more, it has much sacrifice to its credit. In daring, it is not to be surpassed by any of us. It is easy enough to fling unkind adjectives at its members, but it will not carry conviction with them. I am not referring to the frothy eloquence that passes muster for patriotism. I have in mind that secret, silent persevering band of young men and even women who want to see their country free at any cost. But whilst I admire and adore their patriotism, I have no faith whatsoever in their method. They and I are poles asunder. India's salvation does not lie through violence. I am convinced that their methods have cost the country much more than they know or will care to admit. But they will listen to no argument however reasonable it may be unless they are convinced that there is a programme before the country which requires at least as much sacrifice as the tallest amongst them is prepared to make. They will not be allured by our speeches, resolutions or even conferences. Action alone has any appeal for them. This appeal can only come from non-violent action which is no other than civil resistance, In my opinion, it and it alone, can

save the country from impending lawlessness and secret crime. That even civil resistance may fail, and may also hasten lawlessness is no doubt a possibility. But if it fails in its purpose, it will not be civil resistance that will have failed. It will fail, if it does, for want of faith and consequent incapacity in the resisters. This argument may not appeal to the critic. I shall be sorry if it does not. Even so, he will perhaps admit the purity of my motive.

6. We must cease to dread violence if we will have the country to be free. Can we not see that we are tightly pressed in the coil of violence? The peace we seem to prize is a mere makeshift, and it is bought with the blood of starving millions. If the critic could only realize the torture of the slow and lingering death brought about by forced starvation, they would risk anarchy and worse in order to end that agony. The agony will not end till the existing rule of spoliation has ended. I would have waited if I could have been convinced that the condition of the masses had undergone progressive amelioration under British rule. Alas, he who runs may see that it has progressively deteriorated under that rule. It is a sin, with that knowledge, to sit supine and for fear of imaginary anarchy or worse to stop action that may prevent anarchy, and is bound if successful to end the heartless spoliation of a people who have deserved a better fate.

7. I am convinced that violence cannot bring the desired relief to the millions. And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organised violence of the British Government. Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organised violent force of the British rule as the unorganised violent force of the growing party of violence.

8. I know that in embarking on non-violence I shall be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk. But the victories of truth have never been won without risks, often of the gravest character. Conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously preyed upon another, far more numerous, far more ancient, and no less cultured than itself is worth any amount of risk.

* * * *

"In the opinion of the Working Committee, civil disobedience should be initiated and controlled by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Poorna Swaraj as an article of faith and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women, but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorizes him, and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated, to start civil disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide. The Working Committee trusts that

when the campaign is actually in action all Congressmen and others will extend to the civil resisters their full co-operation in every way possible and that they will observe and preserve complete non-violence notwithstanding any provocation that may be offered. The Working Committee further hopes that in the event of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary co-operation to the Government, such as lawyers, and those who are receiving so-called benefits from it such as students, will withdraw their co-operation or renounce benefits as the case may be, and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom. The Working Committee trusts, that in the event of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those, who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them, will carry on the Congress organisation, and guide the movement to the best of their ability."*

9. This resolution of the Working Committee gave me my charter of freedom if it also bound me in the tightest chains. It was the formula of which I had been in search for long and weary months. For me the resolution was not so much a political as a religious effort. My difficulty was fundamental. I saw that I could not work out *ahimsa* through an organization holding a variety of mentalities. It could not be subject to the decision of majorities. To be consistent with itself, it might have to be inconsistent with the whole world.

10. A person who has a choice before him is ever exposed to temptation. The instinct of those, therefore, with whom non-violence is a policy, when tempted by violence, may fail them. That of those who have no remedy but non-violence open to them can never fail them if they have non-violence in them in reality. Hence the necessity for freedom from

* Resolution passed by the Working Committee in February 1930 authorizing Gandhiji to start the Civil Disobedience Movement.—Editors.

Congress control. And I was thankful that the members of the Working Committee saw the utter correctness of my position.

11. It is to be hoped that no one will misunderstand the position. Here there is no question of superiority. Those who hold non-violence for the attainment of freedom as an article of faith, are in no way superior to those with whom it is a mere policy, even as there is no such inequality between brown men and yellow men. Each acts according to his lights.

12. The responsibility then devolving on me was the greatest I had ever undertaken. It was irresistible. The seer who knew what he gave to the world has said, 'Hate dissolves in the presence of Ahimsa.' The true rendering of the word in English is love or charity. And does not the Bible say:—

"Love worketh no ill to his neighbour,
 "Believeth all things,
 "Hopeth all things,
 "Never faileth." ?

13. Civil disobedience is sometimes a peremptory demand of love. Dangerous it undoubtedly is, but no more than the encircling violence. Civil disobedience is the only non-violent escape from its soul-destroying heat. The danger lies only in one direction, in the outbreak of violence side by side with civil disobedience. The struggle, in freedom's battle, of non-violence against violence, no matter from what

quarter the latter comes, must continue till a single representative is left alive. More no man can do, to do less would be tantamount to want of faith.

14. I wish I could persuade everybody that civil disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal disobedience can lead to it. Every State puts down criminal disobedience by force. It perishes, if it does not. But to put down civil disobedience is to attempt to imprison conscience. Civil disobedience can only lead to strength and purity. A civil resister never uses arms and hence he is harmless to a state, that is at all willing to listen to the voice of public opinion. He is dangerous for an autocratic state, for he brings about its fall by engaging public opinion upon the matter for which he resists the state. Civil disobedience therefore becomes a sacred duty when the state has become lawless, or which is the same thing, corrupt. And a citizen that barter with such a state shares its corruption or lawlessness.

15. It is therefore possible to question the wisdom of applying civil disobedience in respect of a particular act or law; it is possible to advise delay and caution. But the right itself cannot be allowed to be questioned. It is a birthright that cannot be surrendered without surrender of one's self-respect.

16. At the same time that the right of civil disobedience is insisted upon, its use must be guarded

by all conceivable restrictions. Every possible provision should be made against an outbreak of violence or general lawlessness.

17. Civil disobedience is like the use of a knife, to be used most sparingly if at all. A man who cuts away without ceasing, cuts at the very root and finds himself without the substance he was trying to reach by cutting off the superficial hard crust. The use of civil disobedience will be healthy, necessary, and effective only if we otherwise conform to the laws of all growth. We must therefore give its full and therefore greater value to the adjective 'civil' than to 'disobedience.' Disobedience without civility, discipline, discrimination, non-violence is certain destruction. Disobedience combined with love is the living water of life. Civil disobedience is a beautiful variant to signify growth ; it is not discordance which spells death.

18. It can be made a sovereign remedy for all our ills if we can produce the necessary atmosphere for it. For individuals there always is that atmosphere except when their civil disobedience is certain to lead to bloodshed. I discovered this exception during the Satyagraha days (1919). But even so a call may come which one dare not neglect, cost what it may. When neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a peremptory duty. Mass civil disobedience stands on a different footing. It can only be tried in a calm atmosphere. It must be the

calmness of strength not weakness, of knowledge not ignorance. Individual civil disobedience may be and often is, vicarious. Mass civil disobedience may be and often is selfish in the sense that individuals expect personal gain from their disobedience. Thus in South Africa, Kallenbach and Polak offered vicarious civil disobedience. They had nothing to gain. Thousands offered it because they expected personal gain also in the shape, say of the removal of the annual poll-tax levied upon ex-indentured men and their wives and grown-up children. It is sufficient in mass civil disobedience if the resisters understand the working of the doctrine.

19. We must dismiss the idea of overawing the government by huge demonstrations every time some one is arrested. On the contrary we must treat arrest as the normal condition of the life of a non-cooperator. For we must seek arrest and imprisonment as a soldier who goes to battle seeks death. We expect to beat down the opposition of the government by courting and not avoiding imprisonment, even though it be by showing our readiness to be arrested and imprisoned en masse. Civil disobedience then emphatically means our desire to surrender to a single unarmed policeman. Our triumph consists in being imprisoned for no wrong whatsoever. The greater our innocence, the greater our strength and the swifter our victory.

20. Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion; a refusal to obey every single state

made law. It is certainly more dangerous than an armed rebellion. For it can never be put down if the civil resisters are prepared to face extreme hardships. It is based upon an implicit belief in the absolute efficiency of innocent suffering. By noiselessly going to prison, a civil resister ensures a calm atmosphere. The wrong-doer wearies of wrong-doing in the absence of resistance. All pleasure is lost when the victim betrays no resistance. A full grasp of the conditions of successful civil resistance is necessary at least on the part of the representatives of the people, before they can launch out on an enterprise of such magnitude. The quickest remedies are always fraught with the greatest danger and require the utmost skill in handling them. It is my firm conviction that if we bring about a successful boycott of foreign cloth, we shall have produced an atmosphere that would enable us to inaugurate civil disobedience on a scale that no government can resist.

21. Self-purification is the main consideration in seeking the prison. Embarrassment of the Government is a secondary consideration. It is my unalterable conviction that even though the Government may not feel embarrassed in any way whatsoever by the incarceration or even execution of the innocent, unknown but purified person, such incarceration will be the end of that Government. Even a single lamp dispels the deepest darkness. Non-cooperation is not an allopathic treatment. It is homoeopathic.

The patient does not taste the drops given to him. He is sometimes even incredulous, but if the homoeopaths are to be trusted, the tasteless drops or the tiny pills of homocopathy are far more potent than ounce dozes or choking pills of allopathy. I assure the reader the effect of purifying non-cooperation is more certain than the effect of homoeopathic medicine.

22. It is open to those English friends who are sincerely anxious for India's welfare to assist India in her fight for freedom, and on her terms. She knows best what she needs. Complete Independence does not mean arrogant isolation, or a superior disdain for all help. But it does mean complete severance of the British bondage, be it ever so slight or well conceived.

23. Notwithstanding its undoubted risks civil disobedience was planned so as to get together all the non-violent forces and see if it could stand the tide of onrushing violence. Hatred and ill-will there undoubtedly were in the air. They would have sooner or later burst into acts of fury if they had not been anticipated in time. The conviction has deepened in me that civil disobedience alone could stop the bursting of such fury. The nation wanted to feel its power more even than to have independence. The possession of such power is independence.

24. That civil disobedience might resolve itself into violent disobedience, is, I am sorry to have to confess, not an unlikely event. But I know that it

will not be the cause of it. Violence is there already corroding the whole body politic. Civil disobedience would be but a purifying process, and might bring to the surface what is burrowing under and into the whole body. And British officials, if they choose, might regulate civil disobedience so as to sterilise the force of violence. But whether they would do so, or whether as many of us fear, they would, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, provoke violence, my course is clear. With the evidence I have of the condition of the country and with the unquenchable faith I have in the method of civil disobedience, I must not be deterred from the course the Inward Voice seems to be leading me to.

25. But whatever I do and whatever happens, my English friends will accept my word that whilst I am impatient to break the British bondage, I am no enemy of Britain.

26. Our immediate objective and not our distant goal is complete independence. Is it not obvious that if we are to evolve the true spirit of independence amongst the millions, we shall do so through non-violence and all it implies? Is it not enough that we drive out Englishmen by making their lives insecure through secret violence. That would lead not to independence but to utter confusion. We can establish independence only by adjusting our differences through an appeal to the head and the heart, by evolving organic unity amongst ourselves, not by terrorising

or killing those who, we fancy may impede our march. It is because we want to convert the opponent by patient and gentle handling, that we want to offer mass civil disobedience. Every body owns that it is a certain remedy. Every body understands that 'civil' here means strictly non-violent; and has it not often been demonstrated that mass civil disobedience is an impossibility without mass non-violence and without mass discipline? Surely it does not require an appeal to our religious faith to convince us that the necessity of the situation, if nothing else, demands non-violence of the limited type I have indicated. Let those who are not past reason then cease either secretly or openly to endorse activities of violence.

27. Satyagraha literally means insistence on truth. This insistence arms the votary with matchless power. This power or force is connoted by the word Satyagraha. Satyagraha, to be genuine, may be offered against parents, against one's wife, one's children, against rulers, against fellow-citizens, even against the whole world.

28. Such a universal force necessarily makes no distinction between kinsmen and strangers, young and old man, and woman, friend and foe. The force to be so applied can never be physical. There is in it no room for violence. The only force of universal application can, therefore, be that of ahimsa or love. In other words, it is soul force.

29. Love does not burn others, it burns itself. Therefore, a Satyagrahi, i.e., a civil resister will joyfully suffer even unto death. It follows, therefore, that a civil resister, whilst he will strain every nerve to compass the end of the existing rule, will do no intentional injury in thought, word or deed to the person of a single Englishman. This necessarily brief explanation of Satyagraha will perhaps enable the reader to understand and appreciate the following rules:—

(a) As an individual a Satyagrahi, that is, a civil resister will harbour no anger.

(b) He will suffer the anger of the opponent.

(c) In so doing he will put up with assaults from the opponent, never retaliate. He will submit to orders for the sake of discipline or duty, never out of fear of punishment or the like.

(d) When any person in authority seeks to arrest a civil resister he will voluntarily submit to the arrest, and he will not resist the attachment or removal of his own property, if any, when it is sought to be confiscated by the authorities.

(e) If a civil resister has any property in his possession as a trustee, he will refuse to surrender it, even though in defending it, he might lose his life. He will, however, never retaliate.

(f) Non-retaliation excludes swearing and cursing.

(g) Therefore a civil resister will never insult his opponent, and therefore also not take part in many of the newly coined cries which are contrary to the spirit of ahimsa.

(h) A civil resister will not salute the Union Jack, nor will he insult it or officials, English or Indian.

(i) In the course of the struggle, if any one insults an official or commits an assault upon him, a civil resister will protect such official or officials from the insult or attack even at the risk of his life.

(j) As a prisoner, a civil resister, will behave courteously towards prison officials, and will observe all such discipline of the prison as is not contrary to self-respect; as for instance, while he will salaam officials in the usual manner, he will not perform any humiliating gyrations and refuse to shout Victory to Sarkar or the like. He will take cleanly cooked and cleanly served food, which is not contrary to his religion, and will refuse to take food insultingly served or served in unclean vessels.

(k) A civil resister will make no distinction between an ordinary prisoner and himself, will in no way regard himself as superior to the rest, nor will he ask for any conveniences that may not be necessary for keeping his body in good health and condition. He is entitled to ask for such conveniences as may be required for his physical or spiritual well-being.

(l) A civil resister may not fast for want of conveniences whose deprivation does not involve any injury to one's self-respect.

(m) A civil resister will joyfully obey all the orders issued by the leader of the corps, whether they please him or not,

(n) He will carry out orders in the first instance even though they appear to him insulting, inimical or foolish, and then appeal to higher authority. He is free before joining to determine the fitness of the corps to satisfy him, but after he has joined it, it becomes a duty to submit to its discipline, irksome or otherwise. If the sum total of the energy of the corps appears to a member to be improper or immoral, he has a right to sever his connection, but being within it, has no right to commit a breach of its discipline.

(o) No civil resister is to expect maintenance for his dependents. It would be an accident if any such provision is made. A civil resister entrusts his dependents to the care of God. Even in ordinary warfare wherein hundreds of thousands give themselves up to it, they are able to make no previous provision. How much more, then, should such be the case in Satyagraha? It is the universal experience that in such times hardly anybody is left to starve.

(p) No civil resister will intentionally become a cause of communal quarrels.

(q) In the event of any such outbreak, he will not take sides, but he will assist only that party which

is demonstrably in the right. Being a Hindu he will be generous towards Mussalmans and others, and will sacrifice himself in the attempt to save non-Hindus from a Hindu attack. And if the attack is from the other side, he will not participate in any retaliation but will give his life in protecting Hindus.

(r) He will, to the best of his ability, avoid every occasion that may give rise to communal quarrels.

(s) If there is a procession of Satyagrahis they will do nothing that would wound the religious susceptibilities of any community, and they will not take part in any other procession that are likely to wound such susceptibilities.

* * * *

30. The impatience of some sisters to join the good fight is to me a healthy sign. In this non-violent warfare womens' contribution should be much greater than men's.

31. Prohibition of intoxicating liquors and drugs and boycott of foreign cloth have ultimately to be by law. But the law will not come until pressure from below is felt in no uncertain manner. That both are vitally necessary for the nation nobody will dispute. Drinks and drugs sap the moral well-being of those who are given to the habit. Foreign cloth undermines the economic foundations of the nation and throws millions out of employment.

32. Let the women of India take up these two activities, and specialise in them. They would contribute more than men to national freedom. They would have access to power and self-confidence to which they have hitherto been strangers.

33. Swaraj won without sacrifice cannot last long. I would therefore like our people to get ready to make the highest sacrifice that they are capable of. In true sacrifice all the suffering is on one side, one is required to master the art of getting killed without killing, of gaining life by losing it. May India live up to this Mantra.

34. When India's self-respect, in fact her all, is symbolised as it were in a handful of salt in the Satyagrahi's hand, let the fist holding it therefore be broken, but let there be no voluntary surrender of the salt. Let the Government, if it claims to be civilised government, jail those who help themselves to contraband salt. After their arrest the civil resisters will gladly surrender the salt, as they will their bodies into the custody of their jailors. But by main force to snatch the salt from the poor, harmless Satyagarhis' hands is barbarism pure and simple, and an insult to India. Such an insult can be answered only by allowing our hand to be fractured without loosening the grasp. Even then the actual sufferer or his comrades may not harbour in their hearts, anger against the wrong-doer. Incivility should be answered not by incivility but by dignified and calm endurance of all suffering in the name of God.

35. When salt can be manufactured much more easily than it can be taken from the salt depot, I am not likely to advise people to help themselves to the article from salt pans or store house. But I do not share the critics' characterisation of such helping as first class Himsa. Both the helping from pans and manufacturing contraband salt are statutory crimes heavily punishable. Why is the manufacturing without licence a virtue and taking salt from a manufacturing pan a vice? If the impost is wrong, it is wrong whether in connection with manufacturing salt or the crude article. If robber steals my grain and cooks some of it, I am entitled to both the raw and cooked grain. I may draw a distinction for the sake of avoiding inconvenience between manufactured and crude salt, and adopt the easier method of manufacturing salt. But that does not alter the legal position in the slightest degree. Illegality is in a Government that steals the people's salt and makes them pay heavily for the stolen article. The people when they become conscious of their power, have every right to take possession of what belongs to them.

36. Soon after Jallianwalla massacre, I used to express and reiterate the hope that next time, in no part of India must people run away from bullets. They must receive them in their chests with arms folded and with courageous resignation. If we are to train ourselves to receive the bullet wounds or bayonet charges on our bare chests we must accustom oursel-

ves to stand unmoved in the face of cavalry or baton charges. I know that it is easier said than done. Nevertheless, I must say it, if we are ever to complete our training in mass non-violence. It is argued that the police must use the hose, if people will not surrender the contraband salt in their possession. Here I would only remind critics that even from confirmed thieves they do not take stolen property by force except after they are brought under arrest and then too, never if they are not to be brought to trial. The property still remains the thief's until he is convicted and the court adjudges the property not to be his.

37. According to the science of Satyagraha the greater the repression and lawlessness on the part of authority, the greater should be the suffering courted by the victims. Success is the certain result of suffering of the extremest character, voluntarily undergone.

38. I know the dangers attendant upon the methods adopted by me. But the country is not likely to mistake my meaning. I say what I mean and think. And I have been saying for the last fifteen years in India, and outside for twenty years more, and repeat now that the only way to conquer violence is through non-violence, pure and undefiled. I have said also that every violent act, word, and even thought, interferes with the progress of non-violent action. If in spite of such repeated warnings people will resort

to violence, I must disown responsibility save such as inevitably attaches to every human being for the acts of every other human being. But the question of responsibility apart, I dare not postpone action on any cause whatsoever, if non-violence is the force the seers of the world have claimed it to be, and if I am not to belie my own extensive experience of its working.

39. Non-payment of taxes is meant not to enrich the resisters, but by their suffering to enrich the nation. And they can exercise the privilege only if they have purified themselves.

40. But it is argued that the non-payment campaign will bring into the movement people, who are not yet saturated with the principle of non-violence. This is very true, and because it is true, non-payment does hold out a material bait. It follows, therefore, that we must not resort to non-payment because of the possibility of ready response. The readiness is a fatal temptation. Such non-payment will not be civil or non-violent, but it will be criminal or fraught with the greatest possibility of violence. Let us remember the experience of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when the peasants, after they had taken the pledge of non-violence, told him if he advised them to do violence, they would certainly be ready to do so. Not until the peasantry is trained to understand the reason and the virtue of civil non-payment and is prepared to look with calm resignation upon the confiscation

(which can only be temporary) of their holdings and the forced sale of their cattle and other belongings, may they be advised to withhold payment of taxes.

41. Non-payment is intended to transfer power from the bureaucracy into our hands. It is therefore not enough that the peasantry remain non-violent. Non-violence is certainly nine-tenths of the battle, but it is not all. The peasantry may remain non-violent, but may not treat the untouchables as their brethren; they may not regard Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Jews, Parsis, as the case may be as their brethren; they may not have learnt the economic and the moral value of the charkha and khaddar. If they have not, they cannot gain Swaraj. They will not do all these things after Swaraj if they will not do them now. They must be taught to know that the practice of these national virtues means Swaraj.

42. Thus civil non-payment of taxes is a privilege capable of being exercised only after rigorous training. And even as civil disobedience is difficult in the cases of habitual offenders against the laws of the state, so is civil non-payment difficult for those who have hitherto been in the habit of withholding the payment of taxes on the slightest pretext. Civil non-payment of taxes is indeed the last stage in non-cooperation. We must not resort to it till we have tried the other forms of civil disobedience. And it will be the height of unwisdom to experiment with non-payment in large or many areas in the beginning stages.

43. On the eve of arrest in 1922, I had warned co-workers against any demonstration of any kind save that of mute, complete non-violence, and had insisted that constructive work which alone could organise the country for civil disobedience should be prosecuted with the utmost zeal. The first part of the instructions was, thanks be to God, literally and completely carried out; so completely that it has enabled an English noble contemptuously to say, 'not a dog barked!' For me when I learnt this in the jail I felt that the preaching of non-violence had had its effect and that the Bardoli decision was the wisest thing to do. And consequently in 1930, I could advise that there was to be no mute, passive non-violence, but non-violence of the activist type should be set in motion, so that not a single believer in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of achieving India's goal should find himself free or alive at the end of the effort to submit any longer to the existing slavery. It would be, therefore, the duty of every one to take up such civil disobedience or civil resistance as may be advised and conducted by my successor, or as might be taken up by the Congress.

44. It must be parenthetically understood that what was being said then in no way fettered the discretion and full authority of the Congress. The Congress would adopt only such things that may commend themselves to Congressmen in general. If the nature of the instructions were to be properly under-

stood, the organic value of the charter of full liberty given to me by the Working Committee should be adequately appreciated. Non-violence, if it does not submit to any restrictions upon its liberty, subjects no one and no institution to any restriction whatsoever, save what may be self-imposed or voluntarily adopted.

45. When the beginning is well and truly made I expect response from all over the country. It will be the duty then of every one who wants to make the movement a success to keep it non-violent and under discipline. Every one will be expected to stand at his post except when called by his chief. If there is a spontaneous mass response, as I hope there will be, and if previous experience is any guide, it will largely be self-regulated. But every one who accepts non-violence whether as an article of faith or policy would assist the mass movement. Mass movements have all over the world, thrown up unexpected leaders. This should be no exception to the rule. Whilst, therefore, every effort imaginable and possible should be made to restrain the forces of violence, civil disobedience once begun, this time cannot be stopped and must not be stopped, so long as there is a single civil resister left free or alive. A votary of Satyagraha should find himself in one of the following states :

1. In prison or in an analogous state ; or,
2. Engaged in civil disobedience ; or,
3. Under orders at the spinning wheel, or at some constructive work advancing Swaraj.

STRAY THOUGHTS

" BUT, HAVING IN THOUGHT CAST LIFE ASIDE, LIFE
STRANGELY HAD BECOME RICHLY AUGMENTED."

Interpreters—A. E.

1. Prahlad was forbidden to take the name of God. Whilst before the prohibition he was going about his way in a silent manner, now he became aggressive and drew on his head the most terrible punishment which he bore cheerfully. Daniel used to worship in secret, but when the prohibition decree was issued against him, he flung open his door, worshipped God in public and was led like a lamb to the lion's den. Hazrat Ali, who was more than a match for his adversary, kissed his hand when the latter spat upon him, and the brave Ali felt that if he retorted, it would be the retort of anger. But I know that we possess neither the unalloyed bravery nor the godliness, and therefore the true perception of these sages of old. We are not free from anger or fear. We are trying to imbibe the lesson of non-violence and learn fearlessness. Our non-violence is mixed. It is mostly of weak and somewhat of the strong. The safest rule for us is to run all risks in becoming and feeling strong. Therefore when a magistrate gives me a slap, I must so act as to invite another. I must however never give any cause for the first slap. If I am rude I must apologise, if I am defiant I must be meek, if I swear I must humble myself. My conduct before the court must be punctiliously correct. Need I say that it cannot be put on and off at will. It must, in order

to appear graceful, be natural. Lastly, whatever we do we must err on the side of non-violence, if we would reach our goal in the quickest manner possible.

2. Though the non-violence I teach is active non-violence of the strongest, the weakest also can partake in it, without becoming weaker. They can only be stronger for having been in it. The masses are far bolder today than they ever were. A non-violent struggle necessarily involves construction on a mass scale. It cannot therefore lead to Tamas or darkness or inertia. It means a quickening of national life. That movement is still going on silently, almost imperceptibly, but nonetheless surely.

3. For me the law of Satyagraha, the law of love is an eternal principle. I co-operate with all that is good. I desire to non-cooperate with all that is evil, whether it is associated with my wife, son or myself. I would like the world to know the whole of the evil in us. For I know that concealment can only hurt us.

4. Non-cooperators must continually purify themselves even in front of their opponents, and at the risk of their action being mistaken for weakness. In the process of putting themselves in the right, they must not count the cost. That is the implication of following truth for truth's sake. The immediate prospect may appear ever so black; a seeker must relentlessly pursue what he knows to be the truth. The Prophet would have lost his hold many a time, had he not

thus treated truth as his absolute and final sheet-anchor.

5. No non-cooperator can afford to go to prison on a false issue—certainly not on a denial of his faith, i.e., non-violence. When one disregards the fear of the law and fears only one's own conscience, one has to be doubly careful. But all the care in the world would sometimes fail to prevent a slip.

6. For me solitary confinement in a prison cell, without any breach on my part of the code of non-cooperation, 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 would feel no pity for those who are suffering hardships in the gaols of the Government. Innocence under an evil Government must always rejoice on the scaffold.

7. Full non-cooperation we have never practised. A practice has a flaw in it when it is sure to defeat the end it is designed to serve. So long as I own property I must defend it whether by the force of law-courts, or by the force of my own strong arms. The act is in essence the same. Our national non-cooperation is or was with a system. It presupposed co-operation amongst ourselves in a general way; but when we non-cooperate among ourselves, national non-cooperation is a mirage. Individual non-cooper-

ation is possible when we own not a clod of earth. It is possible only for a Sanyasin. The highest fulfilment of religion therefore requires a giving up of all possession. Having ascertained the law of our being, we must set about reducing it to practice to the extent of our capacity and no further. We live not by our physical strength, but by sufference. Hence the necessity of uttermost humility and absolute reliance on God. This is living by soul force. This is highest self-expression.

8. I admit that the strong will rob the weak and that it is a sin to be weak. But this is said of the soul in man, not of the body. If it be said of the body, we could never be free from the sin of weakness. But the strength of soul can defy a whole world in arms against it. This strength is open to the weakest in body. Who has not seen strong-bodied bullies surrendering helplessly to their frail mothers. Love conquers the brute in the son. The law that subsists between mother and son is universal in its application. Nor need love be reciprocal. It is its own reward. Many a mother has tamed by her love her erring defiant children. Let us all prepare to get rid of our weaknesses. In a love competition there is chance of success—for rivalry in loving is conducive to health. The world has been trying all these ages to become strong in the wielding of brute force and it has miserably failed. Rivalry in generating brute force is race suicide.

9. **Military force is inconsistent with soul-force.** Frightfulness, exploitation of the weak, immoral gains, insatiable pursuit after enjoyments of the flesh are utterly inconsistent with soul-force. The soul-force that the British rulers have is, therefore subservient to the brute force, if it is not asleep altogether.

10. **History teaches us that those who have, no doubt from honest motives, ousted the greedy, by using brute force against them, have in their turn become prey to the disease of the conquered.** If it be better to be slaves than slave-drivers, if this is no mere copy-book maxim, we can easily afford to let the slave-drivers do their worst. Being weary of the brutal tug of war so unbecoming our human nature, we must try to explore the possibilities of matching the brute force of the greedy exploiters and the like with soul force.

11. **Swaraj is freedom for every one.** The smallest among us is free to do as he likes, without any interference with his neighbour's liberty. Non-violent non-cooperation is the method whereby we cultivate public opinion. To say that the masses have no real stake is a gross insult to them, and a mischievous incitement to the monied classes to range themselves against the masses. Have the masses no stake in India? Are they not the only people with any real stake in the country? The monied classes, if the worst happened, could even migrate from the

country. The masses know no other home save the few yards of earth-space which they possess in this land of sorrow and tears.

12. There are many forms of Satyagraha, of which fasting may or may not be one, according to the circumstances of the case. A man fasting for recovering money, another owes him, can never be a true Satyagrahi. Satyagraha can never be resorted to for mere personal gain. If fasting with a view to recovering money is to be encouraged, there would be no end of scoundrels blackmailing people by resorting to this means. I know that many such people are to be met within the country. It is not right to condemn legitimate fasting, because a few abused it. Any and every one may not draw his own distinctions between fasting-Satyagraha true and false. What one regards as true Satyagraha may very likely be otherwise. It can only be resorted to under wise guidance or after prolonged discipline. A Satyagrahi should always be ready to undergo suffering and pecuniary loss.

13. Satyagraha in the form of fasting cannot be undertaken as against an opponent. Fasting can be resorted to only against one's nearest and dearest, and that solely for his or her good.

14. In a country like India, where the spirit of charity or pity is not lacking, it would be nothing short of an outrage to resort to fasting for recovering money. I know people who have given away money,

quite against their will, but out of a false sense of pity. The Satyagrahi has therefore to proceed warily in a land like ours. It is likely that some men may succeed in recovering money due to them by resorting to fasting; but instead of calling it a triumph of Satyagraha I would call it a triumph of Duragraha or violence. The triumph of Satyagraha consists in meeting death in insisting on truth. A Satyagrahi is always unattached to the attainment of the object of Satyagraha; one seeking money cannot be unattached. I am therefore clear that fasting for the sake of personal gain is nothing short of intimidation and is a result of ignorance.

15. Some students had revived the ancient form of barbarity in the form of 'sitting dharna.' Fortunately the practice was stopped as soon as it was revived. They blocked the passage of their fellow students who wanted to go to the University for paying their fees or to see some officials of the educational department. I call it 'barbarity' for it is a crude way of using coercion. I call it 'barbarity' because one who sits 'dharna' knows that he is not going to be trampled over. It is difficult to call the practice violent, but it is certainly worse. If we fight our opponent, we at least enable him to return the blow. But when we challenge him to walk over us knowing that he will not, we place him in a most awkward and humiliating position. I know that over-zealous students who sat *dharna* never thought

of the barbarity of the deed. But one, who is expected to follow the voice of conscience and stand even single handed in the face of odds, cannot afford to be thoughtless.

16. I have said that I am a non-cooperator. I call myself a civil resister—and both words have come to possess a bad odour in the English Language, like so many other English words, but I non-cooperate in order that I may be able to co-operate. I cannot satisfy myself with false co-operation—anything inferior to twenty-four carats gold. My non-cooperation cannot prevent me from being friendly even to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. It harms no one; it is non-cooperation with an evil system and not with the evil-doer. My religion teaches me to love even an evil-doer and my non-cooperation is but part of that religion. I see no inconsistency between the desire for civil resistance and for co-operation. When in the hey-day of non-cooperation an Englishman twitted me with the remark that although I profess to non-cooperate I was dying to cooperate, I said to him emphatically that I was doing so. And I say that that is my position also today. Civil resistance to wrong is not a new doctrine or practice with me. It is a life-long belief and a life-long practice. To prepare the country for civil resistance is to prepare for non-violence. To prepare the country for non-violence is to organise it for constructive work, which to me is synonymous with the spinning wheel.

17. But I have no desire to co-operate voluntarily with the Government in my weakness; that would be the co-operation of the slave. I admit my weakness and therefore I remain satisfied with the mere desire for co-operation and seek to fulfil that desire by developing my inner strength.

18. I was criticised for my advice to burn foreign cloth voluntarily discarded; but I remain as convinced as ever of the necessity of burning it. There was no emphasis in the process on race feeling. I would have done precisely the same thing in the sacred family or friendly circles. In all I do or advise, the infallible test I apply is, whether the particular action will hold good in regard to the dearest and the nearest. The teaching of the faith I hold dear is unmistakable and unequivocal in the matter. I must be the same to friend and foe. And it is this conviction which makes me so sure of so many of my acts which often puzzle friends.

19. I remember having thrown into the sea a pair of beautiful field-glasses, because they were a constant bone of contention between a dear friend and myself. He felt the hesitation at first, but he saw the right of the destruction of a beautiful and costly thing, a present withheld from the friend. Experience shows that the richest gifts must be destroyed without compunction and hesitation, if they hinder one's moral progress. Will it not be held a sacred duty to consign to the flames most precious heirlooms, if they are plague-infected?

20. If the emphasis were on all foreign things, it would be racial, parochial and wicked. The emphasis is on all foreign cloth. The restriction makes all the difference in the world. I do not want to shut out English lever watches or the beautiful Japanese lacquer work. But I must destroy all the choicest wines of Europe, even though they might have been prepared and preserved with all the most exquisite care and attention. Satan's snares are most subtly laid and they are the most tempting, when the dividing line between right and wrong is so thin as to be imperceptible. But the line is there all the same, rigid and inflexible. Any crossing of it may mean certain death.

21. India is racial today. It is with the utmost effort, that I find it possible to keep under check the evil passions of the people. The general body of the people are filled with ill-will, because they are weak and hopelessly ignorant of the way to shed their weakness. I am transferring the ill-will from men to things.

22. Satyagraha demands absolute non-violence. Even a woman who is in danger of being violated must not defend herself with violence. But this is only for those men and women who have so far purified themselves as to have no malice, no anger, no violence in them. That does not mean that the woman in the imagined case would allow quietly herself to be violated. In the first instance such a

woman would not stand in danger of violence and in the second if she did, without doing violence to the ruffians, she would be able completely to defend her honour.

23. But I must not enter into details. Even women who can defend themselves with violence are not many. Happily however cases of indecent assaults are not very many. Be that as it may, I believe implicitly in the proposition that perfect purity is its own defence. The variest ruffian becomes for the time being tame in the presence of resplendent purity.

24. I am quite capable of recommending punishment to wrong-doers under conceivable circumstances, for instance, I would not hesitate in the present state of society to confine thieves and robbers, which is, in itself, a kind of punishment. But I would also admit that it is not Satyagraha, and that it is a fall from the pure doctrine. That would be not an admission of weakness of the doctrine but weakness of myself. I have no other remedy to suggest in such cases in the present state of society. I am, therefore, satisfied with advocating the use of prisons more as reformatories than as places for punishment. But I would draw the distinction between killing and detention, or even corporal punishment. I think there is a difference not merely in quantity, but also in quality: I can recall the punishment of detention. I can make reparation to the man upon whom I inflict

corporal punishment. But once a man is killed, the punishment is beyond recall or reparation. God alone can take life because he alone gives it.

25. There should be no confusion between the self-immolation of a Satyagrahi and the punishment imposed from without. But in order to avoid even a possibility of it, let me make it clear that the doctrine of violence has reference only to the doing of injury by one to another. Suffering injury in one's person is, on the contrary, of the essence of non-violence and is the chosen substitute for violence to others. It is not because I value life low that I can countenance with joy thousands voluntarily losing their lives for Satyagraha; but because I know that it results in the long run in the least loss of life, and what is more, it ennobles those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifice. This doctrine holds good also as between states and states. I know that I am treading on delicate ground if I refer to the late war. But I fear that I must in order to make the position clear. It was a war of aggrandisement, as I have understood, on either part. It was war for dividing the spoils of the exploitation of weaker races, otherwise euphemistically called the world commerce. If Germany today changed her policy and determined to use her freedom not for dividing the commerce of the world but for protecting, through her moral superiority, the weaker races of the earth, she could certainly do that without

armament. It would be found that before general disarmament in Europe commences, as it must some day, unless Europe is to commit suicide, some nation will have to dare to disarm herself and take large risks. The level of non-violence in that nation, if that event happily comes to pass, will naturally have risen so high as to command universal respect. Her judgements will be unerring, her decisions will be firm, and her capacity for heroic self-sacrifice will be great and she will want to live as much for other nations as for herself. I may not push this delicate subject any further. I know that I am writing in a theoretical way upon a practical question without knowing all its bearings.

26. But I do justify entire non-violence and consider it possible in relations between man and man, and nations and nations. It is not resignation from all real fighting against wickedness. On the contrary, the non-violence of my conception is a more active and more real fighting against wickedness than retaliation whose very nature is to increase wickedness. I contemplate a mental and therefore moral opposition to immoralities. I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him, and at last compel recognition from him,

which recognition would not humiliate him but uplift him. It may be urged, this again is an ideal state. And so it is. The propositions from which I have drawn my arguments are as true as Euclid's definitions, which are nonetheless true because in practice we are unable even to draw Euclid's line on a black board. But even a geometrician finds it impossible to get on without bearing in mind Euclid's definitions. Nor may we dispense with the fundamental proposition on which the doctrine of Satyagraha is based.

27. India has to make her choice. She may try, if she wishes the way of war, and sink lower than she has. If India can possibly gain her freedom by war, her state would be no better, and will be probably much worse than that of France or England. Past examples have become obsolete. Not even Japan's comparative progress can be any guide. For the science of war has made much progress since the Russo-Japanese War. Its result can only be studied in the present condition of Europe.

28. But the way of peace is open to her. Her freedom is assured if she has patience. That way will be found to be the shortest, even though it may appear to be the longest to our impatient nature.

29. There is no half way between truth and non-violence on the one hand, and untruth and violence on the other. We may never be strong enough to be

entirely non-violent in thought, word and deed. But we must keep non-violence as our goal and make steady progress towards it. The attainment of freedom, whether for a man, a nation, or the world, must be in exact proportion to the attainment of non-violence by each. Let those who believe in non-violence as the only method of achieving real freedom, keep the lamp of non-violence burning bright in the midst of the present impenetrable gloom. The truth of the few will come, the truth of millions will vanish even like chaff before a whiff of wind.

30. If violence results from non-cooperation, or if non-cooperators resort to violence, *i.e.*, if India makes violence her creed, and I have survived, I would not care to live in India. She will cease to evoke any pride in me. My patriotism is subservient to my religion. I cling to India like a child to its mother's breast, because I feel that she gives me the spiritual nourishment I need, she has the environment that responds to my highest aspirations. When that faith is gone, I shall feel like an orphan without hope of ever finding a guardian. Then the snowy solitude of the Himalayas must give what rest it can to my bleeding soul. Needless to say, the violence that would drive me to the Himalayas is not the violence of language or rowdyism bad as they are, which critics often fling in my face, whilst reminding me of the Himalayas. The violence that would drive me to the Himalayas would have to be the

deliberate violent policy adopted by the nation. These outbursts are a legacy of our undisciplined past. It is being brought under check day by day. It is so insignificant as to be itself a mighty demonstration of the peace that reigns supreme in India today.

“ For the family sacrifice the individual,
For the community, the family,
For the country, the community,
And for the Soul, the whole world.”

Chanakya.

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