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# YOUNG INDIA

1919-1922

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# YOUNG INDIA

## 1919-1922

172

By MAHATMA GANDHI

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

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# PREFATORY NOTE

## I

WITH the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi, his writings in *Young India* have passed beyond the pale of polemical politics and entered the realm of the "classic" literature. Far more than their practical value to India, at present or hereafter, is their value to the world at large, embodying in them a philosophy of life and practical conduct elaborated by the experience of the lifetime of a soul which will undoubtedly rank in history as that of one of the world's greatest of men.

A few isolated articles are all that have so far been published in book form and the need for a systematic collection of *all* the articles, numbering hundreds, and their presentation in a carefully edited form, is the justification for this publication. The task of editing has not been easy. To have arranged the articles in a wholly chronological order would perhaps have been preferred by the few close followers of *Young India* who till recently have been comparatively few. On the other hand, the by far more numerous lay readers who pay serious and systematic attention to the writings for the first time—and their number is bound to grow—prefer, as experience proves, a logical arrangement. A wholly logical arrangement would, however, have required an amount of editing which would have been incompatible with the publisher's desire not to tamper with the original

any way. The result is a compromise whereby while the articles are sorted and grouped under ten sections, so as to facilitate the study of particular subjects, they are, within these sections, arranged exactly as they appeared in *Young India*.* In all cases, where to have given the whole article would only have been unduly burdening the book, the articles have been carefully summarised and given as footnotes in appropriate places. As far as possible, even observations by the way, though on topics of but momentary interest, have, wherever they are in the nature of valuable *obiter dicta*, been also included. All endeavour has thus been made to give in this one volume the valuable writings of the Mahatmaji and others in *Young India* from the date of its first publication in Ahmedabad, 1919 to the date of his imprisonment in 1922. Throughout, the writings have been approached as an earnest and reverent student in search solely of Truth would have done, so that the collection might be a reliable account of the Mahatmaji's views to all who desire seriously to study them.

The task has involved a considerable amount of labour and money and but for the fact that Mahatma Gandhi accepts no royalty or honoraruim for his writings, it would have been altogether impossible to price the book at Rs. 4.

## II

## A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

That Mahatma Gandhi's life was, as stated above, rich in experiences will be easily realised from the all too brief biographical note which is given blow :

* The American *Federalist* which in importance and some other respects bears a close analogy to the *Young India* articles almost follows this arrangement.

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# A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Born at Porbandar on 2nd October, 1869; *s.* of Karamchand Gandhi, Prime Minister first of Porbandar and then of Rajkot; *educ.* Kathiawar High School, London University and the Inner Temple; *m.* Kasturibhai 1881, having been betrothed at the age of 8; Advocate, Bombay High Court, 1891; visits South Africa, 1893; enrolled as Advocate, Supreme Court in spite of White opposition; founded Natal Indian Congress, 1894; agitation in India on behalf of South Arican Indians, 1895; mobbed almost to death under the lead of Attorney-General Escombe on landing in S. Africa on return and saved by the heroism of the wife of the Police Superintendent; led the Indian Ambulance Corps in the Boer War, 1899, whose services were well appreciated in S. Africa as well as in England; returns to India to recoup health, 1901; attends the Calcutta Congress under the presidentship of Mr. Wacha; called to Natal to place the Indian case before Mr. Chamberlaim appointed to consider the question; helps Transvaal Indians in the same manner, though right of leading the deputation was refused by the White authorities; enrolled as Attorney of the Supreme Court of Transvaal; founds the Transvaal British Indian Association and becomes its Hony. Secretary and legal adviser; founds also the *Indian Opinion*; also the Phœnix settlement, 1904, under the influence of Ruskin and the experience of the conflict between Capital and Labour in S. Africa; anti-plague work in Johannesburg in 1904; led the Stretcher Bearer Corps in the Native Revolt in 1906; anti-Asiatic Law Agitation, 1906; Passive Resistance struggle; arrest and imprisonment; Gandhi—Smuts compromise; nearly killed by his own followers who thought the compromise was a betrayal of Indian interests; General Smuts's repudiation of the compromise; the recommencement of the struggle; arrest and

imprisonment; *Indian Home Rule* written, 1908; visit to England, 1909; 1911 settlement; Gokhale's visit to S. Africa; repudiation of promise to repeal the £3 poll tax, 1913; recommencement of the great Passive Resistance struggle; its success; visit to England, 1914; raises Ambulance Corps in London, 1914; return to India, 1915; other recent incidents referred to in the statement before the Court (See p. 1049); arrest and imprisonment.

## III

## A NOTE ON "YOUNG INDIA"

A few words about the journal *Young India* will, we think, be also of interest to the readers. The history of *Young India* has a piquant interest. It was started originally by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, a young Bombay politician, who, wavering between the lead of Mr. Gandhi and that of Mrs. Besant, ultimately accepted that of the latter and became one of the most uncompromising opponents of the Non-co-operation Movement. It then came into the hands of a syndicate of whom Mr. Shankerlal Banker was a member. When Mr. Horniman was deported and the *Bombay Chronicle* was put under censorship, public life in Bombay needed the services of Mahatmaji. *Young India* was, therefore, put under his charge. After the *Bombay Chronicle* got back its freedom, Mahatmaji found it necessary to shift it to Ahmedabad (see p. 1) for reasons mentioned on p. 2 and take over complete charge of the paper. He stopped all advertisments through *Young India* and determined to carry it on only so long as it paid its way without them. The High Court of Bombay once tried to extort an apology from the Mahatmaji, which it was impossible for him to tender.* The High Court, therefore,

*See* p. 55.

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prudently let him off with a reprimand 'behind his back' as the *Mahratta* put it.

*Young India* increased in its popularity as the Non-co-operation movement developed in its intensity. At first it failed to get even the minimum 2,500 which the Mahatmaji wanted to keep it going, but subsequently its circulation rose till when the Mahatmaji was arrested its weekly sale was about 40,000.

On the arrest and convicition of Mahatmaji and Mr. Banker, the paper was put in the hands of that young and faithful Mussalman, Mr. Shuaib Qureshi. The Government soon prosecuted a second time all the workers connected with the paper and they were sent to jail for practically a year and a half. Professors Desai and Bhansali and the never tiring Swami Anandanand of *Young India* and *Nava Jivan* were thus safely lodged in the Sabarmati jail along with Mr. Shuaib Qureshi.

The paper is now being conducted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachar of Salem, Madras, and Mahatmaji's son, Ramdas Gandhi, has taken upon himself the responsibility of publisher, printer and keeper of the press.

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## A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

*India and the War.*—To understand the significance and causes of the Non-co-operation Movement one has to go back beyond the incidents which immediately led to its adoption by the Khilafat Conference and the Indian National Congress. When the Great European War broke out between England and Germany in August 1914, India rose as one man to help the British Government. Those very people, the educated classes, who had been regarded as opponents of the Government on account of their inauguration of and Participation in all political movements of the country were the first to realise the significance of the German menace and to throw in the whole weight of their influence on the side of the Government. The country as a whole helped the Empire in its time of need by offering her sons to fight its battle and also by making monetary contributions. Her services were recognised and spoken of in most eulogistic terms not only by the Viceroy and other officials in this country but also by the Prime Ministers and other statesmen in England. The war aims which were declared to be nothing less than making the world safe for democracy, the protection of weak nationalities, and the conferment of the boon of self-determination on all peoples naturally roused great hopes in the minds of

the people of India who began to see in the world-devastating war a chance of their deliverance from the humiliating position of a subject people and a hope of the elevation of their country to the status of an equal partner in the British Commonwealth.

*The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.*—In this hope they were encouraged by a declaration by the Secretary of State for India (Mr. E. S. Montagu) in August 1917 which, while promising full responsible government to India within the British Empire by a gradual transference of power to popular control and a larger association of Indians in the administration of the country, reserved to the British Parliament the right of determining the pace of progress towards full responsible government. It was followed in the cold weather of 1917-18 by a visit of Mr. Montagu to India for consulting Indian public opinion regarding the reforms proposed to be introduced as the first step in fulfilment of the promise made in the declaration of August 1917. After a tour through the country and after interviewing a large number of persons and receiving numerous deputations, Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, issued their report on constitutional Reform on the 8th July 1918.

*The Delhi War Conference.*—Early in 1918 the war had been passing through a phase most threatening to the Allies and the big German offensive was in full progress. To secure greater support and a further concentration of effort, the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George), on the 2nd of April, 1918, sent a message to India reminding her of "the intention of the rulers of Germany to establish a tyranny, not only over Europe, but over Asia as well" and asking "every lover of freedom and law" to play his part in preventing "the menace spreading to the East and gradually engulfing

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the world" and hoping that India "will add to the laurels it has already won" and "be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve." The Viceroy in reply assured him on behalf of the people of India of the "fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of the motherland against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands." This was followed by a War Conference at Delhi on April 27th, 1918, at which the King Emperor's message declared that "the need of the Empire is India's opportunity" and a series of similar Provincial Conferences.

Mahatma Gandhi joined the War Conference at Delhi and supported the resolution about loyalty. As a result, contributions in men and money increased on a large scale and recruitment went up. Some idea of the contribution of India to the success of the allies may be gathered from the following facts culled from official acknowledgments. India made a total combatant contribution of 9,85,000 men of whom 5,52,000 were sent overseas and of whom no less than 7,91,000 were enlisted during the War. Of non-combats India contributed 4,72,000 of whom 3,91,000 were sent overseas and no less than 4,27,000 were enrolled during the war. The total contribution of Indian personnel was thus 14,57,000 of whom 9,43,000 served overseas and no less than 1,06,594 suffered casualities. The number of animals sent was 1,75,000. During the war 1,855 miles of railway track, 229 locomotives, and 5,989 vehicles were sent out and 940 crafts of various descriptions for service on rivers and on seas were made available for war service. It is difficult to estimate accurately the contributions in

money, but roughly they amounted in all to no less than 130 million pounds or nearly 200 crores.

*The Rowlatt Acts Report and After.*—While India was making such immense sacrifices for the sake of the Empire believing in the King Emperor's words that "the need of the Empire was India's opportunity," there were not signs wanting to the keen observer that the righteous war aims so pompously advertised were after all intended to secure the support of India in the war and would go the way of other similar declarations of British Policy in India in the past. The internment of Mrs. Besant gave a rude shock to the country at large and the internment and maltreatment of a large number of persons supposed to be dangerous under the Defence of India Act without any trial awakened the country to a sense of the mistake it had committed in giving its tacit consent to the passing of that Act and the prostitution of its provisions to secure political purposes as distinguished from protection of the country from the enemy's designs. On the top of it all came the Report of a Committee appointed under the Presidentship of Sir Sidney Rowlatt to report on the growth of revolutionary movement in the country and to suggest remedies.

The report was published on the 19th July, 1918 and recommended practically the perpetuation of the provisions of the Defence of India Act, taking away trials by juries and assessors in cases of seditious crimes, taking away the preliminary proceedings of commitment on the one hand and the right of appeal after conviction on the other, authorising trials *in camera* and admission of evidence not subjected to cross-examination and not recorded by the trial court under certain circumstances and, above all, reserving to the Executive the right and power not

only to restrict the liberty of the individual by demanding securities with or without sureties, by restricting his residence or requiring notification of change of residence and demanding abstention from certain acts, such as engaging in journalism, distributing leaflets, attending meetings, etc., but also to deprive him of it by arresting and confining him. The abuses to which similar provisions of the Defence of India Act and the rules promulgated under powers conferred by it had been put showed the country what these proposals meant and they naturally created consternation in the country and when armistice was declared in the autumn of 1918, India was seething with discontent at what she rightly considered to be a betrayal of her after the time of "the need of the Empire" had passed away. Suspicion was naturally roused that the promised Reforms would be postponed and the ordinary rights of the citizen to enjoy freedom of movement and sanctity of home and home life taken away on the pretext of the existence of a revolutionary conspiracy in the country. When at last on the 6th of February, 1919, the Rowlatt Bills, embodying the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, were introduced by Sir William Vincent into the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi, the whole country rose like one man against this most unwarranted encroachment on the ordinary rights of free citizens. It was the beginning of an agitation throughout the country the like of which had never before been witnessed. Innumerable meetings were held in all parts of the vast peninsula and in the Council itself not one single Indian was found to support its drastic provisions even with a silent vote. But all this was of no avail and the Government with the help of official votes passed one of the Bills into an Act in the third week of March, 1919.

*The Hartal and the Disturbances.*—The result of forcing the Act was some members of the Imperial Legislative Council resigned their seats in protest against this high-handed action of the Government, and when Mahatma Gandhi declared his intention of leading a Satyagraha campaign, he only voiced the feeling of India smarting under an insult and humiliation which was as undeserved of India as it was unbecoming and ungrateful of the British Government to offer. The Satyagraha pledge* which began to be signed in large numbers required the signatory to affirm that they would refuse civilly to obey those laws and such other laws as the Committee to be appointed later on might think fit and further that "in this struggle we will faithfully follow the truth and refrain from violence to life, person, or property." On the 23rd of March, Mahatma Gandhi issued his manifesto fixing the 6th of April for the observance of an All-India *Hartal* and as a day of fasting, prayer and penance. Under some mistake, the *Hartal* was observed at Delhi on the 30th March. And, as a result of a quarrel between some demonstrator on the one hand and the stall keeper at the Railway Station on the other, a riot ensued. Military police and a small military force were brought out and some people were shot. In other parts of the country, the *Hartal* on the 6th April passed off quietly without any untoward incident. It was a first demonstration in which all, rich and poor, high and low, educated or uneducated, village folks and town people took part. The people of India seemed to have broken their slumber of centuries and to have awakened to a sense of their hidden power. In one word, they re-discovered their soul.

* *See* Appendix.

Mahatma Gandhi was proceeding to Delhi on the 8th April to relieve the sufferings of the people and to apply a healing balm to their lacerated hearts. He was however served with an order not to enter the Punjab or Delhi and on his refusal to obey the order he was arrested and turned back from a way side Railway Station by a special train to Bombay. The news created consternation throughout the length and breadth of the country and now here more than in the province of the Punjab where on account of the reactionary regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, people were already exasperated. To add fuel to the fire, under the orders of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, on the 10th of April, two popular leaders of Amritsar, Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, were deported. Feeling was running very high when a large body of men proceeding towards the house of the Deputy Commissioner to make a representation for the release of the leaders was fired at and on its way back broke out in a serious riot burning and looting banks, the Post Office and some other Government offices, murdering some Europeans and assaulting two ladies. Quiet was however soon restored but the atmosphere was surcharged with panic.

*Jallianwalla Massacre.*—General Dyer arrived at Amritsar on the night of the 11th and occupied the town. There was no incident either on the 11th or on the 12th. On the 13th a meeting was advertised to be held at a vacant space known as Jallianwalla Bagh. General Dyer prohibited any gathering of men on pain of death and hearing that a meeting was going to be held at Jallianwalla proceeded to the spot with his troops and machine guns. The place was full of men, women and children as it was an important Hindu festival day. Within 30 seconds of his

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arrival he opened fire which continued for 10 minutes directing it where the crowd was thickest. The fire continued till ammunition was exhausted. Some 5 to 6 hundred people were killed outright and three times the number wounded. The place being surrounded on all sides by high walls no one could escape. There was no warning given before firing and no care taken of the dead and wounded after it. Subsequently, Martial Law was declared in Amritsar, Lahore, Gujrat, and Lllyalpur districts and what may be fitly described as a reign of terror followed. Large numbers of people were arrested and tried under Martial Law. Even respectable people were arrested. Some were flogged, others made to crawl on their bellies and unutterable horror committed including bombing of unarmed crowds from aeroplanes.*

The news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest led to riots at Ahmedabad and other places also. But Martial Law was not continued there for more than a few days.

*The Indemnity Act and the Hunter Committee.*—The news of these horrors in the Punjab did not go abroad as a strict censorship was maintained. In course of time, however, when some months later, Martial Law was withdrawn, the news began to leak out and caused deep and widespread indignation throughout the country. A committee of Enquiry was demanded and was ultimately appointed by the Government with Lord Hunter as its President. But before the Committee began its labours, the Government of India passed an Indemnity Act for the protection of its officers. There was a great deal of opposition to it in the Council, but Mahatma Gandhi, true to his principle of non-retaliation, supported the bill. When the Hunter Committee began to record evidence.

* For further details, *See* the Congress (the Punjab) Enquiry Report.

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disclosures of facts and incidents of the most harrowing nature were made. The Congress Committee had appointed a Sub-committee to lead evidence before the Hunter Committee. But on account of the refusal of the President to secure the temporary release of those Punjab leaders who were undergoing sentences, even for a short period, to enable them to collect the necessary evidence, the Congress Sub-Committee decided not to lead any evidence at all but to hold an independent enquiry and publish its report. The Congress Sub-Committee published its report on the 26th March, 1920, making recommendations which were regarded as much too lenient by the people. On the other hand, the report of the Hunter Committee was not unanimous, the Indian members appending a note of dissent differing from their European colleagues and holding that the promulgation of Martial law in the Punjab was not justified. The recommendations of the Committee as also the orders of the Government failed to satisfy Indian opinion and led immediately, along with another matter to be presently mentioned, to the inauguration of the Non-co-operation Movement.

*The Khilafat Question.*—The other question which had greatly exercised the mind of the Indian people was the question of the Khilafat. When war broke out between England and Turkey, Indian Mussalmans found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. Should they help the Turks and the Sultan who stood as the representative and Defender of their faith, or should they support the British power under which they had been living for more than a century? They decided to throw in their lot with the British in the hope and faith that their religious places would be kept under Muslim control and they would be able to secure for their Turkish co-religionists

terms of peace which would be favourable to them. Their faith was based on declarations made by the Viceroy in India and the Prime Minister of England (Mr. Lloyd George) in which the former had pledged immunity of the holy places in Arabia, Mesopotamia and of Jeddah, and the latter had assured the Muslims—"Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race."

When the war came to an end and rumours about the severe nature of the terms proposed to Turkey got abroad, Mussalmans became naturally alarmed and representations began to be made to the authorities, insisting on the fulfilment of the pledge so unequivocally given by the Prime Minister. The First All-India Khilafat Conference met at Delhi on Nov., 23 1919, which thanked Mahatma Gandhi and other Hindus for their deep interest in the Khilafat question, enjoined upon Indian Mussalmans to refrain from participating in Victory celebrations, and in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place, to progressively withhold all co-operation from the British Government and to boycott British goods. And lastly, it decided to send a deputation to England with the object of acquainting the British ministers and others with the true sentiments of the Mussalmans regarding the Turkish settlement and the Khilafat question. The second Khilafat conference met at Amritsar in the Congress week. It affirmed the resolution regarding the deputation to England and America, resolved further to send a deputation to the Viceroy and another deputation to Turkey and reiterating the Moslem demands and directed the Central Khilafat Committee to collect funds. A representation signed by the Aga Khan, Syed Ameer Ali and a number

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of other gentlemen, Indian and European, was submitted to the Premier in December, 1919. The Khilafat question came further to the forefront in December, 1919, when Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mahammad Ali were released from their internment.

*The Khilafat Deputations.*—A deputation headed by Dr. Ansari accordingly waited on the Viceroy on January 19,1920. The reply which the Viceroy gave to the deputation was disappointing to a degree, and the Muslim leaders issued a statement recording their firm conviction that "should the peace terms result unfavourably to Muslim religion and sentiments, they would place an undue strain upon Muslim loyalty" and demanding that "Arabia as delimited by Muslim authority and the Holy places of Islam must remain under the control of the Khalif", and that the pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George should be fulfilled. The third Khilafat conference met at Bombay in February, 1920, and expressed its confidence in the deputation going to England and issued a very important manifesto, laying down the Muslim demands and declaring that "any reduction of the claim would not only be a violation of the deepest religious feelings of the Muhammadans, but also a flagrant violation of the solemn declarations and pledges made or given by responsible statesmen, representing Allied and Associated Powers and given at a time when they were desirous of enlisting the support of Muslim people and soldiery, and warning them against the consequence of a wrong decision, particularly when not only the Mussalmans but also the entire Hindu population was joining them in their demand."

*Their Failure.*—The deputation which was headed by Maulana Muhammad Ali was received by Mr. Fisher on

Behalf of the Secretary of State for India, and it also waited upon the Prime Minister. It further requested permission to place its views before the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference but was refused. While the deputation was still in Europe, the proposed terms of peace with Turkey were made public on 14th May, 1920, and in India, they were accompanied with a message from the Viceroy to the Muslims of India, explaining those terms. The message recognised that the terms were such as must cause pain to the Muhamadans of India, but asked the Muslims of India to brace themselves to bear with patience and resignation the misfortunes of their Turkish co-religionists. The publication of the proposed peace terms caused the deepest indignation, and synchronising as it did with the publication of the Hunter Committee's report, the whole country was ablaze. The Khilafat Committee met at Bombay to deliberate upon Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation project and adopted it on the 28th May, 1920, as the only means now left to the Muslims. On the 30th May, the All-India Congress Committee met at Benares to discuss the Hunter Report and the Turkish Peace terms, and after a long debate decided to hold a special session of the Congress to consider the question of Non-co-operation.

*Non-co-operation Adopted.*—On the 30th of June, there was a joint Hindu-Muslim Conference at Allahabad regarding the Khilafat question, and Non-co-operation was unanimously adopted to be resorted to after a month's notice to the Viceroy. Numerous meetings of all parties were held in the different parts of the country, strongly condemning the Hunter Report and demanding justice regarding the Punjab and the Khilafat. On the 22nd of June, a message signed by numerous Muhammadan

leaders was submitted to the Viceroy, asking him to secure revision of the Turkish Peace terms and, in the event of the British Cabinet failing to comply with the Muslim wishes, to make common cause with the Indian Mussalmans. It further warned him that, if he failed to adopt the suggestion, they would be obliged from the 1st August following to withdraw co-operation from the Government and to ask other Mussalmans and Hindus to do likewise. Mahatma Gandhi also addressed a letter to the Viceroy in which he explained his connection with the Khilafat question. He told him how he had noticed the growing anxiety of the Mussalmans and their distrust of British intention and how he had advised them not to give way to despair. He proceeded: "The terms violate ministerial pledges and utterly disregard Mussalman sentiment. I consider that as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. . . The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee and your Excellency's despatch thereon have aggravated the distrust. In these circumstances, the only course open to one like me is either in despair to sever all connection with British rule, or if I still retain the faith in the inherent superiority of British Consititution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such superiority and I am not without hope somehow or other, justice will yet be rendered if we show requisite capacity for suffering. It is then because I believe in British constitution that I have advised my Muslim friends to withdraw their support from your Excellency's Government, and the Hindus to join them."

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The 31st of August was celebrated as a Khilafat day. A general hartal was declared and the Non-co-operation resolution began to be given effect to. Mahatma Gandhi, returning his medal in pursuance of the Non-co-operation resolution, wrote to the Viceroy: "Events have happened during the past month which have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral, and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect, nor affection for such Government. The attitude of the Imperial and your Excellency's Government on the Punjab question has given me additional cause for great dissatisfaction. Your Excellency's light-hearted treatment of official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's despatch and, above all, the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of the feelings of Indians, betrayed by the House of Lords, have filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government and have disabled me from tendering, as I have hitherto wholeheartedly tendered, my loyal co-operation." The feeling in India became worse and worse, as the Government persisted more and more in its determination to disregard Muslim sentiments and as the House of Lords, in England, and the Anglo-Indians, residing in India, began more and more to support General Dyer who had perpetrated the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The Europeans in India went so far as to open a Dyer appreciation fund and raised a large amount to be presented to him. Associations of Europeans and Anglo-Indian papers vied with each other in extolling General Dyer's services.

*The Calcutta Special Congress.*—Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali toured through a great part of the country before the special session of the Congress which met at Calcutta, early in September, under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai. After a long discussion, the Congress adopted the Non-co-operation resolution by a large majority. The resolution recited that, in view of the fact that in the matter of the Khilafat, Indian and Imperial Governments had signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans in India, that the Prime Minister had deliberately broken his pledged words and, further, in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April, 1919, both the said Governments had grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and had exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer and that the debate in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, the Congress was of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two afore-mentioned wrongs, and the only effectual means to vindicate National honour and to prevent similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya.

The Congress was further of opinion that there was no course left open for the people of India, but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive Non-violent Non-co-operation, until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established. It accordingly advised: (*a*) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies, (*b*) Refusal to attend Government levies, Darbars etc., (*c*)

Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and the establishment of national schools and colleges in their place, (*d*) Gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts for the settlement of private disputes, (*e*) Refusal on the part of military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia, (*f*) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature from the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate, and (*g*) Boycott of foreign goods. The Congress further advised adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale and, to meet the requirements of the nation which could not be met by Indian Mills alone, it advised manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand spinning in every home and hand weaving on the part of millions of weavers who had abandoned their ancient and honorable calling for want of encouragement.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's amendment which asked for a mission to be sent to the Prime Minister to lay before him a statement of Indian grievances, coupled with a demand for immediate autonomy, and, in case of his refusal to receive this mission or to replace the Act of 1919 by a measure granting full autonomy to India, for the adoption of a policy of active Non-co-operation and, in the meantime, advising the consideration of Mahatma Gandhi's programme and the adoption of measures as preparatory to actual putting into practice of that programme, was, as stated above, thrown out in the Congress by a large majority.

*The Non-co-operation Campaign.*—The adoption of the Non-co-operation resolution by the Congress gave a great fillip to the Non-co-operation movement. To give

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effect to the Resolution of the Special Congress, a Sub-committee had been appointed in Calcutta to draft instructions. The report of the Sub-committee was considered by a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on the 2nd October, and detailed instructions were issued. But some doubt was still entertained that at the annual sessions at Nagpur in December, the Congress would rescind the Non-co-operation resolution, passed at Calcutta. Mahatma Gandhi toured through the country amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm.

Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by Maulana Mohammad Ali who returned from Europe in the first week of October, visited Aligarh on the 12th of October, and with this visit commenced that compaign against Government-controlled educational institutions which became more and more intense for the following four or five months. An attempt was made to nationalise the M. A. O. College and a letter was addressed by some of the Non-co-operation leaders who were also trustees of the college to the other trustees, urging upon them the necessity of nationalising the institution. The trustees met on the 17th of October, 1920. Mahatma Gandhi also addressed a letter to them. They, however, decided to carry on the institution on the old lines, and a National Muslim University was inaugurated with Maulana Mohammad Ali as its Principal, under the presidentship of Sheik-ul-Hind Maulana Mohammad-ul-Hassan Sahib on the 29th of October. Mahatma Gandhi's visit to the Punjab created similar stir among students and there were wholesale strikes and demand for nationalisation of the Lahore College, the Khalsa College and other educational institutions. On the 15th of November, the Gujrat National College was opened by Mahatma Gandhi and he was also appointed Chancellor of the Vidyapitha

inaugurated there. Mr. Gidwani was appointed Principal of the College which started with 500 students. There was a strike at Benares among the students of the Hindu University. Early in December, Mahatma Gandhi visited Bihar and advised the opening of a National College which was done at Patna on the 5th of January, 1921. Tilak Mahavidyalaya was opened at Poona on the 11th of December.

*The Nagpur Congress.*—Things were going on in this way, when the Congress met again in its annual session at Nagpur under the presidentship of Mr. Vijiaraghava chariar. It changed its creed into the "attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by peaceful and legitimate means" and re-affirmed the resolution of Non-violent Non-co-operation, passed in Calcutta. It declared that the entire or any part of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes on the other should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that, in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf by calling upon the guardians and parents of children under the age of 16 years and upon students of the age of 16 or over to withdraw them from Government-controlled educational institutions; by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service, including the boycott of law courts by fellow lawyers and litigants; by carrying out gradual boycott of foreign trade relations by encouraging hand spinning and hand weaving and generally calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to

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make the utmost contribution of self-sacrifice; and, lastly, by organizing a committee in each village or group of villages with a Provincial Central Organization and a band of national workers to be called Indian National Service to be financed out of funds, called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund. The Congress further asked persons who had got themselves elected to the new Councils in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an over-whelming majority of their constituents, to resign their seats and in the event of their failure to do so, it advised the people to studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such Councillors. The Congress recognized the growing friendliness between the police and soldiers and the people, and appealed to all people in Government employment, pending the call of the Nation for the resignation of their services, to help the national cause by importing greater kindliness and stricter honesty in their dealings with the people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings, while refraining from taking any active part therein and more especially by openly rendering financial assistance to the National movement. The Congress laid special emphasis on Non-violence being an integral part of the Non-co-operation resolution and called upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, wherever they might be existing. It further called upon Hindus to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urged the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Thus closed the first phases of the Non-co-operation movement amidst scenes of great joy at the discovery

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of a means which the despairing people clasped with all their fervour as the only means of their delivery from the wrongs, oppression and humiliation to which they had been subjected for a series of years and which had culminated in the indescribable scene of the Punjab and the unspeakable betrayal of the Khilafat cause. The nation determined to win its way to Swarajya by suffering and, to-day, after twenty months have elapsed since that momentous decision was arrived at Nagpur, it may truly be said that the Nation has not flinched from any sacrifices which have been demanded of it by the course of events which will be presently described.

*Progress of the Movement.*—The months that followed were months of strenuous work. Never before in the history of India, since its connection with Britain, had popular indignation and popular enthusiasm been greater. Never before during this long period had the country secured the loving and unguiding services of so many of her sons. Never before had the faith of the people in themselves and in the country's ability to solve its own difficulties burned brighter.

As a result of the decision of the Congress, hundreds of lawyers throughout the country suspended practice in the law courts and began to devote themselves to the service of the country. Panchayats began to be organised and litigants began to avoid law courts. There was a great fall in the revenue from stamps throughout the country on account of the fall in the number of suits, instituted in the law courts. In regard to the educational programme, it may be safely asserted that thousands of college and school students withdrew themselves or were withdrawn from Government-controlled institutions by their guardians. Many a school became absolutely deserted. Mahatma Gandhi's

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appeal to the finer instincts of the youth of the country to devote themselves to its service and to shun the institutions which had been created and maintained to kill all manliness in them was responded to with enthusiasm. Nor was the work confined merely to boycott. National Universities, National Colleges, and National schools of all grades were started in different parts of the country. We have already referred to the student movement in the U.P., the Punjab, and the Bombay Presidency. Bengal was not behind hand and Calcutta witnessed one of those thrilling scenes which have not been few in the course of the last year and a half. About the middle of January, on an appeal by Deshbandhu C. R. Das, thousands of students left their colleges and examinations. Mahatma Gandhi visited Calcutta and opened the National College on the 4th of February. He also visited Patna for a second time and formally opened the National College and inaugurated the Behar Vidyapith. Thus in the course of less than four months, the National Muslim University of Aligarh, the Gujrat Vidyapith, the Behar Vidyapith, the Benares Vidyapith, the Bengal National University, the Tilak Maharastra Vidyapith and a large number of national schools of all grades with thousands of students on the rolls were started in all parts of the country as a result of the great impetus given to National Education.

In the matter of the organisation of Swadeshi, the result achieved in popularising spinning wheels and the use of khaddar (hand spun and hand woven cloth) has been marvellous. In homes which had altogether forgotten even the name of charkha (spinning wheel) its musical hum can now be heard. It has invaded even the parlour of the rich, while it has given a source of livelihood to lakhs of poor women in the country.

resignation of titles were few, but after all the title-holders form a class from whom from the nature of their position much was not to be expected. But there can be no doubt that nothing had lowered these titles in the estimation of the people so much as this movement. One thing which was not mentioned in the Congress resolution was spontaneously taken up by the people. People started a compaign against the evils of drink and a most marvellous progress was visible in all parts of the country, resulting in a great loss to the Government from Excise Revenue. Under the reformed constitution elections had, in the meantime, taken place, and His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cannaught, landed at Madras on 8th January and opened the Legislative Council there on the 12th. Under the Congress resolution, Mahatma Gandhi had advised a boycott of the Duke's visit, not by way of offering an insult to His Royal Highness, but as an expression of protest against the persistent refusal of the Government to listen to people's demands. Wherever the Duke went, the masses as a body and amongst the middle classes also most of those who were not directly concerned or connected with the Government observed hartals. His Royal Highness, after opening some of the Provincial Legislative Councils and the new Legislature at Delhi, left the country.

*Non-violence.*—Mahatma Gandhi had insisted on Non-violence as an essential feature of the movement and it was this insistence which had kept the people in spite of the great upheaval and the great indignation from committing acts of violence. Some incidents, however, occurred which, though not directly due to the N. C. O. movement, were, nevertheless, attributed to the stir and the awakening created by it. One of the earliest of these

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with the great agrarian movement in U. P. which had its origin in the agrarian trouble between landlords and tenants, on account of the latter's refusal to pay illegal and oppressive cesses. Large bodies of men collected at various places and several riots took place in several places. The police dispersed the mob by opening fire in some of these places, and it took more than a month to restore quiet. Another movement which having an independent origin was deeply affected by the N. C. O. movement has been the Akali movement of the Sikhs. Starting as a purely religious movement for the reform of the Sikh Gurdwaras, it has been more and more drawn into adopting the principles of the Non-co-operation movement by the conduct of the Government. In February occurred what is known as the Nankana tragedy in which nearly two hundred sikhs lost their lives amidst scenes of indescribable horror. The news created great indignation among Sikhs and others in all parts of the country and Mahatma Gandhi had to visit the Punjab early in March.

*The Reaction of the Government to the Movement.*—The Government had watched the growth of the movement. It first tried to pooh-pooh it. In August 1920, Lord Chelmsford had described it as "the most foolish of all foolish schemes". Subsequently the Government of India issued a communique on the 6th November 1920, stating that the Government had refrained from instituting criminal proceedings, because the promoters of the movement had advocated simultaneously with Non-co-operation, abstention from violence and that "they had instructed local Governments to take action against those persons only who in furtherance of the movement had gone beyond the limits originally set by its organisers and had by speech or writing incited the public to

violence or had attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the army or the police." This restriction was, however, not observed in practice and from the beginning of March onwards, the country passed through a tide of repression, culminating in the months of November and December in the suppression of volunteer organisations, the promulgation of the Seditious Meetings Act and the arrest and the incarceration of thousands of Indians. The first acts of repression were in connection with the anti-drink campaign. A large number of volunteers were sent to jail for alleged offences in connection with the picketing of liquor shops. Others were dealt with under secs. 107 and 108 of the Cr. P. C. and on their refusal to furnish security for good behaviour were sent to jail. Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. has been used with great effect, but with very doubtful legality in prohibiting public meetings and gagging individuals. The province of Behar was the first to witness repression on an extensive scale which was inaugurated with a circular, issued by the Government giving local officers a *carte blanche* in regard to any steps they might think necessary to counteract the movement which was described as revolutionary and anarchical. The Government of the Punjab and the U. P. were not slow to follow in their efforts to combat the movement and the Seditious Meetings Act and the provisions of the ordinary law were freely resorted to, even where there was no justification for their use. One notable incident which deserves mention was the prohibition of N. C. O. meetings in the Malabar district and the subsequent arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hassan and others, the former one of the most respected among the Mussalman leaders, for disobeying the prohibition order.

*The Bezwada Programme.*—It was at a time when the

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Congress propaganda was making such rapid progress and the country passing through the first spell of repression that the All-India Congress Committee met at Bezwada in the last week of March 1921, and chalked out a programme of work for the following three months. It required that, before the 30th of June 1921, the Congress should raise one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarajya Fund, enrol one crore of members for the Congress and see 20 lakhs of spinning wheels working in the country. On account of the policy of repression started by the Government which was held by the Committee to be totally unwarranted by the situation in the country, there was a desire expressed by many of the members that Civil Disobedience should be resorted to. The Committee however held that the country was not yet sufficiently disciplined, organised or ripe for the immediate taking up of Civil Disobedience, and it advised all those upon whom orders might be served voluntarily to conform to them, trusting that new workers would take the place of those disabled by the Government and that the people at large, instead of becoming frightened or disheartened, would continue their work of quiet organisation and construction. The following months witnessed tremendous efforts by the thousands of workers spread all over the country and engaged in organising it to fulfil the programme sketched out at Bezwada, and when the 30th of June was reached, Mahatma Gandhi could safely declare that the nation had collected the requisite sum, and although the number of members enrolled and charkhas was not accurately known, there was no doubt that the programme in this respect also had been nearly if not altogether fulfilled. Mahatma Gandhi himself had been as unremitting in his labours as ever, carrying the gospel of Non-co-operation and Non-violence from district to dis-

trict wherever he went. Thousands of men and women assembled to have a glimpse of the great hero. Railway lines and stations were lined by thousands of spectators who showered their love in the shape of flowers and money wherever the train carrying the Mahatma happened to pass by them.

*Malegaon and other Disturbances.*—While the country was engaged in this constructive work, there occurred a riot at Malegaon in the Nasik district resulting in the death of several policemen and also some of the mob and acts of incendiarism. There was also a disturbance at Giridih in Behar in which, however, there was no loss of life. Early in May 1921, there was labour trouble in the tea province of Assam on account of low wages and a great exodus of about 12,000 coolies from tea gardens amidst scenes of great destitution and suffering. There was an attack on these coolies at Chandpur where they had congregated in large numbers by Gurkhas who had been drafted there by the Government. The news of this outrage caused great indignation in the country and led to a sympathetic strike among the Railway and steamer employees in Eastern Bengal which created a complete dead lock for nearly two months.

*Gandhi Reading Interview.*—Another event which requires mention is the interview between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Reading which extended over several hours and led to a great deal of speculation about its subject matter. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai also had similar interviews. The details of the interview have never been published, but one incident was the publication of an apology by the Ali Brothers for the "unnecessary heat" of some of the passages of their speeches which had been construed by some as having a tendency

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to incite to violence. They further gave an assurance that, so long as they were associated with the movement of Non-co-operation, they would not directly or indirectly advocate violence. The Government of India on the 30th May, issued a communique stating that they had suspended action against the Ali Brothers on account of their undertaking and apology. Lord Reading in a speech at the Chelmsford Club referred to this incident as a result of the interviews which he had with Mahatma Gandhi. The subject excited comment amongst friends and foes alike. The Non-co-operators saw in it a lapse from the high ideal of Non-co-operation while opponents tried to discredit the brave brothers by reading in it an attempt to save their skins by offering an undertaking. It was not until Mahatma Gandhi had obtained the publication of an account of the interview* with the Viceroy's consent from which it was made clear that the Mahatma had agreed to secure an apology from the Ali Brothers for certain passages in their speeches calculated to incite to violence and that it was after the promise had been given that the proposal to institute criminal proceedings was mentioned by the Viceroy that the controversy came to a close.

*The Karachi Khilafat Conference.*—On the 8th of July, the All-India Khilafat conference opened at Karachi with Maulana Mohamed Ali in the chair. The proceedings of the conference formed later on the subject matter of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew, Jagat Guru Shankaracharya of Shardapeeth, Maulana Nisar Ahmad, Pir Gulam Mujadid and Maulvi Hussain Ahmed. While reiterating the Muslim demands, the Conference also passed a resolution declaring it "unlawful for any faithful Mussalman to serve from that day in the

* *See* p. 1107.

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army or help or acquiesce in their recruitment". It also declared that, if the British Government fought the Angora Government, the Muslims of India would start Civil Disobedience and establish their complete independence and hoist the flag of the Indian Republic at the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress.

*The A. I. C. C. Meeting at Bombay.*—On July 28 the All-India Congress Committee met again at Bombay. It was the first All-India Congress Committee elected under the new constitution adopted at the Nagpur Congress. The appearance of the members all clad in white *Khadi* was in keeping with the ideals of plain living held up before the country by the simple life of the Mahatma. The Committee passed a resolution declaring that it is the duty of every one, in terms and in virtue of the Non-co-operation Resolution passed by the Special Congress and reaffirmed at Nagpur, to refrain from participating in or assisting any welcome to H. R. H. The Prince of Wales. While tendering this advice, the Committee placed "on record its opinion that India bears no sort of ill-feeling against the person of H. R. H. and that the advice is tendered because the Committee regards the proposed visit as a political move calculated to give strength and support to a system of government that has resulted in breach of faith with the Mussalmans and atrocious injustice to the people of India, and the system that is designed to keep India as long as possible from her birthright of Swaraj." The 2nd resolution, after congratulating the nation on carrying out the Bezwada programme, asked it to concentrate its attention upon attaining complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September and manufacture of Khaddar by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving and advised all persons belonging to the Congress to discard the use of foreign

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cloth from the first of August and all Congress organisations to collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India. It also invited Indian mill agents to support the national effort by regulating the price of their manufactures so as to bring them within the reach of the poorest and the importers of foreign cloth and yarn to co-operate with the nation by stopping foreign orders and by disposing of their stock as far as possible outside India. The 3rd resolution noted with satisfaction the growth of public opinion and the campaign against the use and sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs by peaceful picketing and warned the Government that in case of continued improper interference with peaceful picketing it would advise its continuance in disregard of such orders. It appealed to local Boards or Municipalities to follow the lead of the Thana District Board by passing resolutions on picketing and it invited keepers of liquor and drug shops to discontinue them. The 4th resolution deplored the excesses at Malegaon and in Aligarh even though under great provocation and advised Congress organisations to inculcate Non-violence as an essential part of Non-co-operation and congratulated the people upon their exercising complete self-restraint notwithstanding grave provocation by local authorities in Dharwar, Matiari, Guntur and other places. It congratulated the families of those who had lost their lives by the unprovoked fire of the authorities at several places and also those brave and innocent citizens who had been wounded or were suffering imprisonment. The resolution, while taking note of Government repression and of the reasonable desire of the workers to take up Civil Disobedience, held that Civil Disobedience should be postponed till after the comple-

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tion of the Swadeshi programme which it regarded as a test of the measure of influence attained by the Congress and a guarantee of the stability of non-violent atmosphere. It, however, authorised the Working Committee to sanction Civil Disobedience in any place or province.

*The Arrest of the Muslim Leaders.*—The 31st July witnessed the burning of a huge pile of foreign-cloth at Bombay by Mahatma Gandhi. The following day was the death anniversary of the great Lokamanya Tilak and was celebrated all over the country. Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Mahomed Ali started on a tour through Behar, Assam and Madras. It was in the month of August that the Moplah out-break which was not suppressed for several months broke out. The Mahatma and Maulana Mahomed Ali were going from Calcutta to Malabar to pacify the rioters, but they were not allowed and Maulana Mahomed Ali was arrested in the train at Waltair on the 14th September, 1921, under a warrant of the District Magistrate of Vizagapatam to show cause why he should not be bound over to keep the peace under sec. 107 or 108 Cr. P.C. On the 17th, he was however re-arrested under a warrant from Karachi and taken by special train. Maulana Shaukat Ali was arrested at Bombay, Dr. Kitchlew at Simla, and Pir Gulam Mujadid in Sindh, while Maulana Nisar Ahmed, Hassan Ahmed and Shree Shankaracharya were also brought under arrest. It became known that the arrests had been made on account of the resolution passed at the Karachi Khilafat Conference regarding the duties of Muslims not to serve the army which had been based on a *Fatwa* given by five hundred of the most respected Moslem Divines. On the 21st September, the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema met at Delhi under the presidency of

Hakim Ajmal Khan and resolved to reprint the *Forward* for distribution and to repeat the Karachi resolution. Hundreds of meetings began to be held all over the country where the Karachi resolution was repeated, word by word, by each member of the audience. On the 4th of October, Mahatma Gandhi and about 50 other prominent Congressmen issued a manifesto asserting the right of every citizen to express his opinion regarding the propriety or otherwise of individuals joining or remaining in the Civil or Military service of the Government. It further proceeded to state it as their opinion that it was contrary to national dignity for an Indian to serve as a civilian and more specially as a soldier under a system of government which had brought about India's economic, moral and political degradation and which had used the soldiery and the police for repressing national aspiration at home and for crushing the liberty of other nations, who had done no harm to India, abroad. It also expressed its opinion that it was the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood.

*Their Trial and After.*—The trial of the Ali brothers and others was held at Karachi and ended in the acquittal of Shree Shankaracharya on all the charges and the conviction and sentence of the other accused persons to two years rigorous imprisonment. The stand taken by the accused was that Muslims were forbidden by their religion from serving a state which had put itself in opposition to their religious injunctions and it was the duty of every Mussalman to preach to his co-religionists to refrain from serving the Government. They were therefore bound by their religious creed to preach it, any secular or temporal laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at

Bombay on the 5th October and practically affirmed the manifesto issued on the previous evening and advised a voluntary hartal on the day of landing of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales and a boycott of all public welcome during his visit to the different cities of India.

*The A. I. C. C. Meeting at Delhi.*—On the 4th of November, the All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi and endorsed the resolution of the Working Committee regarding the duty of Government servants whether civilians or soldiers. It passed another resolution authorising every province on its own responsibility to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes subject to the conditions that, in case of individual Civil Disobedience, the individual must know hand-spinning, must have fulfilled the part of the programme applicable to him, must be a believer in the unity of all Communities and in Non-violence as absolutely essential and if a Hindu must show by personal conduct that he regards untouchability as a blot upon nationalism. In the case of mass Civil Disobedience, it required the vast majority of the population of the area embarking upon Civil Disobedience to have adopted full Swadeshi and to believe in and practice all other items of Non-co-operation. It further laid down that civil resisters and their families should not expect to be supported out of public funds and it authorised the Working Committee to relax the condition in suitable cases.

*The Prince's Visit and the Hartal.*- On the 17th of November, 1921, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay where he was received by Princes, officials, Europeans, Eurasians, Parsis and other rich persons. On the other hand, the middle and lower classes boycotted the welcome. Mobs got out of hand

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and began to molest visitors to the reception. From small beginnings the riots assumed large proportions; mobs burnt tramcars, smashed liquor shops and even molested some Parsi ladies. Mahatma Gandhi who happened to be in Bombay holding a meeting in another part of the town rushed to the scene of occurrence to quieten the mob. He was deeply affected by the events and he determined to fast till the riots ceased. The riots lasted for several days and several persons were wounded and killed. The Mahatma declared that he had come deliberately to the conclusion that mass Civil Disobedience could not be started then as the atmosphere for it was absent and the cult of Non-violence had not been sufficiently imbibed by the masses. The hartal however in all the other cities and even in villages was not marred by any such incidents. No shops were opened, no vehicles for hire plied and even some public offices had to be closed on account of the inability of the officers to attend for want of conveyance.

*Its Success and Results.*—The success of the hartal produced great panic among all classes of Europeans and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the European Association of Calcutta pressed the Government to take immediate action. The Government of Lord Reading which had brought out the Prince in spite of the protests and warnings of the people felt sorely disappointed at the turn events had taken and decided to secure a welcome for the Prince at the point of the bayonet. On 19th November, the Government of Bengal declared the Khilafat and Congress Volunteer Corps and other similar bodies unlawful under sec. 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, which had been passed to suppress anarchical bodies and secret societies. The Non-co-operation leaders, on the other hand,

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issued a manifesto declaring that volunteer organisations had not interfered with the maintenance of law and order and as a challenge to the Government notification enrolled themselves as members of the volunteer corps. A long list of such civil resisters was published and an appeal was made to observe the 24th of December as a day of complete hartal on the occasion of the Prince's visit. Similar notifications declaring volunteer organisations unlawful were issued in the provinces of Delhi, the Punjab, the U. P., Assam and Bihar and Orissa and the challenge was similarly accepted by the people. In many places, the Seditious Meetings Act was also applied. The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bombay on the 22nd and 23rd and directed all Provincial Congress Committees to appoint Volunteer Boards in their respective Provinces for controlling and bringing under a uniform discipline all existing volunteer corps and gave them draft instructions for giving effect to it. It also suggested the form of a pledge to be signed by volunteers in which Non-violence was insisted upon and a promise made to observe instructions of superiors and to run all risks in the performance of their duties.

*The Attack on Elementary Rights.*—In the 1st week of December commenced what is known as the period of repression. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. S. E. Stokes to mention some of the leaders only, and a large number of volunteers began to be arrested for violating the terms of the notification. Thousands of volunteers in different parts of the country offered themselves for arrest and were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. There was a great flutter even in Moderate circles and their recognised leaders and associations sent protests to the Government. Pandit

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Madan Mohan Malviya took a deputation to the Viceroy urging upon him the desirability of facing the situation and calling a Round Table Conference of the representatives of the people to make practical suggestions and recommendations to meet it. The deputation asked for a withdrawal of the notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act and the release of the persons imprisoned under them. The Viceroy, however, was unable to accede to the request and repression went on. The Prince, in the midst of this after visiting various places where he had met with no popular welcome, arrived at Calcutta on the 24th December, which observed a complete hartal on the occasion. The Congress, the Khilafat, and the Muslim League also met at Ahmedabad in the same week.

*The Ahmedabad Congress.*—On account of the incarceration of Mr. C. R. Das who was the president-elect of the Congress, Hakim Ajmal Khan was elected to preside. The proceedings of the Congress did not last long and there was practically only one resolution passed by it. The Congress, after re-affirming the Non-co-operation resolution passed at its previous sessions, called upon all, in view of the repressive policy of the Government, to quietly and without any demonstration offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the Volunteer organisations and it further advised the holding of Committee meetings and even of public meetings under certain restrictions in spite of prohibitions. It declared that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for armed rebellion* and

* Even political reactionaries should approve of this course if it becomes inevitable. "The Indian community . . . are struggling for the maintenance of a right and the removal of a degradation. Can we as Englishmen find fault with them for that? The only method of

advised Congress workers and others to organise individual and mass Civil Disobedience when the mass of the people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence. It called upon all students and the staff of national institutions to join the national volunteer corps. And, in view of the impending arrest of a large number of workers, the Congress, while requiring the ordinary machinery to remain in tact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, appointed Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invested him with the full authority of the All-India Congress Committee and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency, save that Mahatma Gandhi or any of his successors could not conclude any terms of peace with the Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress and that he could not change the creed. A resolution moved by Maulana Hasrat Mohani for a change in the creed of the Congress, so as to make complete independence the goal of the Congress, was thrown out by a large majority.

*Intensive Repression.*—In the following months, the repression policy of the Government was given full play and thousands of volunteers were sent to jail. Many of the leaders in several of the Provinces were also imprisoned and are still in jail. The history of these months is a history of unbridled arrests and incarcera-

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protest, except that of violence and disorder, which is open to them, who have neither votes nor representation, is that of passive resistance. Can we find fault with them for that? Let him who blames them say what he would do in similar circumstances. Is there one of us who, out of respect for the law, would submit meekly and without protest to deprivation of rights and social degradation?"—*Lord Ampthill in his introduction to Doke's Life of Gandhi.*

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tions on the one hand and a brave and undaunted acceptance of the challenge on the other. It can be truly asserted that the country had given an account of itself which is one to be proud of and even though the fruits of the sacrifice of 25,000 men and women are not yet visible, the sacrifice cannot have gone in vain.

*Civil Disobedience and Chauri Chaura.*—In the month of February, serious riots took place at a place called Chauri Chaura in the district of Gorakhpur and Mahatma Gandhi who had proceeded to Bardoli to lead a campaign of mass Civil Disobedience and had gone so far as to issue his message to the Viceroy* and Government intimating the initiation of mass Civil Disobedience had to suspend the campaign as a consequence. On the 11th of February the Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli and suspended Civil Disobedience and called upon all Congress organisations to concentrate their efforts on creating an atmosphere of non-violence and further strengthening the Congress organisations by improving the panchayats and national educational institutions established under it, by enrolling members for the Congress, by stimulating the use of spinning wheels and production of khaddar, by the raising of the suppressed classes by removing untouchability and by collecting money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund to carry on the Congress work. Mahatma Gandhi observed a five day's fast as a penance for the Chauri Chaura tragedy. The All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi on the 24th of February and practically affirmed the Bardoli resolutions of the Working Committee. With the Delhi session of the All-India Congress Committee, practically suspending Civil Disobedience, differences in the ranks of Non-co-operators

* *See* p. 966

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began to manifest themselves. The Maharashtra Party moved what was a vote of censure on the Working Committee for the Bardoli resolutions and suggested a revision of the programme, but it was lost in the All-India Congress Committee. Many workers were dissatisfied with the suspension of Civil Disobedience and the constructive programme which chalked out a course of quiet and unostentatious work of organisation and consolidations of the national resources was regarded by many as throwing a wet blanket on the fire and fervour of the people.

*The Mahatma's Arrest and After.*—It was while things were moving on in this way that the Government had Mahatma Gandhi arrested on the 10th of March, tried for sedition and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. With the removal of Mahatma Gandhi from the scene of his labours where he had led the millions of India's masses, India has been deprived of the guidance of a world leader. The Congress Committees have been trying to carry on the constructive programme laid down at Bardoli. When the All-India Congress Committee met at Lucknow on the 7th of June, great dissatisfaction with the present programme and an earnest desire to resort to Civil Disobedience was expressed by many members. The Committee, however, ultimately appealed to the country to concentrate its efforts upon carrying out the constructive programme and asked the President to appoint a Committee to report on the situation in the country as regards its preparedness for Civil Disobedience at its next meeting. The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee appointed in terms of this resolution has been touring the country and is expected to issue its report in a few days to be considered by the All-India Congress Committee.

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Here closes a narrative of events. The reader will find the principles, the faith and the inspiration of the N. C. O. movement and the Non-co-operators in the words of its originator in the pages of *Young India* reprinted hereinafter for the behoof of the growing number of persons desirous of imbibing the true spirit from its fountain source.

*Conclusion.*—Looking back at the history of the last 2 years one finds that the country as a whole has been roused more than ever before during the period of its occupation by Britain. Within a few months of the Nagpur Congress, there was hardly a village or hamlet to which the message of Swaraj had not been carried. The feeling of helplessness and despair gave place to one of buoyant hope and faith in the destiny of the country. People have for once realised their strength and feel that strong as the Government may appear with its armaments, it can not but fall at the feet of a nation determined to be free and determined to suffer for attaining that freedom. They know that all their troubles and humiliations are of their own making, and the moment they are united and organised enough they can bring the Government to its knees. To this end, unity between Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews and other races and communities of the country is regarded as the first and most important step. To this end a perfect organisation of Panchayats linking village to village, District to District, Province to Province and all these into one whole, is looked upon as a *sine qua non* of success in this momentous struggle. To this end also the production and propagation of khaddar to free the nation from economical thraldom in respect of one of the necessaries of life is calculated to lead. And last, though not least, to this end, too, is directed the effort to purge society of

social evils, such as drinking and litigiousness and of the sin of untouchability which condemns a vast proportion of the population to a position worse than that of lower animals. The movement is essentially a movement intended and expected to strengthen and purify the Indian people. It relies more and more upon the moral strength and superiority of the peoples India—a strength and superiority born of the purity of their aims and purity of their methods—than upon naked brute force which is inherently weak. Therefore it is that it has made an irresistible appeal to India. May her efforts to relieve herself from the present position of bondage, humiliation and dishonour without recourse to arms be successful and thus pave the way for the freedom of a world sick with a state of things in which Justice, Truth, Honour and the divine virtue of Charity count for nothing before the imperious demands of Imperialism and Capitalism.

*31st August, 1922.* RAJENDRA PRASAD.

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# YOUNG INDIA

*8th October, 1919*

## TO THE SUBSCRIBERS AND THE READERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"YOUNG INDIA" from this week* enters upon a new stage. It became a bi-weekly when Mr. Horniman was deported and the "Chronicle" was strangled. Ever since the "Chronicle's" re-birth, the syndicate and I have been considering the advisability of reverting to the weekly issue. The conversion of "Nava Jivan" into a weekly and its coming under my charge has hastened the decision. The burden of conducting a bi-weekly and a weekly is too great a strain on me and a weekly "Young India" will now serve almost as well as a bi-weekly. An endeavour will be made to give as much matter as was given in the bi-weekly. The annual subscription will now be Rs. 4 instead of Rs. 8 and the price of a single copy will be one anna instead of two without postage. Subscribers may either have the balance due to this change returned to them or the amount

* See Introduction for the past history of the paper.

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may be credited to the next year's account. Those subscribers who may be dissatisfied with the change can have the proportionate payment refunded to them on application.

The headquarters of "Young India" have been transferred to Ahmedabad for better management, and in order to enable me to devote some time to the Satyagrah Ashram which, owing to my continued absence from it, was being somewhat neglected by me. Moreover, it was obviously uneconomical in every respect to edit two papers at two different places. This deprives me of the privilege of being with Bombay friends as much as I have lately been. But I hope they will forgive me, if the new arrangement results, as I hope it will, in greater service to the country.

"Young India" has hitherto been chiefly occupied in dealing with the Punjab affairs. But one may reasonably hope that the cloud will lift in the near future.

What will "Young India" then present to its readers? I frankly confess that to me, editing a newspaper in English, is no pleasure. I feel that, in occupying myself with that work, I am not making the best use of my time. And, but for the Madras Presidency, I should now leave the work of editing "Young India". It is true that I should at times like to make my views in matters of general interest known to the Government. But I do not need to control a newspaper merely for that purpose.

The editing of "Nava Jivan" has been a perfect revelation to me. Whilst "Young India" has a little more than 1,200 subscribers, "Nava Jivan" has 12,000. The number would leap to 20,000 if we would but get printers to print that number. It shows that a vernacular newspaper is a felt want. I am proud to think that I have numerous readers among farmers and

workers. They make India. Their poverty is India's curse and crime. Their prosperity alone can make India a country fit to live in. They represent nearly 80 p. c. of India's population. (The English journals touch but the fringe of the ocean of India's population.)

Whilst therefore I hold it to be the duty of every English-knowing Indian to translate the best of the English thought in the vernaculars for the benefit of the masses, I recognise that for a few years to come, *i.e.*, until we have accepted Hindustani as the common medium among the cultured classes and until Hindustani becomes compulsory in our schools as a second language, educated India, especially in the Madras Presidency, must be addressed in English.

But I will not be party to editing a newspaper that does not pay its way. "Young India" cannot pay its way unless it has at least 2,500 paying subscribers. I must appeal to my Tamil friends to see to it that the requisite number of subscribers is found, if they wish to see "Young India" continued.

The more so now, because the proprietors of "Young India" have decided to give up all advertisements. I know that they have not been entirely, if at all, converted to my view that a newspaper ought to be conducted without advertisements. But they are willing to let me make the experiment. I invite those who wish to see "Young India" free from the curse of advertisements to help me to make the venture a success. The Gujarati "Nava Jivan" has already demonstrated the possibility of conducting a newspaper without advertisements soiling its pages. What a financial gain it would be to the country, if there was for each province only one advertising medium—not a newspaper—containing innocent, unvarnished notices of things useful for the

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public. But for our criminal indifference, we would decline to pay the huge indirect taxation by way of mischievous advertisements. Some readers who are interested in the purity of journalism recently sent me a most indecent advertisement extracted from a well-known newspaper. I have refused to soil the pages of "Nava Jivan" by reproducing it. But anyone turning to the advertisement sheets of even leading journals can verify the aptness of my criticism.

A word as to the policy of "Young India". Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustices to individuals, it will devote its attention to constructive Satyagraha as also sometimes cleansing Satyagraha. Cleansing Satyagraha is civil resistance where resistance becomes a duty to remove a persistent and degrading injustice such as the Rowlatt Act.

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*5th November, 1919*

## "RING OUT THE OLD, RING IN THE NEW"

We give below a translation of a leading article in the "Nava Jivan," dated 26th October, 1919, the Guzerati New Year Day :

It is difficult to strike the last year's balance. The War has ended but with little result. The hopes it nourished have remained unfulfilled. The Peace, which was expected to be a permanent one, has turned out to be one in name. (The War which was greater than the *Mahabharat* War has been proved to be but a prelude to a still greater war.) Widespread discontent hung all over France, America and England after the War—enough to bewilder one. All that has followed seems to be a huge enigma. Here, in India, we are faced with despair everywhere. It was confidently hoped that at the close of the

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War, India would get something substantial, but the hope turned out to be false. For aught we know, the reforms* may not come. Even if they do, they will be worthless. The Congress-League Scheme, then the Delhi Congress Scheme and the subsequent schemes are now airy nothings. We have to wait and see. The Punjab has been a scene of most revolting episodes. Innocent lives have been lost. There reigned a reign of terror. The gulf between the rulers and the ruled has been widened. In these matters it is impossible to strike a correct balance. What is the sum total on the credit side? Or is there something to be debited, and if so what? Or is it that there is no credit side at all and we have simply to sum up the debit figures?

Was there any silver lining to such a thick, dark, cloud of despair? The sun of Satyagraha dawned all over India on the 6th of April. The clouds were scattered and the rays could be distinctly seen. But the sun underwent an eclipse in the Punjab and Ahmedabad and its shadows are still haunting us. And yet Satyagraha is again seen dawning on most minds, though slowly. There was *hartal* in many parts of India on the 17th of October amid perfect peace and quiet. The Faithful passed that day in fasting and prayer. The Hindus participated in the Moslems' mourning, strengthened the latter's hopes and the bonds of union with them. It may now be very difficult to break the bonds.

If some one were to ask, "What was the greatest event of the last year?", we would unhesitatingly say, "It was the acceptance of Satyagraha,—however slightly, and consciously or unconsciously, both by the rulers

* The British Cabinet had announced that the grant of substantial constitutional reforms for India was under consideration.

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and the ruled. And in proof of the statement we would cite *October the 17th*.

The hope of India lies in Satyagraha. And what is Satyagraha? It has often been described. But just as the sun cannot be *fully* described even by the myriad-tongued Sheshnaga,* so also the sun of Satyagraha cannot be adequately described. And though we always see the sun but know really very little of it, even so we do ever seem to see the sun of Satyagraha, but we know precious little about it.

The spheres of Satyagraha are Swadeshi, Social Reform and Political Reform. And in so far as these are based on Satyagraha, so far only, and no farther, is their permanence assured. The way of Satyagraha is distinct from the beaten track and it is not always easy to discover it. Few have ventured along that path and the footprints on it are few and far between and indistinct, and hence the people's dread of it. And still we clearly find people taking that course, be it ever so slowly.

He to whom Satyagraha means nothing more than Civil Disobedience has never understood Satyagraha. No doubt the rigid interpretation of Satyagraha does include within its meaning Civil Disobedience. But only he who has mastered the art of obedience to law knows the art of disobedience to law. Only he who thoroughly knows how to construct may destroy. The poet has sung:

"The path of Truth is the path of the brave,
It is beyond the power of the cowards".

Swadeshi is Satyagraha. It is beyond the power of

* The great snake in Hindu mythology on whom lies God Vishnu, the Protector in the Hindu Trinity. Shesha is reputed to possess a 1,000 tongues.

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cowardly spirits to observe or to propagate Swadeshi. It is impossible for a coward to foster Hindu-Moslem Unity. It takes anyone but a cowardly Musalman to receive a wound from a Hindu's dagger and *vice versa* and to preserve his mental balance. If both could master this much forbearance, Swarajya would be instantaneously obtained. There is none to forbid us the path of Satyagraha, and both Swadeshi and Hindu-Moslem Unity being in this essence religious, India would incidentally perform an act of religion. This then is our prayer for the New Year:

"Lord, lead India towards the path of Truth; this doing, teach her the religion of Swadeshi, and knit the Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians and Jews living in India closer together."

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# PART I
# THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

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# PART I

## THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

### A REVIEW OF THE MOVEMENT

THE following statement, submitted by Mr. Gandhi to the Hunter Committee, surveying the beginning of the Satyagraha Movement in India, was published in "Young India" of 5th November, 1919 and two or three consecutive issues :

*General Principles.*—For the past thirty years, I have been preaching and practising Satyagraha. The principles of Satyagraha, as I know it to-day, constitute a gradual evolution.

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.

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.

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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 the one may appear to be error to the other. 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.

But, on the political field, 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 remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, is to compel him by physical force to yield to you or by suffering in your own person by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence Satyagraha largely appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

The 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

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such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude.

In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of Satyagraha are so great and the doctrine so simple that it can be preached even to children. It was preached by me to thousands of men, women and children commonly called indentured Indians with excellent results.

*Rowlatt Bills.*—When the Rowlatt Bills were published, I felt that they were so restrictive of human liberty that they must be resisted to the utmost. I observed too that the opposition to them was universal among Indians. I submit that no State, however despotic, has the right to enact laws which are repugnant to the whole body of the people, much less a government guided by constitutional usage and precedent such as the Indian Government. I felt too that the oncoming agitation needed a definite direction if it was neither to collapse nor to run into violent channels.

*The 6th April.*—I ventured therefore to present Satyagraha to the country, emphasising its Civil Resistance aspect. And, as it is purely an inward and purifying movement, I suggested the observance of fast, prayer and suspension of all work for one day—the 6th of April. There was a magnificent response throughout the length and breadth of India, even in little villages, although there was no organization and no great previous preparation. The idea was given to the public as soon as it was conceived. On the 6th April there was no violence used by the people and no collision with the police worth naming. The *hartal* was purely voluntary and spontaneous. I attach hereto the letter * in which the idea was announced.

* The letter emphasised the purifying aspect of the movement and urged that absolutely no compulsion or pressure should be used.

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*My arrest.*—The observance of the 6th April was to be followed by Civil Disobedience. For that the Committee of the Satyagraha Sabha had selected certain political laws for disobedience. And we commenced the distribution of prohibited literature of a perfectly healthy type, *e.g.*, a pamphlet written by me on Home Rule, a translation of Ruskin's 'Unto this Last', 'The Defence and Death of Socrates', etc.

*Disorder.*—But there is no doubt that the 6th of April found India vitalised as never before. The people who were fear-stricken ceased to fear authority. Moreover, hitherto the masses had lain inert. The leaders had not really acted upon them. They were undisciplined. They had found a new force but they did not know what it was and how to use it.

At Delhi, the leaders found it difficult to restrain the very large number of people who had remained unmoved before. At Amritsar, Dr. Satyapal was anxious that I should go there and show to the people the peaceful nature of Satyagraha. Swami Shraddhanandji from Delhi and Dr. Satyapal from Amritsar wrote to me asking me to go to their respective places for pacifying the people and for explaining to them the nature of Satyagraha. I had never been to Amritsar and, for that matter, to the Punjab before. These two messages were seen by the authorities and they knew that I was invited to both the places for peaceful purposes.

I left Bombay for Delhi and the Punjab on the 8th April and had telegraphed to Dr. Satyapal whom I had never met before to meet me at Delhi. But, after passing Muttra, I was served with an order prohibiting me from entering the province of Delhi. I felt that I was bound to disregard this order and I proceeded on my journey.

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At Palwal, I was served with an order prohibiting me from entering the Punjab and confining me to the Bombay Presidency. And I was arrested by a party of Police and taken off the train at that station. The Superintendent of the Police who arrested me acted with every courtesy. I was taken to Muttra by the first available train and thence by goods train early in the morning to Siwai Madhupur, where I joined the Bombay Mail from Peshawar and was taken charge of by Superintendent Bowring. I was discharged at Bombay on the 10th April.

But the people of Ahmedabad and Viramgam and in Gujarat generally had heard of my arrest. They became furious, shops were closed, crowds gathered, and murder, arson, pillage, wire-cutting and attempt at derailment followed.

*Causes.*—I had worked in the midst of Kaira raiyats just before and had mixed among thousands of men and women. I had worked at the instance of and with Miss Ansuya Sarabhai among the mill-hands of Ahmedabad. The mill-hands appreciated her philanthropic work and adored her. The fury of the labourers in Ahmedabad reached white heat when a false rumour was started that she too was arrested. Both of us had visited and interceded for the mill-hands of Viramgam when they were in trouble. And it is my firm belief that the excesses were due to the great resentment of the mobs over my arrest and the rumoured arrest of Miss Ansuya Sarabhai.

I have mixed with the masses in practically the whole of India and talked to them freely. I do not believe that there was any revolutionary movement behind the excesses. They could hardly be dignified by the term 'rebellion'.

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*Measures.*—And in my opinion the Government erred in prosecuting the offenders for waging war. This view has caused unmerited or disproportionate suffering. The fine imposed on poor Ahmedabad was heavy and the manner of collecting it from the labourers was unnecessarily harsh and irritating. I doubt the justice of inflicting on the labourers a fine so large as 1,76,000 (one hundred and seventy-six thousand) rupees.) The imposition of the cost from the farmers of Barejdi and from the Banias and Patidars of Nadiad was totally unjustified and even vindictive. I think that the introduction of Martial Law in Ahmedabad was also unjustified and its thoughtless administration resulted in the loss of several innocent lives.

At the same time, and subject to the reservations mentioned by me, I have no doubt that in the Bombay Presidency the authorities acted with considerable restraint at a time when the atmosphere was surcharged with mutual suspicion and the attempt at wrecking the train which was bringing the troops to restore order had naturally angered the authorities.

## MR. GANDHI'S ORAL EVIDENCE

*Examination by Lord Hunter.*

Q. I take it, Mr. Gandhi, that you are the author of the Satyagraha movement.

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Will you explain it briefly?

A. It is a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely upon Truth. It is, as I have conceived it, an extension of the domestic law on 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 breadth of the land, for the redress of grievances.

Q. It was adopted by you in connection with the opposition to the Rowlatt Act. And in that connection you asked the people to sign the Satyagraha pledge.

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Was it your intention to enlist as many men as possible in the movement?

A. Yes, consistently with the principles of Truth and Non-violence. If I got a million men ready to act according to those principles, I would not mind enlisting them all.

Q. Is it not a movement essentially antagonistic to Government because you substitute the determination of the Satyagraha Committee for the will of the Government?

A. That is not the spirit in which the movement has been understood by the people.

Q. I ask you to look at it from the point of view of the Government. If you were a Governor yourself, what would you say to a movement that was started with the object of breaking those laws which your Committee determined?

A. That would not be stating the whole case of the Satyagraha doctrine. If I were in charge of the Government and brought face to face with a body who, entirely in search of Truth, were determined to seek redress from unjust laws without inflicting violence, I would welcome it and would consider that they were the best constitutionalists, and, as a Governor, I would take them by my side as advisers who would keep me on the right path.

Q. People differ as to the justice or injustice of particular laws?

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A. That is the main reason why violence is eliminated and a Satyagrahi gives his opponent the same right of independence and feelings of liberty that he reserves to himself and he will fight by inflicting injuries on his person.

*Lord Hunter.*—I was looking at it from the point of view of the continuance of Government. Would it be possible to continue the Government if you had set up against the Government a body of men who would not accept the Government view but the view of an independent Committee?

A. I have found from my experience that it was possible to do so during eight years of continuous struggle in South Africa. I found General Smuts, who went through the whole of that campaign, at the end of it saying that if all conducted themselves as the Satyagrahis had done, they should have nothing to fear.

Q. But there was no such pledge in that campaign as is prescribed here?

A. Certainly there was. (Every Satyagrahi was bound to resist all those laws which he considered to be unjust and which were not of a criminal character, in order to bend the Government to the will of the people.)

Q. I understand your vow contemplates breaking of laws which a Committee may decide.

A. Yes, my Lord. I want to make it clear to the Committee that (that part of the vow was meant to be a restraint on individual liberty. As I intended to make it a mass movement, I thought the constitution of some such Committee) as we had appointed was necessary, so that no man should become a law unto himself, and, therefore, we conceived the plan that the Committee would be able to show what laws might be broken.

Q. We hear that doctors differ, and even Satyagrahis might differ?

A. Yes, I found it so to my cost.

Q. Supposing a Satyagrahi was satisfied that a particular law was a just law and that the Committee did not obey this law, what is a Satyagrahi to do?

A. He is not bound to disobey that law. We had such Satyagrahis in abundance.

Q. Is it not rather a dangerous campaign?

A. If you will conceive the campaign as designed in order to rid the country of violence, then you will share with me the same concern for it. I think that at any cost a movement of this character should live in the country in a purified state.

Q. By your pledge are you not binding a man's conscience?

A. Not according to my interpretation of it. If my interpretation of the pledge is found to be incorrect, I shall mend my error if I have to start the movement again. (Lord H.—No, No, Mr. Gandhi, I do not pretend to advise you.)

I wish I could disabuse the Committee of the idea that it is a dangerous doctrine. It is conceived entirely with the object of ridding the country of the idea of violence.

Lord Hunter here briefly detailed the circumstances preceding the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the widespread general Indian opposition to the Act, etc., and asked Mr. Gandhi to describe the essence of his objection to the legislation.

A. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report to the end and the legislation foreshadowed in it, and I came to the conclusion that the legislation was not warranted by the facts produced by the Committee. I thought it was

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very restrictive of human liberty and that no self-respecting person or nation could allow such legislation. When I saw the debates in the Legislative Council, I felt that the opposition to it was universal. When I found the agitation against it, I felt that for me, as a self-respecting individual and a member of a vast Empire, there was no course left open but to resist that law to the utmost.

Q. So far as the objects of that legislation are concerned, have you any doubt that they are to put down revolutionary and anarchical crimes?

A. They are quite laudable objects.

Q. Your complaint, then, must be as regards the methods adopted?

A. Entirely.

Q. The method is, I understand, that greater power has been given to the executive than they enjoyed before.

A. That is so.

Q. But is it not the same power that the executive enjoyed under the Defence of India Act?

A. That is true, but that was essentially an emergency measure designed to secure the co-operation of everybody in order to put down any violence that may be offered by any section of the community in connection with the successful carrying on of the War. It was assented to with the greatest reluctance. (The Rowlatt legislation is of a different character altogether, and now the experience of the working of the former Act has strengthened my objections to the Rowlatt Act.)

Q. Mr. Gandhi, the Rowlatt legislation is only to operate if the local Government is satisfied that there is anarchy.

A. I would not, as a legislator, leave that power in the hands of an executive whom I have known to run mad in India at times.

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Q. Then, really, your objection comes to this, that the Government of India, in the prosecution of a laudable object, adopted a wrong method. Therefore, is not the proper method of dealing with that, from a constitutional point of view, to endeavour to get the legislation remedied by satisfying Government of the inexpediency of it?

A. I approached on bended knees Lord Chelmsford, and pleaded with him and with every English officer I had the pleasure of meeting, and placed my views before them, but they said they were helpless, and that the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations had to be given effect to. We had exhausted all the methods open to us.

Q. If an opponent differs from you, you cannot satisfy him all of a sudden. You must do it by degrees. Is it not rather a drastic way of attempting it by refusing to obey the law?

A. I respectfully beg to differ from your Lordship. If I find that even my father has imposed upon me a law which is repugnant to my conscience, I think it is the least drastic course that I could adopt by respectfully telling him that I cannot obey it. By that course I do nothing but justice to my father, and, if I may say so without any disrespect to the Committee, I have myself followed that course with the greatest advantage and I have preached that ever since. If it is not disrespectful to say so to my father, it is not so to say so to a friend and, for that matter, to my Government.

*Lord Hunter.*—In the prosecution of your Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt legislation you resolved upon a general *hartal* throughout India. That *hartal* was to be a day when no business was to be done and people were generally to indicate by their attitude that they disapproved of the Government's action. A *hartal* means

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a general cessation of business throughout the whole country. Would it not create a very difficult situation?

A. Cessation for a great length of time would create a difficult situation.

Mr. Gandhi here explained how the observance of the *hartal* in some part of the country on the 30th March, and all over the country on the 6th April came about, not on account of any miscalculation, but on account of the people in one part coming to know of the Viceregal assent to the Act earlier than the people in other parts.

Q. You agree that the abstention from work should be entirely voluntary?

A. Yes, entirely voluntary, in the sense that persuasion on the day of the *hartal* would not be allowed, whereas persuasion by means of leaflets and other propaganda work on other days would be perfectly legitimate, so long as no physical force was employed.

Q. You disapprove of people interfering with *tongas* on the day of the *hartal*?

A. Certainly.

Q. You would not object to the police interfering in the case of such a disapprovable interference on the people's part?

A. I would not, if they acted with proper restraint and forbearance.

Q. But you agree that on the day of the *hartal* it was highly improper to jostle with other people and stop *tongas*?

A. From a Satyagrahi's standpoint I would hold it to be criminal.

*Lord Hunter.*—Your leading lieutenant in Delhi, Swami Shraddhananda—(Mr. Gandhi interrupting:—I would not call him my lieutenant, but an esteemed co-worker).—Did he write you a letter on the subject, and indicate

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to you that after what had occurred in Delhi and the Punjab, it was manifest that you could not present a general *hartal* without violence inevitably ensuing?

A. I cannot recall the contents of that letter. I think he went much further and said that it was not possible that the law-breaking campaign could be carried on with impunity among the masses. He did not refer to *hartal* proceeding. There was a difference of opinion between me and Swami Shraddhananda when I suspended Civil Disobedience. I found it necessary to suspend it because I had not obtained sufficient control, to my satisfaction, over the people. What Swami Shraddhananda said was that Satyagraha could not be taken as a mass movement. But I did not agree with his view and I do not know that he is not converted to my view to-day. The suspension of Civil Disobedience was as much necessary as prosecution for offences against law. I would like the Committee to draw a sharp distinction between *hartal* and Civil Disobedience. *Hartal* was designed to strike the imagination of the people and the Government. Civil Disobedience was a discipline for those who were to offer disobedience. I had no means of understanding the mind of India except by some such striking movement. *Hartal* was a proper indication to me how far I would be able to carry Civil Disobedience.

Q. If there is a *hartal* side by side with the preaching of Satyagraha, would it not be calculated to promote violence?

A. My experience is entirely to the contrary. It was an amazing scene for me to see people collected in their thousands—men, women and even little children and babies marching peacefully in procession. The peaceful *hartals* would not have been at all possible if Satyagraha was not preached in the right way.

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But, as I have said, a *hartal* is a different thing from Civil Disobedience in practice.

In further reply to Lord Hunter, Mr. Gandhi recounted the incidents connected with his 'so-called arrest' at Palwal. He characterised the proceeding of his being detained at Palwal and turned back to Bombay under escort as, in form and in substance, an arrest and he was surprised to find his arrest described in some quarters as his "supposed arrest." At Palwal he was served with an order prohibiting him from entering the Punjab and confining him to the Bombay Presidency. The Police Officer who served him with the order was exceedingly courteous to him. When he resolved to disregard the order prohibiting him from entering the Delhi Province, the Police Officer reasoned with him pointing out how much inconvenience would result in his being arrested at a small wayside station. When he proceeded to Palwal, he saw the Superintendent of Police, Delhi, with his officers and men. The officer placing his hand on his shoulder said, "Mr. Gandhi, I arrest you." He was asked to remove quickly his luggage from the train and to point out the men of his party who wished to accompany him. This was done. He was placed under the watch of some police constables; and to show that it was nothing else but a proper arrest, Mr. Gandhi said, when he went to the side of the platform to clear his throat, an officer challenged him. He did not mean to imply that the officer did anything wrong. He was doing nothing more than his duty.

Mr. Gandhi then described how the officer arresting him had no knowledge as to how he was going to be proceeded with, how he was taken to Sawai Madhupur and there joined the Punjab Mail in which he was left in charge of Mr. Bowring, how at daybreak next day

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Mr. Bowring after consultation with an officer who had joined him told him that he would be free in Bombay.

*Lord Hunter.*—All that was required of you was that you were not to proceed to Delhi or the Punjab?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—No, by the time I was arrested, I had already committed an offence by proceeding to Palwal. Therefore, I was not asked to go back to Bombay, but I was escorted.

*Lord Hunter.*—Then it amounted to this, that in consequence of a Government order it was made clear to you that you would not be allowed to proceed to Delhi or the Punjab and that if you remained in the Bombay Presidency, you would be allowed perfect freedom?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Yes.

*Lord Hunter*: That is a little different from arresting you and throwing you into the jail. Is it not so, Mr. Gandhi?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Nobody made that assertion. The only complaint against Government is that they had no business to turn me away from my mission of peace.

*Lord Hunter.*—If the Government honestly thought that it would be inexpedient to allow you to go to a place to propagate your doctrine which was already in an excited state on account of that doctrine, then would you object?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—From that standpoint, I have absolutely nothing to say.

*Lord Hunter.*—Subsequent to your arrest, serious incidents occurred in Delhi and the Punjab and also in Ahmedabad?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Yes.

*Lord Hunter.*—Now, the only matters that we have got to deal with here are as regards Ahmedabad itself.

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In Ahmedabad, as we have been told, you enjoy great popularity among the mill workers?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Yes.

*Lord Hunter.*—And your arrest seems to have caused great resentment on their part and led to the very unfortunate actions of the mob on April 10, 11 and 12 in Ahmedabad and Viramgam?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Yes.

*Lord Hunter.*—So far as those incidents are concerned, you have no personal knowledge of them?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—No.

*Lord Hunter.*—I don't know whether there is anything that you can communicate to us in connection with those events to help us to form an opinion.

*Mr. Gandhi.*—I venture to present the opinion that I considered that the action of the mob, whether at Ahmedabad or at Viramgam, was totally unjustified, and I think that it was a very sad thing that they lost self-control. But, at the same time, I would like to say that the people among whom, rightly or wrongly, I was popular, were put to a severe test by Government. They should have known better. I do not say that the Government committed an unpardonable error of judgment and the mob committed no error. (On the contrary, I hold that it was more unpardonable on the part of the mob than on the part of Government)

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi narrated how he endeavoured to do what he could to repair the error. (He placed himself entirely at the disposal of the authorities.) He had a long interview with Mr. Pratt and other officials. He was to have held a meeting of the people on the 13th but he was told that it would not be possible to hold it that day, not on account of Colonel Fraser's order, because he was promised every assistance in connection with the

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meeting, but that the notice of the meeting would not reach all the people that day. The meeting took place on the 14th. There he adumbrated what had happened. There he had to use the terms "organised" and "educated", both of which terms had been so much quoted against him and against the people. The speech was in Gujarati. Mr. Gandhi explained and hoped Sir Chimanlal Setalvad would bear him out on a reference to the Gujarati speech that the word only means those who can read and write, and that he used the word and expressed the opinion as he sensed the thing at that time.

He emphasised it was not a previous organisation that he meant; he only meant to say, and there could be no mistaking the actual words in his speech, that the acts were done in an *organised manner*. He further emphasised that he was speaking of Ahmedabad only, that he had then no knowledge of what had happened even at Viramgam, and that he would not retract a single statement from that speech. In his opinion, said Mr. Gandhi, violence was done in an organised manner. It cannot be interpreted to mean a deep-laid conspiracy. He laid special emphasis on the fact that, while he used these expressions, he was addressing the people and not the police authorities.

If Mr. Guider stated that a single name of the offenders was not forthcoming from him, he was entirely mistaken about his mission and had put an improper valuation upon the term "organisation." The crimes committed by the mob were the result of their being deluded by the wicked rumour of the arrest of Miss Anasuya. There was a class of half-educated people who possessed themselves with false ideas from sources such as cinematographs and from silly novels and from

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political leaders. He knew that school. He had mixed with them and endeavoured to wean them. He had so far succeeded in his endeavours that there were to-day hundreds of people who had ceased to belong to the school of revolution.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said he had now given the whole meaning of what he had said. He had never meant that there were University men behind the disturbances. He did not say they were incapable of those acts, but he was not aware of any highly educated man directing the mob.

*Lord Hunter.*—Do you imply that there was a common purpose on the part of the rioters.

*Mr. Gandhi.*—I don't say that. It would be exaggerating to say that, but I think the common purpose was restricted to two or three men or parties who instigated the crimes.

Q. Did the agitation take an anti-European character?

A. It was certainly an anti-Government movement. I would fain believe it was not anti-European, but I have not yet made up my mind as to that.

*Lord Hunter.*—I do not know whether you want to answer this or not. According to the Satyagraha doctrine, is it right that people who have committed crimes should be punished by the civil authorities?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—It is a difficult question to answer, because (through punishment) you anticipate pressure from outside. I am not prepared to say that it is wrong, but there is a better method. But I think, on the whole, it would be proper to say that a Satyagrahi cannot possibly quarrel with any punishment that might be meted out to an offender and therefore he cannot be anti-Government in that sense.

*Lord Hunter.*—But apparently it is against the doctrine

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of Satyagraha to give assistance to Government by way of placing the information that a Satyagrahi has that would lead to the conviction of offenders?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—According to the principles of Satyagraha, it is inconsistent for the simple reason that a Satyagrahi's business is not to assist the police in the method which is open to the police, but he helps the authorities and the police to make the people more law-abiding and more respectable to authority.

*Lord Hunter.*—Supposing a Satyagrahi has seen one of the more serious crimes committed in these riots in his own presence. Would there be no obligation on him to inform the police?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Of course I answered that question to Mr. Guider before and I think I must answer it to Your Lordship. I don't want to misguide the youth of the country, but even then he cannot go against his own brother. When I say brother, I do not, of course, make any distinction of country or nationality. A Satyagrahi is wholly independent of such a distinction. The Satyagrahi's position is somewhat similar to that of a counsel defending an accused. I have known criminals of the deadliest type and I may humbly claim to have been instrumental in weaning them from crimes. I should be forfeiting their confidence if I disclosed the name of a single man. But supposing I found myself wanting in weaning them, I would surely not take the next step to go and inform the police about them; I do not hesitate to say that for a Satyagrahi it is the straightest thing not to give evidence of a crime done even under his nose. But there can be only the rarest uses of this doctrine and even to-day I am not able to say whether I would not give evidence against a criminal whom I saw caught in the act.

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Asked as regards his view of the general situation, Mr. Gandhi said the impression made on his mind was that there was martial law and that he thought that the Government acted under the greatest restraint and forbearance. He said he could understand troops in a train, which was attempted to be derailed, being infuriated and he would find it in his heart to excuse those troops of mad acts of fury. He thought that the terms in which the military notice was couched was entirely capable of misrepresentation. He thought the people were fired on without notice. There were, say, nine men going along, and a tenth man met them not wanting to be the tenth man. It cannot be proper to fire on them and probably there was no use in giving notice to those who probably did not know of the military proclamation at all.

Asked as to his views on the work of the two tribunals, Mr. Gandhi said, in his opinion, the Government erred in prosecuting the offenders for waging war. He must admit that the work of the tribunals was consistent with the laws of civilised justice. The sections under which the prosecutions were undertaken ought not to have been brought into use. That hasty view had caused unmerited and disproportionate suffering. The fine imposed on poor Ahmedabad was heavy and the manner of collecting it from the labourers was unnecessarily harsh and irritating. And he ventured to differ there from Mr. Ambalal's opinion as expressed by Lord Hunter and he felt that Mr. Ambalal had erred grievously against his people. He thought the action of Government in imposing the additional police on Nadiad and Barejadi was totally unjustified. The arguments urged by the Collector of Nadiad for inflicting that fine were totally irrelevant and vindictive. He was satisfied that the people of Nadiad were not in league with those who

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went to derail the train but gave every assistance to Government to trace the offenders and got a handsome acknowledgment and compliment from the Collector for their assistance.

*Examination by Mr. Justice Rankin.*

Mr. Justice Rankin said he wanted to get some dates from Mr. Gandhi. In reply to him, Mr. Gandhi said the Satyagraha vow was taken on the third week of February and agreed that the Rowlatt Bill No. 2 had not yet been passed.

*Mr. Justice Rankin.*—But before it was passed, the country was ringing with suggestions as to methods of protest against it and one of the forms of protest suggested was refusal to pay the revenue?

A. Yes.

Q. The orders passed by Magistrates were also to be disobeyed?

A. I opposed the proposal. I had asked the people in observing the *hartal* or Civil Disobedience that all police orders should be scrupulously carried out.

Mr. Justice Rankin asked Mr. Gandhi if he could substantiate his statement by any of his public declarations and Mr. Gandhi agreed to furnish what documentary evidence there was in his possession.

Q. In going to Delhi, it was not your intention to come into collision with the authorities.

A. No. I had received a letter from Dr. Satyapal, and Swami Shraddhanandji had asked me to go to Delhi as the people there were getting unamenable.

Q. He was not inviting you to pacify the people who had got out of his hands, but to promote the Satyagraha movement?

A. No, not to promote the movement. He said, 'I have failed,' and that I should go to pacify people there.

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I was not going there to disobey Government laws for the purpose of the Satyagraha vow. I was proceeding to help the authorities.

Here also Mr. Justice Rankin asked Mr. Gandhi to supply any documentary evidence in his possession, as to the pacific intention of his mission.

*Mr. Justice Rankin.*—Mr. Gandhi, you say in your speech of the 14th April that the action of the mob prevented you from carrying out your idea of going again to Delhi for re-arrest. It was not a passing thought, I suppose?

A. It was not a passing thought. It was my intention.

Q. What was your object in seeking re-arrest?

A. My object was to seek imprisonment again and again until the objectionable Act was removed.

Q. That is not the object of a Satyagrahi as I understand it.

A. It is not always. I did it in order to invite self-suffering.

*Mr. Justice Rankin.*—Was it your idea that that would inflame the country and be effective in removing the legislation?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Not at all. If it was, I would have proceeded to Delhi straight away. I had no idea of what had occurred at Amritsar and elsewhere and had urgent messages from Ahmedabad the day after my arrival in Bombay.

Mr. Gandhi then explained why Civil Disobedience was suspended, why he again thought of starting it, but, yielding to the desire of Lord Chelmsford conveyed through the Government of Bombay, he desisted from re-starting it. He emphasised that during the interval various attempts were made to educate the people and

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There was even devised another vow by which people were asked to pledge themselves to the Truth part and Non-violence part of the former vow.

Q. Do you think that for India as a whole, by a misinterpretation of your doctrine, there has been an undue tendency to sympathise with lawlessness?

A. I don't think that it is so.

*Mr. Justice Rankin.*—Pardon the question, Mr. Gandhi. Do you feel having done anything to damage the law-abiding instincts of the people in India?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—I feel guilty of having temporarily damaged that instinct in certain people.

*Mr. Justice Rankin.*—There are certain parts in India, *e.g.*, the Punjab, where people were more liable to misinterpret your doctrine?

*Mr. Gandhi.*—No. There were certain people so liable to misinterpret. As to the Punjab, I have found there people who can best understand Satyagraha, and wherever I have gone I have met people who sincerely regret the excesses.

*Mr. Justice Rankin.*—You said, Mr. Gandhi, finding the laws by a Committee was meant as a restraint. Did you intend that each Province would have a separate Committee?

A. Yes, each was to have a separate Committee. But I was made President everywhere so that we should have the same policy everywhere. (But, of course, I did contemplate the contingency of different laws being broken in different places.)

Mr. Gandhi then explained the difference between Passive Resistance and Civil Disobedience and said Passive Resistance did not exhaust the methods of protest.

*Examination by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.*

*Sir Chimanlal.*—With regard to your Satyagraha

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doctrine, so far as I understand it, it involves the pursuit of Truth and in that pursuit you invite suffering on yourself and do not cause violence to anybody else.

*Mr. Gandhi.*—Yes, sir.

Q. However honestly a man may strive in his search for Truth his notions of Truth may be different from the notions of others. Who then is to determine the truth*?

A. The individual himself would determine that.

* *"I should suffer too for conscience' sake"*—Under the preceding heading, *Young India* of 21st January 1920, wrote: The discussion that took place the other day between Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mr. Gandhi as regards the determination of Truth and qualifications necessary for one to be able to determine Truth, was not mere casuistry. Sir Chimanlal's questions and the answers he expected, reveal a distinct attitude of mind. Sir Chimanlal would not only deny every human being's right to determine truth for himself but even his capacity to do so. And he found Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai to nod assent to his views. This invertebrate attitude of mind takes no count either of human nature or of history. In every age and clime there have not been found wanting men who suffered for their conscience. The thousands of Dukhobars who went through years of untold suffering did not need any great intellectual and moral equipment to determine that military service was a crime. And General Smuts also once frankly admitted that the passive resisters he had imprisoned were suffering for conscience' sake. If you do not posit the essential virtue in man to be able to determine Truth for himself which alone separates him from the brute, you deny all human progress, and our national leaders if they have any faith in national progress can ill ignore this basic principle. We commend to them the words of Gen. Smuts from an interview with Mr. Gandhi that took place in 1911:

"Gen. Smuts—What are you doing in Johannesburg?

Mr. G.—Looking after the families of passive resisters.

Gen. S.—It has hurt me more than you to imprison these people. It has been the unpleasantest episode of my life to imprison men who suffer for their conscience. *I should do the same thing for conscience' sake.*"

Following at the controversy, *Young India* wrote on 4th February 1920: Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in his examination of Mr. Gandhi asked if it did not require high intellectual and moral equipment to

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Q. Different individuals would have different views as to Truth. Would that not lead to confusion?

A. I do not think so.

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apprehend truth. Replying to this question directly, in its note on 'Satyagraha,' the *Indian Social Reformer* says: "The question in our opinion betrays a strange ignorance of what Truth is. The test and credential of truth is that it can be apprehended by all." Another question of Sir Chimanlal was equally noteworthy. He asked: "Honestly striving after truth is different in every case. Would that not lead to confusion?" Mr. Gandhi replied: "That is why the non-violence part was a necessary corollary. Without that there would be a confusion and worse." These replies together make the basis of Satyagraha clear. In this connection the *Social Reformer* observes: "If the populace understood Satyagraha in the sense that Mr. Gandhi understands it, there will be no safer or more efficacious means of national salvation."

The tradition current in Northern India of the people having used Satyagraha against Aurangzeb in connection with a bathing ceremony at Mathura can be quoted as an example of the populace having understood Satyagraha 'in Mr. Gandhi's sense.' But such traditions which have not unfortunately found their place in the pages of history are classed with the Puranic stories. The story of Indian Satyagrahis in South Africa is explained away by some by attributing to special circumstances the understanding of Satyagraha by the masses. If we cite the recent peaceful Hartals, the credit is put to the account of the military force. English history has a precedent in the persecution of the Quakers and their success in getting their demands recognised by the Legislature. The history of these brave sufferers also may not, we are afraid, be regarded as sufficient to warrant a generalisation for all nations, because, it may be argued, the English Dissenters were cultured enough to understand the non-violence part of their creed. Surely topping all these is, in point of conviction to those that demand a precedent in history, the touching history of the Doukhobors, a band of peasant Satyagrahis of Russia. Theirs is an instance of a people certainly not more cultured than our masses here. The descendants of the bravest of these Satyagrahis are at present in Canada our fellow citizens of the Empire. We admit that the capacity of the masses for suffering for Truth may be under certain circumstances limited. That, however, cannot detract from the fact of their possessing such a capacity.

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Q. Honestly striving after Truth is different in every case.

A. That is why the non-violence part was a necessary corollary. Without that there would be confusion and worse.

Q. Must not the person wanting to pursue Truth be of high moral and intellectual equipment?

A. No. It would be impossible to expect that from everyone. If A has evolved a truth by his own efforts which B, C, and others are to accept, I should not require them to have the equipment of A.

Q. Then it comes to this, that a man comes to a decision and others of lower intellectual and moral equipment would have to blindly follow him.

A. Not blindly. All I wish to urge is that each individual, unless he wants to carry on his pursuit of Truth independently, needs to follow some one who has determined truth.

Q. Your scheme involves the determination of truth by people of high moral and intellectual equipment and a large number of people may follow them blindly, being themselves unable to arrive at similar conclusions by reason of their lower intellectual equipment.

A. I would exact from them nothing more than I would expect from an ordinary being.

Q. I take it that the strength of the propaganda must depend on the number of its followers.

A. No. In Satyagraha success is possible even if there is only one Satyagrahi of the proper stamp.

Q. Mr. Gandhi, you said you do not consider yourself a perfect Satyagrahi yet. The large mass of people are then even less so.

A. No. I do not consider myself as an extraordinary man. There may be people more capable of determin-

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ing truth than myself. Forty thousand Indians in South Africa, totally uncultured, came to the conclusion that they could be Satyagrahis; and if I could take you through those thrilling scenes in the Transvaal, you will be surprised to hear what restraint your countrymen in South Africa exhibited.

Q. But there you were all unanimous.

A. I have more solidity of opinion here than in South Africa.

Q. But there you had a clear-cut issue, not here.

A. Here too we have a clear-cut issue, *viz.*, the Rowlatt Act.

Mr. Gandhi then explained how he presented Satyagraha as an instrument of infinitely greater power than violence.

Q. Does not suffering and going on suffering require extraordinary self-control?

A. No, no extraordinary self-control is required. Every mother suffers. Your countrymen, I submit, have got such a control and they have exhibited that in a very large measure.

Q. Take Ahmedabad. Did they exhibit control here?

A. All I say is, throughout India where you find these isolated instances of violence, you will find a very large number of people who exercised self-restraint. Ahmedabad and other places show that we had not attained proper mastery over self. [The Kaira people in the midst of grave provocation last year acted with the greatest self-restraint.]

Q. Do you mean to say these acts of violence were mere accidents?

A. Not accidents. But they were rare and would be rarer for a clear conception of Satyagraha. The country,

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I think, has sufficiently well realised the doctrine to warrant a second trial. I do feel sure that the country is all the purer and better for having gone through the fire of Satyagraha.)

Q. Ordinarily your doctrine contemplates co-operation with the Government and elimination of race-hatred and inviting self-suffering. Does not suffering create ill will?

A. It is contrary to my thirty years' experience that people have by suffering been filled with any ill will against the Government. In South Africa, after a bitter struggle the Indians have lived on the best of terms with the Government, and Gen. Smuts was the recipient of an address which was voluntarily voted by the Indians.

Q. Is it possible to take part in the movement without taking the Satyagraha vow?

A. I would ask them to take part in the non-Civil Resistance part of the movement. The masses unless they took the pledge were not to do the Civil Disobedience part of the pledge. For those who were not civil resisters, therefore, another vow was devised asking people to follow Truth at all costs and to refrain from violence. I had suspended Civil Resistance then; and as it is open to a leader to emphasise one part of the vow, I eliminated the Civil Resistance part which was not for that reason suited to the people and placed the Truth part before them.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad then referred to the question whether disobedience of the Rowlatt Act also was contemplated in the vow and referred to Mrs. Besant's difference with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi said that he had heard in Bombay that she had taken the vow less the Committee part of it. She said she had not done so.

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Q. Did she not point out that to disobey the Rowlatt Act one would have to be an anarchist?

A. She has certainly advanced that ground.

Mr. Gandhi explained that the determining consideration was that the Rowlatt Act would not lend itself to active disobedience in a systematic manner.

Q. Is not the underlying idea embarrassment of Government?

A. Certainly not. A Satyagrahi relies not upon embarrassment but upon self-suffering for securing relief.

Q. Would not ordered government be impossible?

A. Ordered government cannot be impossible if totally inoffensive people break the laws. But I would certainly make government impossible, if I found it had taken leave of its senses.

Q. In your message you ask people to refrain from violence and still violence occurred. Does it not show that the ordinary mind finds it very difficult to practise the theory of non-violence?

A. After having used methods of violence for years it is difficult for them to practise abstention.

In reply to a question whether he had any evidence in support of the statement that the disturbances were organised, Mr. Gandhi replied in the affirmative and said he had no objection to place the materials he had before the Committee, although he would not disclose the names of the persons concerned.

Mr. Gandhi said they did not suggest any destruction of life but only of property. There was some organisation arranged on the 10th and on the 11th. He said he had the testimony of those who were told to do violence, and of those who did so, and of those who were witnesses of the scenes. He said he had direct evidence, he

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had people coming to him to surrender swords in their possession, but they had not the courage to do so. He said he could identify some of the informants, but it was impossible for him to identify all, as, for instance, there were people from neighbouring villages who came to him, and said they regretted what they had done and that what they had done was from pure love for me.

Asked as to how he could determine whether what they said was the truth, Mr. Gandhi said, he thought he was capable of discriminating an untruthful statement from a truthful one. They took advantage of the temper of the people and put those ideas into their heads. The Kaira derailment was committed by two or three individuals. They were drunkards, and he could not say that the act was a deliberately organised one. It was his conviction that the people in the town had no knowledge of the crime, and if they had, they would have prevented it. His view was based on the testimony of those for whom he had high regard. He could not tell whether the person convicted of the crime was the same who committed it, because he had not learnt his name.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said he suspended the Civil Disobedience movement, because he realised that the movement as a mass movement under present circumstances was not advisable. He would not expect the people to realise the inwardness of the Satyagraha movement but he would expect them to realise that it was better for them, if they could not join the movement, at least to refrain from violence.

Here Sir Chimanlal asked Mr. Gandhi to read from a leaflet of his, entitled, 'When will Satyagraha be resumed?' and added if, when he was saying that they should be ready to resume Satyagraha because the military dispositions would then be complete, he was

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not desiring that military dispositions should be kept in all parts of the country in order that people may have the pleasure to indulge in breaking laws. Mr. Gandhi said that that was not the interpretation warranted by his words. He would not be guilty of saying such a thing. He did not re-start the campaign on the 1st of July as he had expected, much to the disappointment of his co-workers, only because the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay asked him whether he wanted India to be an armed camp and to suspend the Satyagraha movement if he did not want her to be so, and he suspended it.

Asked as to the fine imposed on the Ahmedabad workmen, Mr. Gandhi said the manner of collection was wholly bad, the principle of taxation was bad and the time fixed for collection was inopportune for collection. The fine was imposed in certain cases upon those who had nothing to do with the disturbances. He added that he was not going to say anything regarding the exemptions, and that he was not prepared to dispute the discretion vested in the authorities. He said he would not be fair if he did not pay his testimony to the handsome manner in which the Collector of Ahmedabad had taken the measures he had thought necessary.

*Examination by Pandit Jagat Narain.*

Q. I presume, Mahatmaji, you are not against the Government's taking measures to put down anarchy?

A. Of course, not. But anarchical crimes can be punished under the ordinary law.

Q. How was it then that you objected to the Rowlatt Legislation?

A. My fundamental objection to the Rowlatt Act is that it constitutes a libel on the whole Indian nation.

Q. But you know there are safeguards?

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A. As to the safeguards, I can say from experience they are not merely illusory but dangerous traps. The safeguards are but a delusion and make the executive still more irresponsible.

Q. It is alleged that the Satyagraha movement would embarrass the Government. Are you not afraid of any such result of your movement?

A. The Satyagraha movement is not started with the intention of embarrassing the Government, while ordinary political agitation is often started with that object. If a Satyagrahi finds his activities resulting in embarrassing the Government, he will not hesitate to face it.

Q. But you will agree with me that every political agitation depends for its success on the number of followers?

A. I do not regard the force of numbers as necessary in a just cause, and in such a cause every man, be he high or low, can have his remedy.

Q. But you would certainly try to have as many men in your movement as possible?

A. Not exactly so. A Satyagrahi depends only on truth and his capacity to suffer for truth.

Q. But in politics, Mahatmaji, how can a single man's voice be heard?

A. That is exactly what I have been attempting to disprove.

Q. Do you believe that an English officer will take any notice of isolated attempts?

A. Why, that is my experience. Lord Bentinck became an ordinary Mr. at the instance of Keshub Chandra Sen.

Q. Oh, you cite an example of an extraordinary man.

A. Men of ordinary abilities also can develop mora-

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lity. No doubt I regard illiteracy among my people as deplorable and I consider it necessary to educate them, but it is not at all impossible to imbibe the Satyagraha principle in an absolutely illiterate man. This is my long-standing experience.

Here Mr. Gandhi briefly cleared the distinction between *hartal* and Satyagraha. *Hartal* was no integral part of Satyagraha. It should be resorted to only when necessary. He tried and tried it successfully in connection with the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the Khilafat movement.

Q. You can resort to no other remedy to oppose the irresponsible foreign officials, and that is why you have started this movement. Is it not?

A. I cannot say that with certainty. I can conceive the necessity of Satyagraha in opposition to the would-be full responsible self-government. Our ministers can never claim to defend themselves on the score of their ignorance, whereas such a defence is available to-day for the English officers.

Q. But with all the rights of self-government we shall be able to dismiss the ministers.

A. I cannot feel on that point so assured for ever. In England, it often happens that ministers can continue in the executive even though they lose all the confidence of the public. The same thing may happen here too, and therefore I can imagine a state of things in this country which would need Satyagraha even under Home Rule.

Q. Would you think that there should be no unrest coming after the Satyagraha movement?

A. Not only I do not think so, I would be disappointed if there were no unrest in case myself and Anasuyaben were arrested. But that unrest will not take the shape of violence. It pains a Satyagrahi to see others suffering

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and Satyagrahis will follow each other to jail. I do wish for such unrest.

Q. On your return to Bombay on the 11th April, why did you go to Pydhonie?

A. I went there as there was danger of violence breaking out.

Q. It is said that people there refused to listen to your advice.

A It would not at all be correct to say that the crowd refused to listen to my advice. Those who heard me followed my advice implicitly.

Q. I have a report before me to the effect that you pretend to be ill although your steps are quick.

A. All that I can say is that it is all untrue.

Q. The report further says that you were so very terrified that you ran away and concealed yourself in a house.

A. That too is a lie. I was in the crowd to the last. I personally saw the charge of the mounted police on the crowd. I went to Mr. Griffiths to talk to him on this very thing.

*Examination by Mr. Kemp.*

Q. You say that martial law was not at all necessary in Ahmedabad?

A. Yes, that is my opinion.

Q. But, Mr. Gandhi, if the military officers said it was necessary, what will you say to that?

A. From the facts in my possession I concluded that they did not warrant such an order.

Q. You say some innocent men were killed.

A. That is my deliberate opinion.

Q. Can you say you have got any positive proof for that?

A. I have got proof enough to satisfy me.

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Q. Did you write to Mr. Chatfield about this?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did he ask you to send the complainants to him?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you then take any steps?

A. I took no steps because martial law was withdrawn on the very day I wrote to Mr. Chatfield. I consider Mr. Chatfield a noble officer. In very few officers have I seen his honesty and straightforwardness. I should be very sorry to say anything that would amount to a criticism of his conduct. I see his nobility even in his mistakes. But I should like you not to press this point further. I have granted that the sobriety with which the Bombay Government acted during the month of April leaves nothing to complain of.

But when I have to analyse the whole situation, it is my duty to point the mistakes also with all the humility I can command. And I have done it. I do not want to make it a serious complaint by emphasising the fact that some innocent people were killed.

Mr. Kemp: I accept, Mr. Gandhi, that your evidence is fair and candid. I don't want to put you any more question.

[Mr. Gandhi was also examined by Mr. Jivanlal Desai and Sahebzada Sultan Ahmed Khan, but, so far as Satyagraha is concerned, what has been given above seems sufficient.]

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*3rd December, 1919*

## DURGADAS ADWANI

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Durgadas Adwani is one of the best workers I have had the privilege of meeting. I came to know him

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through correspondence, immediately on my arrival in India in 1915. The occasion that gave rise to the correspondence showed the true man in Durgadas. He has been a consistent, conscientious and zealous worker in Sind for many years. He has now gone to gaol for one year with hard labour.* I have been asked to give my opinion on the judgment of the appellate Court. In my humble opinion the judgment is unsound. The Court has erred in holding that "New Call" was a seditious leaflet and it has strained the analysis of evidence to record a finding against Durgadas. But in giving this opinion, I admit I may be biased in favour of Durgadas. I do not believe him to be capable of telling an untruth in order to avoid imprisonment. The evidence *may* bear the meaning placed upon it by the appellate Court.

But as a friend and as a Satyagrahi, I must decline to condole with Durgadas or his family upon his incarceration. Durgadas has, after great deliberation, taken the Satyagraha pledge. And I seize the opportunity offered by this case of placing before the reader my views about such cases. We spend too much money in litigation and in appeals. We have an excessive dread of prisons. I have not a shadow of doubt that society will be much cleaner and healthier if there was less resort to law courts than there is. The rush after the best counsel is undignified. It is unpardonable when it is indulged in at public expense. But it is sinful when a Satyagrahi spends money after the best legal talent or after appeals. I was, therefore, pained when I heard of appeals in the "New Call" convictions. If one has committed an offence, he must plead guilty and suffer

* In connection with the printing of a pamphlet on Passive Resistance in a Press of which he was the keeper.

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the penalty. If he has not and is still found guilty, imprisonment for him is no disgrace. And if he is a Satyagrahi, he has no business to fear the hardships of gaol life.

We, in India, whilst we are living in an atmosphere surcharged with suspicion and distrust and in the midst of a secret police department unrivalled, perhaps, in the world for its duplicity and unscrupulousness, must use ourselves to the gaol life if we want to mend that department and remove distrust and suspicion.

The best and quickest way to deliverance from the distrust and secret police department is to rid the country of false fear and all violence. But till that far-off day arrives, the handful of Satyagrahis must be prepared to treat the prison as their second home.

I hope, therefore, that the friends of Durgadas will not advise him or his wife to petition for mercy nor add to the wife's unhappiness by commisserating with her. On the contrary, it is our duty to ask her to steel her heart and feel glad that her husband is in goal for no fault of his own. The truest service that we can render to Durgadas would be to offer Mrs. Durgadas such assistance, pecuniary or otherwise, as she may need. I understand that the "New Call" cases have cost nearly Rs. 15,000. The money could certainly have been utilised to better purpose. It is not right to beggar ourselves by fighting against odds. It is hardly manful to be overanxious about the result of political trials that involve no disgrace.

Here, in the Punjab,* I find mothers with stricken hearts coming and shedding tears over the imprisonment of their sons whom they regard as innocent. I know I am

* Mahatma Gandhi incessantly wrote even while travelling. This article was written while on a visit to the Punjab.

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helpless. But it is so difficult to comfort them. To give them false hope would be a sin. To ask them patiently to endure what cannot be cured brings no comfort. I am, therefore, endeavouring to perform the uphill task of asking them to be Satyagrahis enough to realise that we shall only perpetuate political convictions so long as we fret and foam and worry over the imprisonment of our dear ones. Needless to say, I am not here thinking of imprisonments for acts of actual incendiarism or murder.

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*25th February, 1920*

## CLEAN UP!

The following interview, first published in the *Indian Witness* of Lucknow, was reproduced in " Young India " of February, 25 :

As I talked with Mr. Gandhi, I marvelled at the simplicity of his dress. He wore coarse white cloth, with a *kambal* thrown over his body to protect him from the cold. A little white cap was his only head covering. As he sat on the floor facing me, I asked myself, how can this little man, with his thin face and large protruding ears, and quiet brown eyes, be the great Gandhi about whom I have heard so much? All doubts were set aside, when we began to talk. I do not agree with all the methods that Mr. Gandhi employs to bring about the desired end; but I do want to bear this personal testimony of the man himself. Mr. Gandhi is a spiritual man. He is a thinker. In my short interview, I had the same heart-to-heart fellowship with him as I have had scores of times with some of God's saints. I took knowledge that this man had been to the Source of Christian strength and had learned from the great Christ.

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Mr. Gandhi, what can nations of the West do in furthering the all-round development of the East, and particularly of India?" Mr. Gandhi answered the question indirectly: "India is just now in the state of unlearning. She has learned a lot that is useless and unprofitable. From my observation of the West, and particularly of your own country, I have learned two outstanding facts: First, cleanliness; second, energy. I am fully convinced that my people cannot advance spiritually, until they clean up. Your people are wonderfully energetic. To a large extent, it has been energy after things material. If Indian people could have that same amount of energy, rightly directed, they would receive a great blessing."

"Mr. Gandhi, will you kindly tell me how Christianity can best help India, in view of the spirit of nationalism that is abroad?" He replied, "What we need, most of all, is *sympathy*. When I was down in Africa, I found this illustration. I had to dig some artesian wells. In order to search the pure flowing streams, I had to dig deep. Many of the people who come out here to study my people only scratch the surface. If they would dig deep by means of sympathy, they would find a stream of life there pure and clear."

"And will you kindly tell me, Mr. Gandhi, what book or person has influenced you the most?" Of course, I was prepared to hear him say something about the Vedas and several other Indian books with which Christian people should be conversant; but I was not prepared to hear from the lips of this man the mention of three English books that had shaped his life and thought. He frankly confessed that he was not an omnivorous reader, but rather a careful selector of the very best. The order in which he spoke of the books

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was as follows: The Bible, Ruskin, Tolstoi. Speaking of the Bible, he said: "There have been many times when I did not know which way to turn. But I have gone to the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, and have drawn strength from its message."

I was anxious to know how our Meerut Graduates' Association, composed of the finest of the educated men in the city, could further the city's welfare. In reply to the question, he gave me this one word, "*Scavenger.*" He said, "I employ that word in all its meaning. If the members would get out and lend a helping hand to clean up the city, literally and morally, they would be doing a great work."

*Meerut* S. W. CLEMES.

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*23rd June, 1919*

## SOME PROOFS OF THE UNIVERSALITY OF SATYAGRAHA

It may be long before the law of love will be recognised in international affairs. The machineries of governments stand between and hide the hearts of one people from those of another. Yet if only we watched the latest international developments in Europe and Eastern Asia with an eye to essentials, we could see how the world is moving steadily to realise that between nation and nation, as between man and man force has failed to solve problems, but that the economic sanction of Non-co-operation is far more mighty and conclusive than armies and navies. The victories of war have only thrown fresh burdens on the nations that emerged out of the struggle as apparent victors. The food and the industries of the defeated nations are a source of anxiety as much to the victors as to themselves. All the ingenuity

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of the Governments of the Allied nations is directed to show, without detriment to the glory of the victors, they can make the vanquished people economically solvent, happy, and willing to work to keep the world going. Reading between the lines of the brief telegram* about the American Republican Party's international programme, one can see that the Far West is beginning to realise that the ultimate sanction of a league of nations should be, not the vicious chain of the might of arms again, but the might of international 'outlawry', *i.e.*, Non-co-operation of the nations. From this it would be an easy step to the complete recognition of the law of love. (Till a new energy is harnessed and put on wheels, the captains of the older energies will treat the innovation as theoretical, impractical, idealistic, and so on.) We may be certain that the steam engineer was laughed at by the horse-dealer, till he saw that even horses could be transported by the steam engine. The electrical engineer was, no doubt, called a faddist and a mad man in steam engine circles, till work was actually done over the wires. It may take long to lay the wires for international love, but the sanction of international Non-co-operation in preference to continued physical compulsion, as appears to have been conceived by the Republican Party of Amercia, is a distinct progress towards the ultimate and real solution.

The most striking news in this connection is a rumour of contemplated action in regard to the Irish situation. The "Observer" gives currency to the belief that the British Ministry is considering, as an alternative of martial law in Ireland, a policy of Non-co-operation.

* A General Election in America was then proceeding and the great Parties were engaged in the electioneering campaign issuing manifestoes and programmes.

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The disaffected interior of Ireland is to be entirely ignored until it comes to its senses. There would be no police, no troops, no trade, no education, no distribution of revenue, no railways. There would be complete administrative boycott. The beauty of Satyagraha, of which Non-co-operation is but a chapter, is that it is available to either side in a fight, that it has checks that automatically work for the vindication of truth and justice for that side, whichever it may be, that has Truth and justice in preponderating measure. It is as powerful and faithful a weapon in the hand of the capitalist as in that of the labourer. It is as powerful in the hands of the government, as in that of the people, and will bring victory to the government, if people are misguided or unjust, as it will win the battle for the people if the government be in the wrong. Quick disorganisation and defeat are bound to be the fate of bolstered up cases and artificial agitations if the battle is fought with Satyagraha weapons. Suppose the people are unfit to rule themselves, or are unwilling to sacrifice for a cause. then, no amount of noise will bring them victory in Non-co-operation. If the government be a good government, just, on the whole, and necessary for the people, and the grievance be false or unreal or is based on misconception or is not of such measure as to weigh against the virtues of the government in other vital respects, then Non-co-operation has only to be adopted on either side, and, without rancour or bloodshed, the question will automatically be settled with unerring precision and justice. It may not be generally known but it has long been maintained by Mr. Gandhi that the Satyagrahic weapon of Non-co-operation is as available to government against the people as to the people against the government. The action said to be contemplated in

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regard to the Irish disorders would, if true, be a beautiful illustration of the universality of the principles of Satyagraha.

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*10th March, 1920*

### THE 6TH OF APRIL AND THE 13TH

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

It is impossible for us to forget the 6th of April * which vitalized the whole of India and the 13th of April which, by the spilling of innocent blood, has made the Punjab a place of pilgrimage for the whole of India. The 6th of April saw the advent of Satyagraha. One may dissent from the Civil Disobedience part of it but no one can dissent from the essential doctrine of Truth and love or non-injury. With *Satya* combined with *Ahimsa* you can bring the world to your feet. Satyagraha in its essence is nothing but the introduction of truth and gentleness in the political, *i.e.*, the national life. And whether one takes the Satyagraha pledge or not, there can be no doubt that the spirit of Satyagraha has pervaded the masses. Any way, that is my experience of thousands of the Punjabis I met throughout my tour in the Punjab.

The 6th of April again saw the inauguration of a definite plan of Hindu-Moslem unity and Swadeshi.

It was the 6th of April which broke the spirit underlying the Rowlatt Act and made it a dead letter. The 13th of April saw not merely the terrific tragedy but in that tragedy Hindu-Moslem blood flowed freely in a mingled stream and sealed the compact.

How to commemorate or celebrate these two great

* The 6th April is being every year observed throughout India as Satyagraha Day, a day of prayer, one consecrated to self-purification.

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national events? I venture to suggest that those who will, should devote the 6th April next to fast (twenty four hours abstention from food) and prayer and that all over India at 7 p.m. public meetings should be held praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and expressing the national belief that there will be no peace in the land till that Act is repealed. That the Act is a dead letter is not enough. Either it is a disgrace or it is not. If it is, the Act must be repealed. The repeal before the Reforms will be a token of good will on the part of the Government.

The whole of the week beginning from the 6th should be devoted to some work connected with the tragedy of the 13th. I therefore venture further to suggest that the week should be devoted to the collecting of funds for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial, it being remembered that the sum to be collected is ten lacs of rupees. Each village or town can devise its own plan of collection guarding against misappropriation and fraud. The collection should be finished by the evening of the 12th April.

Then the 13th. That day of days should be devoted to fasting and prayer. It should be free from ill-will or anger. We want to cherish the memory of the innocent dead. We do not want to remember the wickedness of the deed. The nation will rise by readiness to sacrifice not by preparing to revenge. On that day I would also have the nation to remember the mass excesses and feel penetant for them. We close the week by meetings throughout India to pass resolutions urging the Government, both Imperial and Indian, to take effective steps to render a repetition of the tragedy impossible.

I would further urge that during the week each one does his or her best in his or her own person to realise

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more fully than ever the principles of Satyagraha, Hindu-Moslem unity and Swadeshi. In order to emphasise Hindu-Moslem unity I would advise joint meetings of Hindus and Mahomedans on Friday the 12th April at 7 p.m. urging that the Khilafat question be decided in accordance with the just Moslem sentiments.

Thus this national week should be a week of purification, self-examination, sacrifice, exact discipline and expression of cherished national sentiments. There should be no trace of bitterness, no violence of language, but absolute fearlessness and firmness.

Should there not also be a *hartal* on the 6th and the 13th? My answer is an emphatic no. This week is a Satyagraha week for those who believe in Truth and Non-violence. The *hartal* of the 6th was a Satyagraha *hartal* in the sense that it was a prelude to Satyagraha. The *hartal* of the 6th April last, though it was spontaneous, was not altogether free from undue pressure during the course of the day in the way of asking people not to use carriages, etc. I would therefore not advise *hartal* at all for this week of discipline and penance. Moreover, *hartal* must not be made cheap. It must be only for rare occasions.

I respectfully trust that all parties and all classes will see their way to take their full share in the observances of the national week and make it an event for the true and definite progress in national awakening.

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*24th March, 1920*

## CONTEMPT OF COURT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The long expected hearing of the case against the editor and the publisher of "Young India" in connection

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with the publication of a letter * of the District Judge of Ahmedabad regarding Satyagrahi Lawyers and my comments thereon has been heard and judgment has been pronounced. Both the editor and the publisher have been severely reprimanded. But the Court did not see its way to pass any sentence upon either of us. If I dwell upon the judgment it is only because I am anxious as a Satyagrahi to draw a moral from it. I wish to assure those friends who out of pure friendliness advised us to tender the required apology, that I refused to accept their advice, not out of obstinacy, but because there was a great principle at stake. I had to conserve a journalist's independence and yet respect the law. My own reading of the law was that there was no contempt committed by me. But my defence rested more upon the fact that I could not offer an apology if I was not prepared not to repeat the offence on a similar occasion. Because I hold that an apology tendered to a Court, to be true, has to be as sincere as a private apology. At the same time, I owed a duty to the Court. It was no light thing for me to refuse to accept the advice of the Chief Justice, especially when the Chief Justice was so very considerate in the correspondence with me. I was on the horns of a dilemma. I therefore decided not to offer any defence but simply to make a statement frankly and fully defining my position, leaving it to the Court to pass any sentence it thought fit in the event of an adverse decision. In order to show that I meant no disrespect of the Court and that I did not desire to advertise the case, I took extraordinary

* The letter called upon lawyers who took the Satyagraha pledge. (See *supra* Gandhi's evidence before the Hunter Committee) to explain why they should not be debarred from practice under the Legal Practitioner's Act for their act in taking the pledges defying Law.

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precautions to prevent publicity and I venture to think that I succeeded eminently in convincing the Court that behind my disobedience, if it was disobedience, there was no defiance but perfect resignation, there was no anger or ill-will but perfect restraint and respect; that, if I did not apologise, I did not, because an insincere apology would have been contrary to my conscience. I hold that it was about as perfect an instance of Civil Disobedience as it ever has been my privilege to offer. And I feel that the Court reciprocated in a most handsome manner and recognised the spirit of civility that lay behind my so-called disobedience. The luminous judgment of Justice Marten lays down the law, and decides against me. But I feel thankful that it does not question the propriety of my action. Justice Hayward's judgment recognises it as an instance of Passive, *i.e.*, Civil Resistance and practically makes it the reason for not awarding any sentence. Here, then, we have an almost complete vindication of Civil Disobedience. Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, must be based upon some well understood principle, must not be capricious and, above all, must have no ill-will or hatred behind it. I submit that the disobedience offered by Mr. Desai and myself contained all these ingredients.

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*31st March, 1920*

## THE SATYAGRAHA WEEK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

First and foremost in the programme for the holy National Week I put fasting and prayer. I have said enough to emphasise the necessity of both these for the unfoldment of our national life. I speak of these from

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personal experience. But writing to a friend on this very matter of prayer, I came across a beautiful thing from Tennyson which I present to the readers of "Young India" if perchance I might convert them to a definite belief in the efficacy of prayer. Here is the gem:

"More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by golden chains about the feet of God."

Throughout my wanderings in India, I have had the privilege of mixing with men of all creeds, of mixing with thousands of women, hundreds upon hundreds of students. I have discussed with them national problems with a passion which I am unable to describe. I have found that we have not yet reached a conscious recognition of our national state. We have not had the discipline necessary for a realisation of that state and venture to say that there is nothing so powerful as fasting and prayer that would give us the requisite discipline, spirit of self-sacrifice, humility and resoluteness of will without which there can be no real progress. I hope therefore that millions throughout India will open the Satyagraha Week with sincere fasting and prayer.

I do not wish, during this week, to emphasise the Civil Resistance part of Satyagraha. I would like all to contemplate Truth and Non-violence, and to appreciate their invincibility. Indeed, if all of us regulated our lives by this eternal law of *Satya* and *Ahimsa*, there will be no occasion for civil or other resistance. Civil

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Resistance comes into play when only a small body of men endeavour to follow Truth in the face of opposition. It is difficult to know what is truth, when to defend it to the point of Civil Resistance, and how to avoid error in the shape of violence in one's pursuit after Truth. There may well be differences of opinion as to the advisability of preaching Civil Resistance as a creed during a week devoted to national uplift, in which one seeks the co-operation of all without distinction of party, class or creed.

Beyond the prayer and fasting on the 6th and the 13th, we have the collection for the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial. I trust that complete organisation would be set up in every province, in every district, and every town or village.

The third part of the activity is represented by three meetings during the week all over India at the stated times, whereat I have suggested the passing of certain resolutions, *viz.*, on the Rowlatt Act which gave rise to the Satyagraha movement, the Khilafat question which by Hindu association cements Hindu-Moslem unity and what may be called the Jallianwala Bagh resolution to be passed on the 13th April calling upon the Government to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent a repetition of the tragedies that were witnessed during Martial Law regime and which were opened even before the inauguration of Martial Law by the unlawful massacre of the 13th. I suggest the following resolutions for acceptance.

*For the 6th April.*—This meeting of the citizens of . . . places on record its emphatic opinion that there will be no peace in the land until the Rowlatt Act is repealed and therefore appeals to the Government of India to introduce at the earliest opportunity a bill repealing that act.

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*For the 9th April.*—This meeting of Hindus, Mahomedans and others, the inhabitants of . . . trusts that the Khilafat question will be solved consistantly with the just demands of the Mussalmans of India and with the solemn pledges of His Majesty's ministers and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of an adverse decision being arrived at, it will be the duty of every Indian to withdraw co-operation from the Government until the pledges are fulfilled and Mussalman sentiment conciliated.

*For the 13th April.*—This meeting of the inhabitants of . . . is of opinion that whilst mob excesses at Amritsar, although committed after grave provocation, were worthy of condemnation, the deliberate and calculated massacre, without warning, by General Dyer, of innocent, unarmed and otherwise defenceless men at Jallianwala Bagh was an unexampled act of barbarity and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as will render impossible a repetition of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of Martial Law administration and hopes that the recommendations made by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety.

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*28th April, 1920*

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE

(M. K. GANDHI)

It is a distinct departure from the even tenor of my life for me to belong to an organisation that is purely and frankly political. But after careful deliberation

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and consultation with friends, I have joined the All-India Home Rule League and accepted the office of its President. Some friends whom I consulted told me that I should not join any politicial organisation and that if I did, I would lose the position of splendid isolation I enjoy at present. I confess that this caution had considerable weight with me. At the same time, I felt that if I was accepted by the League as I was, I should be wrong in not identifying myself with an organisation that I could utilise for the advancement of the causes in which I had specialised and of the methods which experience has shown me are attended with quicker and better results than those that are usually adopted. Before joining the League, I endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of those who were outside the Presidency and with whom I had not the privilege to come in such close contact as with co-workers in the Bombay Presidency.

The causes referred to by me are Swadeshi, Hindu-Moslem Unity with special reference to Khilafat, the acceptance of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* and a linguistic re-distribution of the Provinces. I would engage the League if I can carry the members with me in these activities so that they occupy the largest part of the nation's time and attention.

I freely confess that Reforms take a secondary place in my scheme of national reorganisation. For I feel that the activities chosen by me, if they could but absorb national energy, would bring about all the Reforms that the most ardent extremists can ever desire, and so far as the desirability of full self-government at the earliest possible moment is concerned, I yield to none in my desire to hasten our progress. And it is because I feel that the progress towards self-government can be

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best accelerated by developing the activities I have mentioned that I keep them in the forefront of the national programme. I shall not treat the All-India Home Rule League as a party organisation in any sense of the term. I belong to no party and I wish to belong to none hereafter. I am aware that the constitution of the League requires it to help the Congress, but I do not consider the Congress as a party organisation, even as the British Parliament though it contains all parties and has one party or other dominating it from time to time, is not a party organisation. I shall venture to hope that all parties will cherish the Congress as a national organisation providing a platform for all parties to appeal to the nation with a view to moulding its policy and I would endeavour to so mould the policy of the League as to make the Congress retain its non-party, national character.

This brings me to my methods. I believe that it is possible to introduce uncompromising truth and honesty in the political life of the country. Whilst I would not expect the League to follow me in my Civil Disobedience methods, I would strain every nerve to make Truth and non-violence accepted in all our national activities. Then we shall cease to fear or distrust governments and their measures. I do not wish however to develop the theme any further. I would rather let time solve the many questions that must arise from the bald statement I have made. My purpose just now is not to demonstrate the propriety of my action or the truth of the policy herein adumbrated but to take the members of the League into my confidence and to invite criticism of the programme herein set forth and any suggestions they may wish to make for the advancement of the welfare of the League.

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# THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

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*23rd March, 1921*

## SATYAGRAHA WEEK

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

April 6th and 13th will be soon upon us. The 6th saw India one and awakened. The 13th was a black Sunday, when a diabolical attempt was made to crush the spirit of a nation that had just become awakened. India observed the anniversary of the two days last year in a fitting manner, and the whole week commencing from the 6th was treated as a week of consecration. Would that the coming April will find us ready for greater consecration. We have every reason and every occasion for it. Last year we concentrated merely on securing subscriptions for paying the purchase price of the ground hallowed by innocent blood. It was a necessary and pious act. But greater things have happened since then. The nation has affirmed and re-affirmed its determination to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and to establish Swaraj. The December Congress went further and declared its intention to acquire Swaraj within one year*.

We cannot, then, do better than consecrate ourselves for greater national effort in this direction. The school and the courts movements continue. † No special endeavour is now necessary on that score except on the part of those who have left educational institutions or law courts. They must search within and see how they are utilising their time. But there are six things in which we certainly need to make a very special effort.

Firstly, we must acquire greater mastery over ourselves and secure an atmosphere of perfect calm, peace, and

* For the Congress resolutions referred to above. *See* appendix.

† The national movements is explained and discussed at length *infra*.

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good will. We must ask forgiveness for every unkind word thoughtlessly uttered or unkind deed done to any one.

Secondly, we must still further cleanse our hearts, and we Hindus and Moslems, must cease to suspect one another's motives; and we should believe ourselves to be incapable of wronging one another.

Thirdly, we Hindus must call no one unclean or mean or inferior to ourselves, and must therefore cease to regard the 'Pariah' class to be untouchable. We must consider it sinful to regard a fellow-being as untouchable.

These three things are matters of inward transformation and the result will be seen in our daily dealings.

The fourth is the curse of drink. Happily, India seems to have voluntarily and spontaneously resolved to get rid of the curse. A supreme effort should be made during the week to induce, by respectful entreaty, the liquor-sellers to give up their licences and the habitual visitors to these shops to give up the habit. Every caste knows its own offenders and can handle them much more effectively than others. But I have suggested to the women of Ahmedabad that they should organise temperance bands and approach the liquor-sellers and the drinkers. In any case, no physical force should be used to attain the end. A determined peaceful campaign of persuasion must succeed.

The fifth thing is the introduction of the spinning wheel in every home, larger production and use of *khadi*, and complete giving up of foreign cloth.

The sixth thing is the systematic and ceaseless collection of subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. If an organised endeavour is made in this direction, we should be able to finish the collection of even one crore

rupees during the Satyagraha week. My incessant touring has convinced me that India is ready to pay much more than one crore. Only there are not enough honest collectors. Every district of India should be able to organise itself for this work to be done during the Satyagraha week*.

*Hartals* have become cheap, and are easily organised and, therefore, have lost much of their original value. But *hartals* for the two days have a significance all their own. And I would certainly advise hartals for both the sixth and the thirteenth April accompanied by fast. Needless to say that there should be no compulsion. The employees whether in mills, or elsewhere, should not stop work if they cannot secure leave, and no undue pressure should be brought to bear on the tram management. We must rely upon the public not using public vehicles on the two days without just and urgent cause. The two days of fast should be utilised for special prayers and worship.

I would dissuade the public from passing any resolutions as to our demands. (The week of consecration must be a week of self-examination and purification.) We must rely upon our work to bring about the desired result. As soon as we have rendered ourselves fit no person on earth can prevent our establishing Swaraj and securing redress of the two great wrongs.

*These six points were accepted by the Congress. *See* Appendix.

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# PART II
# TOWARDS NON-CO-OPERATION

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# PART II

## TOWARDS NON-CO-OPERATION

*24th March, 1920*

### THE MESSAGE OF THE PUNJAB

THE following free rendering of the address delivered in Hindi by Shrimati Sarala Devi Chaudhrani to the public of Ahmedabad on the 27th February was republished in "Young India" for the benefit of its readers. The address was entitled "The Message of the Punjab".

*The Message.*—Bharat is a holy place; and in it, in many respects, Punjab, the land of the five rivers, may be considered the holiest. It has been called the ancient abode of the Rishis. When modern civilisation spreads its dazzling wares for our acceptance and tempts us by its delusive speech and succeeds in making us entirely ashamed of our own, we seek shelter and comfort in exploring the treasured stores of those dwellers in the cottages on the banks of the Five Rivers and when we meet them face to face in their pastoral hymns, we are filled with pride about the glory of our own ancient civilisation that lies buried in the inexhaustible mines called the *Vedas*. The *Vedas* represent to us the word of God and the word was given so the historians tell us

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on the holy banks of the rivers of the Punjab. It is for that reason that the very name of the Punjab fills every Indian with a thrill of pride. It is that soil whose children found perfect joy and pleasure in learning from its wise men divine wisdom. It is that holy place where a Rishi's wife proudly said to her husband. "What have I to do with earthly riches that cannot rob death of its terror to me." She at last herself became a divine singer and to-day, throughout Hindu India, millions of Hindus sing those immortal verses which mean—"Lead me from Falsehood unto Truth, from Darkness unto Light, from Death unto Immortality. Reveal Thyself to me, O Lord. Protect me with Thy benign aspect." It is the same holy land where the youth Nachiketa, spurning long life and enjoyments of the world, immortalised himself by thus addressing the God of Death who had asked him to choose a boon, "Riches do not make a man great. I want no other boon. I want only knowledge of things eternal." It was in the ancient Punjab that the very gods, renouncing enjoyments lawful for them and elevated by the preaching of Divine Wisdom, sat at the feet of the sages and observed *Brahmacharya* for ages.

Thus wo are beholden to this land of the Sacred rivers for all that is loftiest in Hinduism and it is on that account and that alone that we should think of the Punjab in our morning prayers. Not only did the Punjab lead the way in divine knowledge in the times of the Rishis but even during recent times it has been the birthplace of the Sikh Gurus. We bow our heads to the Punjab for the renunciation the self-sacrifice and the spirituality that these Gurus expressed in their lives and help up before us as a pattern worthy of imitation by us. Also! since then the Punjab seems

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to have remained in temporary oblivion of her ancient heritage. The present descendants of the Rishis of old, though they still prove their noble descent by their handsome Aryan features, seen to have misinterpreted the teachings of the ancients about Power. The Rishis have said—" Power is greater even than Science. Our man of power is more than a match for hundred scientists. Power sustains the earth, the ether, the sky, the mountains, the gods, mankind, beasts, birds, vegetation and insects—all these are also dependant upon this Power. Therefore worship It ".

The Punjab of to-day has mistaken this great Power of the soul for paysical power and put it on a pedestal. She seems to have forgotten that the sages sang not of the mere momentary body-force but that they sang of the invincible soul-force. It is said of this Power which sustains everything every where that eyes cannot see it, speech cannot describe it, mind cannot comprehend it. Of the same Power Herbert Spencer has said—"The Power which the Universe manifests to us is utterly inacrutable . . . An Infinite and Eternal energy from which all things proceed." This Soul-Power is beneficent and in its beneficence has its distinctive character from the power of the brute or the body-force. It has the force with which Vasishta over-powered Vishwamitra. Could the Punjab have been ensnared by the dazzle of the Western worship of brute-force? There are two distinctive qualities which characterise brute-force—tyranny and cowardice—to terrorise the weak and to fear the strong. Where as the characteristice of soul-force are protection of the weak and fearlessness before the tyran. But the same immortal Rishis tell us that *the choice lies with us.* They alone achieve the better way whom the gods choose—and the gods forgot the

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Punjab for a while. When however they remembered that hold land once more, there came a voice from above:

> Awake,, arise, approach the great ones,
> And learn wisdom from them.

The one who was to awaken the Punjab was in Gujerat. He had never seen the Punjab but he had a message for her as for the rest of India. Many read it, some only understood it. The result was that there was a kind of stimulation. The people of the Punjab did not sign his pledge. They did not grasp the inwardness of Satyagraha, nevertheless its freedom-giving spirit permeated the Punjab and the punjab was vitalised. A new power came into being—the power of suffering—and so the citizens of Lahore received bullets in their breasts without retaliating. Only to-day the news has been received that the 21 men, who were under heavy sentences including death penalty, had their appeals dismissed by the Privy Council. I have no doubt that the people of the Punjab with their eyes fixed on Truth will, even like Mirabai, acquire the power to drink this poison as if it was nectar. For many an innocent man including the leaders has suffered imprisonment, many have lost their all, many families have been deprived of their bread-winners, hundreds are dependent on public charity.* But save for few, the sufferers have borne their suffering with a brave heart. The message of Satyagraha has taken effect. Happi-

* As a result of the so-called "rebellion" in the Punjab martial law was introduced in the administration of which hundreds of Indians were imprisoned, unjustly in most cases. Some of the following articles will reveal the nature of the summary courts' sentences. The origin of the rebellion itself is briefly summarised in Gandhi's evidence before the Hunter Committee and in the Introduction. See *supra*.

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ness and misery, prison and palace, life and death are to-day different aspects of the same thing. If we are filled with Truth, why need we fear an O'Dwyer or a Dyer? The Truth in us shall make us free. The Punjab says to-day—"The weak shall not find the soul within." And if the Punjab forgives, it will be a forgiveness which adorns the strong—it will not be the deceitful refuge of the coward. I venture thus to sing for you the words of the "Message of the Punjab."

*The message in verse.*—And the speaker sang, on the beautiful bank of the Sabarmati just after sunset, to the vast audience of the citizens of Ahmedabad who listened in perfect respectful silence, the verses composed by Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry,* that were sung by her to the Amritsar Congress. We give a free translation of these verses.

1

Never lose heart,
What though the very life be in danger?
Let us not lose heart
Though the body may perish.

2

Whether it be through lightning, fire
water, flood, hurricane or earthquake,
Never lose heart.

3

Let the shell from the gun riddle you,
Let the edge of the sword cut you in twain,
Never lose heart.

* The speaker's husband, one of the leaders of the Punjab and victims of the "firm" policy.

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4

Let confiscation, forced sale impoverish you,
Let hard words pierce you,
Let the gallows or transportation by your lot,
Never lose heart.

5

Let Islam, let Hinduism,
Let knowledge, let the strength of the strong
sustain you,
Never lose heart.

6

By the valour of the Majhas,*
By the lustiness of the Malwas,*
By the voice of the friends,
Never lose heart.

7

By the people of Dhana,† Potdhar,†
Sandalbar,† and Jhangsy,†
Never lose heart.

8

O Ram, through love
Through peace, through patience,
And by the grace of True God,
Never lose heart.

*Mahatma Gandhi's remarks.*—Mr. Gandhi who was in charge of the usual vote of thanks to the speaker and the chair in a humourous little speech said that

* Majhas and Malwas are warrior tribes living in the Punjab.
† Names of places in the Punjab.

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it was somewhat embarrassing for him to speak of one who was not only his valued guest, but had become as dear to him as his own sister. During his privileged residence under Sarla Devi's roof whilst she was separated from her husband, he had had many a rich experience of her devotion to her husband. He knew how like a lioness she had fought for securing justice for her husband but never till that evening had he so fully realised that she was husband-mad. The audience might think that she had delivered the message of the Punjab which was the message of Satyagraha in the words of some ancient Rishis, for they had heard so much that evening of the Rishis of old. If they were labouring under any such delusion it was his duty to undeceive them. He was certainly proud to think that he message of Satyagraha had been delivered in at beautiful sweet song. But his pride was mixed with grief because he noticed that under the cover of delivering the message of Satyagraha, Sarala Devi had done nothing else than glorifying her husband. For Ram, the author of the song, was no other than Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry. He did not mind the glorification of a husband by a husband-mad wife. But he resented such glorification under false colours. The speaker hoped that the audience would join him in his resentment by enthusiastically carrying the vote he had the honour of moving and that the sisters of Ahmedabad whom he saw among the audience would show their appreciation of the gifts of the guest of the evening by copying her wonderful devotion to her husband.

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*15th October, 1912*

## A PUNJAB VICTIN

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Behari Lal Sachdeva is a young man of twenty-four with a young wife and an aged father seventy-two years old. He belongs to the Gujranwala batch and was sentenced to transportation with forfeiture of property. He had "waged war against the king." So said the prosecution and so found the court. His Honour the Lieut.-Governor has commuted the sentence to that of four years' imprisonment. Poor comfort to a prisoner who is innocent or to his father who is on the verge of death.

And so poor Behari Lal Sachdeva has sent another petition* as "he believes that through some serious mistake his case has not been carefully gone into", The petition is convincing enough. It is so well drawn that it will repay perusal. It is almost free from rhetoric or superfluous adjectives and is brief enough even for a busy reader.

A friend told me the other day that after forty years of life devoted to the praising of British justice, the Punjab had undeceived him. He no longer believed in British justice. He added with distinct energy, "I do not care a straw for your reforms; what can they do for us if our lives and our honour be not safe and we stand in peril of being wrongly imprisoned ?"

Well, the case of Behari Lal Sachdeva seems to be one such. It is probably one of mistaken identity. The young may would appear to be perfectly innocent. The prisoner is not stated to have been connected with or present at the meeting on the 4th and the 5th April or

* Not included in this collection.

on the 12th or the 13th April. The principal witness's evidence is merely hearsay. The other evidence is stated to be tainted, and, even if true, the facts sworn to do not disclose any offence. The evidence given for the prisoner by respectable and impartial witnesses was discarded by the court. The reader has by this time known sufficient of the Punjab judgment * not to feel surprised at such attitude of the special courts. What is however surprising is the fact that even now when perfect quiet reigns in the Punjab these cases of injustice do not receive the attention they deserve at the hands of the Lieut.-Governor. No government deserves respect which holds cheap the liberty of the subject as the Punjab Government seems to do.

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*29th October, 1919*

## ANOTHER MARTIAL LAW CASE FROM THE PUNJAB

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Purshotam Singh, son of Mr. Jamiat Singh Bagga of Wazirabad, has sent me a statement of his father's case, and what his miscalled record of his case and judgment. Mr. Jamiat Singh Bagga is a merchant and banker of Wazirabad. He is 62 years old and suffering from a bad cataract in the eye. He was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or in default to undergo further rigorous imprisonment for 6 months. I have no hesitation in saying that the judgment is utterly unworthy of anybody calling himself a judge. It is devoid of reasoning and full of imputations and bad logic, and if the facts set forth in the

* The monstrous sentences awarded by the special courts had scandalised the Indian public at the time.

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son's statement are true, the convicting Magistrate is utterly unfit to sit as a judge. Mr. Jamiat Singh's crime seems to have been that he was present at the mosque meeting and advocated *hartal*, and that he was a rich man for, the Magistrate disbelieves the testimony of impartial witnesses, because "Jamiat Singh is a rich man." It is sufficient for the Magistrate that the accused was with the mob that stoned the troopers, that "if he prevented boys from breaking fenching, there may have been some other reason, but the certainly was in the mob." Thus everything in favour of the accused is deliberately disregarded by the Magistrate. The reader must go through the judgment to feel the force of my remarks regarding its incoherence. But the son's statement makes what seems apparently to be an injustice appear blacker still. Is it true that the Magistrate confiscated the accused's property without a moment's notice, that the inmates were subjected to the treatment described in the statement, and if it is true, was it not a lawless act? Is it true that the witnesses cited for the defence were not called, that the defence counsel was not allowed to appear, when the charge was framed against the accused? So much for the precious judgment.

The treatment received by the accused before and after judgment seems to have been in keeping with the proceedings of the court. It was an inhuman act to make him walk handcuffed with his bedding under his arm-pit. It reminds one of General Hudson's speech about the hand and knee order, which, by the way, should be, according to the correction made by Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, described as the crawling order. It is evident that the proceedings taken by the authorities were intended, like the crawling order, to produce an

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impression on the people. It is difficult on any other ground to understand the insulting and cruel treatment to which the accused was subjected. Even the help he rendered the Government during the war period by subscribing the largest amount in Warirabad to the war loan, and by recruiting, was of no avil. The *Sanal* granted to him for his loyal services was of no service to him when he was put in the dock, and treated as a common felon.

I cannot congratulate the Punjab Government on the reduction of the sentence to six months, when the accused seems clearly to be entitled to a full discharge. The case, as appears from the statement, is now to be investigated by the Revision Judges. I have already ventured to express my misgivings about this Revision Tribunal. Its composition cannot inspire any confidence or hope. If the Government fail to repair the irreparable mistakes, create tribunals merely in order to cover themselves, they will forfeit all title to respect and intelligent co-operation. The dead are buried and gone, but it is intolerable that the living, who are now suffering undeserved punishment, are not given an opportunity of showing their innocence before at ribunal in which they and the public can have fúll confidence.

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*19th November, 1919*

## BHAI PARAMANAND

(B M. K. GANDHI)

Mr. Andrews has dealt with the case of Bhai Paramanand * in pathetic language in the columns of the

* In 1915 Bhai Paramanand was convicted under Sections 121, 121 A (abetment of waging war against the King), and 124A I. P. C.

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*Tribune*. Bhai Paramanand belongs to the band of Indians daily growing in numbers who have set apart their lives for India's service and have accepted comparative poverty as their lot. It was in that spirit that under the influence of Lala Hansaraj that he joined the D. A. V. College at Lahore as a professor. By his unassuming manners, industry and sterling character he made himself popular with the students as also the staff. He then paid a visit to South Africa and preached on the necessity of religion as a factor in life-building. He left on my mind a deep impression as a man full of truth and nobility. He came in close touch with me during his visit to that sub-continent, and was nearly a month my honoured guest. I had many a chat with him on various matters, and I believe that his patriotism was of a lofty type, a patriotism that would disdain to use violence to serve national ends. He went to England from South Africa. There he came in touch with the school of violence headed by Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma. But the truth in him burnt as brightly as ever even in the midst of temptation. His frank and fearless

(Sedition) and sentenced to the extreme penalty of law by a Special Tribunal consisting of three Commissioners in what is known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case. On the recommendation of one of the Commissioners, the sentence was commuted to one of transporation for life and forfeiture of property. The evidence on which he was convicted was based on the story of unreliable approvers and was so flimsy that, earlier in the proceedings, the Government Advocate recommended the withdrawal of proceedings against him. "If we could have manufactured any evidence," said Mr. Bevan Petman, the Government Advocate, who was subsequently raised to the High Court Bench, we could have done so against Bhai Paramanand, whom we all along suspected and were anxious to get in. But all that the principal approvers say against him amount to this—that he had no knowledge of the conspiracy." Sir M. O'Dwyer, however, persisted and got a conviction against Paramanand!

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statement before the court shows that he has hidden nothing. He has made admissions which are damaging to him. He was not bound to make any statement, but he would not flinch. He felt that he would hide nothing even though his statement involved a conviction. His statement itself provides no material for a conviction. But the special court tacked to it other evidence and condemned him.

The able petition presented by his wife, and reproduced elsewhere,* contains a convincing analysis of the case. I do not propose to refer to it for the moment. My purpose is to show that the Government have grievously erred in treating an honourable man as a common felon. Assume his guilt. It was still wrong to send him to the Andamans. It was easy, if he was an enemy, to turn him into a friend by humane treatment. If he was really dangerous it was right to deprive him of his liberty. But it was cruel to herd him with ordinary prisoners or to send him to the Andamans. I have taken care to ask many men in Lahore and elsewhere about Bhai Paramanand. Not one man believed in his guilt. Every one of them considers him to be innocent of the crime imputed to him. A government that exists by terror does not deserve to exist at all. For such a government Bhai Paramanand has been long enough in jail. His wife and children were deprived (I think illegally) of their personal effects under the order of forfeiture. His letters show that Bhai Paramanand, instead of being embittered, has been leading in the Andamans a life of religious introspection. It is not right for the Government to keep such a man in prison. I trust that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab will examine the case, and what

* Omitted in this collection.

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is more, inquire about Bhai Paramanand's record in the Andamans and discharge him without delay. I trust, too, that the public and the press will study this case and urge the Government to release Bhai Paramanand.

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*26th May, 1920*

## A HARD CASE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received the following telegram from the families of Messrs. Bugga and Ratanchand:

"Bugga and Ratto under orders transfer Andamans. Bugga suffering hernia and piles since ten years. Was operated upon. Ratto aged over forty and therefore should not be sent Andamans under Jail Manual Rule 721."

The readers will remember that these were the accused on whose behalf appeals were made to the Privy Council in common with others and whose appeals were rejected on technical grounds. The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru has analysed the cases and shown that they are no more guilty than the others who have been discharged. But several who were originally sentenced to death had their sentences commuted to imprisonment and are now set free. What is it that distinguishes these two cases from the others? Is it the fact of the appeal itself? If they had not appealed or rather a philanthrophic lawyer out of pity had not taken up their case, fought for them against tremendous odds, they would not have escaped the hangman's horse? H. H. the Leiut.-Governor of the Punjab has been showing a generous discretion in releasing many who suffered

between April and June last year. Although he had the opportunity, after the dismissal of the appeal, to hang Messrs. Bugga and Ratanchand, H. E. the Viceroy, it is equally true, has commuted the sentence of death to one of transportation. But I venture to submit that if the Royal Proclamation is to be given effect to in the fullest measure, Messrs. Bugga and Ratanchand are entitled to their liberty. They are no more a danger to the State than Lala Harkishenlal Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri and others of that distinguished company. But for the time being, strong as the case is for their discharge, I am pleading not for a complete release but for keeping them in the Punjab and if they have been sent away already for bringing them back, if for nothing else, out of consideration for the wives of these poor men. Let not the public think that the acts of the Government of the day are dictated only by fear and expediency, not by logic and high principles of justice.

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*31st December, 1919*

## THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

The Proclamation * issued by the Sovereign on the 24th instant is a document of which the British people have every reason to be proud, and with which every Indian ought to feel satisfied. Coming on the top of the dis-

* In giving assent to the Indian Reform Act of 1919, the King-Emperor issued a Proclamation, surveying the progress of the Reform movement, calling upon the people and the officials to co-operate with one another in an early advance towards free institutions, and directing the Viceroy to amnesty political prisoners as far as public safety permitted.

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closures made before Lord Hunter's Committee, the Proclamation gives one an insight into the true British character. For as the Proclamation shows it at its best, General Dyer's inhumanity shows it at its worst. The Proclamation is the evidence of the intention to do justice, as General Dyer's deed is proof of man becoming devil under fear and excitement. I believe that the juxtaposition of the two events is a pure accident. The Proclamation was the inevitable consequence of the great measure which has received Royal assent. It was the finishing touch. The Reforms Act coupled with the Proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India. And it ought to remove suspicion on that score. But that does not mean that we may sit with folded hands and may still expect to get what we want. Under the British constitution no one gets anything without a hard fight for it. No one for a moment believes the statements made in the Parliament that the Reforms have not been granted because of the agitation. We must lay to heart the advice of the President of the Congress that we shall gain nothing without agitation. We would have been nowhere if there had been no Congress to agitate for the rights of the people. Agitation means no more than movement towards something. But just as all movement does not mean progress, so does all agitation not mean success. Undisciplined agitation which is a paraphrase of violence of speech or deed, can only retard national growth and bring about even unmerited retribution such as the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. Disciplined agitation is the condition of national growth. The most correct agitation, therefore, consists in the most correct action and we have little doubt that the Royal Proclamation and the Reforms mean not less agitation and less

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work but more agitation and more work of the correct type.

The Reforms are undoubtedly incomplete, they do not give us enough; we were entitled to more, we could have managed more. But the Reforms are not such as we may reject.* On the contrary they are such as to enable us to expand. Our duty therefore is not to subject them to carping criticism but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a thorough success and thus anticipate the time for a full measure of responsibility. Our work therefore may now well consist in agitation turned inward. Let us concentrate on ridding ourselves of social abuses, on producing a strong electorate and on sending to the councils men who would seek election not for self-advertisement but for national service.

There has been much mutual distrust between us—the English and ourselves. General Dyer forgot the dignity of man and became unmanly because he was seized with distrust and consequent fear. He feared that he might be 'assaulted.' The Proclamation more than the Reforms replaces distrust by trust. It remains to be seen whether the trust will filter down the Civil Service. But let us assume that it will, and let us respond in the fullest measure. We cannot be wrong in so doing. To trust is a virtue. It is weakness that begets distrust. The best satisfaction we can show is undoubtedly to work gracefully and ungrudgingly. Our honest work will constitute the best guarantee for the quickening of progress towards the goal.

Throughout all these years, the one figure that has laboured for India without, for a single moment, turning

* Subsequently, Mr. Gandhi had to change his views on the subject. See *infra*.

back is Mr. Montagu. We have had many Secretaries of State who have adorned their office. But no Secretary has so well adorned it as Mr. Montagu. He has been a true friend of India. He has earned our gratitude. And for Lord Sinha? He has added lustre to his country. Indians have every reason to be proud of him.

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*10th December, 1919*

## THE KASUR INCIDENT

If we may generalise from a particular instance, the Kasur incident of which the description is given in a letter to the *Tribune*, reproduced elsewhere,* and

* A correspondent from Kasur wrote to the *Tribune* under date 27th November:—Accompained by Dr. Parsram Mr. Gandhi visited Kasur yesterday in order to see two Indians who were said to have been assaulted by Mr. Marsden, the S. D. O., on Friday last. They gave Mr. Gandhi written statements of what had actually taken place. One of them, Kader Bux, a vegetable dealer, was assaulted rather severely because he was suspected of having stuck up on his wall a Khilafat placard. Another, a storekeeper named Goolam Mahamad, also made a statement saying that he was struck for the same thing. The notices in question were removed. But Mr. Marsden quickly realised that he had made a mistake. He found out that the notices were quite inoffensive and that they were put at the instance of Mr. Goolam Mahay-ud-Din, the well-known pleader of Kasur. He at once apologised and paid Kaderbux ten rupees as compensation. During his stay at Kasur Mr. Gandhi saw Mr. Marsden at his invitation and discussed the incident with him. Mr. Marsden authorised Mr Gandhi, who was to address a public meeting of the people of Kasur the same afternoon, to express his regret for the hasty action he had taken under the belief that the placards in question were of an inflammatory character. Mr. Gandhi consequently announced to the meeting the handsome manner in which Mr. Marsden had apologised for the mistake made by him. The meeting was attended by over three thousand men, and two to three hundred ladies were also present. After referring to the unfortunate incident, Mr. Gandhi explained why

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fully confirmed by Mr. Gandhi shows that officers in the Punjab are prone to use force on the merest shadow of provocation. But the significance of the incident, small

the Congress Sub-Committee had decided to withdraw co-operation from Lord Hunter's Committee and invited those who had not already made their statements before the Sub-Committee to do so now. The speaker also dwelt strongly on the excesses committed by the mob and said that India's deliverance lay through resistence of wrong by quiet, dignified suffering. Truth and fearlessness were necessary for the removal of all wrongs.

The following account given by Mr. Gandhi of a Kasur incident fully corroborates the account given by the correspondent to the "Tribune": "I had received a telegram from Kasur that a Musalman was severely beaten by the Sub-Divisional officer there, for a Khilafat placard stuck on his wall. The man had not stuck the placard at all, and it was harmless. I thought this was a serious affair. That British officers should take the law in their own hands and commit a criminal offence should be intolerable. I therefore visited Kasur in company with Dr. Parasram and took the statements of two Musalmans who were beaten by the Sub-Divisional officer. In the meantime, I received a note from Mr. Marsden, the S. D. O. asking me to see him. He said in the course of his conversation that he had apologised to the Musualman and paid Rs. 10 to him as compensation. I told him that as he had publicly beaten the Musalman he should also publicly apologise. He agreed to my publicly expressing his regret. The notices were also restored on the wall. Just after this visit I had to address a big public meeting attended by about three thousand men and women. I expressed to them Mr. Marsden's unconditional regret and the people were greatly satisfied." Mr. Gandhi also refers to a visit to Wazirabad where the people were so very much fear-stricken that they would not even accommodate him and his friends and they had at last to put up in a Sikh temple! There was a surprise in store for him, he says, at Nizamabad, a small village over fifty miles from Lahore, where an industrious population of blacksmiths manufacture cutlery which is reputed to be the best in India, beautiful handles for sticks and fine rifles. He was very sorry that fine craftsmanship lay thus hidden and unknown in distant villages and that even he with his deep interest in Swadeshi did no know of this village.

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though it was, lies elsewhere. Mr. Marsden did no doubt take the law into his own hands, but hastened to make what reparation he could. He did not resent the presence of Mr. Gandhi as an unwarranted interference into local affairs, had not only the grace to invite Mr. Gandhi to explain the matter, but the further grace to accept Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that the reparation he had made was not adequate, unless there was a public expression of regret, for an offence committed in public and the still further grace to authorise Mr. Gandhi to publish his regret for what he had done. On the other hand, the public expression of regret was sufficient to satisfy the people, who welcomed it, and have not only forgiven the officer and forgotten the incident, but probably think more highly of him than before. The moral is obvious. Patient truth must tell. The public instead of taking any precipitate action calmly pointed out to the officer his mistake, he had to admit it and made sufficient amends for it. For the ruling class there could be no better instance of the triumph of regard for truth. Mr. Marsden had committed, no doubt, a grave mistake, but having admitted the mistake found a public ready to respect him all the more.

If instances as these were more common in India, goodwill between the rulers and the ruled would be the rule, and ill will and consequent disturbances a thing of the past.

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*11th February, 1920*

## TWO PICTURES

The following has been received by Shrimati Sarladevi Chaudhrani from the Government of India :

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
ARMY DEPARTMENT, DELHI
*Dated 8th Dec., 1919.*

Madam,

I am directed to refer to the list published with the *Gazette of India* dated the 29th July, 1919 in which you were mentioned for valuable services rendered in India in connection with the War, 1914—1919 and to forward as a souvenir and a mark of appreciation of the Government of India the war badge enclosed.

I am,
Your obedient servant,
(Sd.) G. H. BINGLEY, *Major-General,*
*Secretary to the Government of India.*

TO MRS. DUTT CHAUDHARI.

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She was instrumental in sending many a Bengali youth to the war. It is said that it was her poetry, her touching songs and addresses that appealed to the masses and inspired them to offer their services and co-operation. Hence the badge she has only just had the honour of receiving.

Now turn to the other picture.

To

THE COMMITTEE OF THE LAHORE PURDAH CLUB,
*Government House, Lahore.*

17-4-19

As President of the Lahore Purdah Club, I wish to let you know that the names of Chaudhari and Chaudhrani Rambhuj Dutt have been taken off the Government House list.

I should like the Committee of the Purdah Club here to consider at once the desirability of first

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giving the Chaudhrani the opportunity of resigning her membership of our Purdah Club before taking steps to remove her name from the list of our members.

It is obvious that the wife of the Lieutenant-Governor cannot belong to the same club as the wife of Chaudhari Rambhuj Dutt.

As Mrs. Richey is away and has appointed no one to take her place, I am taking upon myself to act as secretary and I am writing to Mrs. Richey to that effect so as not to waste time and if the members, English and Indian, agree and sign enclosed, the notice from our Lahore Purdah Club can be sent to the Chaudhrani in a day or two.

I am,
Yours Sincerely
(Sd.) ANNA O'DWYER.

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SIMLA,
*April 22nd, 1919.*

Dear Madam,

I am requested by the Committee, Lahore Purdah Club to ask you to send in your resignation of membership of this Club and to forward to you the enclosed notice.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. RICHEY
*Hon. Sec., Purdah Club.*

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[The notice sent to Shrimati Sarladevi is the draft notice referred to in the following.—Ed. Y. I.]

Notice from the President of the Committee of the Lahore Purdah Club sent to Chaudhrani Rambhuj Dutt dated 2nd April 1919.

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We the English and Indian members of the Committee of the Lahore Purdah Club, in consequence of what has happened, consider that your name should no longer appear among its members and understand from this that you will not in future be welcome to any of our meetings.

(Sd.) M. RICHEY,
*Sec., Purdah Club.*

Copies of member signatures—
Anna O'Dwyer (*President*)
Mildred Kitchin
Mrs. B. J. Rustomjee
Mrs. K. Rustomjee
Begum Zulfiquar Ali Khan
A. N. Mahomed Shafi
Marie Woolver
Mrs. K. Niamatullah
Mrs. Thapar
P. W. Thapar
F. R. Sirajuddin Mohini Mayadas
F. B. Ahmed Hussain
Nancy Ewing Lucas.

Let it be remembered that Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhari was simply deported along with other Lahore leaders on mere suspicion. There was nothing proved against him. The trial followed a considerable time later. But the day after his deportation, his and Mrs. Chaudhari's names were removed from the Government House list. The same day Lady O'Dwyer hastened to circulate the letter and procure the signatures of the members of the Purdah Ladies Club. It is painful to find cultured Indian ladies being so terror-struck as to easily expose themselves to ridicule and insult. For in sending the notice they did to Sarladevi Chaudhrani they insulted not Mrs. Chaudhari but themselves.

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Shrimati Sarladevi is a member of the Bengal aristocracy, wife of a noted leader of the Punjab and, what is more, one of the few highly educated and gifted ladies India possesses. It was the Club that was honoured by her being its member. We have no desire to give undue prominence to this indiscretion of Lady O'Dwyer 'blazing' though it was. We hope now that everybody seems to be regaining sanity, either Lady Maclagan or the members themselves would right this wrong they have done to themselves and to society.

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*3rd March, 1920*

## THE AMRITSAR APPEALS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

So these appeals * have been dismissed in spite of the advocacy of the best counsel that were obtainable. The Privy Council has confirmed lawless procedure. I must confess that the judgment does not come upon me quite as a surprise, though the remarks of the judges as Sir John Simon was developing his argument on behalf of the appellants, led one to expect a favourable verdict. My opinion based upon a study of political cases is that the judgments, even of the highest Tribunals, are not unaffected by subtle political considerations. The most elaborate precautions taken to procure a purely judicial mind must break down at critical moments. The Privy Council cannot be free from the limitations of all human institutions which are good enough only for normal

* Some 20 victims of martial law administration of the Punjab appealed to the Privy Council on the ground that the Viceroy had no power to issue the Martial Law ordinances and that the procedure followed by the summary courts was irregular.

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conditions. The consequences of a decision favourable to the people would have exposed the Indian Government to indescribable discredit from which it would have been difficult to free itself for a generation.

Its political significance can be gauged from the fact that as soon as the news was received in Lahore all the preparations that were made to accord a fitting welcome to Lala Lajpatrai were immediately cancelled and the Capital of the Punjab was reported to be in deep mourning. Deeper discredit, therefore, now attaches to the Government by reason of the judgment, because rightly or wrongly the popular opinion will be that there is no justice under the British constitution when large political or racial considerations are involved.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe. The human and especially the Indian mind quickly responds to generosity. I hope that without the necessity of an agitation or petitions the Punjab Government or the Central Government will immediately cancel the death sentences and, if at all possible, simultaneously set the appellants free.

This is required by two considerations each equally important. The first is that of restoring public confidence which I have already mentioned. The second is fulfilment of the Royal Proclamation to the letter. That great political document orders the release of all the political offenders who may not by their release prove a danger to society. No one can possibly suggest that the twenty-one appellants will, if they are set free, in any shape or form constitute a danger to society. They never had committed any crimes before. Most of them were regarded as respectable and orderly citizens. They were not known to belong to any revolutionary society. If they committed

any crimes at all, they were committed only under the impulse of the moment and under what to them was grave provocation. Moreover, the public believe that the majority of the convictions by the Martial Law Tribunals were unsupported by any good evidence. I, therefore, hope that the Government, which have so far been doing well in discharging political offenders even when they were caught in the act, will not hesitate to release these appellants and thus earn the goodwill of the whole of India. It is an act of generosity done in the hour of triumph which is the most effective. And in the popular opinion this dismissal of the appeal has been regarded as a triumph for the Government.

I would respectfully plead with the Punjab friends not to lose heart. We must calmly prepare ourselves for the worst. If the convictions are good, if the men convicted have been guilty of murders or incitements to murder, why should they escape punishment? If they have not committed these crimes as we believe most at least have not, why should we escape the usual fate of all who are trying to rise a step higher? Why should we fear the sacrifice if we would rise? No nations have ever risen without sacrifice and sacrifice can only be spoken of in connection with innocence and not with crime.

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*26th May, 1920*

## SAVARKAR BROTHERS

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

"It is My earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between My people and those who are

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responsible for my Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress had broken the law in the past, respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly Government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among My people and officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct My Viceroy to exercise in My name and on My behalf My Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who, for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation, are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all My subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to force the laws for such offences hereafter".—*The Royal Proclamation of 24th December 1919.*

The Proclamation from which the above extract has been copied was published in December last. Thanks to the action of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, many of those who were undergoing imprisonment at the time have received the benefit of the Royal clemency. But there are some notable "political offenders" who have not yet been discharged. Among these I count Savarkar brothers. They are political offenders in the same sense as men, for instance, who have been discharged in the Punjab. And yet these two brothers have not received their liberty although five months have gone by after the publication of the Proclamation.

Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar, the elder of the two, was born in 1879, and received an ordinary education. He took a prominent part in the Swadeshi movement at Nasik in 1908. He was sentenced to transportation for life with confiscation of property under sections 121, 121A, 124A and 153A on the 9th day of June 1909, and

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is now serving his sentence in the Andamans. He has therefore had eleven years of imprisonment.

Section 121 is the famous section which was utilised during the Punjab trials and refers to "waging war against the King." The minimum penalty is transportation for life with forfeiture of property. 121A is a similar section. 124A relates to sedition. 153A relates to promotion of enmity between classes 'by words either spoken or written' or 'otherwise." It is clear therefore that all the offences charged against Mr. Savarkar (senior) were of a public nature. He had done no violence. He was married, had two daughters who are dead, and his wife died about eighteen months ago.

The other brother was born in 1884, and is better known for his career in London. His sensational attempt to escape the custody of the police and his jumping through a port-hole in French waters, are still fresh in the public mind. He was educated at the Fergusson College, finished off in London and became a Barrister. He is the author of the proscribed history of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. He was tried in 1910, and received the same sentence as his brother on 24th December, 1910. He was charged also in 1911 with abetment of murder. No act of violence was proved against him either. He too is married, had a son in 1909. His wife is still alive.

Both these brothers have declared their political opinions and both have stated that they do not entertain any revolutionary ideas and that if they were set free they would like to work under the Reforms Act, for they consider that the reforms enable one to work thereunder so as to achieve political responsibility for India. They both state unequivocally that they do not desire independence from the British connection. On the contrary, they feel that India's destiny can be best worked out in

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association with the British. Nobody has questioned their honour or their honesty, and in my opinion the published expression of their views ought to be taken at its face value. What is more, I think, it may be safely stated that the cult of violence has, at the present moment, no following in India. Now the only reason for still further restricting the liberty of the two brothers, can only be 'danger to public safety,' for, the Viceroy has been charged by His Majesty to exercise the Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest manner which in his judgment is compatible with public safety. I hold therefore that unless there is absolute proof that the discharge of the two brothers who have already suffered long enough terms of imprisonment, who have lost considerably in body-weight and who have declared their political opinions, can be proved to be a danger to the State, the Viceroy is bound to give them their liberty. The obligation to discharge them, on the one condition of public safety being fulfilled, is in the Viceroy's political capacity just as imperative as it was for the Judges in their judical capacity to impose on the two brothers the minimum penalty allowed by law. If they are to be kept under detention any longer, a full statement justifying it is due to the public.

This case is no better and no worse than that of Bhai Paramanand who, thanks to the Punjab Government, has after a long term of imprisonment received his discharge. Nor need his case be distinguished from that of Savarkar brothers in the sense that Bhai Paramanand pleaded absolute innocence. So far as the Government are concerned, all were alike guilty because all were convicted. And the Royal clemency is due not merely to doubtful cases but equally to all cases of offences proved up to the hilt. The conditions are that

the offence must be political and the exercise of Royal clemency should not, in the opinion of the Viceroy, endanger public safety. There is no question about the brothers being political offenders. And so far the public are aware there is no danger to public safety. In answer to a question in the Viceregal Council in connection with such cases the reply given was that they were under consideration. But their brother has received from the Bombay Government a reply to the effect that no further memorials regarding them will be received and Mr. Montagu has stated in the House of Commons that in the opinion of the Government of India they cannot be released. The case however cannot be so easily shelved. The public are entitled to know the precise grounds upon which the liberty of the brothers is being restrained in spite of the Royal Proclamation which to them is as good as a royal charter having the force of law.

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*17th December, 1919.*

## THE RAMNAGAR TRAGEDY

Mr. Purshotamdas Tandon's public letter flatly contradicting the allegation that any effigy of the King-Emperor was burnt at Ramnagar * still remains unchall-

* Under the direction of Pandits Malaviya and Nehru, Mr. Tandon, a vakil of the Allahabad High Court and leader, investigated the occurrences in the Punjab, about August 1919. He wrote to *Young India*, of 15th October that, as a result of his investigation, he found there was no truth at all in the story which was built up as an afterthought on the fact of a few boys holding a demonstration against the Rowlat Bill on the 15th April and that the people knew obsolutely nothing about the alleged investigation into the affair by two special officers who are said to have confirmed the finding of the Magistrate, O'Brien.

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enged. Indeed, Pandit Jagat Narayan's and Sahebzada Sultan Ahmed's examination of Col. O'Brien entirely corroborates all the statements in that letter. Colonel O'Brien admitted that in the first report of the trouble at Ramnager he had received, there was no mention of the burning of the effigy of the King-Emperor there. He also admitted that he tried the case which involved the examination of about 100 witnesses and gave the accused the full sentence that he could give and maintained that the accused had a fair trial. What doubt can there be that the accused had a fair trial when they were convicted and sentenced on the sole evidence of "two Hindus and one Muhammadan"—out of the whole host of one hundred witnesses disposed of by him—"who gave evidence as to the burning of the effigy as also to the casting of ashes into the river?" The Commissioners, we hope, do know what value they should attach to the finding of a colonel who even before them is not ashamed to boast that 'he made the arrests whether he was powered or not.'

Mr. Gandhi has since visited Ramnagar and after his inquiries he is convinced that the people there are absolutely innocent, that they have been unjustly imprisoned, abused and insulted. (And yet no less than twenty-eight respectable citizens at Ramnagar are still rotting in jail for the alleged burning of an effigy of the King-Emperor.)

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*14th July, 1920*

## A SUPERINTENDENT'S ORDER

Mr. Gandhi writes to the Press :—

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has handed to me an order signed by Mr. F. A. Heron, the

Superintendent of Police, Gujranwala (Punjab). The Panditji has given it to me for publication with such criticism as I could offer out of my experience of the Gujranwala district, the whole of which I visited during my stay in the Punjab. The order is dated the 5th June, 1919. It may be recalled that Superintendent Heron it was who directed the firing when one of the Railway bridges was set fire to by a Gujranwala crowd on the 14th April 1919. Here is the order in question :

ORDER

TO THE SUB INSPECTOR OF POLICE

*Gujranwala, Dated 5th of June, 1919.*

It is now practically certain that Martial Law will be taken off in this district, from those towns upon which it is still in force in a few days. The result of this will be that only those cases actually at the time of removal of Martial Law then under trial before the Martial Law Commissions will be allowed to continue to be tried under Martial Law.

All other cases whether under investigation or under trial before a Summary Court will have to be dropped and can then only be tried under the ordinary law. This will mean greatly prolonging these cases as under the ordinary law cases will proceed slowly in court and there will be appeals, etc. It is therefore imperative that all cases now ready for trial in the Summary Courts should be sent up for trial immediately and that all cases still under investigation which can be completed rapidly should be completed immediately and sent up for trial. In this district so far the police have sent up comparatively few cases for trial and so there must be many persons who are guilty and against whom

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there is proof available who should be sent up for trial without delay.

Great efforts must now be made to complete all pending cases at once. Identification parades should be held immediately and every endeavour must be made to call up new witnesses, etc., who can help in proving the guilt of the accused.

Proper attention has not so far been paid to securing the arrests of absconders. This must now be done. Constables, Sufedposhes etc., should now be sent out immediately after absconders and every effort made to capture them at once. It is not sufficient merely to send a Ruqua to some police stations for their arrests.

I need not impress upon my officers the great necessity of completing their cases at once and of getting a sufficient number of accused dealt with before Martial Law is removed. This district in point of view of numbers sent up for trial is far behind other districts and this naturally arouses criticisms on the efficiency and energy shown by the police here. Something can still be done to improve matters and if all my officers put their hearts into the work there is no reason why the reputation of all the investigating staff here should suffer in comparison with those who have investigated in Lahore and Amritsar, but should the number sent up for trial continue so small all concerned will undoubtedly not receive the *Qadar* and respect they are in some instances entitled to.

5-6-1919

(Sd.) F. A. HERON,
*Superintendent of Police,*
Gujranwala.

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Scores of witnesses in the district gave evidence before the Congress Sub-Committee that during the last days of Martial Law, batches after batches of prisoners were hurried to the Summary Courts so-called. The presiding officers sat late at night and without even examining defence witnesses condemned absolutely innocent men to varying terms of imprisonment. One of the officers who thus conducted trials was Col. O'Brien, and the other was Mr. Bosworth Smith. The order reproduced above adds emphasis to the evidence recorded by the Congress Committee and throws a lurid light on the way in which prosecutions took place. And it was in this summary and hasty manner that men who were absolutely innocent of any crime were harrassed and imprisoned at Akalgarh, Ramanagar and other places, and still these officials retain their offices and the power of doing evil.

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*18th November, 1920*

## JALLIANWALA BAGH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There was an unfortunate hitch about the purchase of this Bagh * for the nation. Thanks to the efforts of the

* Mr. Gandhi, in a letter to the *Navajivan*, thus speaks about the Jallianwalla Bagh :—The name 'Jallianwalla Bagh' is a misnomer. "Jallian' is a surname, and the original owner of the place was a 'Jallian.' The 'Bagh' is to-day the joint property of about 40 partners. It is not a "Bagh' or garden, but a dunghill. It is hemmed in on all sides by the back walls of houses and people have made it a convenient place to throw house-refuse in from back windows. It is an open space with three trees and a tomb, and is accessible by a narrow lane. General Dyer used this lane to approach the Bagh. The people who were attending the meeting in the Bagh on the 13th

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Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sanyasi Swami Shri Shraddhananda and the local leaders, it has now become the property of the nation subject to the full payment of the purchase price within three months from the 6th instant. The purchase price is Rs. 5,36,000. And the amount must be raised within the prescribed period.

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the propriety of making this purchase on behalf of the nation, especially as it has been questioned even in enlightened quarters. With the Cawnpore Memorial before us the attitude is not to be wondered at. But with all respect to objectors, I cannot help saying that if the Bagh had not been acquired, it would have been a national disgrace. Can we afford to forget those five hundred or more men who were killed although they had done nothing wrong either morally or legally? If they had died knowingly and willingly, if realising their innocence they had stood their ground and faced the shots from the fifty rifles, they would have gone down to history as saints, heroes and patriots. But even as it was, the tragedy became one of first class national importance. Nations are born out of travail and suffering. We

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April were thus penned up, and had no way of escape except at three or four places by jumping walls. Thousands escaped with their lives by jumping the walls on that fateful day.

Torrents of innocent blood have hallowed this ground. Attempts are being made to purchase it for public purposes and if we do not succeed it will be a shame to us.

We may add to this the *Times of India* correspondent's description :

"Thousands are paying visits to Jallianwalla Bagh which is a large open space surrounded on all sides by dwelling houses with two or three bottle-necked entrances to it. Some of the walls of houses round about bear marks of the bullets fired from the machine guns and attract the attention of the sightseers visiting the scene."

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should forfeit all title to be considered a nation, if we failed to treasure the memory of those, who in our battle for political freedom might, innocently or for the crimes of others, lose their lives or otherwise suffer. We were unable to protect our helpless countrymen when they were ruthlessly massacred. We may decline, if we will, to avenge the wrong. The nation will not lose if we did. But shall we—can we afford to—decline to perpetuate the memory and to show to the surviving members of the families of the dead that we are sharers in their sufferings, by erecting a national tombstone and by telling the world thereby that in the death of these men each one of us has lost dear relations? If national instinct does not mean at least this much kinship, it has no meaning for me. I hold it to be our duty to tell the present generation and generations yet unborn that in our march towards true freedom we must be prepared for repetitions of the wrongs such as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. We must provide against them, we must not seek them, but we must be ready to face them if they came again. I would not have us flinch from the battle of national life. The supreme lesson of the Amritsar Congress * was that the sufferings of the Punjab did not dishearten the nation but that the nation treated them as a matter of course. Some of us made stupid mistakes and the innocent suffered for them. We must in future try to avoid the mistakes, but in spite of our best effort, we may fail to convert every one to sanity. We must, therefore, be ready for the repetition of the sufferings of the guiltless by telling the country now that they and theirs shall not be forgotten but that the memory of the innocent dead shall be regarded as a sacred trust and that the surviving relations shall have the right to look to the

* For this Congress resolutions. *See* Appendix.

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nation for maintenance in case of need. This is the primary meaning of the memorial. And has not the blood of the Mahomedan mixed with that of the Hindu? Has not the blood of the Sikh mixed with that of the Sanatanist and the Samajist? The memorial should be a national emblem of an honest and sustained effort to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity.

But the objector's objection still remains unanswered. Will not the memorial also perpetuate bitterness and ill-will? It will depend upon the trustees. And if I know them, I know that that is not their intention at all. I know that such was not the intention of the vast assembly. I do not wish to convey that bitterness was not there. It was there not in any way suppressed. But the idea of the memorial had nothing of bitterness in it. The people want to, they must be encouraged to, forget the doer and his madness. (What General Dyer did we may all do if we had his irresponsibility and opportunity.) To err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive if we, though being fallible, would like rather to be forgiven than punished and reminded of our misdeeds. (Nor does this mean that we may not ask for General Dyer's dismissal. A lunatic cannot be kept in a position from which he can do harm to his neighbours. But just as we do not bear ill-will towards a lunatic, so too may we not bear ill-will even towards General Dyer.) I would therefore eschew from the memorial all idea of bitterness and ill-will, but treat it as a sacred memory and regard the Bagh as a place of pilgrimage to be visited by all, irrespective of class, creed or colour. I would invite Englishmen to appreciate our feeling in the matter, ask them by subscribing to the memorial in the spirit of the Royal Proclamation to make common cause with us in our endeavour to regain

consciousness, to realise the same freedom that they enjoy under the same constitution and to realise Hindu-Muslim unity without which there can be no true progress for India.

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*31st March, 1920*

## THE PUNJAB NON-OFFICIAL REPORT

The much expected report is published. The Commissioners may congratulate themselves on the methodical manner in which they have approached their work and the moderation with which they have handled their difficult task. The status of the Commissioners must give added weight to a report which is otherwise capable of standing on its merits. The Commissioners have not travelled beyond the evidence they had in their possession. The reader is, therefore, if he is so minded, able to test the conclusions for himself. The recommendations are neither wild nor weak. The Commissioners boldly ask for the recall of the Viceroy, and the dismissal from service of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers. These are the two recommendations against which there may be some opposition. But the Commissioners have given clear and unimpeachable reasons for each recommendation. And if the veracity of the facts set forth by them is not challenged, their recommendations are unchallengable.

It is not without much pain that we find ourselves in agreement with the recommendation for the Viceroy's recall. We believe His Excellency to be a cultured English gentleman, meaning well by India and anxious to do the right thing. But these are not the sole qualifications for the high Viceregal office. Lord Chelmsford has undoubtedly shown a lack of imagination. He

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has applied to his Indian office the traditions of a colonial constitutional Governor who has invariably to be guided by the advice of his ministers, is politically precluded from taking the initiative and affects colonial policies, if he affects them at all, not in virtue of office but through subtle influence and social intercourse. A Governor in the self-governing colonies acts by making gentle suggestions, never pressing them on his ministers, and tries to move public opinion, not by exercise of authority but by making indirect friends at social and semi-political functions. The very qualities therefore that enable a Colonial Governor to make a success of himself disqualify Lord Chelmsford for the Viceregal office. The Viceroy of India has immense powers, he is an autocrat, he dominates the Executive Council. A mere suggestion from him is like a legal sanction. He initiates and gives effect to policies. He supervises, with the very tangible right of intervention, the administration of the provinces. He has, therefore, to be a strong ruler, with great imagination, with popular sympathies which he is never afraid to show. With all the qualities of the heart Lord Chelmsford has shown himself to be weak at critical junctures. Instead of leading his colleagues he has allowed himself to be ruled by them. He has allowed his provincial administrators to do as they have liked. The result was a variety of policies—level-headedness or conciliation in Bombay even under provocation; repression, persecution and intolerance without provocation in the Punjab. Such a contrast should be impossible under a Central Government with a chief at the centre who knows his mind and who knows how to impose his will on his subordinates. Lord Chelmsford has signally failed and so we believe that the Commissioners would have failed in

their duty if they had hesitated to advise, with the facts before them, the recall of His Excellency the Viceroy.

With reference to the findings too, the Commissioners have 'if anything' erred on the side of moderation. But perhaps it would be better for the public to discuss the findings after the publication of the report of the official Committee. So far as the evidence collected by the non-official Commissioners goes, we feel that no other findings were possible. Indeed going through the evidence we can see a studious attempt to refrain from stating conclusions which could not be absolutely supported by overwhelming array of facts.

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*7th April, 1920.*

## THE PUNJAB SENTENCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Commissioners appointed by the Congress Punjab Sub-committee have in their report accused His Excellency the Viceroy of criminal want of imagination. His Excellency's refusal to commute two death sentences out of five is a fine illustration of the accusation. The rejection of the appeal by the Privy Council no more proves the guilt of the condemned than their innocence could have been proved by quashing the proceedings before the Martial Law Tribunal. Moreover, these cases clearly come under the Royal Proclamation in accordance with its interpretation by the Punjab Government. The murders in Amritsar were not due to any private quarrel between the murderers and their victims. The offence, grave though it was, was purely political and committed under excitement. More than full reparation has been taken for the murders and arson. In the

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circumstances, commonsense dictates reduction of the death sentences. The popular belief favours the view that the condemned men are innocent and have not had a fair trial. The execution has been so long delayed that hanging at this stage would give a rude shock to Indian society. Any Viceroy with imagination would have at once announced commutation of the death sentences—not so Lord Chelmsford. In his estimation, evidently, the demands of justice will not be satisfied if at least some of the condemned men are not hanged. Public feeling with him counts for nothing. We shall still hope that either the Viceroy or Mr. Montagu will commute the death sentences.

But if the Government will grievously err, if they carry out the sentences, the people will equally err if they give way to anger or grief over the hanging if it has unfortunately to take place. Before we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of nations, we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity, not a thousand murders of innocent men and women but many thousands before we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation. We hope therefore that all concerned will take rather than lose heart and treat hanging as an ordinary affair of life.*

[Since the above was in type, we have received the cruel news. At last H. E. the Viceroy has mercilessly given the rude shock to Indian society. It is now for the latter to take heart in spite of the unkindest cut.—Ed. Y. I.]

* *Sir Rabindranath's Message.*—The third and last of the series of public meetings in celebration of the National week was held in the open space near the French Bridge, Bombay, on the 13th, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding. The meeting was convened under the joint auspices

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*9th June, 1920*

## POLITICAL FREEMASONRY

(By M. K. GANDHI)

Freemasonry is a secret brotherhood which has, more by its secret and iron rules than by its service to humanity, obtained a hold upon some of the best minds. Similarly there seems to be some secret code of conduct governing the official class in India before which the

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of the Bombay branches of the Home Rule League and the National Union.

The President at the outset announced that Sir Rabindranath Tagore was unable to be present but had sent a message, which he called upon Mr. C. F. Andrews to read.

Mr. Andrews thereupon read the message which ran as follows:—

"A great crime has been done in the name of law in the Punjab. Such terrible eruptions of evil leave their legacy of the wreckage of ideals behind them. What happened in Jallianwalla Bagh was itself a monstrous progeny of a monstrous war, which for four years had been defiling God's world with fire and poison, physical and moral. The immenseness of the sin through which humanity had waded across its blood-red length of agony has bred callousness in the minds of those who have power in their hands with no check of sympathy within, or fear of resistance without. The cowardliness of the powerful who owned no shame in using their machines of frightfulness upon the unarmed and unwarned villagers, and inflicting unspeakable humiliations upon their fellow-beings behind the screen of an indecent mockery of justice, and yet not feeling for a moment that it was the meanest form of insult to their own manhood, has become only possible through the opportunity which the late war had given to man for constantly outraging his own higher nature, trampling truth and honour under foot. This disruption of the basis of civilisation will continue to produce a series of moral earthquakes, and men will have to be ready for still further sufferings. That the balance will take a long time to be restored, is clearly seen by the suicidal ferocity of vengefulness ominously tinging red the atmosphere of the peace deliberations.

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lower of the great British nation fall prostrate and unconsciously become instruments of injustice which as private individuals they would be ashamed of perpetrating. In no other way is it possible for one to understand the majority report of the Hunter Committee, the despatch of the Government of India and the reply thereto of the Secretary of State for India. In spite of the energetic protests of a section of the Press to the personnel of the Committee, it might be said that on the

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"But we have no place in these orgies of triumphant powers rending the world into bits according to their own purposes. What most concerns us is to know that the moral degradation not only pursues the people, inflicting indignities upon the helpless, but also their victims. (The dastardliness of cruel injustice confident of its impunity is ugly and mean, but the fear and impotent anger which they are apt to breed upon the minds of the weak are no less object) Brothers, when physical force, in its arrogant faith in itself, tries to crush the spirit of man, then comes the time for him to assert that his soul is indomitable. We shall refuse to be afraid and to own moral defeat by cherishing in our hearts foul dreams of retaliation. The time has come for the victims to be the victors in the field of righteousness.)

"When brother spills the blood of his brother and exults in his sin, giving it a high sounding name; when he tries to keep the blood stains fresh on the soil as a memorial of his anger, then God in shame conceals it under His green grass and the sweet purity of His flowers. We who have witnessed the wholesale slaughter of the innocent in our neighbourhood, let us accept God's own office and cover the blood stains of iniquity with our prayer:—

'Rudra yat te dakshinam mukham tena mam pahinityam

'With Thy graciousness, O, Terrible, for ever save us.

For the true grace comes from the Terrible, who can save our souls from the fear of suffering and death in the midst of terror and from vindictiveness in defiance of injury. Let us take our lesson from His hand, even when the smart of the pain and insult is still fresh—the lesson that all meanness, cruelty and untruth are for the obscurity of oblivion, and only the Noble and True are for eternity. Let those,

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whole the public were prepared to trust it, especially as it contained three Indian members who could fairly be claimed to be independent. The first rude shock to this confidence was delivered by the refusal of Lord Hunter's Committee to accept the very moderate and reasonable demand of the Congress Committee, that the imprisoned Punjab leaders might be allowed to appear before it to instruct counsel. Any doubt that might have been left in the mind of any person has been dispelled by the report of the majority of that Committee. The result has justified the attitude of the Congress Committee. The evidence collected by it shows what Lord Hunter's Committee purposely denied itself.

The minority report stands out like an oasis in a desert. The Indian members deserve the congratulation of their countrymen for having dared to do their duty

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who wish, try to burden the minds of the future with stones, carrying the black memory of wrongs and their anger, but let us bequeath to the generations to come memorials of that only which we can revere,—let us be grateful to our fore-fathers, who have left us the image of our Buddha, who conquered self, preached forgiveness, and spread his love far and wide in time and space."

*The Resolution.*—Mr. Gandhi then moved the following resolution:—"This meeting of the citizens of Bombay is of opinion that whilst mob excessess at Amritsar although committed after grave provocation were worthy of condemnation, the deliberate and calculated massacre without warning by General Dyer of innocent, unarmed and otherwise defenceless men at Jallianwala Bagh was an unexampled act of barbarity, and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as to render impossible a repetition of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of the martial law administration and hopes that the recommendations made by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety."

The resolution was passed and the meeting was dissolved.

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in the face of heavy odds. I wish that they had refused to associate themselves even in a modified manner with the condemnation of the Civil Disobedience form of Satyagraha. The defiant spirit of the Delhi mob on the 30th March, can hardly be used for condemning a great spiritual movement which is admittedly and manifestly intended to restrain the violent tendencies of mobs and to replace criminal lawlessness by civil disobedience of authority, when it has forfeited all title to respect. On the 30th March, Civil Disobedience had not even been started. Almost every great popular demonstration has been hitherto attended, all the wo tever, by a certain amount of lawlessness. The demonstration of 30th March and 6th April could have been held under any other aegis as under that of Satyagraha. I hold that without the advent of the spirit of civility and orderliness, the disobedience would have taken a much more violent form than it did even at Delhi. It was only the wonderfully quick acceptance by the people of the principle of Satyagraha that effectively checked the spread of violence throughout the length and breadth of India. And even to-day it is not the memory of the black barbarity of General Dyer that is keeping the undoubted restlessness among the people from breaking forth into violence. The hold that Satyagraha has gained on the people—it may be even against their will—is curbing the forces of disorder and violence. But I must not detain the reader on a defence of Satyagraha against unjust attacks. If it has gained a foothold in India, it will survive much fiercer attacks than the one made by the majority of the Hunter Committee, and somewhat supported by the minority. Had the majority report been defective only in this direction and correct in every other, there would have been nothing but praise

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for it. After all, Satyagraha is a new experiment in political field. And a hasty attributing to it of any popular disorder would have been pardonable.

The universally pronounced adverse judgment upon the report and the despatches rests upon far more painful revelations. Look at the manifestly laboured defence of every official act of inhumanity except where condemnation could not be avoided through the impudent admissions made by the actors themselves; look at the special pleading introduced to defend General Dyer even against himself; look at the vain glorification of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, although it was his spirit that actuated every act of criminality on the part of the sub-ordinates; look at the deliberate refusal to examine his wild career before the events of April. His acts were an open book of which the Committee ought to have taken judicial notice. Instead of accepting everything that the officials had to say the Committee's obvious duty was to tax itself to find out the real cause of the disorders. It ought to have gone out of its way to search out the inwardness of the events. Instead of patiently going behind the hard crust of official documents, the Committee allowed itself to be guided with criminal laziness by mere official evidence. The report and the despatches, in my humble opinion, constitute an attempt to condone official lawlessness. The cautious and half-hearted condemnation pronounced upon General Dyer's massacre and the notorious crawling order only deepens the disappointment of the reader as he goes through, page after page, of thinly disguised official whitewash. I need, however, scarcely attempt any elaborate examination of the report or the despatches which have been so justly censured by the whole national press whether of the moderate or the extremist hue. The

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point to consider is how to break down this secret be the secrecy ever so unconscious—conspiracy to uphold official iniquity. A scandal of this magnitude cannot be tolerated by the nation, if it is to preserve its self-respect and become a free partner in the Empire. The All-India Congress Committee has resolved upon convening a special session of the Congress* for the purpose of considering, among other things, the situation arising from the report. In my opinion, the time has arrived when we must cease to rely upon mere petitions to Parliament for effective action. Petitions will have value, when the nation has behind it the power to enforce its will.† What power then have we? When we are firmly of opinion that grave wrong has been done us and when

* The Congress met at Calcutta in special session in September. For a summary of its work, see Appendix.

† Mr. Gandhi has no faith in a Declaration of Rights. *Young India* of June 30th writes as under: *Our Political Security*:—It is not difficult to discover in the Secretary of State's despatch issued in connection with the Hunter Committee Report the various attempts made to pass over the offences on the part of the Government officials. One of these attempts is easily detected when the despatch passes in almost an apologetic tone a halting criticism on some of the mistakes during the martial law period and abruptly goes on to propose arrangements for the future to be incorporated in a martial law manual which the Government of India have at present under consideration. This martial law manual may be an attempt to respond to the general demand for the future security. But we cannot compromise ourselves with any manual that does not fall in with the demands stated in the Congress Sub-committee's report. To fatten the statute book with any such manual without removing the Rowlatt Act from it would mean to endeavour to nourish a man without removing the poison in his system. If the Rowlatt Act is not repealed, the Government of India's manual can least satisfy those who are urging the British Parliament to pass a statute to secure the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects, because the civil rights and the Rowlatt Act cannot at

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after an appeal to the highest authority we fail to secure redress, there must be some power available to us for undoing the wrong. It is true that in the vast majority of cases, it is the duty of a subject to submit to wrongs on failure of a usual procedure, so long as they do not affect his vital being. But every nation and every individual has the right, and it is their duty, to rise against an intolerable wrong. I do not believe in armed risings. They are a remedy worse than the disease sought to be cured. They are a token of the spirit of revenge and impatience and anger. The method of violence cannot do good in the long run. Witness the

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the same time remain on our statute book. The Rowlatt Act detracts from our rights whereas the Declaration of Rights recognises them in law.

Will the Declaration suffice to secure our liberties? We do realise the importance of the Declaration of Rights, but we are not much enamoured of the Declaration of Rights business. The Declaration will be of little avail if we have not the strength to have it well administered. Unless we become manly and fearless, no number of rights showered upon us can secure us our liberties. It is not unlikely that progress in legislation may outrun the administrative order. It required generations for Englishmen to harmonize their legislation and administration in this respect. Their Magna Charta (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), the Grand Remonstrance (1641) and the Bill of Rights (1689) record the continued progress of Englishmen for not less than full five centuries. The significance of this series of legislation does not so much lie in what each of them adds to the preceding law, but in each confirming the foregoing law. King after king violated the liberties of his subjects. But with greater determination than the kings, came forward heroes from amidst the people who fought these violations and successfully secured the writ of Habeas Corpus. We need not require the same long period to achieve freedom of person. But we cannot escape similar fights and sacrifice if we would have the fundamental principles of freedom engraved on our hearts. We emphasise the necessity of such preparation as of greater moment than the Declaration itself.

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effect of the armed rising of the allied powers against Germany. Have they not become even like the Germans, as the latter have been depicted to us by them?

We have a better method. Unlike that of violence it certainly involves the exercise of restraint and patience; but it requires also resoluteness of will. This method is to refuse to be party to the wrong. No tyrant has ever yet succeeded in his purpose without carrying the victim with him, it may be, as it often is, by force. Most people choose rather to yield to the will of the tyrant than to suffer for the consequence of resistance. Hence does terrorism form part of the stock-in-trade of the tyrant. But we have instances in history where terrorism has failed to impose the terrorist's will upon his victim. India has the choice before her now. If, then, the acts of the Punjab Government be an insufferable wrong, if the report of Lord Hunter's Committee and the two despatches be a greater wrong by reason of their grievous condonation of these acts, it is clear that we must refuse to submit to this official violence. Appeal to the Parliament by all means if necessary, but if the Parliament fails us, and if we are worthy to call ourselves a nation, we must refuse to uphold the Government by withdrawing co-operation from it.

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*23rd June, 1920*

## THE DUTY OF THE PUNJABEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Allahabad *Leader* deserves to be congratulated for publishing the correspondence on Mr. Bosworth Smith who was one of the Martial Law officers against whom the complaints about persistent and continuous

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ill-treatment were among the bitterest. It appears from the correspondence that Mr. Bosworth Smith has received promotion instead of dismissal. Sometime before Martial Law Mr. Smith appears to have been degraded. "He has since been restored", says the *Leader* correspondent, "to his position of a Deputy Commissioner of the second grade from which he was degraded and also been invested with powers under sec. 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Since his arrival, the poor Indian population of the town of Ambala Cantonment has been living under a regime of horror and tyranny." The correspondent adds: "I use both these words deliberately for conveying precisely what they mean." I cull a few passages from this illuminating letter to illustrate the meaning of horror and tyranny. "In private complaints he never takes the statement of the complainant. It is taken down by the reader when the court rises and got signed by the magistrate the following day. Whether the Report (received upon such complaints) is favourable to the complainant or unfavourable to him it is never read by the magistrate, and complaints are dismissed without proper trial. This is the fate of private complaints. Now as regards police challans. Pleaders for the accused are not allowed to interview under-trial prisoners in police custody. They are not allowed to cross-examine prosecution witness. . . . Prosecution witnesses are examined with leading questions. . . . Thus a whole prosecution story is put into the mouth of police witnesses. Witnesses for the defence though called in are not allowed to be examined by the defence counsel. . . . The accused is silenced if he picks up courage to say anything in defence. . . . Any Cantonment servant can write down the name of any citizen of the Cantonment on a

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chit of paper and ask him to appear the next day in court. This is a summons. . . . If any one does not appear in court who is thus ordered, criminal warrants of arrest are issued against him." There is much more of this style in the letter which is worth producing but I have given enough to illustrate the writer's meaning. Let me turn for a while to this official's record during Martial Law. He is the official who tried people in batches and convicted them after a farcical trial. Witnesses have deposed to his having assembled people, having asked them to give false evidence, having removed women's veils, called them 'flies, bitches, she-asses' and having spat upon them. He it was who subjected the innocent pleaders of Shekhupura to indescribable persecution. Mr. Andrews personally investigated complaints against this official and came to the conclusion that no official had behaved worse than Mr. Smith. He gathered the people of Shekhupura, humiliated them in a variety of ways, called them *anvarlog, Gandi makkhi*. His evidence before the Hunter Commission betrays his total disregard for truth and this is the officer who, if the correspondent in question has given correct facts, has been promoted. (The question however is why he is at all in Government service and why he has not been tried for assaulting and abusing innocent men and women.)

I notice a desire for the impeachment of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. I will not stop to examine whether the course is feasible. I was sorry to find Mr. Shastri joining this cry for the prosecution of General Dyer. If the English people will willingly do so, I would welcome such prosecutions as a sign of their strong disapproval of the Jallianwalla Bagh atrocity, but I would certainly not spend a single farthing in a vain pursuit after the conviction of these men. Surely the public has

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received sufficient experience of the English mind. Practically the whole English Press has joined the conspiracy to screen these offenders against humanity. I would not be party to make heroes of them by joining the cry for prosecution private or public. If I can only pursuade India to insist upon their complete dismissal, I should be satisfied. But more than the dismissal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is necessary the peremptory dismissal, if not a trial, of Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Shri Ram and others mentioned in the Congress Sub-committee's Report. Bad as General Dyer is, I consider Mr. Smith to be infinitely worse and his crimes to be far more serious than the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh. General Dyer sincerely believed that it was a soldierly act to terrorise people by shooting them. But Mr. Smith was wantonly cruel, vulgar and debased. If all the facts that have been deposed to against him are true, there is not a spark of humanity about him. Unlike General Dyer he lacks the courage to confirm what he has done and he wriggles when challenged. This officer remains free to inflict himself upon people who have done no wrong to him, and who is permitted to disgrace the rule he represents for the time being.

What is the Punjab doing? Is it not the clear duty of the Panjabees not to rest until they have secured the dismissal of Mr. Smith and the like? The Punjab leaders have been discharged in vain if they will not utilise the liberty they have received, in order to purge the administration of Messrs. Bosworth Smith and Company. I am sure that if they will only begin a determined agitation they will have the whole India by their side. I venture to suggest to them that the best way to qualify for sending General Dyer to the gallows

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is to perform the easier and the more urgent duty of arresting the mischief still continued by the officials against whom they have assisted in collecting overwhelming evidence.

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*14th July, 1920*

## GENERAL DYER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Army Council has found General Dyer guilty of error of judgment and advised that he should not receive any office under the Crown. Mr. Montagu has been unsparing in his criticism of General Dyer's conduct. And yet some how or other I cannot help feeling that General Dyer is by no means the worst offender. His brutality is unmistakable. His abject and unsoldier-like cowardice is apparent in every line of his amazing defence before the Army Council. He has called an unarmed crowd of men and children—mostly holiday-makers—'a rebel army.' He believes himself to be the saviour of the Punjab in that he was able to shoot down like rabbits men who were penned in an enclosure. Such a man is unworthy of being considered a soldier. There was no bravery in his action. He ran no risk. He shot without the slightest opposition and without warning. This is not an 'error of judgment'. It is paralysis of it in the face of fancied danger. It is proof of criminal incapacity and heartlessness. But the fury that has been spent upon General Dyer * is, I am sure,

* In *Young India* of March 16, 1921, Gandhi further explains the attitude of India towards General Dyer. He writes, in reply to a friend who asked him why the Jallianwallah Bagh and the Crawling Lane incidents were frequently recalled:

The answer is simple. To forgive is not to forget. There is no merit in loving an enemy when you forget him for a friend. The

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largely misdirected. No doubt the shooting was 'frightful', the loss of innocent life deplorable. But the slow torture, degradation and emasculation that followed

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merit lies in loving in spite of the vivid knowledge that the one that must be loved is not a friend. Ali, that Bayard of Islam, would not retaliate whilst the memory of a vile affront was still fresh in his mind and although he was more than a match for his adversary. India seeks, not punishment of the criminals Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, but dismissal of servants who have proved unworthy of the trust reposed in them. And they are not fully dismissed so long as they receive any pension from the Indian treasury. A father is not only not bound to feed an unrepentant son but participates in his crime if he continues to support him.

The Congress Commissioners had their choice either to advise impeachment and prosecution or mere dismissal. They chose the latter on the grounds of humanity and not on that of expedience. The reader may be led into the secret that the Commissioners passed many an anxious hour over the matter. The report was finally shaped at Kashi within a stone's throw of the waters of the Ganges. The recommendation was hotly debated among them and they came to the unanimous conclusion that India could only gain by refraining from prosecution. Mr. Das in a notable speech at Patna recently referred to the compact then made between the Commissioners that, whilst and if they reduced their recommendation to a minimum, they must solemnly resolve to enforce them at the risk of their lives. The Commissioners are therefore Non-co-operators as a matter of simple duty. But they chose to waive the right of punishment. It is true that the whole of India has not yet deliberately accepted the doctrine of humanity, i.e., forgiveness. One often hears the talk of hanging the murderers and so on. But India does not yet feel strong as against British Governors and Generals. She still fears them. Forgiveness of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is therefore a meaningless term. But India is daily gaining strength and qualifying for forgiveness. When an Indian talks of punishment of the Punjab criminals, he talks in impotent rage. But I am convinced that if India was to-day free, i.e., strong enough to punish them, she would refrain. She only wants her deliverance from possibilities of Jallianwala. The whole campaign of Non-co-operation has been conceived in a spirit not of revenge but of justice.

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was much worse, more calculated, malicious and soul-killing, and the actors who performed the deeds deserve greater condemnation than General Dyer for the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. The latter merely destroyed a few bodies but the others tried to kill the soul of a nation. Who ever talks of Col. Frank Johnson who was by far the worst offender? He terrorised guiltless Lahore, and by his merciless orders set the tone to the whole of the Martial Law officers. But what I am concerned with is not even Col. Johnson. The first business of the people of the Punjab and of India is to rid the service of Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Shri Ram and Mr. Malik Khan. They are still retained in the service. Their guilt is as much proved as that of General Dyer. We shall have failed in our duty if the condemnation pronounced upon General Dyer produces a sense of satisfaction and the obvious duty of purging the administration in the Punjab is neglected. That task will not be performed by platform rhetoric or resolutions merely. Stern action is required on our part if we are to make any headway with ourselves and make any impression upon the officials that they are not to consider themselves as masters of the people but as their trustees and servants who cannot hold office if they misbehave themselves and prove unworthy of the trust reposed in them.

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*29th September, 1920*

## MR. PENNINGTON'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

I gladly publish Mr. Pennington's letter * with its

* Under date 25th August, Victoria Road, Worthing, Sussex, Mr. J.B. Pennington, I.C.S. *(Rtd.)*, wrote to Mr. Gandhi questioning his

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enclosure just as I have received them. Evidently Mr. Pennington is not a regular reader of "Young India," or he would have noticed that no one has condemned mob outrages more than I have. He seems to think that the article he has objected to was the only thing I have ever written on General Dyer. He does not seem to know that I have endeavoured with the utmost impartiality to examine the Jallianwala massacre. And he can see any day all the proof adduced by my fellow-commissioners and myself in support of our findings of the massacre. The ordinary readers of "Young India" knew all the facts and therefore it was unnecessary for me to support my assertions otherwise. But unfortunately Mr. Pennington represents the typical Englishman. He does not want to be unjust; nevertheless he is rarely just in his appreciation of world events because he has no time to study them except cursorily and that through a press whose business is to air only party views. The average Englishman therefore, except in parochial matters, is perhaps the least informed though he claims to be well-informed about every variety of interest. Mr. Pennington's ignorance is thus typical of the others and affords the best reason for securing control of our own affairs in our own hands. Ability will come with use and not by waiting to be trained by those whose

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condemnation of General Dyer's conduct and suggesting that the General was acting *bona fide* as a good and only responsible servant of Government on the spot in shooting down some hundreds of people ("some of them *perhaps* innocently mixed up with an illegal assembly") and in thus saving "the city from falling in the hands of a dangerous mob." "As a mere seeker after truth," Mr. Pennington asked for an account of the happenings at Amritsar on 10th April and the following days, adding, "mere abuse is not convincing, as you so often observe in your generally reasonable paper." The text of the letter is omitted in this collection.

natural interest is to prolong the period of tutelege as much as possible.

But to return to Mr. Pennington's letter. He complains that there has been no proper trial of any one. The fault is not ours. India has consistently and insistently demanded a trial of all the officers concerned in the crimes against the Punjab.

He next objects to the 'violence' of my language. If truth is violent, I plead guilty to the charge of violence of language. But I could not, without doing violence to truth, refrain from using the language I have regarding General Dyer's action. It has been proved out of his own mouth or hostile witnesses:

(1) That the crowd was unarmed.

(2) That it contained children.

(3) That the 13th was the day of Vaisakhi fair.

(4) That thousands had come to the fair.

(5) That there was no rebellion.

(6) That during the intervening two days before the 'massacre' there was peace in Amritsar.

(7) That the proclamation of the meeting was made the same day as General Dyer's proclamation.

(8) That General Dyer's proclamation prohibited not meetings but processions or gatherings of 4 men on the streets and not in private or public places.

(9) That General Dyer ran no risk whether outside or inside the city.

(10) That he admitted himself that many on the crowd did not know anything of his proclamation.

(11) That he fired without warning the crowd and even after it had begun to disperse. He fired in the backs of the people who were in flight.

(12) That the men were practically penned in an enclosure.

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In the face of these admitted facts I do call the deed a massacre.' The action amounted, not to 'an error of judgment,' but its 'paralysis in the face of fancied danger.

I am sorry to have to say that Mr. Pennington's notes, which too the reader will find published elsewhere,* betray as much ignorance as his letter.

Whatever was adopted on paper in the days of Canning was certainly not translated into action in its full sense. 'Promises made to the ear were broken to the hope,' was said by a reactionary Viceroy. Military expenditure has grown enormously since the days of Canning.

The demonstration in favour of General Dyer is practically a myth.

No trace was found of (the so-called Danda Fauj) dignified by the name of bludgeon-army by Mr. Pennington. There was no rebel army in Amritsar. The crowd that committed the horrible murders and incendiarism contained no one community exclusively. The sheet was found posted only in Lahore and not in Amritsar. Mr. Pennington should moreover have known by this time that the meeting held on the 13th was held,

* Under the heading, "Is India worth keeping?," Mr. Pennington wrote to Gandhi that the answer to the question depended on how England governed India. Prussianism was impossible and had not been countenanced by Government since the days of Canning *when equal justice for all* was adopted. There must be justice for the European as well as the Indian, but General Dyer had not got justice. A rebel gang it was proclaimed by the mob at Amritsar, was operating against the Europeans and Dyer by his action saved the situation as acknowledged by the loyal Sikhs at the time who demonstrated in General Dyer's favour. People, however, confusing necessary punitive measures with "Massacre", condemned Dyer unheard and on the strength of some of his statem ents made in an unguarded moment The text of the Notes is not included in this collection.

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among other things, for the purpose of condemning mob excesses. This was brought out at the Amritsar trial. Those who surrounded him could not stop General Dyer. He says he made up his mind to shoot in a moment. He consulted nobody. When the correspondent says that the troops would have objected to being concerned in "what might in that case be not unfairly called a 'massacre'," he writes as if he had never lived in India. I wish the Indian troops had the moral courage to refuse to shoot innocent, unarmed men in full flight. But the Indian troops have been brought in too slavish an atmosphere to dare do any such correct act.

I hope Mr. Pennington will not accuse me again of making unverified assertions because I have not quoted from the books. The evidence is there for him to use. I can only assure him that the assertions are based on positive proofs mostly obtained from official sources.

Mr. Pennington wants me to publish an exact account of what happened on the 10th April. He can find it in the reports, and if he will patiently go through them he will discover that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his officials goaded the people into frenzied fury—a fury which nobody, as I have already said, has condemned more than I have. The account of the following days is summed up in one word, *viz.*, 'peace' on the part of the crowd disturbed by indiscriminate arrests, the massacre and the series of official crimes that followed.

I am prepared to give Mr. Pennington credit for seeking after the truth. But he has gone about it in the wrong manner. I suggest his reading the evidence before the Hunter Committee and the Congress Committee. He need not read the reports. But the evidence will convince him that I have under-stated the case against General Dyer.

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When however I read his description of himself as "for 12 years Chief Magistrate of Districts in the South of India before reform, by assassination and otherwise, became so fashionable," I despair of his being able to find the truth. An angry or a biased man renders himself incapable of finding it. And Mr. Pennington is evidently both angry and biased. What does he mean by saying, "before reform by assassination and otherwise became so fashionable?" It ill becomes him to talk of assassination when the school of assassination seems happily to have become extinct. Englishmen will never see the truth so long as they permit their vision to be blinded by arrogant assumption of superiority or ignorant assumptions of infallibility.

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*11th August, 1920*

MR. MONTAGU *vs.* MRS. NAIDU

In the course of a letter to Mr. Gandhi, dated 15th July, 1920, London, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu wrote:

"I am in very bad health. But the twin questions of the Punjab and the Khilafat absorb all my energies and emotions. But it is vain to expect justice from a race so blind and drunk with the arrogance of power, the bitter prejudice of race and creed and colour, and betraying such an abysmal ignorance of Indian conditions, opinions, sentiments and aspirations. The debate on the Punjab in the House of Commons last week shattered the last remnants of my hope and faith in British justice and goodwill towards the new vision of India. The discussion in the House was lamentable and indeed tragic. Our friends revealed their ignorance, our enemies their insolence—and the combination is appalling and heart-breaking.

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Mr. Montagu has proved a broken reed. I enclose copy of my correspondence* with him on the subject of the outrages committed during the Martial Law regime upon women as embodied in the Congress Sub-Committee's report and evidence. I naturally assume that no single statement contained in the evidence has been accepted without the most vigorous and persisting scrutiny. But the general attempt seems to be to discredit the Congress Sub-Committee's findings and to shift the responsibility of such outrages which cannot be denied to Indian shoulders such as Indian police officials—the skin-game with a vengeance. Speaking at a mass meeting the other day, I said that what we Indians demanded was reparation and not revenge, that we had the spiritual force and vision that ennobled us to transcend hate and transmute bitterness into some-

* At a public meeting held at Kingsway Hall, London, on 3rd June, 1919, Mrs. Naidu, lecturing on the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, stated: "My sisters were stripped naked; they were flogged; they were outraged." On 9th July, the India Office called upon Mrs. Naidu to quote authority for her statements which it maintained "are of course absolutely untrue." On 10th July the India Office, realising that the Congress Committee report contained some evidence on the matter, again wrote to Mrs. Naidu stating that the allegation in the Congress report was against the Indian Police and not against "Martial Authorities" and calling upon her to state publicly that she was speaking, not about Martial Law authorities, but about the Indian Subordinate Police. Mr. Montagu concluded the second letter with the mollifying statement that he had directed the Government of India to enquire into the matter. Mrs. Naidu wrote to Mr. Montagu on the 12th July expressing her surprise at his attempts to distinguish the Martial Law authorities from the Police. She stated that the Police were working under the Martial Law authorities and perpetrated the atrocities to secure evidence for the Martial Law tribunals. She also drew Mr. Montagu's attention to the several cases of ill-treatment of women complained of before the Congress Enquiry Committee. The text of the letters is omitted in this collection.

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thing that might mean redemption both for ourselves and the British race, but that freedom was the only true reparation for the agony and shame of the Punjab . . . The specialists think that my heart-disease is in an advanced and dangerous state ; but I cannot rest till I stir the heart of the world to repentance over the tragedy of martyred India."

Commenting on the above, "Young India" wrote under the heading, "Outrages on women": "The correspondence between Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Naidu, published elsewhere,* gives one a glimpse into Mr. Montagu's mentality. A member of the House of Commons spoke in insulting tones of Mrs. Naidu regarding her charges against Martial Law authorities about outrages on women. Mr. Montagu hastily wrote to Mrs. Naidu accusing her of making untrue statements and challenging her to quote her authority or publicly withdraw her statement. The very next day he had to qualify himself by admitting that some authority did exist in the Congress Committee's report, but that it had reference to police torture. Mrs. Naidu had an easy task before her. We must refer the reader to Mrs. Naidu's crushing reply. And now we hear that Mr. Montagu has caused inquiries to be made into the statements published in the Congress Committee's report. We may invite the reader's attention to the fact that Mr. Montagu's attempt to confine ill-treatment of women to the Indian police also failed. The Manianwala cases quoted by Mrs. Naidu refer to Mr. Bosworth Smith. The charge was investigated by Mr. Andrews himself and then by Mr. Labhsingh, Barrister-at-Law. Mr. Montagu comes out thoroughly discredited. Mrs. Naidu is now naturally anxious about the statements made in the Congress report. The com-

* *See* foot-note on the previous page.

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missioners have themselves described the way in which they have recorded evidence. In any event, Mrs. Naidu stands entirely absolved. The Congress report may be trusted to take care of itself."

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*6th October, 1920*

## HOW THE VICEROY DISCHARGES HIS TRUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will find reproduced elsewhere* the Viceroy's cablegram to Mr. Montagu in refutation of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu's allegations regarding the ill-treatment of women in the Punjab during the Martial Law period, as also Shrimati Sarojini's spirited reply. It seems that every responsible statement made by His Excellency only strengthens the opinion of the public that he is totally unfit for the great trust which has been reposed in him. I do not wish to add one word to what Shrimati Sarojini has said in condemnation of the Viceroy's attitude; but I would draw the reader's attention to the ignoring of some very material allegations that were made by the Shrimati. Even assuming the propriety of rejecting the evidence of prostitutes because they are engaged in the unfortunate traffic, what has His Excellency to say regarding the evidence of the many women of Manianwalla against whom, in so far as I am aware, not a word of reproach has been whispered? I give below in full the statement of Guredevi, the widow of Mangal Jat. That statement was corroborated by several other women. This is the statement:

* On 12th August, 1919, the Viceroy, replying to the Secretary of State *re:* Mrs. Naidu's allegations, stated that the allegations made were made by low-caste prostitutes, belonging to criminal tribes, who were notorious liars, and that their evidence was not worthy of notice.

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One day, during the Martial Law period, Mr. Bosworth Smith gathered together all the males of over 8 years at the Dacca Dalla Bungalow, which is some miles from our village, in connection with the investigations that were going on. Whilst the men were at the Bungalow, he rode to our village, taking back with him all the women who met him on the way carrying food for their men at the Bungalow. Reaching the village, he went around the lanes and ordered all women to come out of their houses, himself forcing them out with sticks. He made us all stand near the village Daira. The women folded their hands before him. He beat some with his stick and spat at them and used the foulest and most unmentionable language. He hit me twice and spat in my face. He forcibly uncovered the faces of all the women, brushing aside the veils with his own stick.

"He repeatedly called us she-asses, bitches, flies and swines and said: 'You were in the same beds with your husbands; why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the Police Constables.' He gave me a kick also and ordered us to undergo the torture of holding our ears by passing our arms round the legs, whilst being bent double."

"This treatment was meted out to us in the absence of our men who were away at the Bungalow."

If the facts set forth are true, can anything be more brutal or more loathsome? And yet the perpetrator of the crime will probably receive a pension from the Government treasury. The curious reader will find in the evidence collected ample material in proof of the depravity of the officer concerned. The evidence was first collected by Mr. Andrews. Mr. Labhsingh, M. A., Bar-at-law, was specially deputed to go to Manianwalla

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to see the ladies concerned. He held a kind of public enquiry which any body was free to attend.

Mr. Montagu had his attention drawn to these statements when he hastily rebuked Shrimati Sarojini for her so-called recklessness of speech. And it was due to this that Mr. Montagu pompously ordered an inquiry. The Viceroy seems quietly to have ignored the instructions issued to him, and has held no inquiry. He has laid down a new canon of evidence, hitherto unknown, and the law upon it that the evidence of prostitutes is not to be trusted. In other words, the legitimate corollary to be drawn from the viceregal pronouncement is that prostitutes may not get justice done to them, unless their complaint is supported by other evidence. Anyway, Mr. Montagu has evidently accepted the Viceroy's explanation, and has thus strengthened the cause of Non-co-operation. * Can India for one moment associate herself with a Government that condones offences of a most barbarous nature committed against her own folk by its officers?

* In an earlier issue of *Young India*. dated September 1st, 1920, Gandhi wrote, criticising the Viceroy's speech, opening the Indian Legislative Council, under the heading, "The Viceregal Pronouncement":

It may be that having lost faith in His Excellency's probity and capacity to hold the high office of Viceroy of India, I now read his speeches with a biased mind, but the speech His Excellency delivered at the time of opening of the council shows to me a mental attitude which makes association with him or his Government impossible for self-respecting men.

The remarks on the Punjab mean a flat refusal to grant redress. He would have us to 'concentrate on the problems of the immediate future'! The immediate future is to compel repentance on the part of the Government on the Punjab matter. Of this there is no sign. On the contrary, His Excellency resists the temptation to reply to his critics, meaning thereby that he has not changed his opinion on the many vital matters affecting the honour of India. He is 'content to

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*22nd October, 1919*

## KHILAFAT DAY

The 17th October will long be remembered as a great day in Indian history. That a big demonstration like the one organised for the 17th instant, should have

leave the issues to the verdict of history'. Now this kind of language, in my opinion, is calculated further to inflame the Indian mind. Of what use can a favourable verdict of history be to men who have been wronged and who are still under the heels of officers who have shown themselves utterly unfit to hold offices of trust and responsibility? The plea for co-operation is, to say the least, hypocritical in the face of the determination to refuse justice to the Punjab. Can a patient who is suffering from an intolerable ache be soothed by the most tempting dishes placed before him? Will he not consider it mockery on the part of the physician who so tempted him without curing him of his pain?

His Excellency is, if possible, even less happy on the Khilafat. "So far as any Government could", says this trustee for the nation, "we pressed upon the Peace Conference the views of Indian Moslems. But notwithstanding our efforts on their behalf, we are threatened with a campaign of Non-co-operation because, forsooth, the allied Powers found themselves unable to accept the contentions advanced by Indian Moslems." This is most misleading if not untruthful. His Excellency knows that the peace terms are not the work of the allied Powers. He knows that Mr. Lloyd George is the prime author of terms and that the latter has never repudiated his responsibility for them. He has with amazing audacity justified them in spite of his considered pledge to the Moslems of India regarding Constantinople, Thrace and the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor. It is not truthful to saddle responsibility for the terms on the allied Powers when Great Britain alone has promoted them. The offence of the Viceroy becomes greater when we remember that he admits the justness of the Muslim claim. He could not have 'pressed' it if he did not admit its justice.

I venture to think that His Excellency by his pronouncement on the Punjab has strengthened the nation in its effort to seek a remedy to compel redress of the two wrongs before it can make anything of the so-called Reforms.

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passed off without a hitch reflects the greatest credit on the organisers and is indeed a triumph of Satyagraha. People have come to realise that not by violence but by peaceful combination and sustained effort are great causes to be won. As soon as the people cease to fear force, so soon will Government find it to be useless, and only those free themselves from that fear who are positively unwilling to use it themselves. Those in authority as a rule like some exercise of violence from the people. The art of government generally consists in having at one's disposal sufficient force to overawe people into submission. And a government is an instrument of service only in so far as it is based upon the will and the consent of the people. It is an instrument of oppression when it enforces submission at the point of the bayonet. Oppression therefore ceases when people cease to fear the bayonet. And this is Satyagraha—to hold on to truth in the face of overwhelming odds, whether in the shape of the brute force of a government or the unreasoning prejudice or the petty tyranny of a caste.

The organisers of Khilafat Day seem to have recognised this cardinal principle. They would have played themselves into the hands of their opponents if they had directly or indirectly prompted violence or, as a matter of fact, violence had ensued from the demonstration. The cause of Islam has gained by the peaceful nature of the demonstration. And if Bombay be any index to the police arrangements in the other places, the police undoubtedly deserve the highest praise, for in Bombay, as in Ahmedabad, so far as the public were concerned, there appeared to be no special precautions taken. There was absence of all show of force. The presence of an extraordinary police force or the military always irritates a

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mob. The organisers deserve equal credit for avoiding mass meetings and everything tending to bring together large crowds of ignorant and irresponsible people. The Khilafat is a difficult question. It has been rendered more complex by secret treaties. But it is not yet beyond hope. Eight millions of human beings, when justice is on their side, can make themselves felt anywhere. Our Mahomedan friends have therefore to recognise their own strength. The Friday demonstration, great though it was, may easily be frittered away if it is not followed up by sustained and intelligent effort. The Government must realise what the Mahomedan feeling is. And they will only realise it, when they see earnest effort and a due measure of suffering on the part of those who claim to feel so intensely. Continued pressure of enlightened public opinion can but help His Majesty's ministers, if they wish to be helped, in securing an honourable settlement of this knotty question. There must be no bluster, no theatricals, no declamation, no self-advertisement. There must be quiet and honest work.

There were resolutions passed at some meetings to the effect that Mahomedans will be unable to participate in peace rejoicings if the Khilafat question is not settled on principles of justice, or rather in accordance with the Mahomedan sentiment. This is the right of the subject. But if it is the general wish, it must be clearly expressed, and not at unorganised meetings.

There was too the question of boycott brought up by some. We have expressed ourselves on this matter in no uncertain terms. We do not believe in boycott, because it breeds ill-will and it is mostly ineffective. Boycott of goods is a subterfuge for boycott of the Government. We hate all subterfuge. If a case is

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made out for boycotting the Government, we would not hesitate to support it. But boycott then spells disloyalty. Loyalty is not an immutable principle. It is mutual understanding. A government that is loyal to the governed commands their loyalty as a matter of course. When our Government ceases to be loyal, *i.e.*, it becomes systematically unjust or oppressive, we should unhesitatingly declare our disloyalty and withdraw and advise withdrawal of all forms of support of the Government. That is a form of boycott which we would deem it a duty to proclaim, should the occasion arise. (But boycott of British goods, whilst we retain the British connection, is, in our opinion, a blunder of the first magnitude.)

But our Mahomedan friends have far too sacred a cause to be trifled with the use of a questionable weapon like boycott. And they and the world now know that theirs is a cause not of the eight crore Mahomedans, but of the twenty-two crore Hindus also. For the Seventeenth October has shown that the Hindu-Mahomedan bond is a reality and that it is a bond that is ever growing tighter. And a strong and united India cannot fail to be listened to with respect and attention by the allies of Great Britain.

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*3rd December, 1919.*

## ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

Mr. Gandhi, presiding over the joint session of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi on 24th November, addressed the audience in Urdu of which the following is a translation:

"It ought not to appear strange for Hindus to be on the same platform as the Mahomedans in a matter that

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specially and solely affects the Mahomedans. After all, the test of friendship is true assistance in adversity, and whatever we are, Hindus, Parsis, Christians or Jews, if we wish to live as one nation, surely the interest of any of us must be the interest of all. The only deciding consideration can be the justice of a particular cause. The Prime Minister of England and whole host of distinguished ex-officials are witnesses to the justice of the Moslem cause. We talk of the Hindu-Mahomedan unity. It would be an empty phrase if the Hindus hold aloof from the Mahomedans when their vital interests were at stake. Some have suggested that we, Hindus, can assist our Mahomedan countrymen only on conditions. Conditional assistance is like adulterated cement which does not bind. The only question, therefore, is how to help. The Khilafat Conference has come to the decision not to participate in the forthcoming peace celebrations. I think that it is a proper decision. Peace celebrations can have no meaning for India whilst a vital part of the peace, affecting one-fourth of India's population, remains undeclared. Eight crores of Mahomedans are deeply interested in the peace terms affecting the Khilafat. It is improper to ask them to celebrate peace whilst the fate of the Khilafat hangs in the balance. To ask India to celebrate peace whilst the Khilafat question remains unsettled is like expecting France to celebrate peace, pending the settlement of Alsace-Lorraine. That Turkey is outside India does not affect the comparison. England is as much a Mahomedan and Hindu power, as it is a Christian power, and if India be a partner in the Empire, then Mahomedan sentiment deserves as much placating as any other. It would, therefore, be the most seeming thing for his Excellency, the Viceroy, to postpone the peace celebra-

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tions pending a satisfactory settlement of the Khilafat question.

*England's honour at stake.*—It is a question which indeed affects the honour of England—the pledged word of the Prime Minister. What are riches, power, and military renown worth, if that honour become sullied? I was, therefore, deeply pained to see the telegraphic summary of the Prime Minister's speech which seemed unnecessarily to wound Muslim susceptibility and to forecast a settlement of the Khilafat question in contradiction of his own solemn word, given with due deliberation and at a time when that word steadied the Mahomedan loyalty and possibly stimulated recruiting among the war-like Mahomedans. I shall still hope that wiser counsels will prevail and justice done to the Mahomedan claim. Should, however, the worst happen, the Khilafat Committee last night* decided to advise Mahomedans to withdraw co-operation from the Government. I was privileged to be present at both the Subject Committee and the general meetings. I take the liberty of warning the Government of the solemnity of the occasion and the seriousness of the decision. I know that withdrawal of co-operation is a grave thing and a big thing. It requires ability to suffer. I know too that it is the right of a citizen to withdraw his co-operation from the state, when that co-operation means his degradation. It is a tangible form of showing one's displeasure at the acts of one's Government.

*Question of boycott*—One may, therefore, hope that the Imperial Government will recognise the gravity of the situation. But from Non-co-operation to Boycott is a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous.

The Committee took last night a decision by a majority

* 25th November, 1919.

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of votes in favour of boycott of British goods, if the Khilafat question was not satisfactorily settled. Boycott is a form of revenge, and talking of its being able to help us to secure a just solution we have to create a world opinion. I venture to suggest to my Mahomedan friends that they will not create a world opinion in their favour by proclaiming boycott of British goods for other goods, and in practice it is bound to break down. Moreover, the suggested boycott is a confession of weakness. You want strength, not weakness, to be able successfully to deal with all the questions. I, therefore, hope that the Khilafat Committee will retrace its steps and after mature consideration cancel the boycott resolution. In tackling this big question, calmness, patience and the strictest adherence to facts are needed. It is not enough that there is no violence. Indeed, a violent speech is often as injurious as a violent deed. And I am sure that you will not spoil a cause that is just and sacred by any hasty word or action.

*The Punjab Grievance.*—It remains for me to examine a position suggested by some friends. It has been contended that the Punjab grievance too is a good reason for refraining from the peace celebrations. I venture to differ from that view. However grievous the wrong done in the Punjab, it is after all a domestic affair and it would show on our part a want of sense of proportion to bring in the Punjab grievances to justify our non-co-operation in the Imperial celebration. The Punjab grievance does not arise out of the peace terms as does the Khilafat question. We must isolate the Khilafat question if we wish to give it its proper place and value. In my humble opinion, it is not open to us to refuse to share the peace celebrations on grounds other than those that arise directly out of the peace and that

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touch the vital parts of our national existence. The Khilafat question alone satisfies these two tests.

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*10th December, 1919*

## KHILAFAT AND THE COW QUESTION

Mr. Gandhi has sent a long letter this week to the *Navajivan*. It contains in full his lecture at the Khilafat Conference at Delhi on 23rd November of which he had supplied only a summary to the Associated Press. Two points not dealt with in detail in the English summary may here be noted. He said :

"Mr. Asafalli, the Secretary of the Conference, has intimated in the papers circulated by him that the *Goraksha* problem and the Punjab matter will also be considered. I submit that the Hindus may not open the *Goraksha* question here. (The test of friendship is assistance in adversity, and that too, unconditional assistance) Co-operation that needs consideration is a commercial contract and not friendship. Conditional co-operation is like adulterated cement which does not bind. It is the duty of the Hindus, if they see the justice of the Mahomedan cause, to render co-operation. If the Mahomedans feel themselves bound in honour to spare the Hindus' feelings and to stop cow-killing, they may do so, no matter whether the Hindus co-operate with them or no. Though, therefore, I yield to no Hindu in my worship of the cow, I do not want to make the stopping of cow-killing a condition precedent to co-operation. Unconditional co-operation means the protection of the cow.

"As regards the Punjab matter too, I venture to differ from many of you. I have probed deeply into

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the Punjab wounds. They may have deeply distressed others. I will not however say that they can distress any one more deeply than they do me, and yet I think that we cannot bring in here the Punjab grievance. However grievous the wrong done in the Punjab, I think we cannot abstain from the Imperial Celebrations on that score. We cannot say that the Punjab wrong is unredressed to justify our abstention. For we still expect redress. The Hunter Committee is still at work. Our own Committee is equally busy. Only if we are dissatisfied or suspicious about a matter directly arising out of the peace terms, can we decide upon abstention.

"Such a one is only the Khilafat question. It arises out of the Khilafat question and not only are we in the dark about it but we fully apprehend that it may not be settled to our satisfaction. We shall be accused of having been thoughtless and without sense of proportion if we bring in the Punjab to justify abstention, and it will damage both the Khilafat and the Punjab question. The Khilafat question is a very serious one, and needs immediate remedies. We must isolate it if we wish to give to it its proper place and value."

"Moulana Abdul Bari Sahab in proposing a vote of of thanks to the chair said: 'Mahatma Gandhi may say anything as regards the bringing in of the *Goraksha* question. That does credit to him and to our Hindu brethren. But the Musalman's *Khándáni* would be at stake if they forgot the co-operation of Hindus. I, for my part, will say that we should stop cow-killing, irrespective of their co-operation, because we are children of the same soil. As a Moulvi I say that, in voluntarily stopping cow-killing, we shall not offend against the canons of our religion. Nothing has so helped the Hindu-Moslem unity as the Hindus' co-operation with

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us in the question of Khilafat.' The whole meeting greeted the words with 'Amen'."

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*28th January, 1920*

## THE KHILAFAT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The question of questions to-day is the Khilafat question, otherwise known as that of the Turkish peace terms. His Excellency the Viceroy deserves our thanks for receiving the joint deputation* even at this late hour, especially when he was busy preparing to receive the heads of the different provinces. His Excellency must be thanked for the unfailing courtesy with which he received the deputation and the courteous language in which his reply was couched. But mere courtesy, valuable as it is at all times, never so valuable as at this, is not enough at this critical moment. 'Sweet words butter no parsnips' is a proverb more applicable to-day than ever before. Behind the courtesy there was the determination to punish Turkey. Punishment of Turkey is a thing which Muslim sentiment cannot tolerate for a moment. Muslim soldiers are as responsible for the result of the War as any others. It was to appease them that Mr. Asquith said when Turkey decided to join the Central Powers that the British Government had no designs on Turkey and that His Majesty's Government would never think of punishing the Sultan for the misdeeds of the Turkish Committee. Examined by that

* A deputation of the Khilafat Conference consisting of Hindus and Muslims waited on Lord Chelmsford in the last week of January, 1920, to request facilities for an Indian deputation to England and support for Muslim cause.

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standard, the Viceregal reply is not only disappointing but it is a fall from truth and justice.

What is this British Empire? It is as much Mahomedan and Hindu as it is Christian. Its religious neutrality is not a virtue, or if it is, it is a virtue of necessity. Such a mighty Empire could not be held together on any other terms. British ministers are, therefore, bound to protect Mahomedan interests as any other. Indeed, as the Muslim rejoinder* says, they are bound to make the cause their own. What is the use of His Excellency having presented the Muslim claim before the Conference? If the cause is lost, the Mahomedans will be entitled to think that Britain did not do her duty by them. And the Viceregal reply confirms the view. When His Excellency says that Turkey must suffer for her having joined the Central Powers, he but expresses the opinion of the British ministers. We hope, therefore, with the framers of the Muslim rejoinder, that His Majesty's ministers will mend the mistakes if any have been committed and secure a settlement that would satisfy Mahomedan sentiment.

What does the sentiment demand? The preservation of the Khilafat with such guarantees as may be necessary for the protection of the interests of the non-Muslim races living under Turkish rule and the Khalif's control over Arabia and the Holy Places with such arrangement as may be required for guaranteeing Arab self-rule, should the Arabs desire it. It is hardly possible to state the claim more fairly than has been done. It is a claim backed by justice,† by the declarations of British

* Not included in this collection.

† Mr. Gandhi reiterated this view subsequently. In the meeting held in Bombay on Saturday, 31st January, Mr. Hayat, Secretary to the Khilafat Deputation, read a telegram from Mr. Gandhi addressed to

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ministers and by the unanimous Hindu and Muslim opinion. It would be midsummer madness to reject or whittle down a claim so backed.

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*10th March, 1920.*

## THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS

Mr. Gandhi writes to the Press as follows :

The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an imperial question of the first magnitude.

The Great Prelates of England and the Mahomeden leaders combined have brought the question to the fore. The Prelates threw down the challenge. The Muslim leaders have taken it up.

I trust that the Hindus will realize that the Khilafat question overshadows the Reforms and everything else.

If the Muslim claim was unjust apart from the Muslim scriptures, one might hesitate to support it merely on scriptural authority. But when a just claim is supported by scriptures, it becomes irresistible.

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Mr. Shaukat Ali from Lahore in which it was stated : "Deputation has sacred mission. It has to appeal not merely to Imperial Government and British opinion but has to win world opinion. Its strength lies in its ability to appeal to reason and justice. It must therefore be moderate in presentation and firm in demand. Odds from a worldly stand-point seem heavily against us, but in Prophet's words minority of two when it has God on its side can face overwhelming numbers with confidence and hope. In my opinion Hindu India is solidly on your side, for your cause is not merely scripturally true, but it is morally just, and presently England will be on our side when through Deputation Englishmen learn that *British honour is at stake* in this question; for we are asking nothing more than what British Ministers have pledged themselves to give. May God guide Deputation."

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Briefly put, the claim is that the Turks should retain European Turkey subject to full guarantees for the protection of non-Muslim races under the Turkish Empire and that the Sultan should control the Holy places of Islam and should have suzerainty over Jaziratul-Arab, *i.e.*, Arabia as defined by the Muslim Savants subject to self-governing rights being given to the Arabs if they so desire. This was what was promised by Mr. Lloyd George and this was what Lord Hardinge had contemplated. The Mahomedan soldiers would not have fought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khalif of the suzerainty of Arabia is to reduce the Khilafat to a nullity.

To restore to Turkey subject to necessary guarantees what was hers before War is a Christian solution. To wrest any of her possessions from her for the sake of punishing her is a gun-powder solution. The Allies or England in the hour of triumph must be scrupulously just. To reduce the Turks to impotence would be not only unjust. It would be a breach of solemn declarations and promises. It is to be wished that the Viceroy will take his courage in both his hands and place himself at the head of the Khilafat agitation as Lord Hardinge did at the time of the South African "passive-resistance" struggle and thus like his predecessor give a clear and emphatic direction to an agitation which, under impulsive or faulty leadership, may lead to disastrous consequences.

But the situation rests more with us Hindus and Mahomedans than with the Viceroy and still more with the Muslim leaders than with the Hindus or the Viceroy.

There are signs already of impatience on the part of Muslim friends, and impatience may any day be reduced

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to madness and the latter must inevitably lead to violence. And I wish I could persuade every one to see that violence is suicide.

Supposing the Muslim demands are not granted by the Allies or say England! I see nothing but hope in Mr. Montagu's brave defence of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. True, the latter is halting but he can secure full justice under it. But we must suppose the worst and expect and strive for the best. How to strive is the question.

What we may not do is clear enough.

(1) There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.

(2) Therefore there should be no boycott * of British goods, by way of revenge or punishment. Boycott, in my opinion, is a form of violence. Moreover, even if it were desirable, it is totally impracticable.

* In *Young India* of March 17, 1920, under the heading, "Khilafat," Mr. Gandhi explained why Boycott should not be resorted to. Pointing out the confusion into which the *Leader* of Allahabad had fallen over Boycott and Non-co-operation, Mr. Gandhi wrote: "I had thought that my meaning was clear and that there was no inconsistency. Boycott is a punishment and is conceived in a vindictive spirit. The idea of boycotting British goods is that, although British goods may be better than, say, Japanese, I should not buy the former because I want to revenge myself upon the British people for a wrong done to me by British ministers, or for utterly irresponsible and insolent language of some Englishmen regarding the Khilafat. (I hold that Boycott under such circumstances is a form of violence.) Non-co-operation stands on a different footing. If the Government do wrong, I become a participator in its wrong-doing by co-operating with it and thus making it possible for them to do the wrong. (It is my duty, not by way of punishment or by way of revenge but to the end that I may not make myself responsible for the wrong-doing, to withdraw my support off that Government.) Indeed I should be justified in bringing that Government to a standstill. It is clear to me therefore that Non-co-operation is as different from Boycott as an elephant from an ass."

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(3) There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.

(4) There should be no mixing up of other quesions with the Khilafat, *e.g.*, the Egyptian question.

Let us see what must be done:

(1) The cessation of business on the 19th instant and expression of the minimum demands by means of one single resolution is a necessary first step provided that the *hartal* is absolutely voluntary and the employees are not asked to leave their work unless they receive permission from their employers. I would strongly urge that the mill-hands should be left untouched. The further provison is that there should be no violence accompanying the *hartal*. I have been often told that the C. I. D. sometimes promote violence. I do not believe in it as a general charge. But even if it be true, our

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The only way to retain peace is, he added, for the Hindu to join hands with the Muslim, offer Satyagraha and prevent Muslims from becoming desperate. He wrote: "I still believe that for the moment I consider that I am alone capable of offering Satyagraha in its fine form. But if that belief were to deter me from making experiments, Satyagraha would never make headway. But here, there is the further fallacy of the ambiguous middle. Satyagraha in the form of Civil Resistance has possibilities of mischief. But *hartal* is no new weapon and *hartal* may or may not be Satyagraha. When the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya resigned his membership on the Imperial Council or when Sir Rabindranath Tagore asked to be relieved of his distinction, they did not do so as Satyagrahis. Of course there is danger in widespread Non-co-operation. But that is merely stating a truism. The one thing to be remembered is that for the Mahomedans the Khilafat is a question of life and death. It is essential for them to secure a proper solution. It is the sacred duty of the Hindus to give their all for the sake of their brothers so long as they work along the lines of non-violence. And I know no better way of keeping them on that path save by all Hindus, Christians, Parsees and Jews who have made India their own, whole-heartedly supporting them and suggesting to them forcible methods of attaining redress without resort to violence."

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discipline should make it impossible. Our success depends solely on our ability to control, guide and discipline the masses.

Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The barbarous method is warfare, open or secret. This must be ruled out if only because it is impracticable. If I could but persuade every one that it is always bad, we should gain all lawful ends much quicker. The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument to-day against violence is based upon pure expedience, *i.e.*, its utter futility.

Non-co-operation is, therefore, the only remedy left open to us. It is the cleanest remedy as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment. England cannot accept a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Mussalmans mean matter of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top as also the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial services under Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to services under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of Non-co-operation. It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier leave us. Moreover, every step in withdrawing

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co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self-control under the fiercest heat.

Many look upon the Calcutta resolutions* with the deepest alarm. They scent in it a preparation for violence. I do not look upon them in that light, though I do not approve of the tone of some of them. I have already mentioned those whose subject matter I wholly dislike.

"Can Hindus accept all the resolutions"? is the question addressed by some. I can only speak for myself. I will co-operate whole-heartedly with the Muslim friends in the prosecution of their just demands so long as they act with sufficient restraint and so long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to or countenance violence. I should cease to co-operate and advise every Hindu and for that matter every one else to cease to co-operate, the moment there was violence actually done, advised or countenanced. I would therefore urge upon all speakers the exercise of the greatest restraint under the gravest provocation. There is certainty of victory if firmness is combined with gentleness. The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill-will, recklessness and finally violence are to reign supreme. I shall resist them with my life even if I should stand alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the great opposition to wrong.

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*28th April, 1920*

## WHY I HAVE JOINED THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

An esteemed South African friend who is at present

* A Khilafat conference held at Calcutta passed resolutions accepting Non-co-operation. For the implications of the letter See *infra*.

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living in England has written to me a letter from which I make the following excerpts:

> "You will doubtless remember having met me in South Africa at the time when the Rev. J. J. Doke was assisting you in your campaign there and I subsequently returned to England deeply impressed with the rightness of your attitude in that country. During the months before War I wrote and lectured and spoke on your behalf in several places which I do not regret. Since returning from military service, however, I have noticed from the papers that you appear to be adopting a more militant attitude . . . I notice a report in "The Times" that you are assisting and countenancing a union between the Hindus and Moslems with a view of embarrassing England and the Allied Powers in the matter of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire or the ejection of the Turkish Government from Constantinople. Knowing as I do your sense of justice and your humane instincts I feel that I am entitled, in view of the humble part that I have taken to promote your interests on this side, to ask you whether this latter report is correct. I cannot believe that you have wrongly countenanced a movement to place the cruel and unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government above the interests of humanity, for if any country has crippled these interests in the East it has surely been Turkey. I am personally familiar with the conditions in Syria and Armenia and I can only suppose that if the report which "The Times" has published is correct, you have thrown to one side, your moral responsibilities and allied yourself with one of the prevailing anarchies. However, until I hear that this is not your attitude I cannot prejudice my mind. Perhaps you will do me the favour of sending me a reply."

I have sent a reply to the writer. But as the views expressed in the quotation are likely to be shared by many of my English friends and as I do not wish, if I can possibly help it, to forfeit their friendship or their esteem, I shall endeavour to state my position as clearly as I can on the Khilafat question.* The letter shows

* Asked by Mr. Andrews to define his position more fully publicly, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of July 21, 1920, under the heading, "Mr. Andrews' difficulty": "I should clear the ground by

what risk public men run through irresponsible journalism. I have not seen *The Times* report referred to by my friend. But it is evident that the report has made the writer to suspect my alliance with "the prevailing anarchies" and to think that I have "thrown to one side" my "moral responsibilities."

It is just my sense of moral responsibilities which has made me take up the Khilafat question and to identify myself entirely with the Mahomedans. It is perfectly true that I am assisting and countenancing the union between Hindus and Moslems, but certainly not with "a view of embarrassing England and the Allied Powers in the matter of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire." It is contrary to my creed to embarrass Governments or anybody else. This does not

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stating that I reject any religious doctrine that does not appeal to reason and is in conflict with morality. I tolerate unreasonable religious sentiment when it is not immoral. I hold the Khilafat claim to be both just and reasonable and therefore it derives greater force because it has behind it the religious sentiment of the Musulman world." Dealing with Mr. Mahomed Ali's letter to the Sultan promising the support of the Indian Moslems in regard to Khilafat, Mr. Gandhi wrote: "Mr. Andrews considers that Mr. Mahomed Ali's language goes to show that he would resist Armenian independence against the Armenians and the Arabian against the Arabs. I attach no such meaning to it. What he, the whole Musulmans and therefore I think also the Hindus, resist is the shameless attempt of England and the other Powers under cover of self-determination to emasculate and dismember Turkey. If I understand the spirit of Islam properly, it is essentially republican in the truest sense of the term. Therefore if Armenia or Arabia desired independence of Turkey they should have it. In the case of Arabia, complete Arabian independence would mean transference of the Khilafat to an Arab chieftain. Arabia in that sense is a Musulman trust, not purely Arabian. And the Arabs without ceasing to be Musulman, could not hold Arabia against Muslim opinion. The Khalifa must be the custodian of the Holy places and therefore also the routes to them. He must

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however mean that certain acts of mine may not result in embarrassment. But I should not hold myself responsible for having caused embarrassment when I resist the wrong of a wrong-doer by refusing assistance in his wrong-doing. On the Khilafat question I refuse to be party to a broken pledge. Mr. Lloyd George's solemn declaration is practically the whole of the case for Indian Mahomedans and when that case is fortified by scriptural authority it becomes unanswerable. Moreover, it is incorrect to say that I have "allied myself to one of the prevailing anarchies" or that I have wrongly countenanced the movement "to place the cruel and unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government above the interests of humanity." In the whole of the Mahomedan demand there is no insistance on the retention of the so-called unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government;

be able to defend them against the whole world. And if an Arab chief arose who could better satisfy that test than the Sultan of Turkey, I have no doubt that he would be recognised as the Khalifa." "The solution of the question", he added, "lies not in our academic discussion of the ideal position. It lies in an honest appointment of a mixed commission of absolutely independent Indian Musulmans and Hindus and independent Europeans to investigate the real wish of the Armenians and the Arabs and then to come to a *modus vivendi* whereby the claims of the nationality and those of Islam may be adjusted and satisfied". "It is common knowledge," concluded Mr. Gandhi, "that Smyrna and Thrace including Adrianople have been dishonestly taken away from Turkey and that mandates have been unscrupulously established in Syria and Mesopotamia and a British nominee has been set up in Hedjaj under the protection of British guns. This is a position that is intolerable and unjust. Apart therefore from the questions of Armenia and Arabia, the dishonesty and hypocrisy that pollute the peace terms require to be instantaneously removed. It paves the way to an equitable solution of the question of Armenian and Arabian independence which in theory no one denies and which in practice may be easily guaranteed if only the wishes of the people concerned could with any degree of certainty be ascertained".

the contrary, the Mahomedans have accepted the principle of taking full guarantees from that Government for the protection of Non-Muslim minorities. I do not know how far the condition of Armenia and Syria may be considered an 'anarchy,' and how far the Turkish Government may be held responsible for it. I much suspect that the reports from these quarters are much exaggerated and that the European powers are themselves in a measure responsible for what misrule there may be in Armenia and Syria. But I am in no way interested in supporting Turkish or any other anarchy. The Allied Powers can easily prevent it by means other than that of ending Turkish rule or dismembering and weakening the Ottoman Empire. The Allied Powers are not dealing with a new situation. If Turkey was to be partitioned, the position should have been made clear at the commencement of the War. There would then have been no question of a broken pledge. As it is, no Indian Mahomedan has any regard for the promises of British Ministers. In his opinion, the cry against Turkey is that of Christianity *vs.* Islam with England as the leader in the cry. The latest cablegram from Mr. Mahomed Ali * strengthens the impression, for he says that unlike as in England his deputation is receiving much support from the French Government and the people.

Thus, if it is true, as I hold it is true, that the Indian Musalmans have a cause that is just and is supported by scriptural authority, then for the Hindus not to support them to the utmost would be a cowardly breach of brotherhood and they would forfeit all claim to consideration from their Mahomedan countrymen. As a

* Mahomed Ali was at the time in England as head of the Indian Khilafat Delegation.

public-server, therefore, I would be unworthy of the position I claim, if I did not support Indian Mussalmans in their struggle to maintain the Khilafat in accordance with their religious belief. I believe that in supporting them I am rendering a service to the Empire, because by assisting my Mahomedan countrymen to give a disciplined expression to their sentiment it becomes possible to make the agitation thoroughly orderly and even successful.

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*12th May, 1920*

KHILAFAT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"As I told you in my last letter, I think Mr. Gandhi has made a serious mistake in the Khilafat business. The Indian Mahomedans base their demand on the assertion that their religion requires the Turkish rule over Arabia; but when they have against them in this matter, the Arabs themselves, it is impossible to regard the theory of the Indian Mahomedans as essential to Islam. After all if the Arabs do not represent Islam, who does? It is as if the German Roman Catholics made a demand in the name of Roman Catholicism with Rome and the Italians making a contrary demand. But, even if the religion of the Indian Mahomedans did require that Turkish rule should be imposed upon the Arabs against their will, one could not, now-a-days, recognise as a really religious demand, one which required the continued oppression of one people by another. When an assurance was given at the beginning of the war to the Indian Mahomedans that the Mahomedan religion would be respected, that could never have meant that a temporal sovereignty which violated the principles of self-determination would be upheld. We could not now stand by and see the Turks reconquer the Arabs (for the Arabs would certainly fight against them) without grossly betraying the Arabs to whom we have given pledges. It is not true that the Arab hostility to the Turks was due simply to European suggestion. No doubt, during the War we availed ourselves of

the Arab hostility to the Turks to get another ally, but the hostility had existed long before the War. The non-Turkish Mahomedan subjects of the Sultan in general wanted to get rid of his rule. It is the Indian Mahomedans who have no experience of that rule who want to impose it on others. As a matter of fact, the idea of any restoration of Turkish rule in Syria or Arabia seems so remote from all possibilities that to discuss it seems like discussing a restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. I cannot conceive what series of events could bring it about. The Indian Mahomedans certainly could not march into Arabia themselves and conquer the Arabs for the Sultan. And no amount of agitation and trouble in India would ever induce England to put back Turkish rule in Arabia. In this matter it is not English Imperialism which the Indian Mahomedans are up against, but the mass of English Liberal and humanitarian opinion, the mass of the better opinion of England, which wants self-determination to go forward in India. Supposing the Indian Mahomedans could stir up an agitation so violent in India as to sever the connection between India and the British Crown, still they would not be any nearer to their purpose. For to-day they do have considerable influence on British world-policy. Even if in this matter of the Turkish question their influence has not been sufficient to turn the scale against the very heavy weights on the other side, it has weighed in the scale. But apart from the British connection, the Indian Mahomedans would have no influence at all outside India. They would not count for more in world politics than the Mahomedans of China. I think it is likely (apart from the pressure of America on the other side, I should say certain) that the influence of the Indian Mahomedans may at any rate avail to keep the Sultan in Constantinople. But I doubt whether they will gain any advantage by doing so. For a Turkey cut down to the Turkish parts of Asia Minor, Constantinople would be a very inconvenient capital. I think its inconvenience would more than outweigh the sentimental gratification of keeping up a phantom of the old Ottoman Empire. But if the Indian Mahomedans want the Sultan to retain his place in Constantinople, I think the assurances given officially by the Viceroy in India now bind us to insist on his remaining there and I think he will remain there, in spite of America."

This is an extract from the letter of an Englishman,

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enjoying a position in Great Britain, to a friend in India. It is a typical letter, sober, honest, to the point and put in such graceful language that whilst it challenges you, it commands your respect by its very gracefulness. But it is just this attitude based upon insufficient or false information which has ruined many a cause in the British Isles. The superficiality, the one-sidedness, the inaccuracy and often even dishonesty that have crept into modern journalism, continuously mislead honest men who want to see nothing but justice done. Then there are always interested groups whose business it is to serve their ends by means fair or foul. And the honest Englishman wishing to vote for justice but swayed by conflicting opinions and dominated by distorted versions, often ends by becoming an instrument of injustice.

The writer of the letter quoted above has built up convincing argument on imaginary data. He has successfully shown that the Mahomedan case, as it has been presented to him, is a rotten case. In India, where it is not quite easy to distort facts about the Khilafat, English friends admit the utter justice of the Indian Mahomedan claim. But they plead helplessness and tell us that the Government of India and Mr. Montagu have done all that was humanly possible for them to do. And if now the judgment goes against Islam, Indian Mahomedans should resign themselves to it. This extraordinary state of things would not be possible except under this modern rush and preoccupations of all responsible people.

Let us for a moment examine the case as it has been imagined by the writer. He suggests that Indian Mahomedans want Turkish rule in Arabia in spite of the opposition of the Arabs themselves and that if the Arabs do not want Turkish rule, the writer argues,

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no false religious sentiment can be permitted to interfere with self-determination of the Arabs when India herself has been pleading for that very status. Now the fact is that the Mahomedans, as is known to everybody who has at all studied the case, have never asked for Turkish rule in Arabia in opposition to the Arabs. On the contrary, they have said that they have no intention of resisting Arabian self-government. All they ask for is Turkish suzerainty over Arabia which would guarantee complete self-rule for the Arabs. They want Khalif's control of the Holy Places of Islam. In other words, they ask for nothing more than what was guaranteed by Mr. Lloyd George and on the strength of which guarantee Mahomeden soldiers spilt their blood on behalf of the Allied Powers. All the elaborate argument therefore and the cogent reasoning of the above extract fall to pieces based as they are upon a case that has never existed. I have thrown myself heart and soul into this question because British pledges, abstract justice, and religious sentiment coincide. (I can conceive the possibility of a blind and fanatical religious sentiment existing in opposition to pure justice.) (I should then resist the former and fight for the latter. Nor would I insist upon pledges given dishonestly to support an unjust cause as has happened with England in the case of the secret treaties.) Resistance there becomes not only lawful but obligatory on the part of a nation that prides itself on its righteousness.

It is unnecessary for me to examine the position imagined by the English friend *viz.*, how India would have fared had she been an independent power. It is unnecessary because Indian Mahomedans, and for that matter, India, are fighting for a cause that is admittedly just; a cause in aid of which they are invoking the whole-

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hearted support of the British people. I would however venture to suggest that this is a cause in which mere sympathy will not suffice. It is a cause which demands support that is strong enough to bring about substantial justice.

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*19th May, 1920*

## PLEDGES BROKEN

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

The long-expected peace terms* regarding Turkey have been received. In my humble opinion, they are humiliating to the Supreme Council, to the British ministers, and if as a Hindu with deep reverence for Christianity I may say so, a denial of Christ's teachings. Turkey broken down and torn with dissentions within may submit to the arrogant disposal of herself, and Indian Mahomedans may out of fear do likewise. Hindus out of fear, apathy or want of appreciation of the situation, may refuse to help their Mahomedan brethren in their hour of peril. The fact remains that a solemn promise of the Prime Minister of England has been wantonly broken. I will say nothing about President Wilson's fourteen points, for they seem now to be entirely forgotten as a day's wonder. It is a matter of deep sorrow that the Government of India *communique* † offers a defence of the terms, calls them a fulfilment of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge of 5th January, 1918, and yet apologises for their defective nature and appeals to the Mahomedans of India as if to mock them that they would accept the terms with quiet resignation. The

* The terms subsequently forced on Turkey at Sevres.

† Not included in this collection.

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mask that veils the hypocrisy is too thin to deceive anybody. It would have been dignified if the *communique* had boldly admitted Mr. Lloyd George's mistake in having made the promise referred to. As it is, the claim of fulfilment of the promise only adds to the irritation caused by its glaring breach. What is the use of the Viceroy saying, "The question of the Khilafat is one for the Mahomedans and Mahomedans only and that with their free choice in the matter Government have no desire to interfere," while the Khalif's dominions are ruthlessly dismembered, his control of the Holy places of Islam shamelessly taken away from him and he himself reduced to utter impotence in his own palace which can no longer be called a palace but which can be more fitly described as a prison? No wonder, His Excellency fears that the peace includes "terms which must be painful to all Moslems." Why should he insult Muslim intelligence by sending the Mussalmans of India a message of encouragement and sympathy? Are they expected to find encouragement in the cruel recital of the arrogant terms or in a remembrance of "the splendid response" made by them to the call of the King "in the day of the Empire's need?" It ill becomes His Excellency to talk of the triumph of those ideals of justice and humanity for which the Allies fought. Indeed, the terms of the so-called peace with Turkey, if they are to last, will be a monument of human arrogance and man-made injustice. To attempt to crush the spirit of a brave and gallant race, because it has lost in the fortunes of war, is a triumph not of humanity but a demonstration of inhumanity. And if Turkey enjoyed the closest ties of friendship with Great Britain before the war, Great Britain has certainly made ample reparation for her mistake by having made the

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largest contribution to the humiliation of Turkey. It is insufferable, therefore, when the Viceroy feels confident that with the conclusion of this new treaty that friendship will quickly take life again and a Turkey regenerate, full of hope and strength, will stand forth in the future as in the past a pillar of the Islamic faith. The Viceregal message audaciously concludes: "This thought will, I trust, strengthen you to accept the peace terms with resignation, courage and fortitude and to keep your loyalty towards the Crown bright and untarnished as it has been for so many generations." If Muslim loyalty remains untarnished, it will certainly not be for want of effort on the part of the Government of India to put the heaviest strain upon it, but it will remain so because the Mahomedans realise their own strength—the strength in the knowledge that their cause is just and that they have got the power to vindicate justice in spite of the aberration suffered by Great Britain under a Prime Minister whom continued power has made as reckless in making promises as in breaking them.

Whilst therefore I admit that there is nothing either in the peace terms or in the Viceregal message covering them to inspire Mahomedans and Indians in general with confidence or hope, I venture to suggest that there is no cause for despair or anger. Now is the time for Mahomedans to retain absolute self-control, to unite their forces and, weak though they are, with firm faith in God to carry on the struggle with redoubled vigour till justice is done. If India—both Hindu and Mahomedan—can act as one man and can withdraw her partnership in this crime against humanity which the peace terms represent, she will soon secure a revision of the treaty and give herself and the Empire at least, if not the world, a lasting peace. There is no doubt that

the struggle would be bitter, sharp and possibly prolonged, but it is worth all the sacrifice that it is likely to call forth. Both the Mussalmans and the Hindus are on their trial. Is the humiliation of the Khilafat a matter of concern to the former? And if it is, are they prepared to exercise restraint, religiously refrain from violence and practise Non-co-operation without counting the material loss it may entail upon the community? Do the Hindus honestly feel for their Mahomedan brethren to the extent of sharing their sufferings to the fullest extent? The answer to these questions, and not the peace terms, will finally decide the fate of the Khilafat.

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*26th May, 1920*

## MR. CANDLER'S OPEN LETTER

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Mr. Candler* has favoured me with an open letter on this question of questions. The letter has already appeared in the Press. I can appreciate Mr. Candler's position as I would like him and other Englishmen to appreciate mine and that of hundreds of Hindus who feel as I do. Mr. Candler's letter is an attempt to show that Mr. Lloyd George's pledge is not in any way broken by the peace terms. I quite agree with him that Mr. Lloyd George's words ought not to be torn from their context to support the Mahomedan claim. These are Mr. Lloyd George's words as quoted in the recent

* Mr. Edmund Candler, a well-known English journalist and war correspondent, was at the time Publicity Officer in the Punjab and wrote some open letters to Mr. Gandhi questioning his attitude towards the Khilafat problem.

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Vicerегal message: "Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." Mr. Candler seems to read 'which' as if it meant 'if they,' whereas I give the pronoun its natural meaning, namely, that the Prime Minister knew in 1918, that the lands referred to by him were 'predominantly Turkish in race.' And if this is the meaning, I venture to suggest that the pledge has been broken in a most bare-faced manner, for there is practically nothing left to the Turk of 'the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace'.

I have already given out my view of the retention of the Sultan in Constantinople. It is an insult to the intelligence of man to suggest that 'the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the home-land of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople' has been left unimpaired by the terms of peace. This is the other passage from the speech which I presume Mr. Candler wants me to read together with the one already quoted:

"While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the home-land of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being inter-nationalised, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition."

Did that mean entire removal of Turkish influence, extinction of Turkish suzerainty and the introduction of European-Christian influence under the guise of Mandates? Have the Moslems of Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine been committed, or is the new arrangement being super-imposed upon them by Powers conscious of their own own brute-strength rather

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than of justice of their action? I for one would nurse by every legitimate means the spirit of independence in the brave Arabs, but I shudder to think what will happen to them under the schemes of exploitation of their country by the greedy capitalists protected as they will be by the mandatory Powers. If the pledge is to be fulfilled, let these places have full self-government with suzerainty to be retained with Turkey as has been suggested by the *Times of India*. Let there be all the necessary guarantees taken from Turkey about the internal independence of the Arabs. But to remove that suzerainty, to deprive the Khalif of the wardenship of the Holy Places is to render Khilafat a mockery which no Mahomedan can possibly look upon with equanimity. I am not alone in my interpretation of the pledge. The Right Hon'ble Ameer Ali calls the peace terms a breach of faith. Mr. Charles Roberts reminds the British public that the Indian Mussalman sentiment regarding the Turkish Treaty is based upon the Prime Minister's pledge regarding Thrace, Constantinople and Turkish lands in Asia Minor, repeated on 26th February last with deliberation by Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Roberts holds that the pledge must be treated as a whole, not as binding only regarding Constantinople but also binding as regards Thrace and Asia Minor. He describes the pledge as binding upon the nation as a whole and its breach in any part as a gross breach of faith on the part of the British Empire. He demands that, if there is an unanswerable reply to the charge of breach of faith, it ought to be given and adds the Prime Minister may regard his own word lightly if he chooses, but he has no right to break a pledge given on behalf of the nation. He concludes that "it is incredible that such pledge should not have been kept in the letter and in the

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spirit." He adds: "I have reason to believe that these views are fully shared by prominent members of the Cabinet".

I wonder if Mr. Candler knows what is going on to-day in England. Mr. Pickthall,* writing in *New Age*, says: "No impartial international enquiry into the whole question of the Armenian massacres has been instituted in the ample time which has elapsed since the conclusion of armistice with Turkey. The Turkish Government has asked for such enquiry. But the Armenian organisations and the Armenian partisans refuse to hear of such a thing, declaring that the Bryce and Lepssens reports are quite sufficient to condemn the Turks. In other words, the judgment should be given on the case for prosecution alone. The inter-allied commission which investigated the unfortunate events in Smyrna last year, made a report unfavourable to Greek claims. Therefore, that report has not been published here in England, though in other countries it has long been public property." He then goes on to show how money is being scattered by Armenian and Greek emissaries in order to popularise their cause and adds: "This conjunction of dense ignorance and cunning falsehood is fraught with instant danger to the British realm," and concludes: "A Government and people which prefer propaganda to fact as the ground of policy—and foreign policy at that—is self-condemned."

I have reproduced the above extract in order to show that the present British policy has been affected by propaganda of an unscrupulous nature. Turkey which

* Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, an English Muslim, journalist and novelist, subsequently appointed editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*. His close and intimate knowledge of the Near East is unrivalled among Englishmen.

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was dominant over two million square miles of Asia, Africa and Europe in the seventeenth century, under the terms of the treaty, says the *London Chronicle*, has dwindled down to little more than 1,000 square miles. It says: "All European Turkey could not be accommodated comfortably between the Landsend and the Tamar, Cornwal alone exceeding its total area, and but for its alliance with Germany, Turkey could have asssured of retaining at least sixty-thousand square miles of the Eastern Balkans." I do not know whether the *Chronicle* view is generally shared. Is it by way of punishment that Turkey is to undergo such shrinkage, or is it because justice demands it? (If Turkey had not made the mistake of joining Germany, would the principle of nationality have been still applied to Armenia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Palestine?)

Let me now remind those who think with Mr. Candler that the promise was not made by Mr. Lloyd George to the people of India in anticipation of the supply of recruits continuing. In defending his own statement, Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have said:

"The effect of the statement in India was that recruiting went up appreciably from that very moment. They were not all Mahomedans but there were many Mahomedans amongst them. Now we are told that was an offer to Turkey. But they rejected it, and therefore we were absolutely free. It was not. It is too often forgotten that we are the greatest Mahomedan power in the world and that one-fourth of the population of the British Empire is Mahomedan. There have been no more loyal adherents to the throne and no more effective and loyal supporters of the Empire in its hour of trial. *We gave a solemn pledge and they accepted it.* They are disturbed by the prospect of our not abiding by it."

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Who shall interpret that pledge and how? How did the Government of India itself interpret it? Did it or did it not energetically support the claim for the control of the Holy Places of Islam vesting in the Khalif? Did the Government of India suggest that the whole of Jazirat-ul-Arab could be taken away consistently with that pledge from the sphere of influence of the Khalif, and given over to the Allies as mandatory Powers? Why does the Government of India sympathise with the Indian Mussalmans if the terms are all they should be? So much for the pledge. I would like to guard myself against being understood that I stand or fall absolutely by Mr. Lloyd George's declaration. I have advisedly used the adverb 'practically' in connection with it. It is an important qualification.

Mr. Candler seems to suggest that my goal is something more than merely attaining justice on the Khilafat. If so, he is right. Attainment of justice is undoubtedly the corner-stone, and if I found that I was wrong in my [illegible]tion of justice on this question, I hope I shall have the [illegible]e immediately to retrace my steps. But by helping the Mahomedans of India at a critical moment in their history, I want to buy their friendship. Moreover, if I can carry the Mahomedans with me, I hope to wean Great Britain from the downward path along which the Prime Minister seems to me to be taking her. I hope also to show to India and the Empire at large that, given a certain amount of capacity for self-sacrifice, justice can be secured by peacefullest and cleanest means without sowing or increasing bitterness between English and Indians. For, whatever may be the temporary effect of my methods, I know enough of them to feel certain that they alone are immune from lasting bitterness. They are untainted with hatred, expedience or untruth.

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*2nd June, 1920*

## KHILAFAT: FURTHER QUESTIONS ANSWERED

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

I have been overwhelmed with public criticism and private advice and even anonymous letters telling me exactly what I should do. Some are impatient that I do not advise immediate and extensive Non-co-operation; others tell me what harm I am doing the country by throwing it knowingly in a tempest of violence on either side. It is difficult for me to deal with the whole of the criticism, but I would summarise some of the objections and endeavour to answer them to the best of my ability. These are in addition to those I have already answered:

(1) Turkish claim is immoral or unjust and how can I, a lover of truth and justice, support it?

(2) Even if the claim be just in theory, the Turk is hopelessly incapable, weak and cruel. He does not deserve any assistance.

(3) Even if Turkey deserves all that is claimed for her, why should I land India in an international struggle?

(4) It is no part of the Indian Mahomedans' business to meddle in this affair. If they cherish any political ambition, they have tried, they have failed and they should now sit still. If it is a religious matter with them, it cannot appeal to the Hindu reason in the manner it is put, and in any case Hindus ought not to identify themselves with Mahomedans in their religious quarrel with Christendom.

(5) In no case should I advocate Non-co-operation which in its extreme sense is nothing but a rebellion, no matter how peaceful it may be.

(6) Moreover, my experience of last year must show

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me that it is beyond the capacity of any single human being to control the forces of violence that are lying dormant in the land.

(7) Non-co-operation is futile because people will never respond in right earnest, and reaction that might afterwards set in will be worse than the state of hopefulness we are now in.

(8) Non-co-operation will bring about cessation of all other activities, even working of the Reforms, and thus set back the clock of progress.

(9) However pure my motives may be, those of the Mussalmans are obviously revengeful.

I shall now answer the objections in the order in which they are stated.

(1) In my opinion, the Turkish claim is not only not immoral and unjust, but it is highly equitable, if only because Turkey wants to retain what is her own. And the Mahomedan manifesto has definitely declared that whatever guarantees may be necessary to be taken for the protection of non-Muslim and non-Turkish races, should be taken so as to give the Christians theirs and the Arabs their self-government under the Turkish suzerainty.

(2) I do not believe the Turk to be weak, incapable or cruel. He is certainly disorganised and probably without good generalship. He has been obliged to fight against heavy odds. The argument of weakness, incapacity and cruelty one often hears quoted in connection with those from whom power is sought to be taken away. (About the alleged massacres a proper commission has been asked for, but never granted.) And in any case security can be taken against oppression.

(3) I have already stated that, if I were not interested in the Indian Mahomedans, I would not interest myself

the welfare of the Turks any more than I am in that of the Austrians or the Poles. But I am bound as an Indian to share the sufferings and trials of fellow-Indians. If I deem the Mahomedan to be my brother, it is my duty to help him in his hour of peril to the best of my ability, if his cause commends itself to me as just.

(4) The fourth refers to the extent Hindus should join hands with the Mahomedans. It is therefore a matter of feeling and opinion. It is expedient to suffer for my Mahomedan brother to the utmost in a just cause and I should therefore travel with him along the whole road so long as the means employed by him are as honourable as his end. I cannot regulate the Mahomedan feeling. I must accept his statement that the Khilafat is with him a religious question in the sense that it binds him to reach the goal even at the cost of his own life.

(5) I do not consider Non-co-operation to be a rebellion, because it is free from violence. In a larger sense, all opposition to a Government measure is a rebellion. In that sense, rebellion in a just cause is a duty, the extent of opposition being determined by the measure of the injustice done and felt.

(6) My experience of last year shows me that, in spite of aberrations in some parts of India, the country was entirely under control, that the influence of Satyagraha was profoundly for its good and that where violence did break out there were local causes that directly contributed to it. At the same time I admit that even the violence that did take place on the part of the people and the spirit of lawlessness that was undoubtedly showing in some parts should have remained under check. I have made ample acknowledgment of the miscalculation I then made. But all the painful experience that I then gained

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did not in any way shake my belief in Satyagraha or in the possibility of that matchless force being utilised in India. Ample provision is being made this time to avoid the mistakes of the past. But I must refuse to be deterred from a clear course, because it may be attended by violence totally unintended and in spite of extraordinary efforts that are being made to prevent it. At the same time I must make my position clear. Nothing can possibly prevent a Satyagrahi from doing his duty because of the frown of the authorities. I would risk, if necessary, a million lives so long as they are voluntary sufferers and are innocent, spotless victims. It is the mistakes of the people that matter in a Satyagraha compaign. Mistakes, even insanity, must be expected from the strong and the powerful, and the moment of victory has come when there is no retort to the mad fury of the powerful but a voluntary, dignified and quiet submission but not submission to the will of the authority that has put itself in the wrong. The secret of success lies therefore in holding every English life and the life of every officer serving the Government as sacred as those of our own dear ones. All the wonderful experience I have gained now during nearly 40 years of conscious existence, has convinced me that there is no gift so precious as that of life. I make bold to say that the moment the Englishmen feel that, although they are in India in a hopeless minority, their lives are protected against harm not because of the matchless weapons of destruction which are at their disposal, but because Indians refuse to take the lives even of those whom they may consider to be utterly in the wrong, that moment will see a transformation in the English nature in its relation to India, and that moment will also be the moment when all the destructive cutlery that is to be had

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in India will begin to rust. I know that this is a far-off vision. That cannot matter to me. It is enough for me to see the light and to act up to it, and it is more than enough when I gain companions in the onward march. I have claimed in private conversations with English friends that it is because of my incessant preaching of the gospel of non-violence and my having successfully demonstrated its practical utility, that so far the forces of violence, which are undoubtedly in existence in connection with the Khilafat movement, have remained under complete control.

(7) From a religious stand-point, the seventh objection is hardly worth considering. If people do not respond to the movement of Non-co-operation, it would be a pity, but that can be no reason for a reformer not to try. It would be to me a demonstration that the present position of hopefulness is not dependent on any inward strength or knowledge, but it is hope born of ignorance and superstition.

(8) If Non-co-operation is taken up in earnest, it must bring about a cessation of all other activities including the Reforms, but I decline to draw therefore the corollary that it will set back the clock of progress. On the contrary, I consider Non-co-operation to be such a powerful and pure instrument that, if it is enforced in an earnest spirit, it will be like seeking first the Kingdom of God and everything else following as a matter of course. People will have then realised their true power. They would have learnt the value of discipline, self-control, joint action, non-violence, organisation and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great.

(9) I do not know that I have a right to arrogate greater purity for myself than for our Mussalman

brethren. But I do admit that they do not believe in my doctrine of non-violence to the full extent. For them it is a weapon of the weak, an expedient. They consider Non-co-operation without violence to be the only thing open to them in the war of direct action. I know that, if some of them could offer successful violence, they would do to-day. But they are convinced that, humanly speaking, it is an impossibility. For them, therefore, Non-co-operation is a matter not merely of duty but also of revenge. Whereas I take up Non-co-operation against the Government as I have actually taken it up in practice against members of my own family, I entertain very high regard for the British constitution. I have not only no enmity against Englishmen, but I regard much in English character as worthy of my emulation. I count many as my friends. It is against my religion to regard any one as an enemy. I entertain similar sentiments with respect to Mahomedans. I find their cause to be just and pure. Although therefore their view-point is different from mine, I do not hesitate to associate with them and invite them to give my method a trial, for, I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from a mistaken motive does not fail to produce some good, even as the telling of truth, if only because for the time being it is the best policy, is at least so much to the good.

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*28th July, 1920*

## MR. MONTAGU ON THE KHILAFAT AGITATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Montagu does not like the Khilafat agitation that is daily gathering force. In answer to questions put in

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the House of Commons,* he is reported to have said that, whilst he acknowledged that I had rendered distinguished services to the country in the past, he could not look upon my present attitude with equanimity and that it was not to be expected that I could now be treated as leniently as I was during the Rowlatt Act agitation. He added that he had every confidence in the central and the local Governments, that they were carefully watching the movement and that they had full power to deal with the situation.

This statement of Mr. Montagu has been regarded in some quarters as a threat. It has even been considered to be a blank cheque for the Government of India to re-establish the reign of terror if they chose. It is certainly inconsistent with his desire to base the Government on the goodwill of the people. At the same time, if the Hunter Committee's finding be true and if I was the cause of the disturbances last year, I was undoubtedly treated with exceptional leniency. I admit too that my activity this year is fraught with greater peril to the Empire as it is being conducted to-day than was last year's activity. Non-co-operation in itself is more harmless than Civil Disobedience, but in its effect it is far more dangerous for the Government than Civil Disobedience. Non-co-operation is intended so far to paralyse the Government, as to compel justice from it. If it is carried to the extreme point, it can bring the Government to a standstill.

A friend who has been listening to my speeches once asked me whether I did not come under the sedition

* Mr. Montagu, then Secretary of State for India, threatened the Khilafat agitation with suppression. His statement, to which the article is a reply, is omitted in this collection.

section of the Indian Penal Code. Though I had not fully considered it, I told him that very probably I did and that I could not plead 'not guilty' if I was charged under it. For I must admit that I can pretend to no 'affection' for the present Government. And my speeches are intended to create 'disaffection' such that the people might consider it a shame to assist or co-operate with a Government that had forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support.

I draw no distinction between the Imperial and the Indian Government. The latter has accepted, on the Khilafat, the policy imposed upon it by the former. And in the Punjab case, the former has endorsed the policy of terrorism and emasculation of a brave people initiated by the latter. British ministers have broken their pledged word and wantonly wounded the feelings of the seventy million Mussalmans of India. Innocent men and women were insulted by the insolent officers of the Punjab Government. Their wrongs not only remain unrighted, but the very officers who so cruelly subjected them to barbarous humiliation retain office under the Government.

When at Amritsar last year I pleaded with all the earnestness I could command for co-operation with the Government and for response to the wishes expressed in the Royal Proclamation, I did so because I honestly believed that a new era was about to begin, and that the old spirit of fear, distrust and consequent terrorism was about to give place to the new spirit of respect, trust and good-will. I sincerely believed that the Mussalman sentiment would be placated and that the officers that had misbehaved during the Martial Law regime in the Punjab would be at least dismissed and the people would be otherwise made to feel that a

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Government that had always been found quick (and rightly) to punish popular excesses would not fail to punish its agents' misdeeds. But to my amazement and dismay, I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no real regard for the wishes of the people of India and they count Indian honour as of little consequence.

I can no longer retain affection for a Government so evilly manned as it is now-a-days. And for me, it is humiliating to retain my freedom and be witness to the continuing wrong. Mr. Montagu however is certainly right in threatening me with deprivation of my liberty if I persist in endangering the existence of the Government. For that must be the result if my activity bears fruit. My only regret is that inasmuch as Mr. Montagu admits my past services, he might have perceived that there must be something exceptionally bad in the Government if a well-wisher like me could no longer give his affection to it. It was simpler to insist on justice being done to the Mussalmans and to the Punjab than to threaten me with punishment so that the injustice might be perpetuated. Indeed I fully expect it will be found that, even in promoting disaffection towards an unjust Government, I had rendered greater services to the Empire than I am already credited with.

At the present moment, however, the duty of those who approve of my activity is clear. They ought on no account to resent the deprivation of my liberty, should the Government of India deem it to be their duty to take it away. A citizen has no right to resist such restriction imposed in accordance with the laws of the State to which he belongs. Much less have those who sympathise with him. In my case, there can be no question of

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sympathy. For I deliberately oppose the Government to the extent of trying to put its very existence in jeopardy. For my supporters, therefore, it must be moment of joy when I am imprisoned. It means the beginning of success if only the supporters continue the policy for which I stand. If the Government arrest me, they would do so in order to stop the progress of Non-co-operation which I preach. It follows that, if Non-co-operation continues with unabated vigour, even after my arrest, the Government must imprison others or grant the people's wish in order to gain their co-operation. Any eruption of violence on the part of the people even under provocation would end in disaster. Whether therefore it is I or any one else who is arrested during the campaign, the first condition of success is that there must be no resentment shown against it. We cannot imperil the very existence of a Government and quarrel with its attempt to save itself by punishing those who place it in danger.

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*23th March, 1921*

## THE KHILAFAT

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

The proposed change* in the Treaty of Sevres cannot satisfy Indian Muslims. And that is saying a great deal. It is not Turkey merely that Great Britain has to placate. It is India that has to be pacified. In my opinion, if the demands of the Muslims of India are

* There was at the time a proposal to revise the Sevres Treaty whereby Turkey would retain Asia Minor, including Smyrla, with Constantinople. The effect of it would be to dismember the Ottoman Empire, but to retain with the Sultan Turkey proper alone of which the population consisted solely of Turks.

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conceded, it will not much matter whether Turkey's are satisfied or not. And this for two reasons. The Khilafat is an ideal and when a man works for an ideal, he becomes irresistible. The Muslims, who represent the ideal, have behind them the opinion of the whole mass of the Indian people.

It is wrong to say that Muslims are fighting merely for Turkey. They will abandon her to-day, if she went wrong, if, to take a foolish illustration, she demands her restoration to the status that she occupied during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. Similarly, the Muslims cannot abandon a claim based on the Koranic injunctions, because a weak and helpless Turkey cannot sustain it.

Whilst every good Muslim must strive to retain the temporal power of Turkey, it is obligatory on him to see that unequivocal Muslim control is retained over the 'Island of Arabia' which include Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine as well, and the spiritual sovereignty over them of the Caliph whoever he may be for the time being. No other terms, however good otherwise they may be, can possibly satisfy Muslim opinion. They will not tolerate any non-Muslim influence direct or indirect over the holy places of Islam.

The most thorny part of the question is, therefore, Palestine. Britain has made promises to the Zionists. The latter have, naturally, a sacred sentiment about the place. The Jews, it is contended, must remain a homeless wandering race unless they have obtained possession of Palestine. I do not propose to examine the soundness or otherwise of the doctrine underlying the proposition. All I contend is that they cannot possess Palestine through a trick or a moral breach. Palestine was not a stake in the war. The British Government

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could not dare have asked a single Muslim soldier to wrest control of Palestine from fellow-Muslims and give it to the Jews. Palestine, as a place of Jewish worship, is a sentiment to be respected, and the Jews would have a just cause of complaint against Musulman idealists if they were to prevent Jews from offering worship as freely as themselves.

By no canon of ethics or war, therefore, can Palestine be given to the Jews as a result of the war. Either Zionists must revise their ideal about Palestine, or, if Judaism permits the arbitrament of war, engage in a 'holy war' with the Muslims of the world with the Christians throwing in their influence on their side. But one may hope that the trend of world opinion will make 'holy wars' impossible and religious questions or differences will tend more and more towards a peaceful adjustment based upon the strictest moral considerations. But, whether such a happy time ever comes or not, it is clear as day-light that the Khilafat terms to be just must mean the restitution of Jazirut-ul-Arab to complete Muslim control under the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliph.

[As regards the Zionists' position, the following quotation from *The Nation's* review of Mr. Israel Zangwill's latest book, "The Voice of Jerusalem," will be of interest, as indicating the views of a distinguished Jew:

His mind has the great merit of a certain amount of originality, of refusing to work merely along other people's grooves. Hence on the question of Zionism he has always taken what was, for a Jew, an unconventional attitude, and he saw, earlier than most people, the central difficulty in the problem of making Palestine the national home of the Jews. The difficulty is that

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Palestine happens to-day to be the national home of 600,000 Arabs, and that, even if you get rid of the Arabs, it is quite unfit to accomodate even a half of the Jewish population of the world. A real Jewish State was, therefore, possible in Palestine only if you expelled the Arabs, and even then there would be a very large Jewish irredenta. Hence Mr. Zangwill was a Zionist, but his Zion was not in Palestine but in "Canada, Brazil, Asia Minor, or Siberia." When the war altered the whole situation, he gave his support, it is true, to the diplomacy of the Zionist leaders but obviously with considerable hesitation. His doubts have been amply realized. He pours out his scorn upon the mirage of the Jewish State, that shadowy Zion whose twin foundations are the chicanery of the mandate system and a strategic base for the British Empire.—*Asst. Ed. Y. I.*]

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*29th June, 1921*

## THE TURKISH QUESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If we mean really well by our Mussalman brethren, we must sympathize with them over the movement going on in Europe to destroy Turkish nationalism. It is a thousand pities that the British Government is secretly or openly leading the movement. Let Hindus not be frightened by Pan-Islamism. It is not—it need not be—anti-Indian or anti-Hindu. Mussalmans must wish well to every Mussalman state, and even assist any such state, if it is undeservedly in peril. And Hindus, if they are true friends of Mussalmans, cannot but share the latter's feelings. We must, therefore, co-operate with

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our Mussalman brethren in their attempt to save the Turkish Empire in Europe from extinction.

Hindus may not then be agitated, when Mussalmans become alarmed at the slightest hint that the British Government might openly join the Greeks against the Turkish Government in Angora. If British should go so mad, India cannot possibly help the British Government in any such design upon Turkey. It would be tantamount to a war with Islam.

England has her choice. She can no longer hold the awakened Hindus and Mussalmans as slaves. If India is to remain equal partner with every other member of the Empire, India's voting strength must be infinitely superior to that of any other member. In a free commonwealth, every partner has as much right to retire if the rest go wrong, as it is his duty to remain so long as the rest are faithful to certain common principles. If India votes wrong, England can retire from partnership, as every other partner can. Thus, the centre of equilibrium must shift to India rather than remain in England, when India has come into her own. That is my meaning of Swaraj within the Empire. Brute force must be ruled out of account in all deliberations. Reference must be had always to Reason and never to the sword.

And as with England, so with India. The latter, too, has her choice. To-day, we are striving for Swaraj within the Empire in the hope that England will in the end prove true, and for independence if she fails. But when it is incontestably proved that Britain seeks to destroy Turkey, India's only choice must be independence. For Mussalmans, when Turkey's existence, such as it is, is threatened, there is no looking back. They would draw the sword if they could, and perish or rise victorious with the brave Turks. But if, as is certain,

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thanks to the policy of the Government of India, they cannot declare war against the British Government, they can at least forswear allegiance to a government which wickedly goes to war against Turkey. The duty of the Hindus is no less clear. If we still fear and distrust the Mussalmans, we must side with the British and prolong our slavery. If we are brave and religious enough not to fear the Mussalmans, our countrymen, and if we have the wisdom to trust them, we must make common cause with the Mussalmans in every peaceful and truthful method to secure Indian independence. For a Hindu, as I conceive Hinduism to be, whether for independence or for Swaraj within the Empire, there is no road but Non-violent Non-co-operation. India can have dominion or independent status to-day, if India learns and assimilates the secret and the invincible power of Non-violence. When she has learnt that lesson, she is ready to take up all the stages of Non-co-operation including non-payment of taxes. India is not ready to-day, but if we would be prepared to frustrate every plot that may be hatched for the destruction of Turkey or for prolonging our subjection, we must secure an atmosphere of enlightened non-violence as fast as possible, not the non-violence of the weak but the non-violence of the strong, who would disdain to kill but would gladly die for the vindication of truth.

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*18th August, 1921*

## THE KHILAFAT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

At Lucknow I found natural impatience on the part of the Musalmans regarding the Khilafat. Moulvi Salamatulla voiced in moderate language the public feeling

regarding the position of the Angora Government when he said that the British attitude was becoming unbearable. There is no doubt the growing distrust of the British declarations about friendliness towards the Turks. Nobody believes either that the British declarations are genuine or that the British Government is powerless to afford relief. In their impatient anger, the Mussalmans ask for more energetic and more prompt action by the Congress and Khilafat organisations. To the Mussalmans, Swaraj means, as it must mean, India's ability to deal effectively with the Khilafat question. The Mussalmans therefore decline to wait if the attainment of Swaraj means indefinite delay or a programme that may require the Mussalmans of India to become impotent witnesses of the extinction of Turkey in European waters.

It is impossible not to sympathise with this attitude. I would gladly recommend immediate action if I could think of any effective course. I would gladly ask for postponement of Swaraj activity if thereby we could advance the interest of the Khilafat. I would gladly take up measures outside Non-co-operation, if I could think of any in order to assuage the pain caused to the millions of Musalmans.

But, in my humble opinion, attainment of Swaraj is the quickest method of righting the Khilafat wrong. Hence it is that for me the solution of the Khilafat question is attainment of Swaraj and *vice versa*. The only way to help the afflicted Turks is for India to generate sufficient power to be able to assert herself. If she cannot develop that power in time, there is no way out for India and she must resign herself to the inevitable. What can a paralytic do to stretch forth a helping hand to a neighbour but to try to cure himself of his paralysis? Mere ignorant, thoughtless and angry outburst of violence

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may give vent to pent-up rage but can bring no relief to Turkey. Nor can it increase the power of India to assert herself. And the measures taken to put down violence may well lessen the speed with which we are marching to our goal.

But there is no cause whatsoever for despair. The whole of the Congress programme has been framed, and measures are being adopted to meet the Khilafat crisis. There is no doubt that (two months for finishing the Swadeshi work) is a most intensive measure calculated to bring the best out of the nation. And if India completes the boycott by September and comes to her own in October, surely it must satisfy the most sanguine temperament and the most impatient and ardent Khilafatist as I claim myself to be.

The fact is that all the workers are not convinced of the possibility of completing the Swadeshi programme during the time fixed or of its power to effect all that is claimed for it. Such doubters have to stand out, unless they can suggest a better and quicker method and get it accepted by the country. In spite of their doubt, they should faithfully plunge themselves into Swadeshi work and give the experiment a fair trial. And does not this doubting of India's ability to go through the Swadeshi programme show, if the doubt is justified, that India has really no interest in the Khilafat or it has no desire to sacrifice anything for it? (Is it a big sacrifice for every Hindu and Musalman to discard all foreign cloth and to use only Khadi? And if India is not to have that ability, will it not also be proof that India is unfit for any higher sacrifice and therefore unfit for helping Turkey?) Let us all work for complete boycott of foreign cloth and the manufacture of the required quantity of Khadi and we shall be in sight of the heaven.

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A suggestion was seriously put forth at Lucknow that we should boycott Ralli Bros., a Greek firm, and avenge ourselves against the Greeks and should invite the labourers to stop work on the export cargo. The suggestions, it seems to me, are as absurd as they are impossible to carry out. Assume for one moment that we can in a moment extinguish the business of Ralli Bros., how can that affect the Greeks? Ralli Bros. do not send all or a great part of their flour to Greece. Theirs is a world trade. And it is more difficult to deal with their trade than with Swadeshi. Any such attempt, apart from its inherent wrong, can only expose us to well-deserved ridicule. Interference with the labourers working on export cargo is equally fantastic. If we had such absolute control over the masses, we should have won our battle long ago. To stop the export of cargo requires not only a permanent or an indefinitely long stoppage of work by the existing labourers, but it presupposes our ability to stop any replacement of withdrawn labour. I fear we are not organised enough for the work. Any such attempt can only end in failure if not worse.

The only feasible suggestion is the immediate taking up of Civil Disobedience. I am convinced that the country is not ready for its adoption on an extensive scale. (It can be safely and successfully adopted, if the country evinces sufficient organising ability, resourcefulness and discipline necessary for bringing the eminently practical Swadeshi enterprise to a successful end.) Let us hope and pray that the country will.

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*8th September, 1921*

## THE MEANING OF THE KHILAFAT

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

I continue to receive letters from far and near, warning me against my interest in the Khilafat. Here is a typical letter from an old friend from New Zealand :

> Just a few lines to say I do not forget you. Were I in danger of so doing, the cables that often appear in our papers would prevent me forgetting. I see you have a mighty problem you are trying to solve in regard to India. Whether you are facing it in the wisest way I cannot say, for I am not in a position to judge. I would esteem it a favour, if you would hand enclosed post office order for 10/- to the publisher of your paper, *Young India*. I think it is called, if it is published in English, or to the publisher of any paper in English representing your side of the case. Perhaps as an old friend, I may be borne with if I speak freely, even although I should be speaking without full knowledge. It always grieved me that you should be an arch-supporter of the Turkish Empire, and that the Khilafat qestion should be turned to political ends to undermine and cripple and confuse the administration of British Government of India. Turkey's crimes against Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians call to heaven for judgment. I wonder how far the Moslems in their All-India Khilafat Congress during recent years protested against those atrocities, and dissociated themselves from the Turkish policy of examination of a noble, excellent, industrious and gentle race (the Armenians). The blood of these martyrs will cry to heaven for justice, and not one can be forgotton by Him who marks the sparrow's fall. If Turkey's history has been one of rapine and massacre, is it not therefore to be shorn of its power as no longer worthy to be trusted with it? If political power is not to be used to maintain justice, freedom and fraternity of tributary races, but is to be used for oppression, persecution, examination, robbery and rapine, is such a nation not to be judged by other powers and deprived of her power to continue a malevolent way? To be shorn of political power need not deprive Islam of its spiritual weapons, if it has such. By its spiritual force let it live, or die if it has not such. Political

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power is a curse to any religion, and history shows it has often been used tyrannically, *e.g.*, the Roman Catholic Church.

I do not know what are exactly the aims of the Non-co-operators, but it would appear they have come to object, *in toto*, to any British officials in the country. Rome was not built in a day, and a constitution cannot be framed ahead of the conditions of a country. Suppose all British officials were to leave bag and baggage to-morrow and Natives put in their place, would the administration be as pure as it is, would justice be done everywhere through the courts of your great country? I understand that the Indians fear the native police, and their officials (natives) are peculiarly open to bribery and corruption. Before a people can be self-governing, there must be a basis of national *character* on which to build, and with which to build, and has the day come, when there are forces running through your various spheres of social, educational and political life that are regenerative and purifying?

Political propaganda, if evolutionary, may easily attract the basest and most malevolent among men, and if they capture the control of machinery of organisation, the blind and more than blind will lead those who follow their dictum to the pit. I am sure that you personally have not departed from your noble ideals and unselfish spirit of patriotism and justice, and freedom of soul, but there may be great slumbering forces awakened in the state of society around you that may carry you far beyond the points of wisdom and measures that make for true national well-being. Your country has all the elements that might make India a Russia, a Sinn Fein Ireland, a land of civil war, inter-tribal bloodshed. Division may easily spread through a land like India, your independent princes become arrayed on opposing sides, and no strong controlling unifying power be forthcoming to preserve peace, conserve progress and lead the way to *fuller* national life. Your pathway must be surrounded by snares and pitfalls which you can only escape by a clear vision of the will of God and unfaltering adherence thereto. As long as you coincide with the wishes of the popular clamour, there will be many who will cry "Hosanna" and will strew your path with palm leaves, but if you adhere to the high principles of the vision of God, the same people will cry, "crucify him, away with him". You know the parallel. He unfalteringly followed the will of God and they rejected Him. His aims were too pure, His kingdom too spiritual, His methods too divine. He died, but God raised Him up and made that resurrection the

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...e of the world's thought, made Him meet the need of all the men as Saviour, High Priest to represent, King to rule over.

Courage, brother; do not stumble,
Though thy path be dark as night;
There's a star to guide the humble:
Trust in God and do the right.

Let the Road be rough and dreary
And its end far out of sight,
Foot it bravely, strong or weary,
Trust in God, and do the right.

Perish policy and cunning,
Perish all that fears the light.
Whether losing, whether winning,
Trust in God, and do the right,

Trust no party, sect or faction,
Trust no leaders in the fight;
But in every word and action
Trust in God and do the right.

Trust no lovely forms of passion,—
Friends may look like angels bright;
Trust no custom, school or fashion;
Trust in God and do the right.

Some will hate thee, some will love thee,
Some will flatter, some will slight;
Cease from man and look above thee,
Trust in God and do the right.

Simple rule, and safest guiding,
Inward peace, and inward might,
Star upon our path abiding,—
Trust in God, and do the right.

Courage, brother, do not stumble,
Though thy path be dark as night;
There's a star to guide the humble,
Trust in God, and do the right.

The great thing is to have Divine wisdom, the deep insight into principles and far-seeing wisdom of true statesmanship. You are doubtless familiar with the life of Abraham Lincoln, his clear-

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sighted vision, his aboslute integrity, tender-heartedness, humility, humour and humaneness.

I often say to my friends, "If you heard Mr. Gandhi on the great grievances that exist under the present order of things, you would understand his opposition."

The question is, what is the best way for the welfare of India to correct existing abuses. Strikes, violence arouse passions, and a hundred discontents and ill-feeling, and in most cases defeat their own ends. Reforms must come along constitutional lines, if the gain is to be accompanied by good feeling and unity and peace. Gains by revolutionary means cannot be a natural evolution. From my distant corner I can only earnestly pray, that God may guide and make you an instrument for the true well-being of India.

The warmth and the sincerity are unmistakable. I know the friend to be a devout God-fearing Christian. But it must be evident to any one who knows anything about the Turkish question, that my correspondent is strongly prejudiced against the Turks. His pictures of the Armenians as 'a noble, excellent, industrious and gentle race' betrays the extent of his ignorance about the question. He cannot be blamed for it. The Turkish side has been sedulously kept from the English-reading public. All these good Christians scattered about in different parts of the world have only one class of reading presented to them. The missionary journals are fanatically, I was going to say, criminally anti-Turkish and anti-Islam. The very word charity about which St. Paul wrote so magnificently is absent from the minds of the writers in the missionary journals, when they write about Islam and Turky. The Turk is to them the arch-infidel created by God only to be cursed. It is this prejudiced but honest attitude that stands in the way of Truth and Justice.

I have no desire to defend Turkey against the Armenians or the Greeks. I am not prepared to deny Turkish misrule or misdeeds. But the Greeks and the

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Armenians have an infinitely worse record. What is more, the defence of the Khilafat is the defence of a pure ideal. It is not necessary to defend the conduct of individual Popes in order to support the institution of Papacy. Oppose all Turkish misrule by all means, but it is wicked to seek to efface the Turk and with him Islam from Europe under the false plea of Turkish misrule.

What is still worse is that the defeat of the Central Powers should be utilised to crush Islam. Was the late War a crusade against Islam, in which the Musalmans of India were invited to join? To say that the Musalmans may have any one they choose as their spiritual head, but that they may not interfere with the disintegration of Turkey, is not to know the Khilafat. The Khalifa must ever be the Defender of the Faith of the Prophet, and therefore nobody can become or remain Khalifa, immediately he is deprived of or loses the power of defending Islam against the whole world. One may dispute the ethics of the doctrine in the abstract, but England is not engaged in a war against Islam because it is unethical. In that case, England has to renounce her association with millions whose faith is divorced from ethics.

As a matter of fact, is there anything immoral in a religion seeking to sustain itself by possession of temporal power? In practice, has not Christianity been sustained by temporal power? And even in Hinduism, have not Rajput Kings been custodians of Hinduism?

What I venture to commend to the many Christians who honestly think like my friend, is to join the defence of the Khilafat as an ideal, and thus recognise that the struggle of Non-co-operation is one of religion against irreligion.

For my part I have the clearest possible conscience in

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this matter. The end to me is just. I fight to bolster up no fraud or injustice. The means are equally just. In the prosecution of the fight, Truth and Non-violence are the only weapons. Self-suffering is the truest test of sincerity.

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*9th June, 1920*

## THE MAHOMEDAN DECISION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Khilafat meeting at Allahabad has unanimously reaffirmed the principle of Non-co-operation and appointed an executive committee to lay down and enforce a detailed programme*. This meeting was preceded by a

* In the issue of *Young India*, dated 5th May, Mr. Gandhi wrote, under the heading, "How to work Non-co-operation": "Perhaps the best way of answering the fears and criticism as to Non-co-operation is to elaborate more fully the scheme of Non-co-operation. The critics seem to imagine that the organisers propose to give effect to the whole scheme at once. The fact however is that the organisers have fixed definite, progressive four stages. The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response received is not effective, recourse will be had to the second stage. The second stage involves much previous arrangement. Certainly not a single servant will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependents or the Khilafat Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any pressure be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government service. Nor will a single private employee be touched for the simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not even anti-Government. Co-operation is to be withdrawn because the people must not be party to a wrong—a broken pledge—a violation of deep religious sentiment. Naturally, the movement will receive a check if there is any undue influence brought to bear upon any Government servant or if any violence is used or countenanced by any member of the Khilafat Committee. The second stage must be entirely successful, if the

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joint Hindu-Mahomedan meeting at which Hindu leaders response is at all on an adequate scale. For no Government—much less the Indian Government—can subsist if the people cease to serve it. The withdrawal therefore of the police and the military—the third stage—is a distant goal. The organisers however wanted to be fair, open and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from the Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation even as a remote contingency. The fourth, *i.e.*, suspension of taxes, is still more remote. The organisers recognise that suspension of general taxation is fraught with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a sensitive class in conflict with the police. They are therefore not likely to embark upon it, unless they can do so with the assurance that there will be no violence offered by the people." "I admit as I have already done", continued Mr. Gandhi, "that Non-co-operation is not unattended with risk, but the risk of supineness in the face of a grave issue is infinitely greater than the danger of violence ensuing from organizing Non-co-operation. To do nothing is to invite violence for a certainty".

After pointing out that Non-co-operation is the only way to avoid violence, Mr. Gandhi continued: "There is however one formidable argument urged by friends against my joining the Khilafat movement. They say that it ill becomes me, a friend of the English and an admirer of the British constitution, to join hands with those who are to-day filled with nothing but ill-will against the English. I am sorry to have to confess that the ordinary Mahomedan entertains today no affection for Englishmen. He considers, not without some cause, that they have not played the game. But if I am friendly towards Englishmen, I am no less so towards my countrymen, the Mahomedans. And as such they have a greater claim upon my attention than Englishmen. My personal religion however enables me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishmen or for that matter anybody else. What I am not prepared to do to my blood-brother I would not do to an Englishman. I would withdraw co-operation from him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother (now deceased) when it became necessary. I serve the Empire by refusing to partake in its wrong. William Stead offered public prayers for British reverses at the time of the Boer war because he considered that the nation to which he belonged was engaged in an unrighteous war. The present Prime Minister risked his life in opposing that war and did everything he could to obstruct his own Government in its prosecution.

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were invited to give their views. Mrs. Besant*, the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji, the Hon'bles Dr. Sapru†, Motilal Nehru‡, Chintamani§ and others were present at the meeting. It was a wise step on the part of the Khilafat Committee to invite Hindus representing all shades of thought to give them the benefit of their advice. Mrs. Besant and Dr. Sapru strongly dissuaded the Mahomedans present from the policy of Non-co-operation. The

* Mrs. Annie Besant was a leading figure in Indian politics from 1915–1919 as an Extremist leader. She subsequently threw in her lot with the Moderates and became a most determined anti-Non-co-operationist.

† A Moderate leader of Allahabad, subsequently appointed Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

‡ A rich Advocate enjoying a princely practice in the United Provinces; subsequently became a Non-co-operator.

§ A (Moderate) journalist and editor of the *Leader* of Allahabad; subsequently became a Minister in the United Provinces Government.

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And to-day if I have thrown in my lot with the Mahomedans a large number of whom bear no friendly feelings towards the British, I have done so frankly as a friend of the British and with the object of gaining justice and of thereby showing the capacity of the British constitution to respond to every honest determination when it is coupled with suffering. I hope by my 'alliance' with the Mahomedans to achieve a threefold end—to obtain justice in the face of odds with the method of Satyagraha and to show its efficacy over all other methods, to secure Mahomedan friendship for the Hindus and thereby internal peace also, and last but not least to transform ill-will into affection for the British and their constitution which in spite of its imperfections, has weathered many a storm. I may fail in achieving any of the ends. I can but attempt. God alone can grant success. It will not be denied that the ends are all worthy. I invite Hindus and Englishmen to join me in a full-hearted manner in shouldering the burden the Mahomedans of India are carrying. Theirs is admittedly a just fight. The Viceroy, the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha have testified to it. Time has arrived to make good the testimony. People with a just cause are never satisfied with a mere protest. They have been known to die for it. Are a high spirited people like the Mahomedans expected to do less?

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other Hindu speakers made non-committal speeches. Whilst the other Hindu speakers approved of the principle of Non-co-operation in theory, they saw many practical difficulties and they feared also complications arising from Mahomedans welcoming an Afghan invasion of India. The Mahomedan speakers gave the fullest and frankest assurances that they would fight to a man any invader who wanted to conquer India, but they were equally frank in asserting that any invasion from without undertaken with a view to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy if not their actual support. It is easy enough to understand and justify the Hindu caution. It is difficult to resist the Mahomedan position. In my opinion, the best way to prevent India from becoming the battle ground between the forces of Islam and those of the English is for Hindus to make Non-co-operation a complete and immediate success, and I have little doubt that, if the Mahomedans remain true to their declared intention and are able to exercise self-restraint and make sacrifices, the Hindus will "play the game" and join them in the campaign of Non-co-operation. I feel equally certain that the Hindus will not assist Mahomedans in promoting or bringing about an armed conflict between the British Government and their allies, and Afghanistan. British forces are too well organised to admit of any successful invasion of the Indian frontier. The only way, therefore, the Mahomedans can carry on an effective struggle on behalf of the honour of Islam is to take up Non-co-operation in real earnest. It will not only be completely effective if it is adopted by the people on an extensive scale, but it will also provide full scope for individual conscience. If I cannot bear an injustice done by an individual or a corporation, and if

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I am directly or indirectly instrumental in upholding that individual or corporation, I must answer for it before my Maker; but I have done all it is humanly possible for me to do consistently with the moral code that refuses to injure even the wrong-doer, if I cease to support the injustice in the manner described above. In applying therefore such a great force, there should be no haste, there should be no temper shown. Non-co-operation must be and remain absolutely a voluntary effort. The whole thing, then, depends upon Mahomedans themselves. If they will but help themselves, Hindu help will come and the Government, great and mighty though it is, will have to bend before this irresistible force. No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation.

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*23rd June, 1920*

## THE NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding and misconception about the Non-co-operation Committee appointed by the Khilafat Committee at Allahabad on the 3rd instant. A friend who was present at the meeting writes to say that the Committee was formed for the purpose of giving full effect to Non-co-operation and to act in all matters in connection with it as if it was representative of the whole Mussalman population of India even in the matter of making representations to the authorities. That this was not the Committee's scope is the purpose of this writing to show.

As I stated its objects when I invited the formation of the Committee, they were to ascertain and enforce the

wish of the nation on Non-co-operation. Whilst it is a representative body with full powers to act, it cannot be said—it is not intended—to represent all the best and the most influential Mahomedan opinion. It does not, for instance, represent the titled nobility in Islam. It is no fault in the Committee. It has been purposely restricted to those who are able to give their whole time and attention to the work of organising Non-co-operation and in the process of ensuring obedience to instructions, other discipline and non-violence. It is therefore a Committee of workers. It is not expected that the whole of the Mussalman India will be equally strong in Non-co-operation. Some doubt its efficacy, others consider it to be a milk and water remedy, some dread it as being too strong for India in her present stage, they say she has not developed the measure of sacrifice at present to ensure success. The Committee does not represent or contain such doubting elements, though they may otherwise be much more influential than many Mussalmans who are on the Committee. It contains those only who have the largest faith in Non-co-operation and who, although they swear by it, yet will not force the pace to the breaking point but will endeavour to carry the nation with its programme in so far as it is practicable, and who, whilst doing so, will not themselves be deterred from taking the boldest steps and will seek out those who are prepared to do likewise. This Committee, therefore, starting without any, has to build its reputation upon its work and upon results it may achieve. It will cease to exist if it shows no work or in spite of work shows no results. For outsiders it has the least representative capacity. Shaukat is an amiable man but a rabid fanatic carrying no Ali weight with anybody, Hasrat Mohani a useless man who thinks of

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nothing but Swadeshi, Dr. Kitchlew a man of yesterday with no experience of the world outside Amritsar. Much the same may be said against the others. I am no doubt a superior person but after all a crank and an interloper at that. Any representation signed by it will carry little weight with the outside world in so far as it depends upon the influence of the signatories. It does not therefore mean that it will never make representations. It certainly will, when swiftness is of the essence or when others for reasons of expediency or otherwise are not prepared to sign representations. Indeed canvassing of signatures to weighty representations will be one of the means of gauging public opinion and testing the spirit of sacrifice among the elite of the land. For the masses and for internal work, however, the Committee is the most representative. It is difficult perhaps to find two men more representative of Mussalman opinion than Shaukat Ali and Hasrat Mohani. The others though less known have been chosen for the qualities of strength, perseverance, patience, calmness, truthfulness, courage under difficulty and sacrifice, believed to be possessed by them.

It has been suggested that I am to lead the movement. The statement is only partially true.* I say this not out

* Mr. Gandhi's connection with the movement is further explained in the famous letter he addressed to the Viceroy regarding the inauguration of Non-co-operation. He wrote:

Your Excellency,—As one who has enjoyed a certain measure of your Excellency's confidence, and as one who claims to be a devoted well-wisher of the British Empire, I owe it to your Excellency, and through your Excellency to His Majesty's Ministers, to explain my connection with and my conduct in the Khilafat Question.

At the very earliest stage of the war, even whilst I was in London organising the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps, I began to interest myself in the Khilafat Question. I perceived how deeply moved the little Mussalman World in London was when Turkey decided to throw in her lot with Germany. On my arrival in India in the January

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of humility merely but it is a literal fact. If the belief gains ground that I am leading the movement, it may prove fatal to it. I am leading the movement in the sense that I am the adviser whose advice is most acceptable to-day and who has the determination not surpassed by anybody to carry out the programme of Non-co-operation. But I do not pretend to represent Mussalman opinion. I can only try to interpret it. I could not stand alone and expect to carry the Mussalman masses with me. I should be very properly hooted out by a

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of 1915, I found the same anxiousness and earnestness among the Mussalmans with whom I came in contact. Their anxiety became intense when the information about the Secret Treaties leaked out. Distrust of British intentions filled their minds, and despair took possession of them. Even at that moment I advised my Mussalman friends not to give way to despair, but to express their fear and their hopes in a disciplined manner. It will be admitted that the whole of Mussalman India has behaved in a singularly restrained manner during the past five years, and that the leaders have been able to keep the turbulent sections of their community under complete control.

The peace terms and your Excellency's defence of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate ministerial pledges and utterly disregard Mussalman sentiment. I consider that, as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion, their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be *punished* if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment on their own Khalifa or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussalman attitude has been consistent throughout these five years.

My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty requires me to resist the cruel violence that has been done to the Mussalman sentiment. So far as I am aware, Mussalmans and Hindus have as a whole lost faith in British justice and honour. The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee, Your Excellency's despatch thereon and Mr. Montagu's reply have only aggravated the distrust.

In these circumstances, the only course open to one like me is either

mixed Mussalman audience if I tried to make a point against the best Mussalman opinion in matters of religion. But if I were a Mussalman, I would not mind contesting issues before a Mussalman meeting in the face of heavy odds against me. I consider myself to be a sagacious worker and my sagacity means no more and no less than a fine perception of my limitations. I hope I never travel beyond my limits. Certainly I have never done so consciously. It is necessary for every intelligent Mussalman to bear in mind my limitations and the scope

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in despair to sever all connection with British rule, or, if I still retained faith in the inherent superiority of the British constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done, and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such superiority and I am not without hope that somehow or other justice will yet be rendered if we show the requisite capacity for suffering. Indeed, my conception of that constitution is that it helps only those who are ready to help themselves. I do not believe that it protects the weak. It gives free scope to the strong to maintain their strength and develop it. The weak under it go to the wall.

It is, then, because I believe in the British constitution that I have advised my Mussalman friends to withdraw their support from Your Excellency's Government, and the Hindus to join them, should the peace terms not be revised in accordance with the solemn pledges of Ministers and the Muslim sentiment.

Three courses were open to the Mahomedans in order to mark their emphatic disapproval of the utter injustice to which His Majesty's Ministers have become party, if they have not actually been the prime perpetrators of it. They are:

(1) To resort to violence.

(2) To advise emigration on a wholesale scale.

(3) Not to be party to the injustice by ceasing to co-operate with the Government.

Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the boldest, though the most thoughtless, among the Mussalmans favoured violence, and the "*Hijrat*" (emigration) has not yet ceased to be the battle-cry. I venture to claim that I have succeeded by patient reasoning in weaning the party of violence from its ways. I confess

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of my function. Ignorance is likely to prove fatal to the success of the movement. My connection with it must not stupefy workers into indolence or indifference. My connection should mean, if it is to be productive of good results, greater watchfulness, greater sense of responsibility, greater capacity and willingness for work and greater efficiency. I can think out plans but execution must ever rest with Mussalman workers. The movement must be worked and led by them with the assistance of friends like me but also without, if need be. I must not be expected to make Non-co-operators;

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that I did not—I did not attempt to—succeed in weaning them from violence on moral grounds, but purely on utilitarian grounds. The result, for the time being at any rate, has however been to stop violence. The school of "Hijrat" has received cheack, if it has not stopped its activity entirely. I hold that no repression could have prevented a violent eruption, if the people had not presented to them a form of direct action involving considerable sacrifice and ensuring success if such direct action was largely taken up by the public. Non-co-operation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action. For it is the right recognised from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules.

At the same time I admit that Non-co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussalmans of India, no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to run some risks now will be to court much greater risks if not virtual destruction of Law and Order.

But there is yet an escape from Non-co-operation. The Mussalman representation has requested your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself, as did your distinguished predecessor at the time of the South African trouble. But if you cannot see your way to do so, and Non-co-operation becomes a dire necessity, I hope that your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and myself the credit for being actuated by nothing less than a stern sense of duty.

Laburnam Road,
Gamdevi, Bombay,
22nd June, 1920.

I have the honour to remain,
Your Excellency's faithful servant,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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Mussalman leaders alone can make them. No amount of sacrifice on my part will produce in the Mussalman world the spirit of Non-co-operation, *i.e.*, sacrifice in a matter of religion. The Mussalman leaders will have to show it in their own persons before the masses evolve it.

And now the question, why there are no Hindu leaders on the Committee, is easily answered. The supreme Committee can only be purely Mussalman. My presence too, I consider as an evil but it is a necessary evil because of my qualifications. I have specialised in Non-co-operation. I have successfully experimented with it. The resolution about Non-co-operation was conceived by me at the conference at Delhi. I am on the Committee therefore as a specialist and not because I am a Hindu. My function is, therefore, of an adviser merely. That I happen to be a staunch Hindu with the conviction that every Hindu should consider it to be his duty to go with the Mussalmans the full length in Non-co-operation, is no doubt an advantage to the Committee. But that advantage was at its disposal whether I was on it or not.

Whilst I am considering the Hindu connection with the Khilafat movement, even at the risk of repetition, I would like to clear up my own position. As I consider the Muslim claim to be intrinsically (as distinguished from religiously) just, I propose to go with them to the extent of fullest Non-co-operation. And I consider it to be perfectly consistent with my loyalty to the British connection. But I would not go with the Mussalmans in any campaign of violence. I could not help them in promoting, for instance, an invasion of India through Afghanistan or otherwise for the purpose of forcing better peace terms. It is, I hold, the duty of every Hindu to resist any inroad on India even for the purpose

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specified as it is his duty to help his Mussalman brethren to satisfy their just demands by means of Non-co-operation or other form of suffering, no matter how great, so long as it does not involve loss of India's liberty or inflicting of violence on any person. And I have thrown myself whole-heartedly into the Non-co-operation movement if only because I want to prevent any such armed conflict.

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*30th June, 1920*

## THE MUSSALMAN REPRESENTATION*

(By M. K. GANDHI)

Slowly but surely the Mussalmans are preparing for the battle before them. They have to fight against odds that are undoubtedly heavy but not half as heavy as the prophet had against him. How often did he not put his life in danger? But his faith in God was unquenchable. He went forward with a light heart, for God was on his side, for he represented truth. If his followers have half the prophet's faith and half his spirit of sacrifice

*In pursuance of the Allahabad decision, both Mr. Gandhi (*See* p. 197) and the Muslim leaders issued manifestoes declaring that they would resort to Non-co-operation if by the 1st of August 1921 the peace terms were not revised and calling upon the Viceroy to resign his office if the Muslim demands were refused by his Majesty's Government. The following is the representation sent under date Bombay, 22nd June, to H. E. the Viceroy on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans by many prominent leaders including the Hon. Mr. Mazrul Haque, Mr. Yakub Hasan, Moulana Abdul Bari, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Azad:

"We, the undersigned, claim to represent the largest body of Sunni Muslim opinion. We have most carefully read the Turkish peace terms, and we consider them to be in direct violation of the religious sentiments of Mussalmans. They violate the obligations imposed

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the odds will be presently even and will in a little while turn against the despoilers of Turkey. Already the rapacity of the Allies is telling against themselves. France finds her task difficult. Greece cannot stomach her ill-gotten gains. And England finds Mesopotamia a tough job. The oil of Mosul may feed the fire she has so wantonly lighted and burn her fingers badly. The newspapers say the Arabs do not like the presence of the Indian soldiery in their midst. I do not wonder. They are a fierce and a brave people and do not understand why Indian soldiers should find themselves in Mesopotamia. Whatever the fate of Non-co-operation, I wish that not a single Indian will offer his services for Mesopotamia whether for the civil or the military

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upon Sunnis and wound the susceptibilities of all Mussalmans. They are contrary to the pledges of British Ministers on the strength of which it has been admitted it was possible to draw upon India for Muslim recruits during the war.

"We hold that the British Empire which is "the greatest Mahomedan Power" in the world cannot treat the Turkish Empire, which represents the Khilafat, in the same manner that it may treat a defeated enemy. Indeed we contend that in certain respects Turkey has been treated worse than the other Powers. We respectfully submit that in the treatment of Turkey the British Government are bound to respect Indian Muslim sentiment in so far as it is neither unjust or unreasonable. In our opinion, the position taken up by Indian Mussalmans is simple. They cannot bear the thought of the temporal power of the Sultan being adversely affected by way of punishment for his having joined Germany under circumstances which need not be examined here. But we have no desire to ask for anything that would interfere with the principle of self-determination. We have no desire to uphold any misrule such as has been attributed to Turkey. Our delegates in Europe have asked for an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the charge of wanton cruelty said to have been practised by Turkish soldiers in Armenia. We cannot look with indifference upon the partition of Turkey and her Empire for the sake of punishing or humiliating her.

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department. We must learn to think for ourselves and before entering upon any employment find out whether thereby we may not make ourselves instruments of injustice. Apart from the question of Khilafat and from the point of abstract justice, the English have no right to hold Mesopotamia. It is no part of our loyalty to help the Imperial Government in what is in plain language daylight robbery. If therefore we seek civil or military employment in Mesopotamia, we do so for the sake of earning a livelihood. It is our duty to see that the source is not tainted.

It surprises me to find so many people shirking over the very mention of Non-co-operation. There is no instrument so clean, so harmless and yet so effective

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"We would therefore request your Excellency and your Government to ask His Majesty's Ministers to secure a revision of the peace terms and tell them that on failure to do so, your Excellency will make common cause with the people of India. We make this suggestion as your Excellency has repeatedly declared that your Government has consistently and often pressed upon the attention of His Majesty's Ministers the case of Indian Mussalmans in this matter of vital concern to the vast majority of them. We feel, therefore, that we have a right to ask your Excellency to re-assure the Mussalmans of India that they still retain your active co-operation and powerful advocacy in the prosecution of their claims even to the point of resignation of your high office, should His Majesty's Ministers fail to secure a revision of the terms consistently with the pledges and the sentiment mentioned above. We venture, respectfully to suggest that had India been a Dominion enjoying full self-government, her responsible ministers would have, as a matter of course, resigned as a protest against such a serious breach of pledges and flouting of religious opinion as are involved in the peace terms.

If unfortunately your Excellency will not adopt our humble suggestion, we shall be obliged as from the first August next to withdraw co-operation from the Government and to ask our co-religionists and Hindu brethren to do likewise.

We ask your Excellency not to regard our statement as a threat or

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as Non-co-operation. Judiciously hauled it need not produce any evil consequences. And its intensity will depend purely on the capacity of the people for sacrifice.

The chief thing is to prepare the atmosphere of Non-co-operation. "We are not going to co-operate with you in your injustice," is surely the right and the duty of every intelligent subject to say. Were it not for our utter servility, helplessness and want of confidence in ourselves, we would certainly grasp this clean weapon and make the most effective use of it. Even the most despotic government cannot stand except for the consent of the governed which consent is often forcibly procured by the despot. Immediately the subject ceases to fear the despotic force, his power is gone. But the British Government is never and nowhere entirely or even

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in any way as a mark of disrespect. We claim to be as loyal subjects of the Crown as any in India. But we consider our loyalty to an earthly sovereign to be subservient to our loyalty to Islam. The latter enjoins upon every Mussalman to consider those who wantonly injure the status of the Khalifa to be enemies of Islam and to resist them with arms if necessary. We recognise that even if we had the power we must not resort to arms so long as any other means are at our disposal. We feel that the least that a Mussalman can do in these circumstances is not to assist those who are guilty of trying to reduce the Khilafat practically to nothingness. It would therefore become our popular duty to refuse to co-operate with a Government which accepts the peace terms and advises acceptance thereof by us.

"We shall hope that such a serious step as Non-co-operation will not become necessary, but should it unfortunately happen to be otherwise, we assure your Excellency that we shall strive our utmost to avoid violence. We fully recognise our responsibility. We know that any eruption of violence must check and injure the peaceful demonstration contemplated by us and what is more the sacred cause which is dear to us as life. We shall therefore take up Non-co-operation in progressive stages and so as to cause the least necessary dislocation or embarrassment to the Government and so as to enable us to control and discipline popular feeling."

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chiefly laid upon force. It does make an honest attempt to secure the goodwill of the governed. But it does not hesitate to adopt unscrupulous means to compel the consent of the governed. It has not gone beyond the 'Honesty is the best policy' idea. It therefore bribes you into consenting to its will by awarding titles, medals and ribbons, by giving you employment, by its superior financial ability to open for its employees avenues for enriching themselves and finally when these fail, it resorts to force. That is what Sir Michael O'Dwyer did and that is almost every British administrator will certainly do if he thought it necessary. If, then, we would not be greedy, if we would not run after titles and medals and honorary posts which do the country no good, half the battle is won.

My advisers are never tired of telling me that, even if the Turkish peace terms are revised, it will not be due to Non-co-operation. I venture to suggest to them that Non-co-operation has a higher purpose than mere revision of the terms. If I cannot compel revision, I must at least cease to support a government that becomes party to the usurpation. And if I succeed in pushing Non-co-operation to the extreme limit, I do compel the Government to choose between India and the usurpation. I have faith enough in England to know that at that moment England will expel her present jaded ministers and put in others who will make a clean sweep of the terms in consultation with an awakening India, draft terms that will be honourable to her, to Turkey and acceptable to India.

But I hear my critics say, "India has not the strength of purpose and the capacity for the sacrifice to achieve such a noble end." They are partly right. India has not these qualities now, because we have not—shall we

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not evolve them and infect the nation with them? Is not the attempt worth making? Is any sacrifice too great to gain such a great purpose?

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*14th July, 1920*

## THE LAW OF MAJORITIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mrs. Besant having read a report of my speech at the Punjab Meeting organised by the Home Rule Leagues and the National Union, Bombay, and having therein seen that I had moved the resolution asking for the prosecution of General Dyer and the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, asks how I could move a resolution whose terms I had not approved. Mr. Shastriar has also felt uneasy about the same act. I have not seen any report of my speech. I am unable to say therefore whether I am correctly reported. My speech was in Gujerati and may have suffered at the hands of the translating reporter. I shall endeavour to explain my own position independently of the reports of my speech. And I do so gladly because I recognise that the principle raised by the two great leaders is very important.

I have often been charged with having an unyielding nature. I have been told that I would not bow to the decision of the majority. I have been accused of being autocratic. Now on the occasion of the Punjab Meeting, I was pressed to move a resolution which did not commend itself to me. I undertook to do so reserving to myself the right to expressing emphatic opinion to the contrary. And I did so. I have never been able to subscribe to the charge of obstinacy or autocracy. On the contrary, I pride myself on my yielding nature in

non-vital matters. I detest autocracy. Valuing my freedom and independence I equally cherish them for others. I have no desire to carry a single soul with me if I cannot appeal to his or her reason. My unconventionality I carry to the point of rejecting the divinity of the oldest Shastras if they cannot convince my reason. But I have found by experience that, if I wish to live in society and still retain my independence, I must limit the points of utter independence to matters of first rate importance. In all others which do not involve a departure from one's personal religion or moral code, one must yield to the majority. In the case in question, I had an opportunity of illustrating my position. Of my so-called unyielding nature, the country had abundant illustration. It was happy to find a great occasion where I could safely yield. I believe still that the country is wrong in asking for General Dyer's prosecution and Sir Michael O'Dwyer's impeachment. That is purely the business of the British. My purpose is to secure the removal of the wrong-doers from any office under the Crown. Nothing I have seen since has altered my view. And I pressed it before the very meeting at which I moved the resolution in question. Yet I moved it, because there is nothing immoral in asking for General Dyer's prosecution. The country has the right to demand it. The Congress Sub-Committee has advised that waiver of that right can only do good to India. I thought therefore that I had made my position quite clear, namely, that I still opposed the idea of prosecution, and yet I had no objection in moving the resolution that involved prosecution because it was not bad or harmful *per se*.

I admit however that, during the crisis we are passing through, my moving the resolution was a dangerous

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experiment. For, whilst we are evolving new codes of public conduct and trying to instruct, influence or lead the masses, it is not safe to do anything that is likely to confuse the mass mind or to appear to be 'truckling to the multitude.' I believe that at the present moment it is better to be 'dubbed' obstinate and autocratic than even to appear to be influenced by the multitude for the sake of its approbation. Those who claim to lead the masses must resolutely refuse to be led by them, if we want to avoid mob law and desire ordered progress for the country. I believe that mere protestation of one's opinion and surrender to the mass opinion is not only not enough but in matters of vital importance, leaders must *act* contrary to the mass of opinion if it does not commend itself to their reason.

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*21st July, 1920*

## AT THE CALL OF THE COUNTRY

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Dr. Sapru delivered before the Khilafat Conference* at Allahabad an impassioned address sympathising with the Mussalmans in their trouble but dissuaded them from embarking on Non-co-operation. He was frankly unable to suggest a substitute but was emphatically of opinion that, whether there was a substitute or not, Non-co-operation was a remedy worse than the disease. He said further that Mussalmans will be taking upon their shoulders a serious responsibility, if, whilst they

* A conference of leaders of all communities and parties was held at Allahabad on July to consider whether Non-co-peration was the remedy to gain justice for India in regard to the Khilafat wrong. (*See* p. 122).

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appealed to the ignorant masses to join them, they could not appeal to the Indian judges to resign and if they did, they would not succeed.

I acknowledge the force of Dr. Sapru's last argument. At the back of Dr. Sapru's mind is the fear that Non-co-operation by the ignorant people would lead to distress and chaos and would do no good. In my opinion, any Non-co-operation is bound to do some good. Even the Viceregal door-keeper saying, 'Please Sir, I can serve the Government no longer because it has hurt my national honour,' and resigning is a step mightier and more effective than the mightiest speech declaiming against the Government for its injustice.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to appeal to the door-keeper until one has appealed to the highest in the land. And as I propose, if the necessity arose, to ask the door-keepers of the Government to dissociate themselves from an unjust Government, I propose now to address an appeal to the Judges and the Executive Councillors to join the protest that is rising from all over India against the double wrong done to India, on the Khilfat and the Punjab questions. In both, national honour is involved.

I take it that these gentlemen have entered upon their high offices not for the sake of emolument, nor I hope for the sake of fame, but for the sake of serving their country. It was not for money, for, they were earning more than they do now. It must not be for fame, for, they cannot buy fame at the cost of national honour. The only consideration that can at the present moment keep them in office must be service of the country.

When the people have faith in the government, when it represents the popular will, the judges and the executive officials possibly serve the country. But when that government does not represent the will of the

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people, when it supports dishonesty and terrorism, the judges and the executive officials by retaining office become instruments of dishonesty and terrorism. And the least therefore that these holders of high offices can do is to cease to become agents of a dishonest and terrorising government.

For the judges the objection will be raised that they are above politics, and so they are and should be. But the doctrine is true only so far as the government is on the whole for the benefit of the people and at least represents the will of the majority. Not to take part in politics means not to take sides. But when a whole country has one mind, one will, when a whole country has been denied justice, it is no longer a question of party politics, it is a matter of life and death. It then becomes the duty of every citizen to refuse to serve a government which misbehaves and flouts national wish. The judges are at that moment bound to follow the nation if they are ultimately its servants.

There remains another argument to be examined. It applies to both the judges and the members of the executive. It will be urged that my appeal could only be meant for the Indians and what good can it do by Indians renouncing offices which have been won for the nation by hard struggle. I wish that I could make an effective appeal to the English as well as the Indians. But I confess that I have written with the mental reservation that the appeal is addressed only to the Indians. I must therefore examine the argument just stated. Whilst it is true that these offices have been secured after a prolonged struggle, they are of use not because of the struggle but because they are intended to serve the nation. The moment they cease to possess that quality, they become useless and as in the present

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case harmful, no matter how hard-earned and therefore valuable they may have been at the outset.

I would submit too to our distinguished countrymen who occupy high offices that their giving up their offices will bring the struggle to a speedy end and would probably obviate the danger attendant upon the masses being called upon to signify their disapproval by withdrawing co-operation. If the title-holders gave up their titles, if the holders of honorary offices gave up their appointments and if the high officials gave up their posts, and the would-be councillors boycott the councils, the Government would quickly come to its senses and give effect to the people's will. For, the alternative before the Government then would be nothing but despotic rule pure and simple. That would probably mean military dictatorship. The world's opinion has advanced so far that Britain dare not contemplate such dictatorship with equanimity. The taking of the steps suggested by me will constitute the peacefullest revolution the world has ever seen. Once the infallibility of Non-co-operation is realised, there is an end to all bloodshed and violence in any shape or form.

Undoubtedly a cause must be grave to warrant the drastic method of national Non-co-operation. I do say that the affront such as has been put upon Islam cannot be repeated for a century. Islam must rise now or 'be fallen' if not for ever, certainly for a century. And I cannot imagine a graver wrong than the massacre of Jallianwalla and the barbarity that followed it, the whitewash by the Hunter Committee, the dispatch of the Government of India, Mr. Montagu's letter upholding the Viceroy and the then Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, the refusal to remove officials who made of the lives of the Punjabis 'a hell' during the Martial Law

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period. These acts constitute a complete series of continuing wrongs against India, which, if India has any sense of honour, she must right at the sacrifice of all the material wealth she possesses. If she does not, she will have bartered her soul for a 'mess of pottage'.

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*28th July, 1920*

## THE FIRST OF AUGUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is hardly likely that before the 1st August there will be on the part of His Majesty's Ministers promise of a revision of the peace terms and the consequent suspension of the inauguration of Non-co-operation. The first of August next will be as important an event in the history of India as was the 6th of April last year. The sixth of April marked the beginning of the end of the Rowlatt Act. No one can consider the Rowlatt Act can possibly live in the face of the agitation that has only been suspended—never given up. It must be clear to anyone that the power that wrests justice from an unwilling Government in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat will be the power that will secure repeal of the Rowlatt Act. And that power is the power of Satyagraha, whether it is known by the name of Civil Disobedience or Non-co-operation.

Many people dread the advent of Non-co-operation, because of the events of last year. They fear madness from the mob and consequent repetition of last year's reprisals almost unsurpassed in their ferocity in the history of modern times. Personally I do not mind Governmental fury as I mind mob fury. The latter is a sign of national distemper and therefore more difficult

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to deal with than the former which is confined to a small corporation. It is easier to oust a Government that has rendered itself unfit to govern than it is to cure unknown people in a mob of their madness. But great movements cannot be stopped altogether because a Government or a people or both go wrong. We learn and profit through our mistakes and failures. No general worth the name gives up a battle because he has suffered reverses, or which is the same thing, made mistakes. And so we must approach Non-co-operation with confidence and hope. As in the past, the commencement is to be marked by fasting and prayer—a sign of the religious character of the demonstration. There should also be on that day suspension of business, and meetings to pass resolutions praying for revision of the peace terms and justice for the Punjab and inculcating Non-co-operation until justice has been done.

The giving up of titles and honorary posts should also commence from the first of August. Doubt has been expressed as to the sufficiency of notice regarding surrender of titles and honorary posts. It is however quickly dispelled by bearing in mind that the first of August marks the commencement of the surrender of titles. It is not the only day on which surrender has to take place. Indeed I do not expect a very large response on the first day. A vigorous propaganda will have to be carried on and the message delivered to every title or post holder and the argument presented to him proving the duty of such surrender.

But the greatest thing in this campaign of Non-co-operation is to evolve order, discipline, co-operation among the people, co-ordination among the workers. Effective Non-co-operation depends upon complete organisation. Thousands of men who have filled meetings

throughout the Punjab have convinced me that the people want to withdraw co-operation from the Government but they must know how. Most people do not understand the complicated machinery of the Government. They do not realise that every citizen silently but nonetheless certainly sustains the government of the day in ways of which he has no knowledge. Every citizen therefore renders himself responsible for every act of his government. And it is quite proper to support it so long as the actions of the government are bearable. But when they hurt him and his nation, it becomes his duty to withdraw his support.

But as I have said, every citizen does not know how to do so in an orderly manner. Disorderliness comes from anger, orderliness out of intelligent resistance. The first condition therefore of real success is to ensure entire absence of violence. Violence done to persons representing the Government or to persons who don't join our ranks, *i.e.*, the supporters of the Government, means in every case retrogression in our case, cessation of Non-co-operation and useless waste of innocent lives. Those therefore who wish to make Non-co-operation a success in the quickest possible time will consider it their first duty to see that in their neighbourhood complete order is kept.

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# PART III

## THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-CO-OPERATION

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# PART III

## THE PRINCIPLES OF NON CO-OPERATION

*4th August, 1920*

ON 1st August, 1920, Mr. Gandhi addressed the following letter to the Viceroy, inaugurating the Non-co-operation Movement :

It is not without a pang that I return the Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal granted to me by your predecessor for my humanitarian work in South Africa, the Zulu war medal granted in South Africa for my services as officer in charge of the Indian volunteer ambulance corps in 1906 and the Boer war medal for my services as assistant superintendent of the Indian volunteer stretcher bearer corps during the Boer war of 1899-1900. I venture to return these medals in pursuance of the scheme of Non-co-operation inaugurated to-day in connection with the Khilafat movement. Valuable as these honours have been to me, I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Mussalman countrymen have to labour under a wrong done to their religious sentiment. Events that have happened during the past month have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a Government.

The attitude of the Imperial and Your Excellency's Governments on the Punjab question has given me additional cause for grave dissatisfaction. I had the honour, as Your Excellency is aware, as one of the congress commissioners to investigate the causes of the

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disorders in the Punjab during the April of 1919. And it is my deliberate conviction that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was totally unfit to hold the office of Lieutenant Governor of Punjab and that his policy was primarily responsible for infuriating the mob at Amritsar. No doubt the mob excesses were unpardonable; incendiatism, murder of five innocent Englishmen and the cowardly assault on Miss Sherwood were most deplorable and uncalled for. But the punitive measures taken by General Dyer, Col. Frank Johnson, Col. O'Brien Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Shri Ram Sud, Mr. Mallik Khan and other officers were out of all proportion to the crime of the people and amounted to wanton cruelty and inhumanity almost unparalleled in modern times. Your Excellency's light-hearted treatment of the official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's dispatch and above all the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of the feelings of Indians betrayed by the House of Lords, have filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government and have disabled me from tendering, as I have hitherto wholeheartedly tendered, my loyal co-operation.

In my humble opinion the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputations and the like is no remedy for moving to repentance a Government so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved to be. In European countries, condonation of such grievous wrongs as the Khilafat and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted at all cost national emasculation such as the said wrongs imply. But half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have therefore ventured to suggest the remedy of Non-co-operation which enables those who wish, to dissociate themselves from the Government and which, if it is unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner, must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed. But whilst I shall pursue the policy of Non-co-operation in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I therefore respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a conference of the recognised leaders of the people and in consultation with them find a way that would placate the Mussalmans and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab.

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*23rd February, 1921*

## NON-CO-OPERATION—ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE*

The following is published not for its originality but as an able contribution by a young Punjabi student who has non-co-operated lately :

There is no denying the truth contained in Thoreau's saying that that government is best which governs least and therefore an ideal government would be one which

* The following appeared in *Young India* further elucidating the ideas of Non-co-operation :

*Satyagraha. Civil Disobedience. Passive Resistance, Non-co-operation*—It is often my lot to answer knotty questions on all sorts of topics arising out of this great movement of national purification. A company of collegiate Non-co-operators asked me to define for them the terms which I have used as heading for this note. And even at this late day, I was seriously asked whether Satyagraha did not at imes warrant resistance by violence, as for instance, in the case of a sister whose virtue might be in danger from a desperado. I ventured to suggest that it was the completest defence without irritation, without being ruffled, to interpose one-self between the victim and the victimizer, and to face death. I added that this (for the assailant,) novel method of defence would, in all probability, exhaust his passion and he will no longer want to ravish an innocent woman, but would want to flee from her presence for very shame, and that, if he did not, the act of personal bravery on the part of her brother would steel her heart for putting up an equally brave defence and resisting the lust of man, turned brute for the while. And I thought I clinched my argument by saying that if, in spite of all the defence, the unexpected happened, and the physical force of the tyrant overpowered his victim, the disgrace would not be that of the woman, but of her assailant, and that both she and her brother, who died in the attempt to defend her virtue, would stand well before the Throne of Judgment. I do not warrant that my argument convinced my listener or that it would convince the reader. The world I know will go on as before. But it is well at this moment of self-examination to understand and appreciate the implications of the powerful movement of non-violence. All religions have emphasised the highest ideal, but all have more or less permitted departures as so many concessions to human weaknesses.

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governs not at all. In fact, the saying is a self-evident truth, for certainly an ideal state of society would be one in which everybody thought right and did right of

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I now proceed to summarise the explanations I gave of the various terms. It is beyond my capacity to give accurate and terse definitions.

Satyagraha, then, is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is, therefore, known as soul-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish. The word was coined in South Africa to distinguish the non-violent resistance of the Indians of South Africa from the contemporary 'passive resistance' of the suffragettes and others. It is not conceived as a weapon of the weak.

Passive resistance is used in the orthodox English sense and covers the suffragette movement as well as the resistance of the Non-conformists. Passive resistance has been conceived and is regarded as a weapon of the weak. Whilst it avoids violence, being not open to the weak, it does not exclude its use if, in the opinion of the passive resister, the occasion demands it. However, it has always been distinguished from armed resistance, and its application was at one time confined to Christian martyrs.

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 law, *i.e.*, payment of taxes, whereas the term Civil Disobedience, as practised in 1919, covered a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signified the resister's outlawry in a civil, *i.e.*, non-violent manner. He invoked the sanctions of the law and cheerfuly suffered imprisonment. It is a branch of Satyagraha.

Non-co-operation predominantly implies withdrawing of Co-operation from the State that in the Non-co-operator's view has become corrupt and excludes Civil Disobedience of the fierce type described above. By its very nature, Non-co-operation is even open 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

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his own accord without standing in need of any guidance or interference from outside. But since the state of our society is far from being perfect and some measure of

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as a last resort and by a select few in the first instance at any rate. Non-co-operation, too, like Civil Disobedience is a branch of Sathyagraha which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth.—M. K. G. in *Young India* of 21st March, 1921.

*Co-operation and Non-co-operation defined*—It is no small thing for the country, that Dwijendranath Tagore fondly known as Bada Dada by his friends, follows with keen attention even in his old age and in his seclusion at Shantiniketan all that is going on in the country. Mr. Andrews has circulated a free translation of his latest thoughts on Non-co-operation. Although the whole of it is published in the daily press, I cannot resist reproducing his definitions of Co-operation and Non-co-operation; they are so true and telling. Writing of the former, he says, "Our rulers, in order to hide their despotic measures from the world's eye, dressed up a puppet show in the form of Legislative Councils, in which a few platform orators have been invited to co-operate. Our rulers believe that, by doing so, they have placed us under an eternal debt of gratitude, but in reality they have only added insult to injury. These Councils cling to us now, and threaten to choke us like the old man in the story of Sindbad, the sailor." "If this is the meaning of co-operation," proceeds Bada Dada, "according to our English rulers, then it is no very difficult matter to understand what Non-co-operation means to us. We shall never accept, even if it costs us our lives to refuse it, anything that will bring evil upon our country. That is Non-co-operation."—*Young India* of 14th July, 1920.

*Is Non-co-operation Sanyas?*—Mr. V. P. Madhavrao is reported to have said that Non-co-operation was impracticable, because it was *Sanyas*, and therefore could be resorted to only by unworldly men. But Non-co-operation cannot be dismissed quite so lightly. The ordinary method of condemning a thing is to give it a bad name. Mr. V. P. Madhavrao has discovered a novel method of condemnation. He gives a very ordinary thing a sacred name in order to pronounce his condemnation upon it. Sinn Feiners are resorting to Non-co-operation in a most acute form, and it would be like what is being preached in India if there was no violence in it. But nobody considers them to be *Sanyasis*. General Botha declined to co-operate with Lord Milner after the Boer War unless the Boers were granted full

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evil is almost always present in it, man parts with a fraction of his individual liberty in exchange for the sundry benefits which are expected to accrue from association with the State; and thus the institution called the State comes into existence.

The association of the individual with the State is thus a purely voluntary matter, and it is clear that the sole justification for the existence of the State is the assumption that it promotes the well-being of the people. This alone constitutes its claim to the allegiance of its subjects. Therefore, it goes without saying that, as soon as it begins to fail in its duty or begins to pass measures and frame laws which are contrary to the conscience and the best interests of the people, it loses its right to their allegiance, and it not only becomes necessary but a matter of religious duty for the people to withdraw their support from the State when the dictates of conscience require it.

But although, theoretically speaking, this association of the people with the State is, and ought to be, a purely voluntary affair, the State has everywhere grown to be a most formidable engine of tyranny and repression, of organised violence and plunder, by which a few persons

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self-government, not in stages as Lord Milner had intended, but all at once. He produced such a tremendous effect upon public opinion that the Boers got more than they wanted. General Smuts was one of the Non-co-operators. There was no violence connected with General Botha's Non-co-operation. Yet he was not by any means an unworldly man. And we know by this time that General Smuts, his right-hand man, is a minister of the Union Cabinet. The fact is that we want self-government, we want justice done in the Punjab and the Khilafat questions, without our having to suffer any inconvenience or losses. We submit that it is an impossible fact we are attempting. 'Verily there is no remission of sin without the shedding of (one's) blood'.—*Young India* of 14th July, 1920.

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govern and exploit the many. "Man is born free and yet," lamented Rousseau, "he is everywhere in chains," —this is the sad spectacle which to-day meets our sight on whatever side we turn.

All efforts made hitherto to cope with this evil have not only signally failed; they have, on the contrary, simply served to aggravate the evil. Democracy which at one time, it was hoped, would serve as a panacea for all social evils, has proved to be far worse than the lawless, feudal regime of the Middle Ages. It has simply replaced the erratic plundering raids of the "crag-barons" of the mediaeval times, with a silent, universal process of organised robbery of the modern capitalistic State, all the more dangerous because it lulls the people into a false sense of security while vampire-like it sucks their life-blood, all the more deadly because whereas, the "crag-baron" of the past times could only enslave the body, the modern "bag-baron" with the far bitter poison of his purse infects and destroys the soul as well.

Now the methods tried so far to cure this evil might conveniently be described as:

(1) Those based on the principle of Reform.

(2) Those based on the principle of Violence.

They failed because, either they were half-measures or were unsound measures—that is, no measures at all. Reforms have already failed as they are bound to fail because they imply a compromise and co-operation with the principle of evil. Now a State does not exist by virtue of sheer brute-force but by gaining the moral support of the good people in it. Evil in itself is sterile. It is self-destructive; it exists and flourishes through the implication of good that is in it. Further, the acceptance of partial reforms takes away the ground under the

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reformer's feet. Science teaches us that a lever cannot move a body unless it has got a resting point outside the body against which it is applied. Similarly, in order to overcome evil one must stand wholly outside it, *i.e.*, on the firm, solid ground of unadulterated good.

The methods of violence, again, have not only failed in their purpose but have produced an effect opposite to what they were intended to produce. Because, when once physical force comes on the scene, it calls forth a superior physical force which subdues it for the time being. Then it puts forth more force and the chain of violence lengthens and strengthens. This method is wrong because it overlooks the fundamental fact that evil can never be overcome with evil, it ceases only through good. We will remember how Lord Krishna in Bhagwad Gita, in the vision of the cosmic form, showed to Arjuna, Duryodhana and the other Kauravas as self-destroyed already by their own evil. "Kalo-smi" says He, "I am *a priori* time seated—in *a priori* space." Nor must we forget that in Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound' Zeus, the principle of evil, is dethroned not by any form of force but topples down by its own weight. It is dethroned by Chronos which is the same thing as "a *a priori* time seated in *a priori* space."

Both these methods fail because they deal with the superficial symptoms only and do not touch the root of the evil, the disease itself. Advocates of these methods think that, by partially reforming the various institutions which constitute the State, they would be able to put an end to the sufferings of Society. They overlook the fact that, the State-evil is not the cause but the effect of Social-evil, just as the sea-waves are the effect and not the cause of the storm. The only way of curing disease is to remove the causes thereof. Let people purify them-

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selves, let them cease to indirectly participate in the evil of the State and it will disappear by itself.

Self-purification, then, and not violence, or reform is the real remedy. To purify oneself by withdrawing co-operation from the State: this is the great doctrine of Non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation, however, does not in any way mean anarchy or absence of order. For Non-co-operation with the State means a closer co-operation among the people themselves. Thus Non-co-operation is a process of evolution: it has most aptly been described as Evolutionary Revolution.

Now the question naturally arises: what are the various methods by which a State maintains its hold on the people? To describe briefly, they are four in number:

(1) *Intimidation.*—Representing the State as something sacred and immutable, punishing any attempt to alter it. This it does through the agency of its law-courts and councils—the latter investing the former with the authority which they rigorously use in the interests of the State. And as for the councils, it is clear that no real reform can ever come through them. For the rulers having the power to sanction or disallow any law they like would never allow any measure to be passed which in any way curtails their power. What they really do is something like this:—when any particular individual or section of the community becomes too noisy and troublesome, they say, "Look here, be quiet and we will widen our system of plunder a little, so as to admit you into it and then we will together exploit the masses and have the plunder between us." This they call reform, and so the process of exploitation goes on.

(2) *Corruption.*—Taxing the workers in order to pay salaries to officials who are bound in return to maintain

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the State in the process of exploiting the masses, and also by rewarding its agents by bestowing titles, honours and honorary offices.

(3) *Hypnotism.*—Through the State-aided and State-controlled schools and colleges, where children are taught to regard allegiance to the State as something higher than allegiance to their conscience and are infected with false doctrines regarding patriotism and "duty of obedience to superiors", so that they easily fall under the spell of "the creak of the rotten state-machine".

(4) *Militarism.*—By selecting men who have been enslaved by the foregoing three methods, and by uniforms, drilling, barracks, music, etc., deadening their conscience, till they cease to be men and become submissive machines.

The only way in which people can escape from the clutches of a corrupt state, then, is to cease to participate, directly or indirectly, in its evil by :

(1) Lawyers suspending their practice, and the people boycotting the law-courts and settling disputes among themselves by private arbitration, along with which must go the process of organizing the village communes and Punchayats.

(2) People refusing to accept titles, honours, salaried posts or any other benefits from a government whose hands are shown to be unclean.

(3) By emptying the government schools and colleges and thus saving their children from the deadly effects of intellectual asphyxia to which they are subjected there, such withdrawal being accompained by the establishment of national schools, where the children should receive national and religious training and learn the habit of self-respect and that of following their conscience.

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(4) By refusing to serve the military and the police and abjuring all violence so as to remove the necessity of the former.

It is clear that, when all these things are gone through, the necessity of paying taxes will automatically disappear. The people then should refuse to pay taxes, and patiently abide by the consequences.

This, then, is a brief outline of the great doctrine of Non-co-operation. This sacred, fundamental and inalienable right of the people to non-co-operate with a government, when the dictates of conscience require it, has been accepted by all the thinking minds of all the ages. Even an ardent apostle of "Constitution," like Tennyson, has paid homage to it.

"Should banded unions persecute
Opinion and induce a time,
When single thought is civil crime
And individual freedom mute;

"Though power should make from bound to bound
The name of Britain trebly great—
Though every channel of the State
Should fill and choke with golden sand—

"Yet waft me from the harbour mouth,
Wild winds, I seek a warmer sky,
And I will see before I die
The palms and temples of the South."

But the one thing absolutely essential for success is that people should scrupulously shun all violence in word, deed or thought. The slightest attempt at violence would injure the cause. It would take away from

the people the power of patient and clean suffering by tainting their conscience and let loose the retaliatory machinery of the government which would be but too glad to find some pretext for its use.

People must bring to the altars of liberty the offerings of pure self-sacrifice and patient suffering. There will be provocations and oppressions which will tax their powers of endurance to the utmost, but, as it has been said, "He alone who endures on to the end shall be saved." Thus alone would they gain real freedom, real Swaraj; thus alone will they get true happiness, thus alone will they gain real victory, for in the immortal lines of Shelley:

> To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;
> To forgive wrongs darker than death or night,
> To love, to bear, to hope till Hope creates
> From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
> Neither to change, to falter, nor repent;
> This like the glorious Titan is to be
> Great, good and joyous, beautiful and free;
> This is alone life, joy, Empire and Victory.

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*16th June, 1920*

## THE LAW OF SUFFERING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. 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?

If my advisers are right, evidently India will realise her destiny without travail. For their chief concern is that the events of April 1919 should not be repeated. They fear Non-co-operation, 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 Tayler 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 are doing to-day, or from coercing our neighbours to follow our methods, as was done last year by some of us in bringing about *hartal*. 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.

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 greater, though slower, frightfulness at Lahore where 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

tears of suffering that India may have to undergo, but to see what is happening to-day 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. Germany would have avoided the sanctimonious humbug that one sees associated with the many dealings of the Allies.

The miscalculation that I deplored last year was not in connection with the sufferings imposed upon the people, but about the mistakes made by them and violence done by them, owing to their not having sufficiently understood the message of Satyagraha. What then is the meaning of Non-co-operation in terms of the Law of Suffering? We must voluntarily 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 state, we may make mistakes; there may be avoidable suffering. These things are preferable to national emasculation.

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.

If a father does an injustice, it is the duty of his

children to leave the parental roof. If the head-master 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 of the case conceived by me, there is an element of suffering whether mental or physical. Without such suffering, it is not possible to attain freedom.

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*8th September, 1920*

## THE INWARDNESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

I commend to the attention of the readers of "Young India" the thoughtful letter* received from Miss Anne

*The letter is contained in the following extract from *Young India* of 8th September 1920:

*A Missionary on Non-co-operation.*—The following letter has been received by Mr. Gandhi from Miss Anne Marie Peterson of the Danish Mission in Madras. Most personal references have been omitted:

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I cannot thank you enough for your kindness and the way in which you received me and I feel that meeting more or less decided my future. I have thrown myself at the feet of India. At the same time I know that in Christ alone is my abode and I have no longing and no desire but to live Him, my crucified Saviour, and reveal Him for those with whom I come in contact. I just cling to His feet and pray with tears that I may not disgrace Him as we Christians have been doing by our behaviour in India. We go on crucifying Christ, while we long proclaim the Power of His resurrection by which He has conquered untruth and unrighteousness. If we who bear His name were true to Him, we would never bow ourselves before the Powers of this world, but we would always be on the side

Marie Peterson. Miss Peterson is a lady who has been in India for some years and has closely followed Indian affairs. She is about to sever her connection with her

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of the poor, the suffering and the oppressed. But we are not, and therefore I feel myself under obligation not only to Christ but to India for His sake at this time of momentous importance for her future.

Truly it matters little what I, a lonely and insignificant person, may say or do. What is my protest against the common current the race to which I belong is taking and (what grieves me more) which the missionary societies seem to follow? Even if a respectable number protested, it would not be of any use. Yet were I alone against the whole world, I must follow my conscience and my God.

I therefore cannot but smile when I see people saying you should have awaited the decision of the National Congress before starting the Non-co-operation movement. You have a message for the country, and the Congress is the voice of the nation, its servant and not its master. A majority has no right simply because it is a majority.

But we must try to win the majority. And it is easy to see that now the Congress is going to be with you. Would it have done so if you had kept quiet and not lent your voice to the feelings of the people? Would the Congress have known its mind? I think not.

I myself was in much doubt before I heard you. But you convinced me. Not that I can feel much on the question of the Khilafat. I cannot. I can see what service you are doing to India, if you can prevent the Mahomedans from using the sword in order to take revenge and get their rights. I can see that, if you unite the Hindus and the Mahomedans, it will be a master stroke. How I wish the Christian would also come forward and unite with you for the sake of their country and the honour not only of their Motherland but of Christ. I may not feel much for Turkey, but I feel for India, and I can see she (India) has no other way to protest against being trampled down and crushed than Non-co-operation.

I also want you to know that many in Denmark and all over the world, yes, I am sure every true Christian, will feel with and be in sympathy with India in the struggle which is now going on. God forbid that in the struggle between might and right, truth and untruth, the spirit and the flesh, there should be a division of races. There is not. The same struggle is going on all over the world. What does it matter then that we are a few? God is on our side.

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Mission for the purpose of giving herself to education that is truly national.

I have not given the letter in full. I have omitted all personal references. But her argument has been left entirely untouched. The letter was not meant to be

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Brute force often seems to get the upper hand but righteousness always has and always shall conquer, be it even through much suffering, and what may even appear to be a defect, Christ conquered, when the world crucified Him. Blessed are the meek ; they shall inherit the earth.

When I read your speech given at Madras, it struck me that it should be printed as a pamphlet in English, Tamil, Hindustani and all the most used language and then spread to every nook and corner of India.

The Non-co-operation movement once started must be worked so as to become successful. If it is not, I dread to think of the consequences. But you cannot expect it to win in a day or two. It must take time and you will despair if you do not reach your goal in a hurry. For those who have faith there is no haste.

Now for the withdrawal of the children and students from Government schools, I think it a most important step. Taking the Government help, (even if it be your money they pay you back) we must submit to its scheme, its rules and regulation. India and we who love her have come to the conclusion that the education the foreign Government has given you is not healthy for India and can certainly never make for her real growth. The movement would lead to a spontaneous rise of national schools. Let them be a few but let them spring up through self-sacrifice. Only by indigenous education can India be truly uplifted. Why this appeals so much to me is perhaps because I belong to the part of the Danish people who started their own independent, indigenous national schools. The Danish Free schools and Folk-High-Schools, of which you may have heard, were started against the opposition and persecution of the State. The organisers won and thus have regenerated the nation. With my truly heart-felt thanks and prayers for you.

I am,
Yours Sincerely,
ANNE MARIE.

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printed. It was written just after my Vellore speech.* But it being intrinsically important, I asked the writer for her permission, which she gladly gave, for printing it.

I publish it all the more gladly in that it enables me to show that the movement of Non-co-operation is neither anti-Christian nor anti-English nor anti-European. It is a struggle between religion and irreligion, powers of light and powers of darkness.

It is my firm opinion that Europe to-day represents not the spirit of God or Christianity, but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's successes are the greatest, when he appears with the name of God on his lips. Europe is to-day only nominally Christian. In reality, it is worshipping Mammon. 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom.' Thus really spoke Jesus Christ. His so-called followers measure their moral progress by their material possession. The very national anthem of England is anti-Christian. Jesus, who asked his followers to love their enemies even as themselves, could not have sung of his enemies, 'Confound his enemies, frustrate their knavish tricks.' The last book that Dr. Wallace wrote set forth his deliberate conviction that the much vaunted advance of science had added not an inch to the moral stature of Europe. The last war however has shown, as nothing else has, the Satanic nature of the civilization that dominates Europe to-day. Every canon of public morality has been broken by the victors in the name of virtue. No lie has been considered too foul to be uttered. The motive behind every crime is not religious or spiritual, but grossly material. But the Musulmans and the Hindus, who are struggling against the Government, have religion and honour as their motive.

* A speech on Non-co-operation omitted in this collection.

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Even the cruel assassination* which has just shocked the country is reported to have a religious motive behind it. It is certainly necessary to purge religion of its excrescences, but it is equally necessary to expose the hollowness of moral pretensions on the part of those who prefer material wealth to moral gain. It is easier to wean an ignorant fanatic from his error than a confirmed scoundrel from his scoundrelism.

This, however, is no indictment against individuals or even nations. Thousands of individual Europeans are rising above their environment. I write of the tendency in Europe, as reflected in her present leaders. England through her leaders is insolently crushing Indian religious and national sentiment under her heels. England, under the false plea of self-determination, is trying to exploit the oil fields of Mesopotamia which she is almost to leave, because she has probably no choice. France through her leaders is lending her name to training Cannibals as soldiers, and is shamelessly betraying her trust as a mandatory power by trying to kill the spirit of the Syrians. President Wilson has thrown on the scrap heap his precious fourteen points.

It is this combination of evil forces, which India is really fighting through non-violent Non-co-operation. And those like Miss Peterson, whether Christian or European, who feel that this error must be dethroned, can exercise the privilege of doing so by joining the Non-co-operation movement. With the honour of Islam is bound up the safety of religion itself and with the honour of India is bound up the honour of every nation known to be weak.

*A Muslim monomaniac assassinated Mr. Willoughby, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, United Provinces.

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*4th August, 1920*

## CRUSADE AGAINST NON-CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have most carefully read the manifesto* addressed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others dissuading the people from joining the Non-co-operation movement. I had expected to find some solid argument against Non-co-operation, but to my great regret I have found in it nothing but distortion (no doubt unconscious) of the great religions and history. The manifesto says that 'Non-co-operation is deprecated by the religious tenets and traditions of our motherland, nay, of all the religions that have saved and elevated the human race.' I venture to submit that the *Bhagwad Gita* is a gospel of Non-co-operation between force of darkness and those of light. If it is to be literally interpreted, Arjun representing a just cause was enjoined to engage in bloody warfare with the unjust Kauravas. Tulsidas advises the *Sant* (the good) to shun the *Asant* (the evil-doers). The Zendavesta represents a perpetual dual between Ormuzd and Ahriman, between whom there is no compromise. To say of the Bible that it taboos Non-co-operation is not to know Jesus, a prince among passive resisters, who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees and for the sake of truth did not hesitate to divide sons from their parents†. And what did the Prophet of Islam do? He non-co-operated in Mecca in a most active manner so long as his life was not in danger and wiped the dust of Mecca off his feet

* Omitted in this collection.

† *Christ and Non-co-operation.—Apropos* it is interesting that Christ himself has suggested Non-co-operation. In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, we read :

Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go, and tell

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when he found that he and his followers might have uselessly to perish, and fled to Medina and returned

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him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou has gained thy brother.

But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it up to the Church: but if he neglect to hear the Church, *let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.*—*Young India* of 10th November, 1920.

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The following appeared in *Young India* of 19th January, 1921, under the heading, "Did Christ Non-co-operate?":

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—Mr. Lyle has been here and he told me that you had been enquiring kindly about me. I thank you for your kind inquiries. Of course I have been following your activities with the greatest interest, but it grieves me to have to say that I do not and cannot approve of your Non-co-operation movement. I have been praying that God may show you your mistake and that He may use you—and us all—for the glory of His Holy Name, and for the real enduring welfare of the whole of India. From your many articles and speeches I have gathered that you attempt to justify your movement on the ground that if, in spite of argument and dissuasion, one's nearest and dearest even be seen pursuing a wrong course of action, one is bound to dissociate oneself from him or her lest one be charged with being an accomplice in the wrong-doing.

But surely, one fundamental doctrine of both the Christian and Hindu Scriptures points to quite a different course of conduct. Both tell us of Divine Incarnations, and though these differ in some respects, yet in each case the underlying idea is that when God, Who is Himself infinitely holy, saw the sin-begotten misery of men, He did not hold aloof from them but graciously stooped down and came to them to render help and to save their sin and its effects. Jesus Christ, the Holy and Undefiled One, did not refuse to work along with sinful men, but, on the contrary, while loathing all evil and scathingly denouncing it even in the great ones of his time, He freely and closely associated with all men, from the Pharisee down to the hated tax-gatherer of an alien government and the notorious sinner; and endeavoured, both by

when he was strong enough to give battle to his opponents. The duty of Non-co-operation with unjust men wise precept and loving example, to wean them from their wickedness and to win them to righteousness.

From this I gather that it is the obvious duty of all true patriots at the present time not to hold themselves aloof from a government unfairly denounced as "devilish" and "satanic", but to take every possible step *(e. g.*. the encouraging of the new councils), to keep in touch with it and endeavour to bring it round to what they consider a more righteous course of conduct. I am hoping and praying that as you were led to acknowledge your mistake of last year in the matter of Satyagraha, so God may open your eyes before it is too late and lead you from Non-co-operation to co-operation.

You are at liberty to use these few words in any way you like. With kind regards.

RAJKOT,
20-11-20.

I am, yours sincerely,
G. GILLESPIE.

[I print this letter without a word of alteration. I print it specially because it shows that in spite of ceaseless denunciation by me of the existing system of Government, I have the good fortune to retain the warm friendship of Britishers like the Rev. Gillespie. I know that he honestly believes what he says. He gives me credit for honesty of belief and purpose, yet we differ as poles as under even in our interpretation of the Christian and the Hindu scriptures. Of the latter I can write with confidence, and I make bold to assert that it is the *duty* of a Hindu to dissociate himself from the evil-doer *i. e.*. to refrain from participating in or countenancing the evil in him. Prahlad dissociated himself from the evil done by his father. The divine Sita rejected the services tendered to her by Ravan. Bharat denounced the deeds of Kaikeyi, his mother, and rejected the throne wickedly secured for him by her. I can write of the Bible only with diffidence. But my reading of it has clearly confirmed the opinion derived from a reading of the Hindu scriptures. Jesus mixed with the publicans and the sinners neither as a dependent nor as a patron. He mixed with them to serve and to convert them to a life of truthfulness and purity. But he wiped the dust off his feet of those places which did not listen to his word. I hold it to be my duty not to countenance a son who disgraces himself by a life of shame and vice. *Enlightened Non-co-operation is the expression of anguished love.* My esteemed

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and kings is as strictly enjoined by all the religions as is the du ty of co-operation with just men and kings.

corresponde nt mixes up dissociation from evil with dissociation from persons for service. Would Jesus have accepted gifts from the money changers, ta ken from them scholarships for his friends, and advanced loans to the m to ply their nefarious traffic? Was His denunciation of hypocrites, Pharisees, and Sadducees merely in word? Or did He not actually inv rite the people to beware of them and shun them? But Mr. Gilles pie thinks that I unfairly describe the Government to be satanic. P erhaps that alters our view-points. I consider that I would be less tha truthful if I did not describe as satanic a government which has been g uilty of fraud, murder, and wanton cruelty: which still remains unre pentant and resorts to untruth to cover its guilt. I really believe I a m performing the office of a friend by denouncing in precise language the pretentions of a government which has nothing to commend itself to the people under its charge.—M. K. G.]

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The R ev. Mr. Gillespie replied to the above which reply together with Mr. Gandhi's comments thereon appeared in the issue of *Young India* of 23rd February, 1921. They are given below:

*Dear M Mr. Gandhi,*—I see from *Young India* of the 12th instant that you have been kind enough to find time to criticise my last letter to you. In reference to your remarks, please permit me to say that while agr eeing for the most part with much of what you write, I wish to make my position absolutely clear. Of course for all Christians the Lord Jesus Christ is the Great Exemplar. But, while He who was perfectly holy and just was in a position to denounce the wicked hypocri sy of the Scribes and Pharisees of his day, after He had with a perfect love done his utmost to convert them to a life of sincerity and purity, yet we mere men imperfect in wisdom and love and holiness as even the best of us are, can neither afford nor assume the right to denoun ce finally and absolutely any of our fellows however depraved. While l oathing their vice we should try to seek out and save them. While we must not 'countenance a son who disgraces himself by a life of sha me and vice' yet we should co-operate with him—and this is true co -operation by waiting for the prodigal in 'anguished love' and with p rayerful soul-energy, and when he returns receive him with open arms. Such is my belief and therefore it is that I advocate co-ope ration as against Non-co-operation even with a Government

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Indeed most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond Non-co-operation and prefer violence to effeminate submission to a wrong. The Hindu religious

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that issaid to have been "guilty of fraud, murder and wanton cruelty."

While I am at it, may I go on to suggest if the present Government be held to be still unrepentant and desirious of covering up its guilt by untruth, now is the time to draw up explicit memoranda of its sins of omission and commission backed by incontrovertible proofs, with a view to laying the whole matter before the incoming Viceroy. If the present Government be beyond redemption, at least give the new one a fair sporting chance before refusing to co-operate with it. Lastly, may I add that I read with much interest and loving sympathy your article on the 'Sin of untouchability.' As I read it and could not help thinking 'what is the mistake of Non-co-operation with a few Government officials as compared with the sin of untouchability practised by Indians against millions of their own brethren!' Might not one be justified in quoting to any Non-co-operator who tried to defend untouchability the saying of Jesus, "Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eyes, and then shall thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Please make whatever use you like of this latter.

With kind regards,
I am,
Yours sincerely,
S. GILLESPIE.

[The reader will perhaps agree with me that the Rev. Gillespie has made a bad case worse. Every Non-co-operator will, I am sure, be prepared to co-operate on the same terms that he mentions, in connection with the prodigal son. Let this prodigal Government return like the Biblical son and all Non-co-operators will rejoice exceedingly. The incoming Viceroy will have all the assistance he may expect from the Non-co-operators if he means to do well. As to untouchability Rev. Gillespie is on safe ground. No one who hugs untouchability has any right to denounce this Government. He who seeks equity must come with clean hands is a maxim of universal application. And the Rev. gentleman will find that those who want to retain untouchability are certainly among the co-operators. Non-co-operation is nothing if it is not reformation from within.—M. K. G.]

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tradition,* of which the manifesto speaks, clearly proves the duty of Non-co-operation. Prahlad dissociated himself from his father, Meerabai from her husband, Bibhishan from his brutal brother.

The manifesto, speaking of the secular aspect, says, 'The history of nations affords no instance to show that it (meaning Non-co-operation) has, when employed, succeeded and done good.' One most recent instance of brilliant success of Non-co-operation is that of General Botha who boycotted Lord Milner's reformed councils and thereby procured a perfect constitution for his

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 22nd September, 1920 : *The Inner Meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation.*— Sjt. Dwijendranath Tagore, fondly known as 'Bada Dada' at Shantiniketan, has written down in Bengali his views on Non-co-operation under the above heading. We give below the translation prepared for us by Mr. Banarasidas Chaturvedi and revised by Mr. C. F. Andrews :

There has been a great discussion in the papers over the question of Non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. I have been reading this discussion and I am afraid that the inner meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's movement has been misunderstood by many persons in various ways. The reason why many of our countrymen have not been able to understand the true purpose of Mahatma Gandhi is clear. We know how terrible and deplorable was the result of Ram being deceived by the '*Maya Mriga*'. In our present age, we have been deceived by another '*Maya Mriga*' and we cannot tell what the future has in store for us. As a cow, wishing to drink water at a river bank in perfect happiness, may, being in illusion, remain side by side with a tiger, so we too, being deceived by a mirage, are hoping against hope. If we do not wake up in time, it is clear what fate awaits us. No doubt it will be a second edition of "*Sita Haran*". It will mean the loss of the very essence of our life and manhood.

The inner meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation, as far as I have been able to understand it with my commonsense, is this. So long as we cannot establish the ideals of our country according to our own purpose so long shall we be unable to stand on an equal footing with the foreigners.

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country. The Dukhobours of Russia offered Non-co-operation, and a handful though they were, their grievances so deeply moved the civilized world that Canada offered them a home where they form a prosperous community. In India, instances can be given by the dozen, in which in little principalities the rayats when deeply grieved by their chiefs have cut off all connection with them and bent them to their will. I know of no instance in history where well-managed Non-co-operation has failed.

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If both the parties cannot stand on an equal footing, then the co-operation between them is a mere lip expression. This sort of co-operation can mean only two things. Either the weaker party follows the stronger in humiliation, or it courts the bitter displeasure of the stronger party by giving vent to its feelings.

In the light of the education that we are receiving now-a-days in our schools and colleges, co-operation can have only one meaning, *viz.*, that the weaker party has slavishly to follow the stronger.

And what does this education mean? It means the forgetting of our national ideas and ideals and appeasing the hunger for knowledge to a slight extent with crumbs cast away by the foreigners.

How is co-operation possible under these circumstances?

Therefore I say that the weaker party should detach itself from the influence of the stronger party till it can give a full expression to the best that is within it. Till it does that, it must occupy the status of a beggar. Therefore till the conditions are equalised, co-operation by the weaker party must be a glaring proof of its worthlessness, inertia and helplessness.

In this extreme crisis of our country, it is incumbent upon the wisest in the land to stand apart from the blood-sucking influence of the authorities, and with their own exertions and in their own way to give a full expression to their own ideal. When we are able to do that, then alone will any talk of co-operation become us, and not till then.

If any proof were required of what I have said, the way in which co-operation with the authorities has been going on in the past and the endless succession of disastrous results that have followed it are in themselves a striking proof. Any other would be redundant.

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Hitherto I have given historical instances of bloodless Non-co-operation. I will not insult the intelligence of the reader by citing historical instances of Non-co-operation combined with violence, but I am free to confess that there are on record as many successes as failures in violent Non-co-operation. And it is because I know this fact that I have placed before the country a non-violent scheme in which, if at all worked satisfactorily, success is a certainty and in which non-response means no harm. For, if even one man non-co-operates, say by resigning some office, he has gained, not lost. That is its ethical or religious aspect. For its political result naturally it requires polymerous support. I fear therefore no disastrous result from Non-co-operation save for an outbreak of violence on the part of the people whether under provocation or otherwise. I would risk violence a thousand times than risk the emasculation of a whole race.

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*25th August, 1920*

## RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY FOR NON-CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is not without the greatest reluctance that I engage in a controversy with so learned a leader like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. But in view of the fact that I am the author of the movement of Non-co-operation, it becomes my painful duty to state my views even though they are opposed to those of the leaders whom I look upon with respect. I have just read during my travels in Malabar Sir Narayan's rejoinder to my answer to the Bombay manifesto against Non-co-operation. I regret to have to say that the rejoinder leaves me unconvinced.

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He and I seem to read the teachings of the Bible, the Gita and the Koran from different standpoints, or we put different interpretations on them. We seem to understand the words Ahimsa, politics and religion differently. I shall try my best to make clear my meaning of the common terms and my reading of the different religions.

At the outset, let me assure Sir Narayan that I have not changed my views on Ahimsa. I still believe that man not having been given the power of creation does not possess the right of destroying the meanest creature that lives. The prerogative of destruction belongs solely to the creature of all that lives. 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.

Non-co-operation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state—more active than physical resistance or violence. Passive resistance is a misnomer. Non-co-operation in the sense used by me must be non-violent

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and there fore 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 w rith him to shoot innocent men. But it will be an exerci se of forgiveness or love for me to nurse him back to li fe, if he was suffering from a physical malady. I cannot use in this context the word co-operation as Sir Naray an would perhaps use it. I would co-operate a thousan d 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 un der it or supported its law courts or schools." Better for me a beggar's bowl than the richest posses-sion from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jallian vala. Better by far a warrant of imprisonment than hon eyed words from those who have wantonly wounded t he religious sentiment of my seventy million brothers.

My rea ling of the Gita is diametrically opposed to Sir Naray an's. I do not believe that the Gita teaches violence f or doing good. It is pre-eminently a descrip-tion of the duel that goes on in our own hearts. The divine autl hor has used a historical incident for incul-cating the lesson of doing one's duty even at the peril of one's lif e. It inculcates performance of duty irres-pective of the consequences, for, we mortals, limited by our physic al frames, are incapable of controlling actions save our own. The Gita distinguishes between the powers of light and darkness and demonstrates their incompatil ility.

Jesus, in my humble opinion, was a prince among politicians. He did render unto Cæsar that which was Cæsar's. H He gave the devil his due. He ever shunned

him and is reported never once to have yielded to his incantations. The politics of his time consisted in securing the welfare of the people by teaching them not to be seduced by the trinkets of the priests and the Pharisees. The latter then controlled and moulded the life of the people. To-day the system of government is so devised as to affect every department of our life. It threatens our very existence. If therefore we want to conserve the welfare of the nation, we must religiously interest ourselves in the doings of the governors and exert a moral influence on them by insisting on their obeying the laws of morality. General Dyer did produce a 'moral effect' by an act of butchery. Those who are engaged in forwarding the movement of Non-co-operation, hope to produce a moral effect by a process of self-denial, self-sacrifice and self-purification. It surprises me that Sir Narayan should speak of General Dyer's massacre in the same breath as acts of Non-co-operation. I have done my best to understand his meaning, but I am sorry to confess that I have failed.

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*5th January, 1921*

## "MORAL VALUES"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is an extract from the letter of an English friend. It is a pleasure to me to receive letters from English friends. I know that there are many honest Englishmen who are following the movement of Non-co-operation with sympathetic attention, and would gladly help if they are clear about the moralities of Non-co-operation. This letter is a typical instance :

"I understand that you are striving to establish

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Swaraj in India by appealing to moral force to attain which you rely upon selflessness. Permit me to observe that the idea is simply *excellent*. But, is there no fear that the means of Non-co-operation which you are adopting will fail you in the end, if applied before *every* unit acts from a purely selfless motive? When moral success is aimed at, surely the means *must* be of the same trend?

I also earnestly look forward to the day when, not only India, but also, the whole race of man, will enjoy Swaraj on the following lines:

The human species exist at the junction of the animal and the moral kingdoms of creation, blessed with free-will by the Creator, wherewith to adjudicate between the demands of a material frame (the human animal body) and a moral form (character), and thereby to express the image of the first Great Cause in finite form (in the latter). When every unit of the species learns to appreciate moral values in *every* thought, word and deed, by always giving preference to moral demands because they hail from a higher Kingdom of creation and—to do otherwise will be to defy Omnipotence—selflessness must obviously follow. The results will be that every human being will love the other automatically and true Swaraj knit the whole family together.

Does it not seem likely, on the other hand, that, to begin with Non-co-operation, will lead to the subordination of your moral goal to ulterior and inferior material desires; and, therefore, even if you do succeed, that you will have lost the very cream of your efforts unintentionally, by making fellowmen greater animals than they already are? The co-operation of selfless representatives, of a selfless nation, will sooner make a selfless government, than Non-co-operation of a nation, which

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strives to follow a selfless leader, before waiting *first* to learn how to conquer self! *

Kindly pause to consider these facts: Whatever you do should be for the good of the whole brotherhood of

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 21st January, 1921, under the heading, "Moral Values of Non-co-operation":

Revered Mahatmaji,—I have read with interest your English friend's letter on the above subject. His contention seems to be that the desired end, namely *Swarajya*, cannot be peacefully attained by such means as you have adopted, unless every individual has become selfless in thought, word and deed. Selflessness will then automatically produce love for one's neighbour, and the goal *Swarajya* will have been reached as a matter of course.

In the first place, the full import of the term 'selflessness' is to be understood. It connotes the highest stage of perfection or freedom, such as would enable a person to forget his self. The self is *not* lost, but only its presence ceases to intrude itself on a man's mind. The ideal man may be compared to the ideal musician, who is no longer encumbered with the deadweight of notes, which nevertheless exist all the time in his mind. His music is a sort of spontaneous flow, but cannot, therefore, be said to be 'automatic'. Even so an ideal man's love for his fellow-beings may better be called spontaneous than automatic. Having made clear the interpretation of the term 'selfless,' it will be easy to see how Non-co-operation is the most natural, and in the present circumstances, the only means of attaining full freedom or perfection. To return once more to the cause of a musician, it is known that before he gains mastery in his art, he usually passes through an arduous period of training. Also, until he has attained perfection, he has to learn his art in solitude or away from all discordant noise that may hamper his efforts or work. This is precisely the attitude of Non-co-operators, for they only wish to withdraw themselves away from all disturbing or harmful influences, before they can hope to attain full freedom or perfection.

I may add that this letter is meant to supplement your own answer, which is at once clear and convincing.

Wishing God-speed to you and to your movement,

I am,

Your very sincerely,

DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

SANTINIKETAN,
Jan. 14, 1921.

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man; and moral values must *on no account* take a second place, even in an ostensible trivial instance; otherwise, the cure may be worse than the disease."

I have given the letter in full omitting an introductory sentence. I have refrained from publishing the name because I am not sure of the writer's intention regarding the publication of his name. His moral difficulty is entitled to careful consideration. In my opinion, there is confusion of thought in this statement of the case. It ever has been my purpose to show that dishonourable means cannot bring about an honourable end.* What

* The following taken from Tolstoy's "Letter to the Liberals" appeared in *Young India* of 10th November, 1920:

*As to the ordinary methods of combating Government*:—"There are people who realise that our Government is very bad and who struggle against it, and there have been two ways of carrying on the struggle." And Tolstoy calls the methods, one "the method of the "Revolutionaries" which consists in "an attempt to alter the existing regime by violence," and the other "the method of the "Gradualists" which consists in "carrying on the struggle without violence and within the limits of the law, conquering constitutional rights bit by bit," and he says: "Reflection and experience alike show me that both the means of combating Government used hithertofore are not only ineffectual but actually tend to strengthen the power and irresponsibility of the Government."

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*As to co-operation with the Government*:—"This method is ineffectual and irrational because Government—holding in its grasp the whole power, and framing what are called the laws on the basis of which the Liberals wish to resist it—this Government knows very well what is really dangerous to it and will never let people, who submit to it and act under its guidance, do anything that will undermine its authority."

* * * *

. . . "But not only is this actually irrational and ineffectual, it is also harmful. It is harmful because enlightened, good. and honest people by entering the ranks of the Government give it a moral authority which, but for them, it would not possess. If the Government

the writer may challenge and in fact does challenge is the motive of the Non-co-operators in general. I confess that the motive of all Non-co-operators is not love

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were made up entirely of that coarse element—the men of violence, self-seekers and flatterers—who form its core, it could not continue to exist." "Another evil is that to secure opportunities to carry on their work, these highly enlightened and honest people have to begin to compromise and so, little by little, come to consider that for a good end one may swerve somewhat from truth in word and deed."

* * * *

"*As to withdrawal of children from Government controlled schools*:—"The strength of the Government lies in the people's ignorance, and the Government knows this and will therefore always oppose true enlightenment. It is time we realized that fact. And it is most undesirable to let the Government, while it is spreading darkness, pretend to be busy with the enlightenment of the people. It is doing this now by means of all sorts of pseudo-educational establishments it controls: schools, high schools, and universities. But good is good, and enlightenment is enlightenment: not when it is toned down to meet the requirements of the Government, but only when it is quite good and quite enlightened."

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*As to boycott of Councils*:—"What is it to be done? Merely the simple, quiet, truthful carrying on of what you consider good and needful, quite independently of the Government, or of whether it likes it or not. In other words, standing up for one's rights not as a member of Parliament, but standing up for one's rights as a rational and free man, and defending them in the only way in which moral and human dignity can be defended.

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True, the rights of a member of Parliament are greater than the rights of an ordinary man; and it seems as though we could do much by using those rights. But the hitch is that to obtain the rights of a Member of Parliament, one has to abandon part of one's rights as a man, there is no longer any fixed point of leverage, and one can no longer either conquer or maintain any real right. In order to lift others out of a quagmire, one must oneself stand on firm ground, and if, hoping the better to assist others, you go into the quagmire, you will not pull others out, but yourself will sink in."

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but a meaningless hatred. I call it meaningless, for the hatred of so many of the Non-co-operators has no meaning in the plan of Non-co-operation. A man does not sacrifice himself out of hatred. He helplessly tries to inflict an injury on his supposed enemy. In Non-co-operation, 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-co-operator turning upon himself loses its points, purifies him, and makes it possible for the object of his hatred to reform and retrace his steps. Thus a Non-co-operator 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.

The writer has suggested an impossible solution. He wants Non-co-operators to be perfect beings. But he forgets that, if we were perfect, there would be no occasion for Non-co-operation. For there would have been no co-operation with evil. Non-co-operation 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-co-operationists following a selfless leader will have done well at the end, for they will realise the virtue of Non-co-operation as a doctrine of selflessness.

* Mr. Gandhi should not be understood to mean that motive does not matter. See his *Ethical Religion*.

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—God and Satan. The writer asks me to pause and consider. I have done so for thirty years and have been driven to the final conclusion that English Rule in its present form has proved a curse to India. Let Englishmen pause and consider what is happening before their eyes. Let them turn the searchlight inward. May 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.

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*24th March, 1920*

## VIOLENCE *vs.* NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Khilafat day has come and gone. It was a great success and a complete triumph of Satyagraha, *i.e.*, not Civil Disobedience but Truth and Non-violence. No *hartal* has been so voluntary as that of the 19th March in that all the canvassing that ever took place was before the 19th. It was an example of wonderful self-restraint on the part of the Committee not to have called out the

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mill-hands. The Committee deserves the highest praise for its efficient management and for the definite recognition of voluntarism. If the people continue to show the discipline and self-restraint shown on the 19th and add thereto in an equal measure the spirit of self-sacrifice, nothing can prevent the full fruition of our hopes regarding Khilafat. Nobody could have believed a year ago the possibility of peace being observed by the fanatical element among the Mahomedans on a matter of life and death to them and on a day of no business for the idlers. But there can be no idleness when there is prayer. All were enjoined not to quarrel, not to be angry but to pray for the right to be done. It is true that all did not definitely pray, but the spirit of prayer was abroad and it dominated the people rather than the spirit of revenge, anger, excitement and so we had the amazing spectacle of the *hartal* day passing off like an ordinary day when everybody expects peace to be observed. The vast meeting of Bombay attended perhaps by thirty thousand men was a sight worth seeing. There was firmness in the faces of those thousands of people who listened to the speeches, yet without applause or any other effusive demonstration. The organisers deserve the warmest praise for having introduced into our meetings the ancient peacefulness, quiet determination and orderliness in the place of modern bluster, excitement and disorderliness. The one develops just the qualities that make for *Satyagraha*, the other inevitably leads to violence. And the message of the great meeting and the very successful *hartal* is not violence but non-violence. I hope that the authorities will not misread the situation. They will not fail to understand the admirable spirit of the whole demonstration or the equally admirable spirit of the resolution—a

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resolution to which, in my humble opinion, it is impossible for any honest lover of this country or the Empire to take exception. I hope, too, that they will read the spirit of the movement in the manner in which it is developing. I hope that the exemplary patience, self-restraint and orderliness that are evolving in our midst will have their due weight with them and that they will inform the Imperial Government that, whilst there is this admirable peace in the land, there is also a grim determination behind it which will not take "no" for an answer. I hope that Government will not repeat the sin of last April and entertain any false hope of tyranny and unquenchable spirit that has come into being and that will suffer everything but humiliation, dishonour and defeat.

It is a matter of deep regret that so respected a body as the Liberal League should have hastily and in advance condemned the *hartal*.* Surely a people so

* On 4th May, 1921, Gandhi wrote in *Young India* under the heading "Abuse of Hartal": A correspondent from Karachi writes to me deploring the frequency of 'hartals' in that city. I have also seen a cutting from the 'Indian Social Reformer' dealing with the same subject. I agree with the I. S. Reformer's criticism that the 'hartals' have become cheap of late. They are fast losing their value. But for the sacred character of the 16th and the 13th April, I would have refrained from advising 'hartals' for those two days. 'Hartals' are either meant as a protest against something extraordinary or a religious demonstration. There was no meaning in declaring a 'hartal when H. E. the Governor visited Karachi. If it was meant to be a demonstration against him personally, it was bad taste, for, in my opinion, he is among the wisest officials, and but for the vicious system he is called upon to administer, he would make a popular Governor. 'Hartals' for imprisonments or discharges are equally bad taste. Imprisonments must not inspire fear in us. Under an unjust government, imprisonments of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in insanitary conditions. The Government will cease to

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stricken with grief and with disappointment probably staring them in the face must have an outlet for orderly manifestation. It was because not very long ago we were afraid to speak or write that we thought that our sentiments burrowed under and became foul with stench because of the absence of the fierce sun and the open air of public opinion playing upon them. Hence we had a secret revolutionary movement. To-day, thank God, we seem to have outlived the evil day. We dare to think, speak and write openly, without fear, but under restraint that openness imposes upon mankind. I appeal to the members of the Liberal League and those who think with them to recognise this plain fact and to appreciate the superiority of boldness over timid caution. If they desire to harness all the innumerable forces that are coming daily into being for the uplift of the nation, if they wish to become privileged participators in the throes of the new birth, let them not ignore the signs of the time, let them not reject the advances of the younger generation, let them not chill their ardent hopes and aspirations but let them head this growing party of young, enthusiastic, self-sacrificing, dare-devil men. Sympathise with them, respond to the heart's throb, regulate it, for they are amenable to reason or an appeal to their high-souledness—and you have a disciplined

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imprison us when we cease to fear imprisonments. The Government will cease to exist or (which is the same thing) will reform itself, when its most frightful punishments, even Dyerism, fail to strike us with fear. 'Hartals' therefore in regard to imprisonments are a symptom of nervous fear and must therefore be tabooed. I quite agree with I. S. R. that local leaders ought not to declare 'hartals' without reference to headquarters. As a rule I would say, save the 6th and 13th April, every other Hartal should be declared by the All India Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee in conjunction. It will be a misfortune to cheapen the 'hartals'.

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party obedient to the call of the country. But if they feel neglected, if they feel that the older heads will not patiently listen to their wants, will not give them a helping hand, they may despair and despair may lead to desperation resulting in a catastrophic destruction. I can recall no time so magnificently suitable for leading India to the method of *Satyagraha*—not necessarily Civil Disobedience, but Truth and Non-violence—in which there is no defeat and in which, if there is any error, it hurts but those who err.

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*11th August, 1920*

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In this age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for any one to believe that any one else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force. And so I receive anonymous letters advising me that I must not interfere with the progress of Non-co-operation, even though popular violence may break out. Others come to me and, assuming that secretly I must be plotting violence, inquire when the happy moment for declaring open violence is to arrive. They assure me that the English will never yield to anything but violence secret or open. Yet others, I am informed, believe that I am the most rascally person living in India, because I never give out my real intention and that they have not a shadow of a doubt that I believe in violence just as much as most people do.

Such being the hold that the doctrine of the sword has on the majority of mankind, and as success of Non-co-operation depends principally on absence of violence

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during its pendency and as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to state them as clearly as possible.

I do believe that, 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 his 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 method 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.

But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the 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.

Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. An average Zulu is any way more than a match

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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 realise 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.

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.

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its off-shoots, Non-co-operation 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

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salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

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 putting of one's whole 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.

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 Ravan 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-co-operation 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.

I isolate this Non-co-operation from Sinn Feinism, for,

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it is so conceived as to be incapable of being offered side by side with violence. But I invite even the school of violence to give this peaceful Non-co-operation 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.

Meanwhile, I urge those who distrust me, not to disturb the even working of the struggle that has just commenced, by inciting to violence in the belief that I want violence.* I detest secrecy as a sin. Let them give Non-violent Non-co-operation a trial and they will find that I had no mental reservation whatsoever.

* In *Young India* of 9th February, 1921, Mr. Gandhi wrote commenting on Dr. Rajan's letter in connection with the Madras Hartal on the Prince's arrival :

There is little doubt that there are some among us who do not implicitly believe in non-violence even while they are under the pledge, *i.e.*, they do not mind the assistance of those who would do violence. They seem to believe that violence can run parallel to

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*3rd November, 1920*

## LUCKNOW SPEECHES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The recent meeting in Lucknow, held during the visit of the Ali Brothers and myself, has attracted considerable attention and resulted in the secession of Mr. Douglas, an Indian Christian barrister, from the Non-co-operation movement. Mr. Douglas's reason for his decision is

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non-violence and the two together accelerate the progress of the country towards its goal. Such an attitude besides being hypocritical is positively against the country's interest. Two *opposite* forces may run parallel but they *cannot both go in the same direction!* If non-violence was a camouflage or a preparation for violence, an accidental or intended outbreak of it might be by way of trial a great gain even during the pendency of so-called non-violence. But that is not India's religious battle. God is witness above and He is just enough to chastise every double dealing. Our present belief is that India cannot gain anything by violence and must gain her three ends by non-violence alone unsupported by violence. If therefore we will win, there must be on the part of Non-co-operators an unequivocal and emphatic mental and vocal condemnation of every act of violence done out of sympathy for their cause. Let those who do not believe in non-violence or believe in both running together form a party of their own and fight out the issue. That would make a Non-co-operator's task difficult but not so difficult as when he has to fight an enemy in his own camp. His system must be kept pure. Any impurity from within will be an organic disease and may prove fatal. No attack from without can ever prove fatal. The first and indeed the only condition of success therefore is that we must be true to ourselves.

The confession therefore that Dr. Rajan has made is an invigorating process. It strengthens him and the cause for which he stands. Non-co-operation is a vicious and corrupt doctrine, truly an 'ugly' word, if it does not mean down-right self-purification. Stubborn and implacable resistance against internal corruption is enough resistance against the Government. As soon as the process of self-purification is complete, we shall miss the system we appear to be fighting.

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Maulana Abdul Bari's speech on that occasion. Mr. Douglas charges the Maulana with having called Christians *kafars* and with having practically condoned the late Mr. Willoughby's murder.*

*Commenting on this incident under the heading, "The Assassination of a Deputy Commissioner," Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 1st September, 1920:

The assassination of Mr. Willoughby is a most unfortunate event which has naturally evoked public sympathy and indignation. The murder was a cruel, thoughtless and fanatical act. It has not advanced but retarded the cause of Khilafat. Mr. Willoughby had no hand in the Turkish terms. As is quite probable, he was himself a popular officer. It can only be counted as madness to kill an innocent man for a crime committed by a member of his race. And yet the fact must not be disguised that the murder will be regarded by many Mahomedans as a pious act worthy of a martyr. I have heard Mahomedans calmly arguing that such murders are not only justifiable but meritorious. I have known many Hindus who have argued that it was the throwing of bombs which brought about the removal of the Partition of Bengal. I know that many consider Dhingra to have been

Mr. Gandhi does not rule out the adoption of Non-violence as a policy. "Do you hope," a correspondent wrote to him, "that this non-violent war which is based on love and soul-force will succeed with those who take it merely as a matter of policy? Pure non-violence necessitates more courage and love of country. But as a weapon of the weak, it will breed fear in the face of coming repression." In answer, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 25th May, 1921: The questioner has partly answered the question himself. Non-violence may succeed, even if it is adopted as a matter of policy rather than creed, if it is combined with courage and real love for the country or the cause. Hatred of the wrong-doer does not necessarily mean love of the country. Our difficulty arises from the fact that many people make a pretence of non-violence without believing in it even as a policy. The Ali Brothers believe in it purely as a policy, but in my opinion there are no two truer believers in non-violence as a policy than they. They do believe that violence can only hurt the cause, and that non-violence if extensively practised can entirely succeed. A man who honestly practises truth as a policy, certainly gains its material results, but not the one who feigns truth.

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Now I was present at the meeting and had reason to listen to every word that Maulana Abdul Bari said with the greatest attention, and I must confess that the speech could not possibly provide any occasion for Mr. Douglas's secession. I deny that the Maulana Saheb either condoned the murder, or, by calling Mr. Willoughby a *kafar*, had any intention of insulting Christians. Mr. Douglas was hardly justified in seceding. He never protested at the meeting, he never complained to me. He knew that I had great regard for the Maulana Saheb, and that

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a martyr. Sinn Feiners openly practise murder and other forms of violence for the purpose of freeing their country from the English connection. Every assassin or incendiary is considered by them a hero. It is because I feared such a result in our midst that I advised non-violent Non-co-operation regarding the Khilafat. In my opinion, it is the active and open preaching of Non-co-operation which has prevented murder and assassinations in the land. The murder of Mr. Willoughby proves that the propaganda of Non-violence and Non-co-operation has not proved sufficient to control individual fanatics and that it is not an easy thing to do so. It proves further that the Khilafat wrong is a deep-seated grievance which with the passage of time will sink deeper still instead of being forgotten.

I observe that *The Times of India* credits the Khilafat propaganda with the murder and calls it the 'first fruits.' I realise that the language used is cautious. It connects 'certain aspects of the agitation' with the crime. But I venture to suggest that no aspect of the agitation is responsible for the unfortunate murder. It is the grievous wrong, done by the British ministers which has evoked the cruel deed.

*The Times of India* is on safer ground when it says that the tragedy 'is a special call to Islam, for all thoughtful Mahomedans must realise that the honour of their religion is at stake'. I wish to emphasise that warning. It must be the special duty of every Khilafat worker to be more careful than hitherto in insisting on complete freedom from violence as the condition precedent to successful Non-co-operation. I am sure it is possible to cite texts from the *Koran* in condonation of murder being done to wrong-doers in order to compel justice. It is unfortunately the chosen method of the civilized world. It has scriptural authority. Islam is said openly to preach

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I myself would have spoken out if there was any condonation of the offence in his speech, or if there was any insult meant to be offered to Christians as such. I could not associate myself with an insult to any of the great religions of the world. Moreover, Mr. Douglas suspended his practice and joined Non-co-operation, not merely for the sake of the Khilafat but equally for the Punjab, and he was a party to the extension of Non-co-operation up to the time of the establishment of Swaraj in India. Does Mr. Douglas now not want Swaraj or redress for the Punjab? And can he abandon the

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violence to the wrong-doer. The so-called votaries of Christianity justify organised warfare for the removal of wrongs, fancied or real. Thousands of Hindus interpret the Gita to be a certificate for war in the cause of justice. It is only a minority (daily growing in numbers) which religiously believes that violence is wrong in itself and cannot be justified even to vindicate truth. But it cannot (it may be civilised) be religious to murder innocent unarmed men without warning. It is not enough for Khilafat workers to be satisfied with public condemnations (necessary as they are) or for the sake of decorum to join them. It is necessary for us to preach privately, publicly and incessantly the necessity of refraining from violence especially when an active campaign of Non-co-operation full of promise is going on. We must feel in every fibre of our own being that every murder, every deed of violence must retard the progress of the movement.

This is an opportunity for distinguishing the Sinn Fein or the Egyptian Non-co-operation from ours. The former does not and did not depend for success on non-violence. The Sinn Feiners resort to violence in every shape and form. Theirs is a 'frightfulness' not unlike General Dyer's. We may pardon it if we choose, because we sympathise with their cause. But it does not on that account differ in quality from General Dyer's act. The Central Khilafat Committee has openly and deliberately accepted Non-violence for its creed so long as Non-co-operation is being carried on. We must therefore seek to guard English life as our own. We must constitute ourselves as self-appointed volunteers guarding English life from violent hands. And our success depends upon our ability to control all the violent and fanatical forces in our midst.

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Khilafat movement because a Moulvi however distinguished gives him offence by his speech? Surely there is something wrong and incomprehensible about Mr. Douglas's attitude. However, I must leave Mr. Douglas to clear up his position and justify his secession on more reasonable grounds.

It is necessary for me to deal with the speeches themselves, and more especially the speech delivered by Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb. The difficulty of a reporter is at any time great, but when he has to take down a report in long hand, and at the same time to translate the speaker's remarks made in a tongue the reporter only half understands, the task becomes still more difficult. Such was the position which my co-worker, Mr. Mahadev Desai, occupied when he took notes of the Maulana's speech. I saw his report after it was published in the *Navajivan* and was grieved about it. I thought that a serious though innocent mistake was made by him. The report does not do justice to the Maulana and makes him say that the murderer of Mr. Willoughby was a martyr, and that he, the Maulana, had accepted my word in preference to that of *Al-koran*. I consider Mr. Mahadev Desai to be one of the best and most careful of the co-workers I have the good fortune to possess. But the best of us may, in spite of the best of intentions, sometimes make mistakes.

To my recollection, what Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb said was that he disliked the murder of Mr. Willoughby as much as any body. He knew that it had damaged the Khilafat cause. He felt sure that, if he had known anything of the proposed murder, he would have himself intervened to prevent it. That was a position he himself could take, and understand when taken by others. But it was a different thing when he was asked, as he was

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by some of his friends, to condemn the murderer to *Jahanam*. He, as a religious man, found it impossible to do so. He did not know how the murder was committed, or what were the motives actuating it. The murderer's position after death was therefore clearly a matter between him and his Maker, and it would be presumption on the part of any person to anticipate the verdict of the Deity. Mr. Willoughby belonged to the *kafar* race; and had there been *Jehad* proclaimed, anyone belonging to the enemy race could have been lawfully killed by the sword of Islam. But they (the Mussalmans) had decided not to draw the sword and so it was not lawful for any Mussalman to take the life of any member of the enemy race. They had accepted Mr. Gandhi's advice of Non-co-operation. For there was ample warrant for it in the *Koran* and the Prophet's own life. And so long as Non-co-operation continued, he would be guided entirely by Mr. Gandhi. He was rebuked for making friends with the Hindus who were idolators. It was his conviction that it was perfectly competent for a Mussalman to prefer friendship with the Hindus, and even to refrain from killing cows, to friendship with those *kafars* who had left no stone unturned to put Islam in jeopardy.

This is the gist of the Maulana's speech. The speech was certainly bitter. Who can complain of bitterness of speech in a man of such religious devotion as Maulana Abdul Bari when he finds that his religious honour is at stake? I personally dislike the use of the word *kafar* as applied to anyone, as I dislike the use by a Hindu of the word *Mlechha* or *anarya* to any one. But I refuse to quarrel with the Mussalman or the Hindu for the use of words to which they have been accustomed from their childhood. Time will certainly tend towards the

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discontinuance of such words as friendship between people of different professions and faiths grows. Must I refuse to acknowledge the learning or the goodness of a man like Bishop Heber for calling Hindus heathens and even pitying them? "Man alone is vile," was said of a whole race of mankind and is even to-day sung in many a Christian church. I can therefore see no warrant for Mr. Douglas's decision in the above speech.

Maulana Shaukat Ali was still more unexceptionable. He said no one could regret more than he did the murder of Mr. Willoughby. Had not Khilafat Committees sedulously tried their best to prevent violence, there would certainly have been not one but many such murders. But it was their duty for the sake of their own religion and honour to prevent them so long as they accepted Non-co-operation. But he declined to identify himself with toadying resolutions regarding the murder.

I observe too that I have been misreported. I never said that we would give notice when we intended to draw the sword. I condemned the murder with the emphasis I could command and said that the honour of Islam would be injured if there was any condonation of the murder of an innocent man when an assurance of safety was issued by authoritative religious bodies in Islam. I said further that my own personal religion forbade me to take the life of my enemy in any case whatsoever. But I added that I recognised that Islam, and for that matter lacs of Hindus, believed that killing one's enemy was considered lawful under certain circumstances. And I said that, when the Mussalmans of India wanted to draw the sword, they would as honourable men declare themselves in no equivocal terms and give due notice.

And I repeat what I have often said that the noblest

and the most fearless among the Mussalmans (and I count Maulana Bari Saheb and the Ali Brothers as such) are trying their utmost to prevent violence. I verily believe that, but for sternuous efforts of such men, violence would have broken out in this land. I admit that it would have done no good to Islam or to India. It would only have provided occasion for ruthless repression without doing any honour to Islam or India.

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*17th November, 1920*

## A TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

The *communique* issued by the Government of India* on the Non-co-operation movement may be regarded as its first triumph of a striking order. For the Government have decided *in view of its non-violent character* to refrain, for the time being at any rate, from repressing by violence what they consider to be an unconstitutional movement. The Government, as well as the people, may be congratulated upon this wise decision; and I have not the slightest doubt that, if the movement continues to be purged of all violence, whether in deed or in word, it would not only be impossible for the Government to resort to repression, but also to resist the ever growing volume of public opinion against it, when that opinion is backed by well-directed acts of renunciation of Government patronage or support, on a national scale.

But the *communique* is careful to hold out the mailed first, if the leaders of "moderate" opinion fail to check the onward march of Non-co-operation. It is interesting

* Omitted in this collection.

Recall the exact wording of the threat. "How long," the *communique* ends, "with due regard to their ultimate responsibility for the public safety, the Government will be able to maintain that policy" (*i.e.* non-repression) "will depend largely on the success, which attends the efforts of the moderate citizens to check the extension of the movement and keep its dangers within bounds."

Thus repression is to replace reason and argument, if Non-co-operation becomes effective to the extent or making it impossible for the Government to exist whilst refusing to retrace its steps and repent of its crimes against India. For it must be noticed that the danger here feared is evidently not of violence but of the loss of the existence of this Government. If my analysis is correct, the Government are wickedly playing with the 'moderates' and with India. If they mean well, let them make an irrevocable announcement in the clearest possible terms that, so long as the movement remains non-violent, they will not interfere with it, even though it demands, and may result in, complete independence. That they will have to make that announcement sometime or other I have no doubt, if we, the Non-co-operators, are able to keep the movement free from violence. But the announcement made when they are driven to it by irresistible public opinion will have lost all its grace.

The rest of the *communique* is quite in keeping with the traditional policy of the Government. It is full of the usual self-adulation and misrepresentations about Non-co-operators. It is wrong, for instance, to say that those who have been repressed have been so dealt with for their departure from the principle of non-violence. I challenge the Government to produce from the speeches or writings of those who have been imprisoned any instance of incitement to violence. The language of the defendants

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has sometimes been reckless, even exaggerated, but the records available to me of the trials of some of them show that there has been no violence preached by the speakers concerned. There is very little that the speakers have said which I would not have said myself. It is equally untrue to say that those who have been punished have been so dealt with for "tampering with the loyalty of the army or of the police," unless a public appeal to recruits, not to sell themselves as mercenary levies for robbing other countries of their independence, amounts to such incitement. The Seditious Meetings Proclamation in the Punjab and the action taken against some Non-co-operation papers is an eloquent repudiation of the statement that the Government "have been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press at a time when India is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realization of the principle of self-government."

The misrepresentation about the leaders of the movement and the cheap sneer at their supposed desire to seek martyrdom is beneath notice. The Government ought to know what a relief it is to the Ali Brothers and myself to learn that, at least for the present, they do not propose to imprison us. Everybody knows that the danger of an outbreak of violence is the greatest if we are imprisoned. I am aware that this is a humiliating confession. If the people were truly strong and self-reliant, they would remain unperturbed by our or any leaders' imprisonment. So long, however, as the blighting influence of the awe of the Government lasts, so long must there be this fear of an insensate outbreak of violence on the part of the people of this unhappy land, when they are deprived of the assistance and service of those in whom they believe.

The Government's third argument, in favour of the exercise of their self-restraint, is the most specious, and calculated to entrap the unwary. They describe Non-co-operation as "a visionary and chimerical scheme, which, if successful, could only result in wide-spread disorder, political chaos, and the ruin of all those who have any real stake in the country." In this one sentence we have the satanic character of the Government. They must know that successful Non-co-operation means orderly and peaceful destruction of the present system of the Government, and *its replacement not* by disorder and chaos but by political order of the first magnitude, and protection of every legitimate interest in the country—not excluding that of the European merchant who desires to earn an honest living in India. Mention of the 'real stake' is a wilful insult to the masses of India, 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 each space which they possess in this land of sorrow and tears.

It lies ill in the mouth of the framers of the resolution to say" that the appeal of Non-co-operation is to prejudice and ignorance", when they are aware that from every platform the appeal is made for self-sacrifice, self-purification, and discipline. The misrepresentation of Satyagraha is no less wicked. The experience was indeed bitter during that eventful month of April, but the recollection in the minds of the people of official misdeeds during those days will remain an evergreen. India will never forget how a wicked administrator in

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the Punjab sought to crush an innocent and pure movement by every means, fair or foul. The wonderful awakening of the people of India to a sense of the wrong then done, and to a sense of their duty, gives the lie direct to the implications of the sentence on Satyagraha.

The resolution in question is an appeal not merely to our ignorance and avarice, but it is an appeal also to our helplessness. For this document proceeds: "The full consummation of their hopes would leave India defenceless alike against foreign aggression and internal chaos, all the benefits of a stable Government and undisturbed peace, the results that have been obtained by the orderly progress of India for more than a century and the still greater results which, it is hoped, will attend her advance under the Reform scheme; her material prosperity and her political progress are all to be sacrificed to the irresponsible caprice of a few misguided men." In my humble opinion, this paragraph is, indeed, the most mischievous, the most misleading, and, to borrow the phraseology of the Government, "the most immoral." If the argument advanced is sound, India must ever remain in a defenceless condition without the British bayonet. I cannot imagine for India a prospect more gloomy, more immoral and more unworthy of a nation, that only a century ago was capable of putting in the field more sturdy warriors than all the soldiers that can be mustered together today by any three powers of Europe, barring Russia. What severer condemnation can be pronounced upon the British Government than that, for the commercial greed of the British Nation, it has emasculated a whole people? The framers must be aware that the full consummation of our hopes means an India with the whole

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of her population having one mind, one purpose, self-contained and self-reliant, producing enough for all her daily wants, and therefore well able to stand a blockade by all the naval powers of the world combined. This may all be a day-dream, but that is the exact meaning of 'the full consummation of our hopes'; and I should very much like the Gods to witness a duel between the powers of all the world pouring into India not to punish her for any offence given by her, but in order to trade with her at the point of the bayonet; and the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Poorbhias, the Mussalmans, the Rajputs, and all the other military races of India voluntarily fighting for their hearth and home. If I am told that there never will be in India such unity of purpose and mind, I must say that there never will be Swaraj for India, and therefore true freedom and true progress, moral and material. It was Canning who wrote that under the Indian sky a cloud no bigger than a man's thumb any moment gathers such dimensions as to flood a whole country if it burst. I have implicit faith in the ability of my countrymen to hope that all the bitter experiences of the British Rule, at present lying sub-conscious in the minds of the nation, may any moment take definite shape in the nation recognizing the necessity of unity and self-sacrifice, such as to compel either repentance and a real change of heart, or withdrawal, on the part of the British Government.

I must refrain from burdening this article with any refutation of the charges of immorality, etc., regarding my advice to the student-world. The pages of this journal have made clear to its readers the ethics of the fundamental position taken upon this question. I must close this lengthy article with noticing the absence of the only thing that can stop the inevitable progress of

Non-co-operation, *viz.*, a full and satisfactory revision of the Khilafat terms and complete satisfaction about the Punjab. When, and if, the British nation respects the wishes of India on these two points, co-operation will replace Non-co-operation, and Swaraj within the Empire will be the most natural consequence.

But till that clear repentance comes, in spite of all the resolution and all the repression that may be resorted to by the Government, so far as I can read the national mind, Non-violent Non-co-operation will and must remain the creed of the nation that has grown weary of camouflage, humbug, and honeyed words.

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*12th, January, 1921*

## THE NEED FOR HUMILITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

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. Non-co-operationists may not trade upon their amazing success at the Congress. We must act, even as the mango tree which droops as it bears fruit. Its grandeur lies in its majestic lowliness. But one hears of Non-co-operationists being insolent and intolerant in their behaviour towards those who differ from them. I know that they will lose all their majesty and glory, if they betray any inflation. Whilst we may not be dissatisfied with the progress made so far, we have little to our credit to make us feel proud. We have to sacrifice much more than we have done to justify pride, much less elation. Thousands, who flocked to the Congress

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pandal, have undoubtedly given their intellectual assent to the doctrine, but few have followed it out in practice. Leaving aside the pleaders, how many parents have withdrawn their children from schools? How many of those who registered their vote in favour of Non-co-operation have taken to hand-spinning or discarded the use of all foreign cloth?

Non-co-operation 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.

A Non-co-operationist 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-co-operationist will recognise the necessity of being humble and self-restrained. It is because so little is really required to be done and because all of that little depends entirely upon ourselves that I have ventured the belief that Swaraj is attainable in less than one year.

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*24th November, 1921*

## THE MORAL ISSUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As soon as we lose the moral basis, we cease to be religious. There is no such thing as religion overriding morality. Man, for instance, cannot be untruthful, cruel or incontinent and claim to have God on his side. In Bombay, the sympathisers of Non-co-operation lost the moral balance. They were enraged against the Parsis and the Christians who took part in the welcome to the Prince and sought to 'teach them a lesson'. They invited reprisals and got them. It became after the 17th a game of seesaw in which no one really gained and everybody lost.*

Swaraj does not lie that way. India does not want Bolshevism. The people are too peaceful to stand anarchy. They will bow the knee to any one who restores so called order. Let us recognise the Indian psychology. We need not stop to inquire whether such hankering after peace is a virtue or a vice. The average Mussalman of India is quite different from the average Mussalman of the other parts of the world. His Indian associations have made him more docile than his co-religionists outside India. He will not stand tangible insecurity of life and property for any length of time. The Hindu is proverbially, almost contemptibly, mild. The Parsi and the Christian love peace more then strife. Indeed we have almost made religion subservient to peace. This mentality is at once our weakness and our strength.

Let us nurse the better, the religious, part of this

* For further details of the riots in Bombay referred to above, *see* appendix.

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mentality of ours. 'Let there be no compulsion in religion'. Is it not religion with us to observe Swadeshi and therefore *Khadi*? But if the religion of others does not require them to adopt Swadeshi, we may not compel them. We broke the universal law re-stated in the *Quran*. And the law does not mean that there may be compulsion in other matters. The verse means that, if it is bad to use compulsion in religion about which we have definite convictions, it is worse to resort to it in matters of less moment.

We can only therefore argue and reason with our opponents. The extreme to which we may go is Non-violent Non-co-operation with them in private life, for we do not non-co-operate with the men composing the Government, we are non-co-operating with the system they administer. We decline to render official service to Sir George Lloyd the Governor, we dare not withhold social service from Sir George Lloyd the Englishman.*

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

*Bad of Karachi*—Though I have not read the papers regarding the stoning of Europeans in Karachi by a crowd that was incensed against the imprisonment of Swami Krishnanand, from what I have heard through friends from Sindh I must confess that those who threw stones have done a disservice to the sacred cause they had at heart. They have also shown little honour to the Swami by breaking the pledge of Non-violence. The Swami is undoubtedly a popular and fearless worker. He had been producing by organised picketing a marked impression on the receipts of the liquor-dealers. I hear too that he was falsely charged with having assaulted some one. Granting all this, it was the clear duty of the populace to observe perfect self-restraint. It is a most thoughtless thing to assault innocent Europeans, because the police have wrongly prosecuted and a magistrate has wrongly convicted. Incidents such as these make civil disobedience difficult, if not impossible. Let the crowd that so misbehaved in Karachi honour the Swami by boycotting foreign cloth, and by spinning or weaving.

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The mischief, I am sorry to say, began among the Hindus and the Mussalmans themselves. There was social persecution, there was coercion. I must confess that I did not always condemn it as strongly as I might have. I might have dissociated myself from the movement when it became at all general. We soon mended our ways, we became more tolerant but the subtle coercion was there. I passed it by as I thought it would die a natural death. I saw in Bombay that it had not. It assumed a virulent form on the 17th.

We damaged the Khilafat cause and with it that of the Punjab and Swaraj. We must retrace our steps and scrupulously insure minorities against the least molestation. If the Christian wishes to wear the European hat and unmentionables, he must be free to do so. If a Parsi wishes to stick to his *Fenta*, he has every right to do so. If they both see their safety in associating themselves with the Government, we may only wean them from their error by appealing to their reason, not by breaking their heads. The greater the coercion we use, the greater the security we give to the Government, if only because the latter has more effective weapons of coercion than we have. For us to resort to greater coercion than the Government will be to make India more slave than she is now.

Swaraj is freedom for every one, the smallest among us, to do as he likes without any physical interference with his liberty. Non-violent Non-co-operation is the method whereby we cultivate the freest public opinion and get it enforced. When there is complete freedom of opinion, that of the majority must prevail. If we are in a minority, we can prove worthy of our religion by remaining true to it in the face of coercion. The Prophet submitted to the coercion of the majority and remained

true to his faith. And when he found himself in a majority, he declared to his followers that there should be no compulsion in religion. Let us not again either by verbal or physical violence depart from the injunction, and by our own folly further put back the hands of the clock of progress.

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*2nd March, 1922*

## NEEDLESS NERVOUSNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I am sorry that I find a nervous fear among some Hindus and Mahomedans that I am undermining their faith and that I am even doing irreparable harm to India by my uncompromising preaching of non-violence. They seem almost to imply that violence is their creed. I touch a tender spot if I talk about extreme non-violence in their presence. They confound me with texts from the Mahabharata and the Koran eulogising or permitting violence. Of the Mahabharata I can write without restraint, but the most devout Mahomedan will not, I hope, deny me the privilege of understanding the message of the Prophet. I make bold to say that violence is the creed of no religion and that, whereas non-violence in most cases is obligatory in all, violence is merely permissible in some cases. But I have not put before India the final form of non-violence. The non-violence that I have preached from Congress platforms is non-violence as a policy. But even policies require honest adherence in thought, word and deed. If I believe that honesty is the best policy, surely whilst I so believe, I must be honest in thought, word and deed; otherwise I become an imposter. Non-violence being a policy means

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that it can upon due notice be given up when it proves unsuccessful or ineffective. But simple morality demands that, whilst a particular policy is pursued, it must be pursued with all one's heart. It is simple policy to march along a certain route, but the soldier who marches with an unsteady step along that route is liable to be summarily dismissed. I become therefore incredulous when people talk to me sceptically about non-violence or are seized with fright at the very mention of the word non-violence. If they do not believe in the expedient of non-violence, they must denounce it but not claim to believe in the expedient when their heart resists it. How disastrous it would be, if, not believing in violence even as an expedient, I joined, say a violence party and approached a gun with a perturbed heart! The reader will believe me when I say that I have the capacity for killing a fly. But I do not believe in killing even flies. Now suppose I joined an expedition for fly killing as an expedient. Will I not be expected, before being permitted to join the expedition, to use all the available engines of destruction, whilst I remained in the army of fly killers? If those who are in the Congress and the Khilafat Committees will perceive this simple truth, we shall certainly either finish the struggle this year to a successful end, or be so sick of non-violence as to give up the pretention and set about devising some other programme.

I hold that Swami Shraddhanandji has been needlessly criticised for the proposition he intended to move. His argument is absolutely honest. He thinks that we, as a body, do not really believe in non-violence even as a policy. Therefore, we shall never fulfil the programme of Non-violence. Therefore, he says, let us go to the Councils and get what crumbs we may. He was trying

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to show the unreality of the position of those who believe in the policy with their lips, whereas they are looking forward to violence for final deliverance. I do say that, if Congressmen do not fully *believe* in the policy, they are doing an injury to the country by pretending to follow it. If violence is to be the basis of future government, the Councillors are undoubtedly the wisest. For it is through the Councils that, by the same devices by which the present administrators rule us, the Councillors hope to seize power from the former's hands. I have little doubt that those who nurse violence in their bosoms will find no benefit from the lip-profession of Non-violence. I urge, therefore, with all the vehemence at my command, that those who do not believe in non-violence should secede from the Congress and from Non-co-operation and prepare to seek election or re-join law courts or Government colleges as the case may be. Let there be no manner of doubt that Swaraj established by non-violent means will be different in kind from the Swaraj that can be established by armed rebellion. Police and punishments there will be, even under such Swaraj. But there would be no room for brutalities such as we witness to-day both on the part of the people and the Government. And those, whether they call themselves Hindus or Mussalmans, who do not fully believe in the policy of Non-violence, should abandon both Non-co-operation and Non-violence.

For me, I am positive that neither in the Koran nor in the Mahabharata there is any sanction for and approval of the triumph of violence. Though there is repulsion enough in Nature, she *lives* by attraction. Mutual love enables Nature to persist. Man does not live by destruction. Self-love compels regard for others. Nations cohere, because there is mutual regard among the

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individuals composing them. Some day we must extend the national law to the universe, even as we have extended the family law to form nations—a larger family. God has ordained that India should be such a nation. For so far as reason can perceive, India cannot become free by armed rebellion for generations. India can become free by refraining form national violence. India has now become tired of rule based upon violence. That to me is the message of the plains. The people of the plains do not know what it is to put up an organised armed fight. And they must become free, for they want freedom. They have realised that power seized by violence will only result in their greater grinding.

Such, at any rate, is the reasoning that has given birth to the *policy*, not the *dharma*, of Non-violence. And even as a Mussalman or a Hindu, believing in violence, applies the creed of Non-violence in his family, so are both called upon without question to apply the policy of Non-violence in their mutual relations and in their relation to other races and classes, not excluding Englishmen. Those who do not believe in this policy and do not wish to live up to it in full, retard the movement by remaining in it.

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*9th March, 1920*

## NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

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

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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, in the Koran.

Non-violence is a perfect state. It is a goal towards which all mankind moves naturally though unconsciously. 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 men and partly beasts 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.

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.

Therefore though I realise more than ever how far I am from that goal, for me the Law of complete Love is the law of my being. Each time I fail, my effort shall be all the more determined for my failure.

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But I am *not* preaching this final law through the Congress or the Khilafat organisation. I know my own limitations only too well. I know that any such attempt is foredoomed to failure. To expect a whole mass of men and women to obey that law all at once is not to know its working. But I do preach from the Congress platform the deductions of the law. What the Congress and the Khilafat organisations have accepted is but a fragment of the implications of that Law. Given true workers, the limited measure of its application can be realised in respect of vast masses of people within a short time. But the little measure of it to be true must satisfy the same test as the whole. A drop of water must yield to the analyst the same results as a lakeful. The nature of my non-violence towards my brother cannot be different from that of my non-violence to the universe. When I extend the love for my brother to the whole universe, it must still satisfy the same test.

A particular practice is a policy when its application is limited to time or space. Highest policy is therefore fullest practice. But honesty as policy while it lasts is not anything different from honesty as a creed. A merchant believing in honesty as a policy will sell the same measure and quality of cloth to the yard as a merchant with honesty as a creed. The difference between the two is that, while the political merchant will leave his honesty when it does not pay, the believing one will continue it, even though he should lose his all.

The political non-violence of the Non-co-operator does not stand this test in the vast majority of cases. Hence the prolongation of the struggle. Let no one blame the unbending English nature. The hardest fibre must melt in the fire of love. cannot be dislodged from that position because I know it. When British or other

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nature doe not respond, the fire is not strong enough. If it is there at all.

Our non-violence need not be of the strong, but it *has* to be of the truthful. We must not intend harm to the English or to our co-operating countrymen, if and whilst we claim to be non-violent. But the majority of us *have* intended harm, and we have refrained from doing it because of our weakness or under the ignorant belief that mere refraining from physical hurt amounted to a due fulfilment of our pledge. Our pledge of non-violence excludes the possibility of future retaliation. Some of us seem unfortunately to have merely postponed the date of revenge.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say that the policy of non-violence excludes the possibility of revenge when the policy is abandoned. But it does most emphatically exclude the possibility of future revenge after a successful termination of the struggle. Therefore, whilst we are pursuing the policy of non-violence, we are bound to be actively friendly to English administrators and their co-operators. I felt ashamed when I was told that in some parts of India it was not safe for Englishmen or well-known co-operators to move about safely. The disgraceful scenes that took place at a recent Madras meeting were a complete denial of non-violence. Those who howled down the Chairman because he was supposed to have insulted me, disgraced themselves and their policy. They wounded the heart of their friend and helper, Mr. Andrews. They injured their own cause. If the Chairman believed that I was a scoundrel, he had a perfect right to say so. Ignorance is no provocation. But a Non-co-operator is pledged to put up with the gravest provocation. Provocation there would be, when I act scoundrel-like. I grant that it will

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be enough to absolve every Non-co-operator from the pledge of Non-violence and that any Non-co-operator will be fully justified in taking my life for misleading him.

It may be that even cultivation of such limited non-violence is impossible in the majority of cases. It may be that we must not expect people even out of self-interest not to *intend* harm to the opponent whilst they are *doing* none. We must then, to be honest, clearly give up the use of the word 'non-violence' in connection with our struggle. The alternative need not be immediate resort to violence. But the people will not then be called upon to subject themselves to any discipline in non-violence. A person like me will not then feel called upon to shoulder the responsibility for Chauri Chaura.* The school of limited non-violence will then still flourish in its obscurity, but without the terrible burden of responsibility it carries to-day.†

* Riots broke out at Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces earlier in the year which necessitated the suspension of Civil Disobedience campaign. For details, *see* appendix.

† Mr. Gandhi amplified his views in the following notes in *Young India* of 9th March, 1922:

*Perplexed*—A correspondent from Lahore writes under date 3rd March:

"So far as the facts about 'Bardoli decision' have come to light, it appears the decision was arrived at either under the influence of Pundit Malaviya or under some far-fetched notions of non-violence. In the former case the act is most unworthy, and in the latter it is most unwise. Is not the ideal of the Congress Swaraj and not non-violence? People have imbibed non-violence generally, which surely must do for the Congress purpose. How the breaches like those at Bombay and Gorakhpur can make the engine come to a standstill, I cannot understand. And if M. Paul Richard (As to M. Richard's views, see *infra*) is true as to your aspirations of a World Leader through non-violence even at the cost of Indian interest, it is surely unbecoming and, excuse me to say, dishonest.

"And have you realised the effects of this sudden stand still? Mr.

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But if Non-violence is to remain the policy of the nation, for its fair name and that of humanity, we are bound to carry it out to the letter and in the spirit.

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Montagu's threat comes for that. Lord Reading and his Government are harder to us than ever before. It had almost yielded. As to the public, there is a general distrust prevailing among the classes and the masses. Surely it is difficult to make men play things of the hour and their disgust and disappointment show how the fight was carried on in right earnest. Don't you perceive that it is a shock and that two such shocks must enervate the combatants altogether?

"Besides, I have heard the responsible Mussalmans talk of withdrawing co-operation even from the Hindus. The fight is religious with them. It is the 'Jehad', I should say. God's Command and the Prophet's is no joke to start and to stop the 'Jehad' at will. If the Hindus should retire, they say they must devise their own course. Will you take care to ease one heart that feels uneasy on this account?"

It is impossible to withold sympathy from the writer. His letter is typical of the attitude I saw reflected in Delhi. I have already given the assurance that Pundit Malaviyaji had nothing to do with the Bardoli decision. Nor have any 'far-fetched notions of non-violence' anything to do with it. The correspondent's letter is the best justification for it. To me the Bardoli decision is the logical outcome of the national pledge of limited non-violence. I entirely endorse the opinion that Swaraj is the nation's goal, not non-violence. It is true that my goal is as much Swaraj as non-violence, because I hold Swaraj for the masses to be unattainable save through non-violence. But have I not repeatedly said in these columns that I would have India to become free even by violence rather than that she should remain in bondage? In slavery she is a helpless partner in the violence of the slave-holder. It is however true that I could not take part in a violent attempt at deliverance if only because I do not believe in the possibility of success by violence. I cannot pull the trigger against my worst enemy. If I succeed in convincing the world of the supremacy of the law of non-violence and the futility of violence for the progress of mankind, the correspondent will find that India will have automatically gained her end. But I freely confess my utter inability to do so without first convincing India that she can be free only by non-violent and truthful means and no other.

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And if we intend to follow out the policy, if we believe in it, we must then quickly make up with the Englishmen and the co-operators. We must get their

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I must further confess that what Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading would think of the decision did not concern me and therefore their threats do not perturb or affect me. Nor should they affect any non-co-operator. He burnt his boats when he embarked upon his mission. But this I know that if India becomes non-violent in intent, word and deed, even the hearts of Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading will be changed. As it is, marvellous though our progress has been in non-violent action, our hearts and our speech have not become non-violent. Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading do not believe in the sincerity of our profession or in the possibility of sincere workers succeeding in creating a truly non-violent atmosphere. What is therefore required is more and yet more non-violence 'in intent', word and deed.

As for the people, I have little doubt that they will survive the purifying shock. I regard the present depression as a prelude to steady progress. But should it prove otherwise, the truth of the Bardoli decision cannot be denied. It stands independent of public approval. God is, even though the whole world deny Him. Truth *stands*, even if there be no public support. It is self-sustained.

I should be sorry, indeed, if responsible Mussalmans will not see the obvious corollaries of non-violence. In my opinion, the fight is as religious with Hindus as with Mussalmans. I agree that ours is a spiritual 'Jehad'. But a 'Jehad' has, like all other wars, its strict restrictions and limitations. The Hindus and Mussalmans sail in the same boat. The dissatisfaction is common to both and it is open to both to dissolve partnership with each other. Either or both may also depose me from generalship. It is purely a partnership at will. Finally I assure the correspondent that, when I find that I cannot carry conviction home to the people, I shall withdraw from the command myself.

*Other Implications.*—I invite the reader to study the leading article (given above) of the week on non-violence. The article became fairly long even with a discussion of the main principles. I did not therefore discuss the important side issues in it but reserved them for the Notes.

Such for instance are the questions :

(1) When can even individual Civil Disobedience be resumed ?

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certificate that they feel absolutely safe in our midst and that they may regard us as friends, although we belong to a radically different school of thought and politics. We must welcome them to our political platforms as honoured guests. We must meet them on neutral

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(2) What kind of violence will stop Civil Disobedience?

(3) Is there room for self-defence in the limited conception of Non-violence?

(4) Supposing the Mussalmans or the Hindus secede, can a non-violent campaign be carried on by one community alone?

(5) Supposing Hindus and Mussalmans both reject me, what would become of my preaching?

I shall take the questions seriatim. Civil Disobedience—even individual civil disobedience—requires a tranquil atmosphere. It must not be commenced till the workers have assimilated the spirit of Non-violence and have procured a certificate of merit from the co-operators whether English or Indian, *i.e.*, till they have really ceased to think ill of them. The surest test will be when our meetings are purged of intolerance and our writings of bitterness. Another necessary test will be our serious handling of the constructive programme. If we cannot settle down to it, to me it will be proof positive of our disbelief in the capacity of Non-violence to achieve the purpose.

*Non-violent Atmosphere*—It is not every kind of violence that will stop Civil Disobedience. I should not be dismayed by family feuds even though they may be sanguinary. Nor will the violence of robbers baffle me though they would be to me an indication of the absence of general purification. It is political violence which *must* stop Civil Disobedience. Chauri Chanura was an instance of political violence. It arose from a political demonstration which we should have avoided if we were not capable of conducting it absolutely peacefully. I did not allow Malabar and Malegaon to interrupt our course, because the Moplahs were a special people and they had not come under the influence of non-violence to any appreciable extent. Malegaon is more difficult, but there is clear evidence that the chief Non-co-operators had tried their best to prevent the murders. Nor was mass Civil Disobedience imminent at the time. It could not interrupt individual civil disobedience elsewhere.

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platforms as comrades. We must devise methods of such meeting. Our non-violence must not breed violence, hatred and ill-will. We stand like the rest of fellow mortals to be judged by our works. A programme of Non-violence for the attainment of Swaraj necessarily means ability to conduct our affairs on non-violent lines. That means inculcation of a spirit of obedience. Mr. Churchill, who understands only the gospel of force, is quite right in saying that the Irish problem is different in character from the Indian. He means in effect that the Irish having fought their way to their Swaraj through violence will be well able to maintain it by violence, if need be. India, on the other hand, if she wins Swaraj in reality by Non-violence, must be able to maintain it chiefly by non-violent means. This Mr. Churchill can hardly believe to be possible unless India proves her ability by an ocular demonstration of the principle. Such a demonstration is impossible, unless Non-violence has permeated society so that people in their *corporate, i.e.* political, life respond to non-violence, in other words civil instead of military authority, as at present, gains predominance.

Swaraj by non-violent means can therefore 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 people's representatives will be as natural as the dropping of a fully ripe fruit from a well nurtured 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. And if the present workers do not believe in the probability of achieving such comparatively non-violent atmosphere, they should drop the non-violent programme and frame another which is

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wholly different in character. 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

* Mr. Gandhi was never tired of emphasising that no provocation would justify resort to violence. The following appeared in *Young India* of 1st December, 1921:

*Beware of Rumours.*—One of the many lessons to be learnt from the events is that we must never believe rumours and that we must have Congress and Khilafat officers in every ward or large street where people can verify rumours. If we are acting as one man with one mind, and we must if we are to succeed—we must learn never to act without thinking and on mere rumours. Three fourths of the panic was caused by mischievous rumours. What does it matter if the people hear of temples destroyed or some big leader killed or injured? They may not act without advice. Does an individual soldier act on his own behalf on hearing of a general's death or of a desecration of his mosque or temple? If he were to act so, he would harm the cause and be liable even to be shot. It is much more necessary for us to act in concert when we are willing soldiers of peace and more capable of restraint than armed soldiers and when we have to win not a single battle but the freedom of our country and religions.

In *Young India* of 13th July, 1921, the following note appeared:

*Difficulties in the Way*—I am not however blind to the difficulties that bestrew our path. The news from Aligadh is disquieting. I have seen the official version and the other in the *Indenpendent*. I shall apologise to the people of Aligadh if I find that I am in the wrong, but the *Indenpendent* correspondent's version is evasive and attempts to prove too much. It does not deny incendiarism on the part of the mob, and seeks entirely to exculpate the latter. I shall require overwhelmingly strong evidence to prove that the authorities in Aligarh acted wantonly and maliciously without the slightest provocation. I am quite prepared to find that the police wanted to prevent an aggressive demonstration on the part of the mob, and that in so doing they lost self-restraint and opened fire. My point, however, is that there should be no aggressiveness on our part at all. Non-co-operators must not bully or threaten. We are developing quite an irresistible courage which comes only from waiting upon God, in other words, from absolute faith in the righteousness of our

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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 force

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cause. If we want to finish our programme successfully and during this year, we have no time for bluster or a show of force. We must be scrupulously truthful to our pledge. We can succeed beyond all expectation, only if we remain non-violent in thought, word and deed. It need not be our final creed, but it must be our present creed for the attainment of our goal. There need be no difficulty in our not thinking or speaking ill of our adversary, as we have found it easy enough on the whole to restrain ourselves from doing ill to him. We must not use the pledge of non-violence and truth to cover violence and exaggeration, if not untruth. Nor must we be afraid to let our best comrades go to jail. I adhere to the belief so often expressed by me, that Pandit Sundarlal and now Pandit Makhanlal are serving the community better being in jail for the sake of conscience, than they would have being free. Those who think otherwise, in my opinion, do not understand the dynamics of Non-co-operation. The dynamic force behind this great movement is not vocal propaganda, but the silent propaganda carried on by the sufferings of the innocent victims of a mad Government.

Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 6th October, 1921, under the heading, *an Apt Anecdote:* Maulana Azad Sobani, who has been doing wonderful work for Swadeshi, was telling me a thrilling story of Egyptian coolness and bravery. He told me that once the soldiers surrounded an Egyptian mosque and wanted to prevent nationalist propaganda inside it. The congregation was listening to a young man speaking to it. He would not desist and was shot. The congregation remained unmoved. Another young man took up the discourse and was shot whilst he was going on, and thus seven young men were shot till the discourse was finished, the congregation remaining unmoved all the while the glorious sacrifice was going on. The Egyptians do not believe in non-violence. But they are fine soldiers. They did not want the mosque to be blown to pieces nor the whole congregation in a vain attempt to retaliate. They wanted to show that they would not be cowed down, and no orders could bend their spirit. And so, as if nothing had happened, the discourse was finished. Death and life became with the congregation synonymous terms. The moral of the story is unmistakable. We who are pledged to

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of arms. For the unbelievers, the Councils are undoubtedly the school of learning with their heavy programme of humiliations spread over a few generations or a rapid but bloody revolution probably never witnessed before in the world. I have no desire to take part in such a revolution. I will not be a willing instrument for promoting it. The choice, in my opinion, lies between honest Non-violence

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non-violence are endeavouring to cultivate the bravery of the seven young Egyptians and the congregation. We must acquire the courage to face death in the pursuit of our goal without even wishing to kill, and victory during the remaining three months is a certainty.

On the use of arms, in *Young India* of 21st July, 1921, Mr. Gandhi wrote :

*The Kirpan.*—The Kirpan—the Shikh scimitar is for the Shikh, 'what', says the Secretary of the Shikh Young Men's Association, 'the sacred thread is to the Brahman.' And now the Punjab Government is trying to divest the Shikhs of their 'sacred thread' by restricting its length and breadth. Much as I abhor the possession or the use of arms, I cannot reconcile myself to forcible prohibition. As I said three years ago, this forcible disarmament of a people will be regarded by history as one of the blackest sins committed by the British Government against India. If people want to possess arms, they ought to have them without ado. But in the case of the Shikhs who have held Kirpans without let or hindrance all these years, the crime is worse. The Secretary has no difficulty in proving, that this war against the kirpan has synchronised with repressive measures adopted against this brave community. The reason too is obvious. The Shikhs have attained political consciousness. They are not content merely to kill at the bidding of their officers. They want to weigh the pros and cons of a cause in which they are called upon to fight. Above all, they want to know where they come in! They want to become equal partners. This is intolerable, and they must be put down. The bravest among them have, as the Government imagine, been silenced. I can only hope that rather than surrender their sacred weapon, the Shikhs will court imprisonment. We cannot learn discipline by compulsion. We must learn not to use arms or to use them with responsibility and self-restraint, notwithstanding the right to possess them.

with Non-co-operation as its necessary corollary, or reversion to responsive co-operation, *i.e.*, co-operation *cum* obstruction.

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*8th December, 1920*

## SOCIAL BOYCOTT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes from Hyderabad(Sind) a letter* regarding boycott which I gladly publish. He refers to what is alleged to have happened to Mr. Khaparde. Hyderabad (Sind) is a far cry from Amraoti. I do not know that Mr. Khaparde has been put to all the inconveniences that the correspondent relates. Mr. Khaparde is well able to take care of himself. I hope, however, that there is much exaggeration in the information supplied to the correspondent about the treatment.

Nevertheless, the issue raised by the correspondent is important and serious. It would be a dangerous thing if, for differences of opinion, we were to proclaim social boycott.

It would be totally opposed to the doctrine of Non-violence to stop the supply of water and food. This battle of Non-co-operation is a programme of propaganda by reducing profession to practice, not one of compelling others to yield obedience by violence direct or indirect. We must try patiently to convert our opponents. If we wish to evolve the spirit of democracy out of slavery, we must be scrupulously exact in our dealings with opponents. We may not replace the slavery of the Government by that of the Non-co-operationists. We must concede to our opponents the freedom we claim for

* Omitted in this collection

ourselves and for which we are fighting. The stoutest co-operationist will bend to the stern realities of practice if there is real response from the people.

But there is a non-violent boycott which we shall be bound to practise, if we are to make any impression. We must not compromise with what we believe to be an untruth, whether it resides in a white skin or a brown. Such boycott is political boycott. We may not receive favours from the new Councillors. The voters, if they are true to their pledge, will be bound to refrain from making use of the services of those whom they have declined to regard as their representatives. They must ratify their verdict by complete abstention from any encouragement of the so-called representatives.

The public will be bound, if they are Non-co-operationists, to refrain from giving these representatives any prestige by attending their political functions or parties.

I can conceive the possibility of non-violent social ostracism under certain extreme conditions, when a defiant minority refuses to bend to the majority, not out of any regard for principle, but from sheer defiance or worse. But that time has certainly not arrived. Ostracism of a violent character, such as the denial of the use of public wells is a species of barbarism, which I hope will never be practised by any body of men having any desire for national self-respect and national uplift. We will free neither Islam nor India by processes of coercion,* whether among ourselves or against Englishmen.

* *Young India* of 2nd February 1922, contained the following: *Sifting Dhurna*—Some students of Calcutta have revived the ancient form of barbarity in the form of 'sitting dhurna'. 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

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*16th February, 1921*

## SOCIAL BOYCOTT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Non-co-operation being a movement of purification is bringing to the surface all our weaknesses as also excesses of even our strong points. Social boycott is an age-old institution. It is coeval 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 excommunicate. 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-co-operation, 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

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using coercion. It is also cowardly because one who sits 'dhurna' 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 the over-zealous students who sat *dhurna* never thought of the barbarity of the deed. But one, who is expected to follow the voice of conscience and stand even singlehanded in the face of odds, cannot afford to be thoughtless. Non-co-operation, if it fails, will fail only through internal weakness. There is no such thing as defeat in Non-co-operation. It never fails. Its so-called representatives may so badly represent their cause that it may appear to the spectators to have failed. Let Non-co-operationists therefore beware of everything they do. There must be no impatience, no barbarity, no insolence, no undue pressure. If we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy, we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause.—M. K. G.

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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, as is reported to have been done in Jhansi, 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-co-operators 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 religious 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.

* In *Young India* of 9th March, 1922, commenting on a letter received by him from a well-known resident of Feni in the Noakhali district alleging that the Congress Volunteer corps had become an organisation for bad characters, that the whole country thereabout was under it and that these were guilty of extortion, terrorism and humiliating rowdyism, Mr. Gandhi wrote asking the Congress Committee to enquire:

An inquiry therefore is a simple matter. Meanwhile, as I know that publication is also half the remedy, I gladly place the columns of *Young India* at the disposal of those who can send authentic instances of intimidation, coercion, assaults, social boycott by or on behalf of Non-co-operators whether Congressmen or Khilafatists. Indeed every Congressman is a Khilafatist, and every Khilafatist is a Congressman,

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-co-operation, is a movement fraught with great good to the country. People will 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.

It is much to be desired if we can bring about a complete *voluntary* boycott of law courts. That one event can bring about Swaraj. But it was never expected that we would reach completion in any single item of Non-co-operation. Public opinion has been so far

but since we have two organisations in the country I appeal to both to be merciless in exposing our own wrong-doing. I could find a thousand excuses for the wrong-doing of the administrators if only because we impute to them nothing better, whereas we claim to be immaculate so far as Non-violence and honesty are concerned. We shall bring the struggle to a successful issue far more quickly by being strict with ourselves. There is no excuse whatsoever for intimidation, coercion, assault or social boycott on our part. I would urge the correspondents, who may send me letters of complaints, to be briefs strictly accurate and to write in a clear hand on one side of the paper, only. It is not an easy matter to go through the heavy correspondence pouring in from day to day. Compliance with this simple request will ensure quicker attention. Correspondents will take care to avoid vague generalisations. Specific details as in the Noakhali letter are absolutely necessary to inspire belief and to assist inquiry.

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developed as to recognise the Courts as signs not of our liberty but of our slavery. It has made it practically impossible for lawyers to practise their profession and be called popular leaders.

Non-co-operation has greatly demolished the prestige of law courts and to that extent of the Government. The disintegrating process is slowly but surely going on. Its velocity will suffer diminution if violent methods are adopted to hasten it. This Government of ours is armed to the teeth to meet and check forces of Non-violence. How can a handful of Englishmen resist a voluntary expression of opinion accompanied by the voluntary self-denial of thirty crores of people?

I hope, therefore, that Non-co-operation workers 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. Attendance 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. The use of it is not as yet in any form a duty. No one is entitled to its use, if there is any danger of hurting the movement.

* Further commenting on social ostracism, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 28th April, 1920:

A writer in the *Times of India*, the Editor of that wonderful daily and Mrs. Besant have all in their own manner condemned Non-

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*18th December, 1920*

## HOOLIGANISM

(By M. K. GANDHI)

The columns of "Young India" are open to all who have any grievance against Non-co-operators. 'One who knows' has sent to the Editor a letter which I gladly publish.* He has in a covering letter given his name and pleaded for the publication of his letter. Such pleading was unnecessary in connection with a matter

* Omitted in this collection.

co-operation conceived in connection with the Khilafat movement. All the three writings naturally discuss many side-issues which I shall omit for the time being. I propose to answer two serious objections raised by the writers. The sobriety with which they are stated entitles them to a greater consideration than if they had been given in violent language. In Non-co-operation, the writers think, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid violence. Indeed violence, the *Times of India* editorial says, has already commenced in that ostracism has been resorted to in Calcutta and Delhi. Now I fear that ostracism to a certain extent is impossible to avoid. I remember, in South Africa, in the initial stages of the passive resistance campaign those who had fallen away were ostracised. Ostracism is violent or peaceful according to the manner in which it is practised. A congregation may well refuse to recite prayers after a priest who prizes his title above his honour. But the ostracism will become violent if the individual life of a person is made unbearable by insults, innuendoes or abuse. The real danger of violence lies in the people resorting to Non-co-operation, becoming impatient and revengeful. This may happen, if, for instance, payment of taxes is suddenly withdrawn or if pressure is put upon soldiers to lay down their arms. I, however, do not fear any evil consequences, for the simple reason that every responsible Mahomedan understands that Non-co-operation to be successful must be totally unattended with violence. The other objection raised is that those who may give up their service may have to starve. That is just a possibility but a remote one, for the committee will certainly make due provision for those who may suddenly find themselves out of employment.

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of public importance. If the facts related by the correspondent are true, they reflect no credit on the young men of Dharwad. The correspondent has connected the incident with Non-co-operation. It is the fashion nowadays to connect every incident of indecent behaviour with Non-co-operation. I wish that the incident had been brought to my notice when I was at Dharwad. I would then have been able to investigate the matter and dealt with it then. I may state that stones were thrown at a meeting of Dharwad students that was held by me in the open. One boy narrowly escaped being seriously hurt. And it was a pleasure to watch the audience remaining unmoved in spite of the stone-throwing. I was told too that stone-throwing at meetings was not an unusual occurrence at Dharwad in connection with the non-Brahmin movement. I state this fact only to show that Dharwad enjoys the unenviable reputation for stone-throwing in a special manner. I must therefore decline to connect the incident either with Non-co-operation or with any anti-European movement. Though the correspondent's letter is obscure on the point, it is evident from what he says that resentment was felt at the idea of girls taking part in a drama. The correspondent says that the drama was dropped 'in the nick of time at the desire of the guardians.' There must have been persistence to provoke resentment.

But my position is clear. No amount of provocat could possibly justify the hooliganism of the 'm young men'. They had no right to prevent the perfo mance that was at last determined upon, if the guardians of the girls did not mind it. The truest test of democracy is in the ability of anyone to act as he likes, so long as he does not injure the life or property of anyone

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else. It is impossible to control public morals by hooliganism. Public opinion alone can keep a society pure and healthy. If the young men of Dharwad did not like a public exhibition of Dharwad girls on the stage, they should have held public meetings and otherwise enlisted public opinion in their favour. The movement of Non-co-operation is intended to check all such abuses. Non-co-operationists are undoubtedly expected, not only to refrain from taking part in such violent scenes as are represented to have taken place at Dharwad, but they are expected also to prevent them on the part of others. The success of Non-co-operation depends upon the ability of Non-co-operationists to control all forces of violence. All may not take part in the programme of self-sacrifice but all must recognise the necessity of non-violence in word or deed.

I am surprised that the correspondent in his covering letter speaks of the hooliganism at Dharwad in the same breath as the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. He loses all sense of proportion when he compares the cold-blooded and calculated butchery of innocent men, who had given no provocation, with the undisciplined and thoughtless demonstration of a 'mob of young men,' who were labouring under a fancied or real wrong. Both acts are worthy of condemnation. But there is as much difference between the programme of the Dharwad boys and the Dyerism at Amritsar as there is between an attempt at simple hurt and a completed murder.

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*10th November, 1919*

## DIFFICULTIES IN OUR WAY

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Our difficulties are of two kinds; those that are imposed from without and those that are of our own creation. The latter are far more dangerous, because we often hug them and are therefore reluctant to remove them. Thus, for instance, the disturbance created at Mrs. Besant's recent meetings at Bombay was of our own making.* And it is easier to deal with a seditious meetings proclamation than the disturbance at Mrs. Besant's meetings. A prohibition of 'seditious' meetings gives

* Mr. Gandhi condemned hooliganism wherever found. He wrote in *Young India* of 23rd February, 1921:

Certainly, Non-co-operation has received a rude shock by disgraceful behaviour at the Bombay and Poona meetings towards Messrs. Shastri and Paranjpye. I have seen the explanation that the hooliganism was resorted to, not by Non-co-operation students but by those who wanted to discredit the movement itself, and to rouse prejudice against Non-co-operation students. The explanation is likely to be partly true, for there are undoubtedly men who would for the sake of killing the movement even create violence. For Non-co-operation to be speedily successful, we must be able to provide even against such contingencies. A soldier cannot plead difficulties in defence of his defeat. When General Buller failed to relieve Lady Smith, he was superseded. When Lord Roberts failed to finish the South African War, Lord Kitchener took over command. This Government will live on only so long as it can circumvent Non-co-operation. If Non-co-operation students did not want to be discredited, why did they attend the meeting either in Bombay or in Poona? The notices clearly stated that only those who wished to hear the other side of the question were to attend. There was, therefore, no excuse for the scenes that were enacted in Bombay and Poona. Moreover, it is often forgotten that Messrs. Shastri and Paranjpye are among the ablest and the most public-spirited men we have in the country. They are as much lovers of their country as Non-co-operators themselves. We may consider them to be mistaken in their view as they consider us to

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its strength. Disturbances created by us undoubtedly weaken our cause. The verbal rowdyism at Mrs. Besant's meeting was a type of violence. It was a distinct departure from the creed of non-violent Non-co-operation. It may easily result in physical violence.

Those who created the disturbance ought to realise its seriousness for the sacred cause they have at heart. It is the very worst training we can give ourselves in Swaraj. Swaraj presupposes mutual toleration of views, no matter how distasteful they may be to us. If the Non-co-operationists refuse to listen to the other party's views, they lay themselves open to the same charge as the Government, which, they complain, comes to decisions without considering their view point. Non-co-operation against the Government is based on, and is possible with, co-operation among ourselves. We must bring about, as far as possible and consistently with our creed, harmony among ourselves. Rowdyism is hardly the way to do so. By their action at the meetings in question, Non-co-operationists have still further estranged from themselves Mrs. Besant and her friends and followers. The loss is patent enough. They have certainly gained no new adherents by their rowdyism. In so far as the students were concerned in the insult offered to Mrs. Besant, they have discredited themselves at a critical period in their

be mistaken. But we shall grievously err if we refuse to listen to the arguments of our opponents.

Nor need we seek to justify rowdyism on the strength of English precedents. We may not call the movement religious and continue still to copy the bluster and violence of English meetings. Our strength lies in not copying foreign or other precedents without discrimination. This movement, if it is to be non-violent in essence, as it must be, to be successful, has to retain its distinctive character at every step and at all times—M. K. G.

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evolution. They are called upon, in the name of religion and country, to disregard the wishes even of their parents, should they dissuade them from leaving schools tainted with Government grant or affiliation. Such disregard is permissible only to sons and daughters who have cultivated the sense of scrupulous respect and obedience towards their parents and elders. That disobedience is a virtue only when it is resorted to in response to a higher call and has not a trace of bitterness, hostility, or resentment in it. It is a positive vice when it becomes thoughtless, insolent, and rowdy. The one ennobles, the other degrades. And after all, do we not owe anything to Mrs. Besant's years, her past brilliant services, and her sex? The rising generation will commit suicide if it becomes ungrateful. India's gratefulness ought to ensure for Mrs. Besant a respectful hearing even when she opposes Indian sentiment. She does so from pure motives. She thinks that we are in error, she is of opinion that we are retarding India's progress. Surely it is her duty to wean us from what she considers is our error. And it is our duty respectfully to consider what she says.

But I have been told that unless, at her meetings, an emphatic dissent is expressed, she would make capital of our supposed silence, and claim that there is a larger body of Indian opinion at her back than is really the case. Surely rowdyism is not the only way of expressing dissent. The best and the chosen way would be not to attend her meetings, unless we wish to go in order to be convinced. We need not swell her audience when we know that we do not approve of her views. The other way, if we must attend, is to enter our respectful dissent at the end of the meeting, or if we consider her remarks to be offensive, to express our dissent by court-

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ously walking out. A noisy demonstration is a sign of our weakness. A dignified withdrawal is a proof of our strength. Rowdyism is, as a rule, intended to cover a minority that wishes to break up a meeting. A majority conscious of its strength produces an eloquent and electrical effect both on the speaker, and his, or, her, minority of followers.

It is true that this rowdyism is not a result of the movement of Non-co-operation. It is a legacy of our past. We have been, to our harm, nurtured in the baneful traditions of the West in the manner of conducting our meetings. Applause and shouts of dissent are essentially a Western institution. With the new method of *non-violent* Non-co-operation, the old must go. The two cannot co-exist. If we are engaged in a dual between religion and irreligion, and if we truly represent the forces of religion, we shall have to give up even verbal violence and learn dignified ways of dealing with our opponents. It is through training in cool courage and self-sacrifice, discipline and faith in God, and therefore humility to the uttermost, that we shall conserve the honour of Islam and our country, and turn our opponents into admirers and fellow-workers.

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*24th May, 1920*

## LALA LAJPAT RAI AND THE MODERATES

Let me take the *Indian Social Reformer* into the secret of my methods.* My assistant drew my attention to the hostile criticism of Lalaji's speech and asked me whether I wished to say anything upon it. I had not

* Written in reply to a suggestion that Mr. Gandhi was condoning if not conniving at the violence of words of his followers.

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the text of his speech before me, nor had seen any criticism. I therefore wrote to Lalaji, asking him to enlighten me on the matter, and suggesting that he should apologise, if a single hasty word was uttered. It has been my privilege on close acquaintance to find him generous, forgiving and frank. He said in his letter that his Bombay speech was a specially considered utterance, and that he had not attacked any person in it. He had only dealt with the action of the Moderates as a party. He sent me the cutting for my opinion. This was whilst I was in Sindh. I was unable to read it and had forgotten all about it, till the *Reformer's* rebuke reminded me of it. I have now read Lalaji's speech and have much pleasure in stating that I find nothing offensive or discourteous in it. It is undoubtedly in Lalaji's fighting style. It is a party speech. He has adopted, by long residence in the West, the Western form of criticism. But it is best Western form. There is nothing vulgar in it. His charges are not unjustified by the conduct of the Moderate Ministers. His worst charge is that they have merged themselves in the bureaucracy. It is a serious charge to make, but the instances adduced by him surely prove it. The Moderates may retort, if they choose, that outsiders cannot appreciate the difficulties of the Ministers. But that is just what proves the error of the great leaders who find themselves allied with the Government. They should have known that such would be their lot, or they should now know by experience that it is no use being Ministers, until they have an effective control over the Government policy. All the repression that is now going on, is almost as bad as before. It makes little difference that now there is the farce of a trial. The fact is that most of the political sections of the Penal

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could are such as to bring almost every Non-co-operation speech under them. I believe that, if I was charged, I should have to plead guilty to the charge of sedition. It is the duty of a Non-co-operator to preach disaffection towards the existing order of things. Non-co-operators are but giving disciplined expression to a nation's outraged feelings. I should like to see a considered reply to Lala Lajpat Rai's strong indictment. In my humble opinion, the speech of Lala Lajpat Rai does not betray any loss of temper, and is quite in keeping with the advice he tendered the youth of the country in his concluding paragraphs.

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*17th November, 1921*

## WHAT IS ABUSE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent from the United Provinces writes:

"Now-a-days the atmosphere is surcharged with clamorous denunciations against the Government. Almost all have on their lips an inexhaustible fund of abuse for it. Everyone calls it wicked, uncivilised, and what not. Every one, as it were, makes it his special study how to outdo the rest in abusing the Government. Practically every speech is a mere list of invectives and imprecations. Not a single lecture but is replete with effusions and fulminations, and the fun of it is that only such a lecture is called soul-stirring. In short, the thing has come to a head. It has become a fashion as it were.

"I for my part heartily abhor this evil. Fuming and fretting, in my view, is indicative of weakness. It shows the total dearth of energy in doing real work on the part of the speaker, who wants to draw a veil on it by thundering forth before his audience his abusive eloquence. In my strict view of the matter, no angry word, not even against the Government, should be uttered. True, we are an injured nation, and our anger is a righteous one. But should we give vent to that anger by abuse? Should we direct our

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energy in this channel? On the contrary, should we not profitably utilise whatever amount of energy we waste in abuse in doing substantial work? Surely abusing is not doing real work, nor is it a service to the motherland.

"Violence, to me, does not mean actually assaulting and killing others, but covers also bad language. If so, I cannot see how to justify your own use of the epithets, "satanic," "devilish" and "barbarous" for the Government. There is not the least shadow of doubt that these words come under violence, but that you being the apostle of non-violence utter violence is even in dream unimaginable.

So much for abusive language. Now I take up another question. You always say that you and your followers have arrayed yourselves against the English Government, and not against Englishmen. While you hate the system and want either to mend it or end it, you have absolutely no ill-feeling towards Englishmen themselves. Clearly therefore, though you want to do away with the system, you do not desire to expel the English. If so, even those who claim to be your true followers have not imbibed this high principle. I may substantiate this with a typical instance. In the U. P. Political Conference recently held at Agra Pt. Jawahirlal Nehru while advocating the boycott of foreign cloth, said that if there were any who earnestly desired to expel the English from India, he was one of them, and the means he had found for achieving this was only Swadeshi. This has appeared in the press, and I think you might have read it. Now, can Pt. Jawahirlal Nehru be said to have understood your doctrine which makes us differentiate between a man and his action, so as to make it quite possible for us to condemn the man's action without bearing any ill-will towards him? Here at least, I can emphatically say that Nehruji's words can be justified in no case, but still I want to know whether you approve or disapprove of them."

In so far as Non-co-operators indulge in *abuse*, it is undoubtedly violence, and a breach of the pledge of Non-violence. But I must dissent from the opinion that 'practically every speech is a mere list of invectives and imprecations.' I assure the writer that the speeches are as full of invectives against ourselves as against the Government, and they are more full of argument

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in favour of Non-violence, Hindu-Muslim unity and Swadeshi than of invectives. The best proof of my statement perhaps is, that the people have made such wonderful response in all these three matters. Surely the people have not made the progress without having been effectively appealed to.

But after all, what is abuse? I find that the dictionary meaning is 'misuse, perversion, bad use.' When therefore we call a thief a thief or a rogue a rogue, we do not abuse him. A leper takes no offence, being described as such. Only the man using a particular adjective must mean it and be prepared to prove it. I am therefore unable to condemn the use of adjectives in every case and on every occasion, nor is the use of condemnatory adjectives always a sign of violence. I am fully aware that the use of even deserved adjectives may be a sign of violence, as it would be when it is used to excite violence against the person condemned. Condemnation is legitimately used when it is employed to wean the person from his bad habit or the audience from association with him. The Hindu Shastras are full of condemnation of evil-doers. They have pronounced curses upon them. Tulasidas who was the quality of mercy personified has filled the Ramayana with adjectives against the enemies of Rama, which it would be difficult to excel. Indeed the names themselves chosen for the evil-doers are significant of their qualities. Jesus did not hesitate to draw down divine wrath upon those whom he called 'a generation of vipers, hypocrites, whited sepulchres.' Buddha did not spare those who killed the innocent goats in the name of religion. Nor are the Koran or the Zend Avesta free from such use. Only all these seers and prophets had no evil intention in them. They had to describe persons and things as they were,

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and resort to language so as to enable us to make our choice between good and evil. Having said this much, I am at one with the writer that the more sparing we are in describing the Government or the Governors, the better it is for us. There is too much passion and too much evil in ourselves to warrant the constant use of offensive language. The best use we can make of this Government is to ignore its existence and to isolate it as much as possible from our life, believing that contact with it is corrupting and degrading.

I have said repeatedly that this movement is not intended to drive out the English; it is intended to end or mend the system they have forced upon us. I have not read Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru's speech* referred to by the correspondent, but I know him too well to believe that he could have said what is imputed to him. I know that he does not desire their withdrawal from wanton delight and that he will be the first man to harbour as a bosom friend every Englishman who is a lover of India and who wishes to remain as her servant indeed. Nor even in an independent India, do we contemplate prohibition against the residence of Englishmen in our midst on terms settled by the future state of our hope.

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*8th September, 1920*

## DEMOCRACY *vs.* MOBOCRACY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Looking at the surface there is but a thin dividing line between mob-law and the people's law. And yet the division is complete and will persist for all time.

* Pandit Jawahirlal subsequently wrote to *Young India* clearing himself of the charges against him.

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India is to-day quickly passing through the mob-law stage. The use of the adverb signifies my hope. It may be our misfortune to have to pass through that process even in slow stages. But it is wisdom to adopt every means at our disposal to have done with that stage as quickly as possible.

There is much tendency on our part to yield to the rule of the mob. There was mob rule at Amritsar on the 10th April, 1919. There was mob rule at Ahmedabad on the same fateful day. It represented undisciplined destruction and therefore it was thoughtless, profitless, wicked and harmful. War is disciplined destruction, much more bloody than any yet committed by mobs. And yet war has been apostrophised, because we have been deceived by the temporary but brilliant results achieved by some wars. So, if India has to achieve her freedom by violence, it will have to be by disciplined and honourable (in so far as it is possible to associate honour with violence) violence, named war. It will then be an act not of mobocracy, but democracy.

But my purpose to-day is not to write of mobocracy of the Ahmedabad type. I intend to deal with the type with which I am more familiar. The Congress is a demonstration for the mob and in that sense and that only. Though organised by thoughtful men and women, it may be called a mob-demonstration. Our popular demonstrations are unquestionably mob-demonstrations. During the memorable tour of the Khilafat mission through the Punjab, Sindh and Madras, I have had a surfeit of such demonstrations.* I have been

*Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 27th October, 1920, under the heading, "Our late tour":

My experiences are becoming so much enriched by every tour that it is difficult for me to cope with them and give the results to the

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ashamed to witness, at railway stations, thoughtless though unwitting destruction of passengers' luggage by demonstrators who, in their adoration of their heroes, have ignored everything else and everybody

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reader. I must therefore content myself with adding to the stock on the necessity of discipline and organisation. I have dealt with our experiences upto the journey to Cawnpore. I was dreading our approach to Cawnpore—the Cawnpore of Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Dr. Murarilal. They are both great workers. The arrangements at the station were perfect. A large crowd awaited us at the station. But the discipline observed was so good that we were able to make our way through two solid rows of men without a single member moving before we had taken our seats in the cars. What might have meant a waste of thirty minutes was finished within five. The procession was happily abandoned. The programme was as business-like as the reception at the station. We reached at about 8 o'clock. We had only a day at our disposal, but during that time there was a meeting with the workers, a private interview with Mr. Frazier Hunt of the "Chicago Tribune", a visit to the Widows' Home, opening of a national Gujarati School, a meeting of the Gujarati ladies (a crowded ladies meeting), opening of a national arbitration court, an open-air meeting, and finally private chats with visitors. All this was finished without any undue rush and strain. There was at first a little confusion at the open-air meeting. It was discovered that no previous instructions were given to the volunteers. But after a little effort, there too perfect silence reigned, and the audience listened to three heavy speeches amid perfect silence. It is my conviction that as soon as we have organised and disciplined ourselves, *Swaraj* will be established. An organised refusal to be ruled by any foreign power is all that is needed in a country like ours. Lucknow was a contrast. . . . The night journey to Bhiwani was perfectly restless. Crowds insisted on *darshan*. One man suggested that Mahatmas needed no rest and that it was their duty to give *darshan*. Some were really angry that we all stolidly refused to move out of our beds. Another remarked that we must be highly inconsiderate not to respect the wishes of the people and get up to give *darshan*. At length tired and sleepless we reached Bhiwani. Probably fifty thousand people had gathered from surrounding villages. I was therefore afraid that we would be crushed to atoms. But to my agreeable surprise, I found

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else. They have made, much to the discomfort of their heroes, unmusical and harsh noises. They have trampled upon one another. They have elbowed out one another. All have shouted, all at the same time, in the

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perfect order there. There was no rush or noisy bustle at the station. All kept their respective places. The procession was comfortably managed in spite of a dense throng. Order observed at the Pandal was still more striking. It was a huge artistic but non-pretentious structure. There was not a single chair—not even for the President. Distinguished visitors were seated on a substantial and commodious platform erected in the midst of the Pandal. Although there was accommodation for 12,000 people, the Pandal appeared to be roomy. The approaches were wide. The ground was excavated to slope towards the centre. All therefore had a perfect view of the centre. The only suggestion I have to make is that a semi-circle is a better arrangement. There should be no seats at the back of the platform. The Sindh arrangement, referred to in these columns, of T inverted as T, is therefore better from an accoustic standpoint.

Let Bhiwani and Hyderabad (Sindh) present a lesson to the approaching Congress. The Reception Committee will save a few thousand rupees and much space if they will dispense with chairs whether on the platform or below. We must cater more and more for the masses and their leaders. We, the educated few, hope to control them only through the leaders of the masses who are as simple as the masses themselves. It is cruel to impose chairs on the many, because the few seem to want them.

Upon inquiry I found that this time people had come from neighbouring villages just for 'darshan'. This 'darshan' has become a most embarrassing process and consumes valuable time. It puts an undue strain upon my nerves and deprives me of the peace I need for writing during the odd moments I get during my travels. The difficulty is largely due to want of forethought and organisation. Workers must either organise these demonstrations in a methodical manner or not have them at all. Happily these are friendly demonstrations and therefore never cause trouble. But imagine the chaos that must ensue if we undertook hostile demonstrations. What would happen if we had to manage such crowds under fire or under angry excitement? I could see in Tundla that mass civil disobedience was an impossibility with a crowd like the one there. We can do no effective

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holy name of order and peace. Ten volunteers have been heard to give the same order at the same time. Volunteers often become demonstrators instead of remaining people's policemen. It is a task often dangerous, always uncomfortable, for the heroes to be escorted through a broken chain of volunteers from the platform to the coach intended for them. Often it is a process which, although it should occupy no more than five minutes, has occupied one hour. The crowd, instead of pressing back, presses towards the heroes and who therefore require to be protected. The coach is taken possession of by anybody who dares, volunteers being the greatest sinners. The heroes and other lawful occupants have to reason with the intruders that they may not mount the footboards in that summary fashion. The hood of the coach is roughly handled by the processionists. It is not often that I have seen hoods of motors left undamaged by crowds. On the route instead of crowds lining the streets, they follow the coach. The result is confusion worse confounded. Every moment there is danger of accidents. That there is rarely any accident at such demonstrations is not due to the skill of the organisers, but the crowd is determined to put up with all jostling and retain its perfect good humour. In spite of everyone jostling everyone else, one has the slightest *wish* to inconvenience one's neighbour. To finish the picture, there is the meeting, an ever-growing cause of anxiety. You face nothing but disorder, din, pressing, yelling and shouting there.

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work unless we can pass instructions to the crowd and expect implicit obedience. Volunteers must therefore undergo training in handling crowds. An Indian crowd is easily the most manageable and docile in the world. But it needs previous preparation. And when we have not had it, it is the wisest thing not to bring together crowds.

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A good speaker arrests the attention of the audience, and there is order such that you can hear a pin drop.

All the same this is mobocracy. You are at the mercy of the mob. So long as there is sympathy between you and the mob, everything goes well. Immediately that cord is broken, there is horror. An Ahmedabad episode now and then gives you the mob psychology.

We must then evolve order out of chaos. And I have no doubt that the best and the speediest method is to introduce the people's law instead of mob-law.

One great stumbling block is that we have neglected music. Music means rhythm, order. Its effect is electrical. It immediately soothes. I have seen, in European countries, a resourceful superintendent of police by starting a popular song controlling the mischievous tendencies of mobs. Unfortunately, like our Shastras, music has been the prerogative of the few, either the banter of prostitutes or high class religious devotees. It has never become nationalised in the modern sense. If I had any influence with volunteers, boy scouts and Seva Samiti organisations, I would make compulsory a proper singing in company of national songs. And to that end I should have great musicians attending every Congress or Conference and teaching mass music.

Much greater discipline, method and knowledge must be exacted from volunteers and no chance comer should be accepted as a full-pledged volunteer. He only hinders rather than helping. Imagine the consequence of the introduction of one untrained soldier finding his way into an army at war. He can disorganise it in a second. My greatest anxiety about Non-co-operation is not the slow response of the leaders, certainly not the well-meant and even ill-meant criticism, never unadulterated repression. The movement will overcome these obstacles.

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It will go in even strength from them. But the greatest obstacle is that we have not yet emerged from the mobocratic stage. But my consolation lies in the fact that nothing is so easy as to train mobs, for the simple reason that they have no mind, no premeditation. They act in a frenzy.

They repent quickly. Our organised Government does not repent of its fiendish crimes at Jallianwala, Lahore, Kassur, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, etc. But I have drawn tears from repentant mobs at Gujaranwalla and everywhere a frank acknowledgment of repentance from those who formed the mob during that eventful month of April. Non-co-operation I am therefore now using in order to evolve democracy. And I respectfully invite all the doubting leaders to help by refusing to condemn, in anticipation of a process of national purification, training and sacrifice.

Next week I hope to give some illustrations of how in a moment order was evolved out of mob disorder. My faith in the people is boundless. Theirs is an amazingly responsive nature. Let not the leaders distrust them. This chorus of condemnation of Non-co-operation when properly analysed means nothing less than distrust of the people's ability to control themselves. For the present I conclude this somewhat lengthy article by suggesting some rules for guidance and immediate execution.

1. There should be no raw volunteers accepted for big demonstrations. Therefore, none but the most experienced should be at the head.

2. Volunteers should have a general instructions' book on their persons.

3. At the time of demonstrations, there must be a review of volunteers at which special instructions should be given.

4. At stations, volunteers should not all be centred at one point, namely, where the reception committee should be. But they should be posted at different points in the crowd.

5. Large crowds should never enter the station. They cannot but inconvenience traffic. There is as much honour in staying out as in entering the station.

6. The first duty of the volunteers should be to see that other passengers' luggage is not trampled upon.

7. Demonstrators ought not to enter the station long before the notified time for arrival.

8. There should be a clear passage left in front of the train for the passengers.

9. There should be another passage, if possible, half way through the demonstrators for the heroes to pass.

10. There should be no chain formed. It is humiliating.

11. The demonstrators must not move till the heroes have reached their coach or till they receive a pre-arranged signal from an authorised volunteer.

12. National cries must be fixed and must be raised not any how, at any time or all the time, but just on the arrival of the train, on the heroes reaching the coach and on the route at fair intervals. No objections need be raised to this on the score of the demonstration becoming mechanical and not spontaneous. The spontaneity will depend upon numbers, the response to the cries, above all the general look of the demonstrators, not in the greatest number of noises or the loudest. It is the training that a nation receives which characterises the nature of its demonstrations. A Mahomedan silently worshipping in his mosque is no less demonstrative than a Hindu temple-goer making a noise either through his voice or his gong or both.

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13. On the route the crowd must line and not follow the carriages. If pedestrians form part of the moving procession, they must noiselessly and in an orderly manner take their places and not at their own will join or abstain.

14. A crowd should never press towards the heroes but should move away from them.

15. Those on the last line or the circumference should never press forward but give way when pressure is directed towards them.

16. If there are women in the crowd, they should be specially protected.

17. Little children should never be brought out in the midst of crowds.

18. At meetings volunteers should be dispersed among the crowd. They should learn flag and whistle signalling in order to pass instructions from one to another when it is impossible for the voice to carry.

19. It is no part of the audience to preserve order. They do so by keeping motionless and silent.

20. Above all, everyone should obey volunteers' instructions without question.

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is merely illustrative and designed to stimulate thought and discussion. I hope that all the vernacular papers will translate this article.

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*24th September, 1920*

## SOME ILLUSTRATIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I promised in my article on Democracy *vs.* Mobocracy to give some illustrations of my meaning out of my own

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experiences. I was however unable, owing to the protracted Congress proceedings, to give those illustrations last week. I do so now. When we reached Madras, a huge crowd awaited us at the station. Our compartment was detached and fortunately drawn up in front of a reserved platform. What would have happened, if we had to alight to-gether with the other passengers, can be better imagined than described. But even on the reserved platform, we were not able to get out for some time. The volunteers were in the way. Instead of dispersing themselves among the crowd and keeping it back, they clustered together to do us honour as they thought. The result was that the pressure was all directed towards where they and we were standing. And 'form a ring' has become the usual word of command. This forming a ring is a humiliating spectacle, and yet it has become such an institution that even when there is no one else but volunteers 'a ring' is formed round the leader to be 'honoured'.

To proceed with my description, the crowd was large, the noises they made were so terrific that the directions given by the volunteers could not be heard at all. All was chaos. My poor toes were every moment in danger of being crushed to a pulp. I often very nearly lost my balance through the jostling of the very volunteers who were trying to protect me. And but for the very great care with which they guarded me and the assistance rendered to them by the stalwart Maulana Shaukat Ali, I would have fared much worse than I did. The atmosphere was suffocating. Thus struggling it took us nearly three quarters of an hour to reach the motor car, whereas ordinarily it need not have taken three minutes to walk out of the station to the porch. Having reached the car, it was no easy job to get into

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it. I had to be shoved into it in the best manner possible. I certainly heaved a sigh of relief when I found myself in the car, and I thought that both the Maulana and I deserved the ovation we received from the crowd after the dangerous exercise we had gone through. With a little forethought, this mobocracy, for such it was, could have been changed into a splendidly organised and educative demonstration. And it could have been rendered free of all risk to life. The experience of Madras was typical of many. We had an extraordinary experience at Erode on our way to Salem. I was fairly fagged out. My voice had become hoarse with speaking. As at many stations, there was, here too, a surging crowd. It was thoroughly disorganised, though like everywhere else perfectly good humoured and respectful. I appealed to them not to make all kinds of unmusical noises, told them to disperse in an orderly manner as they had already seen us. I told them too that, if they intended to take their share in the Khilafat and the Punjab struggle, they were expected to undergo discipline. I was able to reach my voice to the most intelligent amongst them. I suggested that they should quietly rise, turn towards the station entrance and noiselessly retire. They listened, the rest followed and the station was cleared in two minutes' time. If the friends, who heard me, had haggled, argued, objected and insisted on shouting and remaining, the whole crowd would have done likewise and there would have been a pandemonium throughout the long time that the train stopped there.

I shall finish this description by giving the reverse of our experience at Jolarpet. We were travelling to Madras by the night train leaving Bangalore. We had been taking meetings at Salem during the day, motoring

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to Bangalore, a distance of 125 miles from Salem, taking there a meeting in drenching rain and thereafter we had to entrain. We needed night's rest but there was none to be had. At almost every station of importance, large crowds had gathered to greet us. About midnight we reached Jolarpet junction. The train had to stop there nearly forty minutes or stopped that night all those terrible minutes. Maulana Shaukat Ali requested the crowd to disperse. But the more he argued, the more they shouted 'Maulana Shaukat Ali-ki-Jai,' evidently thinking that the Maulana could not mean what he said. They had come from twenty miles' distance, they were waiting there for hours, they must have their satisfaction. The Maulana gave up the struggle, he pretended to sleep. The adorers thereupon mounted the foot-boards to have a peep at the Maulana. As the light in our compartment was put out, they brought in lanterns. At last I thought I would try. I rose, went to the door. It was a signal for a great shout of joy. The noise tore me to pieces. I was so tired. All my appeals proved fruitless in the end. They would stop for a while to renew the noise again. I shut the windows but the crowd was not to be baffled. They tried to open the windows from outside. They must see us both. And so the tussle went on till my son took it up. He harangued them, appealed to them for the sake of the other passengers. He produced some effect and there was a little less noise. Peeping however went on to the last minute. It was all well-meant, it was all an exhibition of boundless love, yet how cruel, how unreasonable! It was a mob without a mind. There were no intelligent men of influence among them and so nobody listened to any body.

Before we can make real headway, we must train these masses of men who have a heart of gold, who

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feel for the country, who want to be taught and led. But a few intelligent, sincere, local workers are needed, and the whole nation can be organised to act intelligently, and democracy can be evolved out of mobocracy. This evolution is really the first step to successful, national Non-co-operation.

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*20th October, 1920*

## NECESSITY OF DISCIPLINE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have already remarked upon my experiences of want of method and discipline in Madras. The same want is being noticed during the tour in the Rohilkhund. Everywhere there is chaos and disorder not for want of men but because of volunteers without training. They are called upon to handle a situation and crowds that are unprecedented. There is more noise and bustle than work.

Maulana Shaukat Ali is the indefatigable organiser. He wants to satisfy all parties and therefore packs too many events in any programme he arranges. To take only one instance. He accepted for one single day a motor ride from Aligarh to Hathras, thence to Etah and from Etah to Kasgunj with the prospect of a slow night journey from Kasgung to Cawnpore. The motor ride covered a distance of 90 miles. After a trying meeting of workers at Aligarh early in the morning, we got into our motors at 9 45 a.m. and reached Hathras at about 11 a.m. The sun was burning hot and fierce. The inevitable noisy procession was there. It was followed by a huge meeting involving an intolerable strain on the voice of the strongest speaker. We how-

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ever got for our pains resignations of three honorary magistracies. We motored thence to Etah. There was a little more order there than at Hathras. Soon after finishing Etah we motored to Kasgunj. We had accidents during the journey, the cars refusing to move. With difficulty we reached Kasgunj, Maulana Shaukat Ali and his companions not reaching in time for the train. We had several resignations at Etah. The meeting at Kasgunj for its enormous size was well managed but not without difficulty. Touching the feet has become an uncontrollable performance causing much waste of time and involving danger when it is resorted to in the midst of a large crowd.

But the most wretched experience was the night journey from Kasgunj to Cawnpore. It was made most uncomfortable by crowds attending at every station. They were everywhere insistent and assertive. The noises they made in order to wake me up were piercing and heart-rending. I was tired. My head was reeling and was badly in want of rest. In vain did Mrs. Gandhi and others plead with the crowds for self-control and silence. The more they implored, the more aggressive the crowds became. It was a tug of war between her and the crowds. The latter would put on the light as often as she put it off. If she put up the shutters, the crowd immediately put them down. I was resting, did they want me to die a premature death? The answer was they had come many miles to have *darshan* and *darshan* they must have.* I had hardened my heart and refused to move

* In *Young India* of 11th August, 1921, Mr. Gandhi wrote under the heading, "Discipline":

It is high time that we disciplined ourselves. The demonstrations at railway stations are becoming a menace to the comfort of the travelling public. I am told that some railway passengers who, only a short time before a station demonstration, were

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till it was daybreak. But there was not a wink of sleep for any of us during the whole of that night. It was a unique demonstration of love run mad. An expectant and believing people groaning under misery and insult believe that I have a message of hope for them. They come from all quarters within walking reach to meet me.

As I do believe that I have a message of hope and certain deliverance but—?

Yes. It is a big B U T. There is no deliverance and

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praising me, were, after one or two demonstrations at intermediate stations, heard to curse me. I sympathise with them. I had a fellow-passenger with me during the Allahabad journey. Owing to the pressure of the crowds that besieged the station, he was unable to get a cup of tea or go out for his refreshments. I should not at all be surprised if he considered me to be a plague. On my way back from Allahabad, there was an unmanageable crowd on the Cawnpore platform, yelling the national cries, pressing towards my compartment and making every body uncomfortable. The noise continued the whole time. The leaders were with difficulty able to make the crowd sit, but it could not be made to stop shouting and yelling. I was asked to stand near the door to give *Darshan*. Much to the disappointment of the friends who urged me, I resolutely refused to stir out of my seat, unless there was perfect silence.

This din, noise, and bustle was due purely to want of forethought, management and organisation. It is best now to avoid all demonstrations at stations. We must consult the convenience of the passengers. If there must be a demonstration, national cries must be regulated, every facility must be provided for the easy movement of passengers. The nation must be disciplined to handle mass movement in a sober and methodical manner. This means previous training of volunteers and previous discipline of the masses. It is not impossible to give an elementary training in a few days. Wherever the people have been previously instructed, they have responded wonderfully well. Without this training, we never know when there might be an accident. It is the innate good nature of the people that has saved us hitherto from mishaps. But under proper training, we should be able to feel absolutely safe and comfortable in the midst of the biggest demonstrations. We cannot afford to be hysterical or mad.

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no hope without sacrifice, discipline and self-control. Mere sacrifice without discipline will be unavailing. How to evolve discipline out of this habitual indiscipline? Not certainly by the British bayonet or the British hypocrisy. The British officials have no affection for this loving and phenomenal demonstration of a peaceful and peace-loving people. They would put it down, if they could, by barbarous exhibition of force even as Sir Michael O'Dwyer tried and ingloriously failed.

But if this demonstration cannot be put down by force, it cannot also procure *Swaraj* for India unless regulated and harnessed for national good. There are in it all the elements of success as well as of self-destruction. It cannot lead to the promised goal if the nation in extravagant affection wastes its servants by encroaching upon their hours of needed rest. We must therefore cease to hold nocturnal demonstrations. We must have consideration for the feelings of the lowest of our fellow beings. We must not disturb the rest of a train load of passengers. We must learn to transmute our love for our heroes into unquenchable energy and useful action. Love that is satisfied with touching the feet of its hero and making noise at him is likely to become parasitical. Such love ceases to be a virtue and after a time becomes a positive indulgence and therefore a vice. The greatest task before the nation to-day is to discipline its demonstrations if they are to serve any useful purpose. Non-co-operation is not designed to create hatred but to purify the nation to the point of rendering it proof against injurious aggression whether from within or from without. Non-co-operation to be effective must be prevented by co-operation between all the units composing this great and ancient people. Let us begin by co-operating with our loved ones.

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# PART IV
# THE PROGRAMME OF NON-CO-OPERATION

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# PART IV

## THE PROGRAMME OF NON-CO-OPERATION*

*9th June, 1920*

### WHAT SHOULD THE VOTERS DO?

MR. GANDHI has devoted an article on the forthcoming elections to the choice of the voters in the columns of *Navajivan*. We give below the substance:

Many who had hitherto no concern with Council elections will be shortly called upon to vote for the reformed Councils. The powers too of elected members will be

* In *Young India* of 7th July, under the heading "How and when to act—details of the 1st stage," appeared the following statement issued by the Non-co-operation Committee for public information and guidance:

"Many questions have been asked of the Non-co-operation Committee as to its expectation and the methods to be adopted for beginning Non-co-operation.

The Committee wish it to be understood that, whilst they expect every one to respond to their recommendation to the full, they are desirous of carrying the weakest members also with them. The Committee want to enlist the passive sympathy, if not the active co-operation, of the whole of the country in the method of Non-co-operation.

Those, therefore, who cannot undergo physical sacrifice will help by contributing funds or labour to the movement.

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found to have increased. This adds to the voters' responsibility. In all our cities, the citizens have been exercising the municipal franchise. And of these elections it cannot be said that the electors have always

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Should Non-co-operation become necessary, the Committee has decided upon the following as part of the first stage :

(1) Surrender of all titles of honour and honorary offices.

(2) Non-participation in Government loans.

(3) Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.

(4) Boycott of Government schools by parents.

(5) Boycott of the Reformed Councils.

(6) Non-participation in Government parties, and such other functions.

(7) Refusal to accept any civil or military post, in Mesopotamia or to offer as Units for the army, especially for service in the Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges.

(8) *Propagate Swadeshi.*—Vigorous prosecution of "Swadeshi", inducing the people at the time of this national and religious awakening, to appreciate their primary duty to their country, by being satisfied with its own productions and manufactures.

Swadeshi must be pushed forward without waiting for the 1st of August, for it is an eternal rule of conduct not to be interrupted even when the settlement arrives.

In order not to commit themselves, people will refrain now from taking service either civil or military. They will also suspend taking Government loans, new or old.

For the rest, it should be remembered that Non-co-operation does not commence before 1st August next.

Every effort is being, and will still be made to avoid resort to such a serious breach with the Government, by urging His Majesty's Ministers to secure the revision of a Treaty which has been so universally condemned.

Those who realise their responsibility and gravity of the cause will not act independently, but in concert with the Committee. Success depends entirely upon disciplined and concerted Non-co-operation, and the latter is dependent upon strict obedience to instructions, calmness and absolute freedom from violence.

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acquitted themselves in a wise manner. Electors' private relations with the candidates have often weighed with them more than the candidates' qualifications. It would be well if we set up a better standard for the elections

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In the issue of *Young India* of 11th August 1920, Mahatma Gandhi wrote:

The Non-co-operation Committee has included, in the first stage, boycott of law-courts by lawyers and of Government schools and colleges by parents or scholars as the case may be. I know that, it is only my reputation as a worker and fighter, which has saved me from an open charge of lunacy for having given the advice about boycott of courts and schools.

I venture however to claim some method about my madness. It does not require much reflection to see that it is through courts that a government establishes its authority and it is through schools that it manufactures clerks and other employees. They are both healthy institutions when the government in charge of them is on the whole just. They are death-traps when the government is unjust.

*First as to lawyers*—No newspaper has combated my views on Non-co-operation with so much pertinacity and ability as the Allahabad *Leader*. It has ridiculed my views on lawyers expressed in my booklet, 'Indian Home Rule,' written by me in 1908. I adhere to the views then expressed. And if I find time I hope to elaborate them in these columns. But I refrain from so doing for the time being as my special views have nothing to do with my advice on the necessity of lawyers suspending practice. I submit that national Non-co-operation requires suspension of their practice by lawyers. Perhaps no one co-operates with a government more than lawyers through its law courts. Lawyers interpret laws to the people and thus support authority. It is for that reason that they are styled officers of the court. They may be called honorary office-holders. It is said that it is the lawyers who have put up the most stubborn fight against the Government. This is no doubt partly true. But that does not undo the mischief that is inherent in the profession. So when the nation wishes to paralyse the Government, that profession, if it wishes to help the nation to bend the Government to its will, must suspend practice. But, say the critics, the Government will be too pleased, if the pleaders and barristers fell into the trap laid by me. I do not believe it. What is

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to the legislative Councils. Only thus shall we be able to make the best use of the Councils. I suggest also that voters should not identify themselves with any party or its quarrels. They should consider candidates' views

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true in ordinary times is not true in extraordinary times. In normal times the Government may resent fierce criticism of their manners and methods by lawyers, but in the face of fierce action they would be loath to part with a single lawyer's support through his practice in the courts.

Moreover, in my scheme, suspension does not mean stagnation. The lawyers are not to suspend practice and enjoy rest. They will be expected to induce their clients to boycott courts. They will improvise arbitration-boards in order to settle disputes. A nation, that is bent on forcing justice from an unwilling government, has little time for engaging in mutual quarrels. This truth the lawyers will be expected to bring home to their clients. The readers may not know that many of the most noted lawyers of England suspended their work during the late war. The lawyers, then, upon temporarily leaving their profession, became whole-time workers instead of being workers only during their recreation hours. Real politics are not a game. The late Mr. Gokhale used to deplore that we had not gone beyond treating politics as a pastime. We have no notion as to how much the country has lost by reason of amateurs having managed its battles with the serious-minded, trained and wholetime-working bureaucracy.

The critics then argue that the lawyers will starve, if they leave their profession. This cannot be said of the Sinhas of the profession. They do at times suspend work for visiting Europe or otherwise. Of those who live from hand to mouth, if they are honest men, each local Khilafat Committee can pay them an honorarium against full time service.

Lastly, for Mahomedan lawyers, it has been suggested that if they stop their practice, Hindus will take it up. I am hoping Hindus will at least show the negative courage of not touching their Muslim brethren's clients, even if they do not suspend their own practice. But I am sure no religiously minded Mussalman will be found to say that they can carry on the fight only if the Hindus stand side by side with them in sacrifice. If the Hindus do as they must, it will be to their honour and for the common good of both. But the Mussalmans

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and not their party. Their character should weigh more even than their views. A man of character will make himself worthy of any position he is given. Even his mistakes will not much matter. I consider it impossible

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must go forward whether the Hindus join them or not. If it is a matter of life and death with them, they must not count the cost. No cost is too heavy for the preservation of one's honour, especially religious honour. Only they will sacrifice who cannot abstain. Forced sacrifice is no sacrifice. It will not last. A movement lacks sincerity when it is supported by unwilling workers under pressure. The Khilafat movement will become an irresistible force when every Mussalman treats the peace terms as an individual wrong. No man waits for others' help or sacrifice in matters of private personal wrong. He seeks help no doubt, but his battle against the wrong goes on whether he gains help or not. If he has justice on his side, the divine law is that he does get help. God is the help of the helpless. When the Pandava brothers were unable to help Draupadi, God came to the rescue and saved her honour. The Prophet was helped by God when he seemed to be forsaken by men.

*Now for the Schools.*—I feel that if we have not the courage to suspend the education of our children, we do not deserve to win the battle.

The first stage includes renunciation of honours or favours. As a matter of fact, no Government bestows favours without taking more than the favours are worth. It would be a bad and extravagant government which threw away its favours. In a government broad-based upon a people's will, we give our lives to secure a trinket which is a symbol of service. Under an unjust government which defies a people's will, rich *Jagirs* become a sign of servitude and dishonour. Thus considered, the schools must be given up without a moment's thought.

For me the whole scheme of Non-co-operation is among other things a test of the intensity and extent of our feeling. Are we prepared to suffer? It has been said that we may not expect much response from title-holders, for they have never taken part in national affairs and have bought their honours at too great a price easily to sacrifice them. I make a present of the argument to the objectors, and ask what about the parents of school-children and the grown-up

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for a man without character to do higher national service, so that, if I were a voter from among the list, I would first select men of character and then I would understand their views. My questions to them would be:

(1) Do you approve of the present Swadeshi Movement? If so, are you prepared to levy heavy import duties on foreign cloth? Will you favour legislation for cheapening the materials and machinery required to produce Swadeshi articles?

(2) Do you hold that all the affairs of a province should be conducted in its own vernacular and that the

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college-students? They have no such intimate connection with the Government as the title-holders. Do they or do they not feel enough to enable them to sacrifice the schooling?

But I contend that there is no sacrifice involved in emptying the schools. We must be specially unfit for Non-co-operation if we are so helpless as to be unable to manage our own education to total independence of the Government. Every village should manage the education of its own children. I would not depend upon Government aid. If there is a real awakening, the schooling need not be interrupted for a single day. The very school-masters who are now conducting Government schools, if they are good enough to resign their office, could take charge of national schools and teach our children the things they need, and not make of the majority of them indifferent clerks. I do look to the Aligarh College to give the lead in this matter. The moral effect created by the emptying of our Madrassas will be tremendous. I doubt not that the Hindu parents and scholars would not fail to copy their Mussalman brethren.

Indeed what could be grander education than that the parents and scholars should put religious sentiment before a knowledge of letters? If therefore no arrangement could be immediately made for the literary instruction of youths who might be withdrawn, it would be most profitable training for them to be able to work as volunteers for the cause which may necessitate their withdrawal from Government schools. For, as in the case of the lawyers, so in the case of boys, my notion of withdrawal does not mean an indolent life. The withdrawing boys will, each according to his worth, be expected to take their share in the agitation.

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affairs of the Nation should be conducted in Hindustani a combination of Hindi and Urdu? If you do, will you endeavour incessantly to introduce the use of the vernaculars in administration of the respective provinces, and the national language in the Imperial administration?

(3) Do you hold that the present division of the provinces of India was made for administrative and political purposes and that no regard was paid to the peoples' wishes? And do you hold that this division has done much harm to the national growth? If you think so, will you try to bring out a redistribution on a linguistic basis as early as possible?

(4) Do you hold that there is not the remotest likelihood of India's regeneration without Hindu-Moslem unity? And if you think so, are you, if a Hindu, willing to help the Mussalmans in all legitimate ways in their trouble?

A satisfactory answer to them alone will entitle the candidates to my vote if I had one. I suggest these questions because I regard them as of great importance. If the electors do not see any significance in these questions, they may put others which they consider to be of greater importance for the upliftment of the Nation. It is not the particular questions that matter but the knowing of candidates' views on national questions. My attempt is to point out that we need an electorate which is impartial, independent and intelligent. If the electors do not interest themselves in national affairs and remain unconcerned with what goes on in their midst, and if they elect men with whom they have private relations or whose aid they need for themselves, this state of things can do no good to the country; on the contrary, it will be harmful.

Now it remains to be considered what the electors

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should do if they do not receive satisfactory answer to their questions or if they cannot find men of character. It is an established custom with regard to elections that electors, if they do not find any candidate to their liking, need not register their votes. In such a case, abstention amounts to an exercise of one's votes. Exception was taken to this procedure that, if good electors refuse to make their choice, bad electors would make the worst choice. This is to a certain extent true. But suppose in a certain place all candidates being drunkards the better portion of the electorate abstain from voting and the candidates manage to secure votes from their kind, can they exercise any influence in the Councils? No doubt their vote has its numerical value, but their views and speeches cannot influence the Council. Moreover, an intelligent abstention has its own effect. The electors having once failed to find a proper candidate will next time take steps to find out a suitable man and elect him, and by so doing they will raise the level of their own place. In a growing nation, people are able to understand the national affairs and they are expected to purify the political atmosphere they live in and to maintain its purity. All enlightened and thoughtful voters will find that occasionally situations must arise when they will have to purposely refuse to register their votes.* I earnestly hope that on such occasions our electors will have courage to do so. I hope that, when they do exercise the vote, they will give it to the best man, no matter to which party he belongs.

* The reference presumably is to the possible need for Non-co-operation.

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*7th July, 1920*

NON-CO-OPERATION

Mr. Gandhi writes to the press :

"Needless to say that I am in entire accord with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of the boycott of the reformed councils.* For me it is but one step in the campaign of Non-co-operation and as I feel equally keenly on the Punjab question as on the Khilafat, Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion is doubly welcome. I have seen the suggestion made in more quarters than one that Non-co-operation on the reforms should commence after the process of election has been through. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election farce and the expense of it when we clearly do not intend to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative Councils. Moreover, a great deal of educative work has to be done among the people. And if I could, I would

* Under the heading, "I shall not stand for election," Lala Lajpat Rai wrote an article in his Urdu paper, *Bande Mataram*, in the course of which, after pointing out how the Punjab wrong was condoned by Government, he concluded :

These new Councils can only prove beneficial to us when and if the Indian and official members work in amity and concord and together solve problems of state by mutual consultation. Yet in the present circumstances of the Punjab there is no prospect of the fruition of this hope. If the *Civil and Military Gazette* correctly represents the views of Punjab officials (European), then I have no hesitation in saying that the time has not come for Indians and Europeans to work together for the good of the country. I heartily desire that the time should soon come, but to say that the time has come is to shut our eyes to facts. Until now they are the rulers and we are the ruled. The Punjab Publicity Committee which is a confidant of the Government also says the same thing. As long as that relation continues, it is very difficult for us to work together. They suspect us and we suspect them. In my view, therefore, I cannot be usful to my country from inside the Council, and it is better therefore that I should not go into it.

not have the best attention of the country frittered away in electioneering. The populace will not understand the beauty of Non-co-operation if we seek election and then resign. But it would be a fine education for them if the electors are not to elect anybody and unanimously to tell whosoever may seek their suffrage that he would not represent them if he so sought election so long as the Punjab and Khilafat questions were not satisfactorily settled. I hope, however, that Lala Lajpat Rai does not mean to end with the boycott of the reformed councils. We must take, if necessary, every one of the four stages of Non-co-operation if we are to be regarded as a self-respecting nation. The issue is clear. Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs show that Indian opinion counts for little in the Councils of the Empire. It is a humiliating position, and we shall make nothing of the reforms if we quietly swallow the humiliation. In my humble opinion, therefore, the first condition of real progress is the removal of these difficulties in our path. And unless some better course of action is devised *nolens volens* Non-co-operation must hold the field."

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*14th July, 1920*

## BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Pundit Rambhuji Dutt Chaudhry has ranged himself against Lala Lajpat Rai in the matter of the proposed boycott of the Councils. Madras is divided, most of the Nationalist leaders seem disinclined to boycott the Councils. The *Mahratta* has pronounced against it in a well-reasoned article. The reasons for disapproval of

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boycott are mainly two. (1) If the Nationalists refrain, the Moderates will get all the seats; (2) since through the legislative Councils we have made some progress, we are likely to make greater progress by reason of larger powers having been granted to popular representatives.

Now the first reason hardly does credit to a great popular party. If it is harmful to enter the Councils, why should Nationalists be jealous of the Moderates entering the Councils? Must they participate in the harm because Moderates will not refrain? Or, is it contended that the harm can be avoided only if all join the boycott? If the last is the contention, it betrays ignorance of the principles of boycott. We boycott an institution, because we do not like it or because we do not wish to co-operate with its conductors. In the matter of the Councils, the latter is the deciding reason. And I submit that in a sense we co-operate by even though the object is obstruction. Most institutions, and a British legislative Council most of all, thrive upon obstruction. The disciplined obstruction of the Irish members made practically no impression upon the House of Commons. The Irishmen have not got the Home Rule they wanted. The *Mahratta* argues that obstruction would be active and aggressive Non-co-operation. I venture to deny it. In my opinion, it shows want of faith in yourself *i.e.*, in your doctrine. You doubt and you perish. I do not believe that either the English or the Moderate leaders can possibly contemplate with equanimity a Nationalist boycott of the Councils. We are now face to face with the reality.* Will a single Moderate leader care to enter any Council if more than half his electorate

*In connection with this, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Navjivan* as follows: The 16th of November is somewhat of a day of trial for the people, because on that day members for the Legislative Councils will be

disapproved of his offering himself as a candidate at all? I hold that it would be unconstitutional for him to do so, because he will not represent his constituency.

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elected throughout the Bombay presidency. What will the voters do on that day? What is their duty?

(1) I hope that no voter will go to the polling booth to record his vote.

(2) That all the voters will remain indoors.

(3) In case a meeting is held away from the polling booth, voters will attend it and express themselves against being represented on the Council.

(4) The work of canvassing signatures and of asking voters not to vote will cease for 24 hours from the night of the 15th instant.

(5) Volunteers too will not do anything on the 16th instant to dissuade voters from voting.

(6) In short, those who choose to vote should have the day wholly at their disposal.

How can we hope to convert voters whom we have not been able to persuade till the 15th midnight, if we do not want to prevent anybody from voting by physical force. There can therefore be no persuasion on the 16th.

Our campaign is one of educating public opinion. When we have succeeded in doing that, then, and only then is Swaraj within easy reach.—*Young India* of 10th November, 1920.

In *Young India* of 10th November, 1920, the following notes by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar written to some Madras papers were also reproduced:

*An acid test*—England and the whole 'civilised' world is now committed irrevocably to the theory of self-determination. But it is said that india has not yet 'self-determined' in favour of true Swaraj, because Congress does not represent the Nation; because the educated classes do not represent the national will. Grant all this. But Government has now created an electorate. This electorate cannot but be accepted by Government and the civilised world as adequately representing the Nation. If the majority of this electorate votes now for the Punjab, Khilafat, and Swaraj, the nation will have clearly 'self-determined.'

* * * *

*The Choice*:—India stands to-day on the parting of ways. On

Boycott contemplated by me presupposes a most active discipline and watchful propaganda and it is based on the assumption that the electors themselves will prefer

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16th November, she will have shown whether she is going the way of immediate and real *Swaraj* or the way of bureaucratic machinations. Every voter must decide whether he is going to stand by those who are fighting for immediate and true Swaraj—for our national honour and dignity, or stand by the Government that has insulted our national honour through the Punjab crime and our religion through the Khilafat wrong.

* * *

*Do not vote: Why?*—The Government wants a fresh lease, under the cloak of the people's consent, to continue its irresponsible career of crime and injustice; in effect, it wants to delude the people to perpetuate a system that perpetrated the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh. Think twice before you vote for this system. The new Councils are like gilded pills. They have been decked for the occasion to deceive the voters.

* * * *

*What the New Councils cannot do*:—The new Councils cannot prevent:

(1) A repetition of the Khilafat injustice and the Punjab crime,
(2) Indian troops from being used to keep in subjugation other nations, and,
(3) Indian moneys from being spent in aiding British Imperialism and foreign wars of aggression.

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*What the New Councils can do*:—The new Councils prevent

(1) a real and immediate Swaraj. No power has been given to the Councils to vote for increase of responsibility for full Swaraj,
(2) our economic freedom,
(3) our moral and material uplift, and
(4) our inherent-right to be a free people.

* * * *

What is the use, then, of voting?

*What it means not to vote*—Every vote not given to the Councils, means a vote for Swaraj, a vote in favour of the nation's determination for full power and responsibility, a vote for the political and

complete boycott in the form of obstruction. If it is assumed that the people themselves do not want a complete boycott, it would be the duty of those who believe in it to educate the electorates to appreciate the superiority of boycott over obstruction. To enter the Councils is to submit to the vote of the majority, *i.e.*, to co-operate. If then we want to stop the machinery of Government, as we want to, until we get justice in the Khilafat and the Punjab matters, we must put our whole weight against the Government and refuse to accept the vote of the majority in the Council, because it will neither represent the wish of the country nor our own which is more to the point on a matter of principle. A minister who refuses to serve is better than one who serves under protest. Service under protest shows that the situation is not intolerable. I contend that the situation created by the Government has become intolerable and therefore the only course left open to a self-respecting person is Non-co-operation, *i.e.*, complete abstention. General Botha refused to enter Lord Milner's Council, because he utterly disapproved of the principle that governed Lord Milner in dealing with the Boers. And General Botha succeeded, because he had practically the whole of the Transvaal behind him. Politically considered, success depends upon the country accepting the boycott movement. Religiously considered, success is there for the individual as soon as he has *acted* upon the principle he holds and his action has ensured national success because he has laid the foundation by showing the straightest way to it.

The other argument is that we shall succeed by entering the new Councils, because we have after all not done

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economic emancipation of India, a vote for national Honour, Liberty and Freedom.

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quite so badly in having entered less popular bodies before. The answer to the objection is that the dividing line had not then been reached, we had not lost confidence in British honesty and justice or we had not confidence in ourselves then to carry boycott to the successful end or we had not thought of the method in the way we are doing to-day. Probably all the three reasons operate to-day. After all, manners and methods change with the times. We must grow with our years. What was good enough food for our babyhood cannot be good enough for manhood.

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*24th November, 1920*

## COUNCIL ELECTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The elections in the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere have demonstrated the success of Non-co-operation about Councils, in so far as the voters are concerned. In some cases, not a single voter seems to have registered his vote. What will the so-called representatives do? They know that the voters have refrained from going to the polls not out of laziness, but out of deliberation. They know too that thousands of voters have declared in writing their intention not to be represented. The members had ample opportunity of acting on the electors and convincing them of the desirability of voting. They cannot complain of intimidation or even picketing. For, the instructions were not to picket, and as far as I am aware, the instructions were implicitly followed. In the face of these facts, is it not the clear duty of the members declared to have been elected, not to have anything to do with the Council? The electors have

shown in no uncertain terms that they do not want to have anything to do with the reformed Councils. The members will reduce representative institutions to an absurdity, if they persist in going to the Council when they have the clearest possible mandate to the country.

If the so-called representatives do not obey the mandate of their electors, the course of the latter is quite clear. They must form voters' associations, and through these bodies pass votes of no confidence; they must address their respective members notifying their disapproval of their conduct in allowing themselves to be declared elected. It follows too that the electors must not on any account whatsoever take any work from these members. For them the Council does not exist. They must not seek any relief through it. * The next trial of the voters

* The relief was sought in vain in the view of many. The following appeared in *Young India* on 9th March, 1922:

*An M. L. C. Resigns*—Sjt. Sita Ram, a pleader of Kheri, sends me a copy of his resignation as a member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces. The following is the text:

"It is with feelings of great regret that I beg to announce the resignation of my seat in the U. P. Legislative Council. It was after the announcement of the Reforms that I sought my election to the Council for the first time, and I had faith that the Reformed Government would be different from what it was in pre-Reform days, and that the reign of terror and Dyerism would be a thing of the past, and that there would be no more undue and undeserved repression in the country, and that only guilty persons would be punished and that people would be able to do real service to the country by being returned to the Councils. The experience of one year has, however, belied all my hopes. I have seen that arrogance and haughtiness are much more in evidence in Council than respect and good-will for others. Class and communal interests are still there. The experience of my own district has convinced me that there is still a place for Dyerism in the machinery of the Government. Mr. Young, Special Manager of the—Estate committed acts tending to lead to breach of peace and tyrannized the entire population of—and the Government

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will commence when the Council is opened, if at all, in the face of this verdict. The temptation to air grievances by having questions put in the Council will be very great. The electors will have to resist the temptation.

But let us hope for the good of our country that the members themselves will bow to the verdict so emphatically declared by the electors.

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*6th October, 1920*

## THE HALLUCINATION OF LAW COURTS

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

If we were not under the spell of lawyers and law-courts and if there were no touts to tempt us into the quagmire of the courts and to appeal to our basest

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has not seen its way of doing any justice in the matter. Pundit Harkaran Nath Misra, who preached non-violence to the people and directed the tenants to pay up their rents to their landlords and asked them not to resort to Civil Disobedience under the present circumstances, has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The recent arrests throughout the whole of India and particularly in these Provinces have led me to believe that the Government is determined on the policy of shutting up every person who believes in the real self-government of India. Unfortunately my temperament is not such that I can remain a part and parcel of such a Government and hence I beg to tender the resignation of my seat."

He informs me that there are five candidates for the post. I do not envy the five candidates. Both Sjt. Sita Ram and they are right. Sjt. Sita Ram needed personal experience to show him the true nature of the reforms. The elected candidate, let me hope, will also learn by experience; but even at the end of the chapter there certainly will be some men who will honestly hold the opinion that, whether good or bad, it is only through the Councils that the British administrators give us, that we shall make any progress. For Non-co-operators the proceedings of the Councils and the Assembly ought to be a standing proof of the wisdom of their abstention.

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passions, we would be leading much happier life than we do to-day. Let those who frequent the law-courts—the best of them—bear witness to the fact that the atmosphere about them is fœtid. Perjured witnesses are ranged on either side ready to sell their very souls for money or for friendship's sake. But that is not the worst of these courts. The worst is that they support the authority of a Government. They are supposed to dispense justice and are therefore called the palladile of a nation's liberty. But when they support the authority of an unrighteous Government, they are no longer palladile of liberty but they are crushing houses to crush a nation's spirit. Such were the martial law tribunals and the summary courts in the Punjab. We had them in their naked shape. Such they are even in normal times when it is a matter of dispensing justice between a superior race and its helots. This is so all the world over. Look at the trial of an English officer and the farcical punishment he received for having deliberately tortured offensive negroes at Nairobi. Has a single Englishman suffered the extreme penalty of the law or anything like it for brutal murders in India? Let no one suppose that these things would be changed when Indian judges and Indian prosecutors take the place of Englishmen. Englishmen are not by nature corrupt. Indians are not necessarily angels. Both succumb to their environment. There were Indian judges and Indian prosecutors during the martial law regime, who were generaly guilty of just as bad practices as the Englishmen. Those, who tortured the innocent women in Amritsar, were Indians, just as it was a Bosworth Smith in Manianwala who insulted Indian women.

What I am attacking, is the system. I have no quarrel with the Englishmen as such. I honour individuals

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among them to-day as I did before my discovery of the unimprovableness of the existing system. If anything, Mr. Andrews and other Englishmen I could name, are nearer to me to-day than before. But I could not tender my homage even to him who is more than a brother to me, if he became the Viceroy of India. I would distrust his ability to remain pure if he accepted the office. He would have to administer a system that is inherently corrupt and based on the assumption of our inferiority. Satan mostly employs comparatively moral instruments and the language of ethics to give his aims an air of respectability.

I have digressed a little for the purpose of showing that this Government, if it was wholly manned by Indians but worked as it now is, would be as intolerable to us as it is now. Hence it is that the knowledge of Lord Sinha's appointment to a high office fails to fill me with a glow of satisfaction. We must have absolute equality in theory and in practice, and ability to do away with the British connection if we so wish.

But to revert to the lawyers and the law-courts, we cannot gain this desirable status so long as we regard with superstitious awe and wonder the so-called palaces of justice. Let not individuals who get satisfaction of their greed or revenge or their just claims, be blind to the ultimate aim of these courts—the permanence of the authority of the Government which they represent. Without its law-courts, the Government must perish in a day. I admit that under my plan this power of subjugating the people through the courts will still remain even when every Indian lawyer has withdrawn and there are no civil suits in the law-courts. But then they will cease to deceive us. They will have lost their moral prestige and therefore the air of respectability. It is

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strange but it is true that, so long as we believed in the gradual transference of the power of the English to the people, appointments to high posts in the law-courts were hailed as a blessing. Now that we believe that the system is incapable of being gradually mended, every such appointment by reason of its deceptiveness must be regarded as an evil. Therefore every lawyer suspending his practice to that extent undermines the prestige of the law-courts and to that extent every suspension is a gain for the individual as for the nation.

The economic drain that the law-courts cause, has at no time been considered. And yet it is not a trifle. Every institution founded under the present system is run on a most extravagant scale. Law-courts are probably the most extravagantly run. I have some knowledge of the scale in England, a fair knowledge of the Indian, and an intimate knowledge of the South African. I have no hesitation in saying that the Indian is comparatively the most extravagant and bears no relation to the general economic condition of the people. The best South African lawyers—and they are lawyers of great ability—dare not charge the fees the lawyers in India do. Fifteen guineas is almost a top fee for legal opinion. Several thousand rupees have been known to have been charged in India. There is something sinful in a system under which it is possible for a lawyer to earn from fifty thousand to one lac rupees per month. Legal practice is not—ought not to be—a speculative business. The best legal talent must be available to the poorest at reasonable rates. But we have copied and improved upon the practice of the English lawyers. Englishmen find the climate of India trying. The habits imbued under a cold and severe climate are retained in India, ample margin is kept for frequent migrations to

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the Hills and to their island home and an equally ample margin is kept for the education of an exclusive and aristocratic type for their children. The scale of their fees is naturally therefore pitched very high. But India cannot bear the heavy drain. We fancy that, in order to feel the equals of these English lawyers, we must charge the same killing fees that the English do. It would be a sad day for India if it has to inherit the English scale and the English tastes so utterly unsuitable to the Indian environment. Any lawyer looking at the law-courts and the profession of law from the view points I have ventured to suggest cannot keep coming to the conclusion that if he wants to serve the nation to the best of his ability, the first condition of service is suspension of his practice. He can come to a different conclusion only if he successfully changes the statement of facts I have made.

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*6th October, 1920*

## THE PROFESSION OF LAW AND WHAT IT MEANS

[We are obliged for this article to Babu Rajendra Prasad, M. A., M. L., one of the leading members of the Patna Bar, and a member of the Senate and Syndicate of the Patna University. He presided at this year's session of the Behar Provincial Conference. Needless to say, he has decided to resign the membership of the Senate and Syndicate and to withdraw from practice. His dispassionate article is a result of his own experience at the bar.—Ed. Y. I.]

Litigation in India is a very expensive affair. The whole system of Law Courts and the method whereby one is enabled to obtain justice require enormous expenditure—often by the time one gets the fruit of the decree,

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one has had to spend more than the property in suit is worth.

To begin with, the so-called legal charges come to a high figure. The litigant has to pay a pretty heavy court fee for getting justice, and surprising though it may seem, it is a fact that, in some provinces at any rate, judicial stamp is a profitable source of revenue to the Government. In the next place, every law court is infested with a number of *amalas*, subordinate officers, peons, etc., each one of whom has to be paid a certain fee, not authorised by law, but not for that reason any the less rigorously exacted, as the litigant knows that a refusal to pay these perquisites of the myrmidons of the law is sure to cost him more than those perquisites, besides entailing on him a lot of worry, trouble and perhaps insult.

It must be said to the credit of the judiciary that as a body they are not open to corruption in the sense that they may be bribed, although there are exceptions. But the highest judiciary is not altogether free from other kinds of influences. The anxiety to clear the file, to show quick disposal of cases, and to stick to the technicalities of the law as distinct from what the justice of the case demands, are responsible for many a wrong decision. In arguing a case before a Bench of two Judges of a High Court, a Vakil happened to make the unfortunate remark, "My Lords, the justice of the case demands, and after all you have to do justice," when he was sharply interrupted by one of the judges: "Mr. You are entirely mistaken. We do nothing of the sort. We decide cases on the record before us."

The Vakil could only retort. "My Lords—I am distressed to hear that." That gives the keynote to the attitude of most judges. The subordinate judiciary

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depend also for their promotion and preferment upon showing speedy disposal and a clear file. They are also not free from the other kind of corruption, namely, that of consulting or considering the whims or what they fancy to be the wishes of other authorities. This happens especially when you have the Government taking a keen interest in the result of litigation either as a party or otherwise.

The law's delays and the uncertainties of litigation are proverbial. Some cases have been fought for years. A case which comes to be decided in the normal course takes at least a year before it is taken up for hearing; the appeal to the High Court normally takes two years and if it goes to the Privy Council, it takes another 3 to 4 years. But this is so in short cases. Big cases are heard for months and some cases are known to have been heard from day to day for 12 months or more. Apart from the strain on the purse of the litigant, the strain on the nerves is simply unbearable. One cannot be sure if even in 25 p. c. of the cases that come before a Court, real substantial justice is done. Litigation has come to be regarded, and rightly so, as a sort of gambling. However just your cause and however true your case, you cannot be sure of winning it. The lawyer is mostly responsible for this uncertainty. Many a bad cause is won by a so-called good advocate and many a true cause has been lost on account of the folly or incapacity of the lawyer engaged or the inability of the party to engage an expensive lawyer. In fact, the greater a lawyer's ability to confound and confuse the judge and the true issues in the case, the higher is the fee that he commands. And what has the country to pay for this ability to make the "worse appear the better reason?"

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The fee which lawyers charge is out of all proportion to the amount of work done as also to their ability, with that of men as compared in other professions. Some lawyers have been known to charge as much as fifty thousand rupees as perusal fee, that is, fee for reading the papers of the case which they have to argue. A perusal of Rs. 2 to 5 per page of the paper is not an unusual charge for first-rate practitioners. In some cases, the services of practitioners who have occupied seats in the High Court Benches have been regularly put to auction for contending litigants to bid for. Over and above the perusal fee some lawyers also charge what is called a consultation fee, *i.e.*, the fee which the lawyer in question gets for consulting with other lawyers engaged with him on the same side and for enabling him to clear his own ideas and saving his own time by taking notes of cases and precedents collected by the juniors. The usual fee is Rs. 85 per hour of consultation and in some cases even more.

All this is before the case is actually taken up for argument. For the argument a daily fee is usually charged by those who have attained a high standing in the profession. A fee of Rs. 510 per day of 4½ to 5 hours' work in court is now the usual fee. It is also the common practice to charge a full day's fee even when the case is part-heard for only an hour or less. It very often happens that a lawyer is engaged on behalf of an appellant in the High Court, and having argued the case for the appellant, he does not sit in the Court to listen to the argument of the other side but goes to another Court to argue another case for another fee.

And if the party insists upon his attending the Court while the adversary is arguing, he is required to pay Rs. 1,020/-per day. It is not an uncommonoc currence

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that a lawyer engaged by a party is unable to attend the case, as he is engaged in some other court at the time when it is taken up. Some lawyers in such a case refund the fee, but there are others who would tell the client that what he (the client) engaged for the money he paid, was not their service but their *chance* of appearing, which means, in other words, the chance of their not appearing on the other side. But the fees become really fabulous when a High court lawyer is taken to a mofussil station. The usual charge with some lawyers is Rs. 5,000 for the first day and Rs. 1,530 for each subsequent day. In particular cases, even this figure has been exceeded. Even in cases when a lawyer has been engaged by the month, the fee has been Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 90,000.

It should not be supposed that the fee charged is at all commensurate with the ability or the labour of the man who is fortunate enough to command it. The difference in ability between one lawyer and another is not so great as to entitle the one to Rs. 1,500 and the other to Rs. 150 or less. Even in case of junior practitioners, the disparity between the fee of one man and another is too great to be justified by any standard of comparison of their abilities.

But the worst feature of the system of administration of justice now prevalent is the wholesale demoralisation of the people. The Law Courts are largely responsible for the constantly diminishing respect for truth. The law of evidence insists on a standard of proof which can very seldom be satisfied unless recourse is had to perjury. The habits of the people are not business-like, and what they do not take care to perfect in the beginning has to be remedied when the matter goes to a court of law by suborning false evidence. In some parts of the country,

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every village has its tout whose sole business and means of livelihood is setting people by the ears of one another. His ability consists in getting up false cases. His title to position in society lies in his capacity to work mischief. The law courts are full of this class of people. If you go to an out of the way village and try to settle a dispute between two parties, you are usually told by witnesses whom you may examine that they will tell the truth, as they are not appearing before a court but before a *punch*. It may be that respectable lawyers do not actually coach witnesses or forge documents, but there can be no doubt that advice on evidence amounts to nothing less than advice to the client—"Get this particular class of witnesses, true if you can, but anyhow get them to prove this and this." There is no denying the fact that by suggestion, insinuation, and innuendo the lawyer indicates what he wants to enable him to plead the case successfully, and the client with the help of the tout procures what the lawyer wants. In arguing a case, the only limit to which even a respectable lawyer puts, which under professional etiquitte he is required to put to himself, is abstention from false or untrue statement of facts. He is free to put the most absurd interpretation on documents or law, provided he can do so with impunity on account of the weakness of the judge or his adversary. And the higher the status of the lawyer, the greater the impunity with which he can bamboozle the judge.

Then again, the lawyer and the judge are not free to deal with a case on its merits. The judge can decide the facts as he likes, but for the law he has to depend not on the acts of the legislature alone but on a large mass of decisions which are not always illuminating or econcilable. And the greater the number of decisions,

which a lawyer can skilfully fling in the face of the judge, the greater is his appreciation by the litigant public and the greater are the chances of his confounding the judge.

To add to all this, there are appeals, second appeals, appeals to the Privy Council and so forth, and not infrequently the decisions of trial-courts are reversed by the High Courts and again restored by the Privy Council. The frequency of reversals, the want of ability in judges, the presence of ability in lawyers, never leave a litigant without a chance of success and 'hope eternal springs in human breast.' He sometimes wins no doubt, but he wins when he has lost all, his money, his honor and his character.

RAJENDRA PRASAD.

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*13th October, 1920*

## PANDIT MOTILAL ON LAW COURTS

[Last week we published, from the able pen of Babu Rajendra Prasad who till lately enjoyed a leading position on the Patna Bar, a thoughtful article on the state of litigation and legal profession in India. Pandit Motilal Nehru, our respected President of the Amritsar Congress and one of the leading lawyers in the country —unquestionably *the* leading lawyer in his province— has now issued an appeal to the members of his profession wherein, besides exhorting them to make the boycott of law-courts a complete success and organise Panchayats for arbitration, he has described the evils of litigation, from his long experience of 37 years at the Bar. We publish the appeal in extenso from the *Independent*—Ed. Y. I.]

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There can be no difference of opinion as to the desirability of avoiding litigation in courts and settling all disputes by mutual compromise or private arbitration. You may be in favour of or against the policy of Non-co-operation laid down by the Calcutta Special Congress, you may or may not belong to any of the current schools of political thought, you may not even be interested at all in politics, you cannot, whatever your position or occupation in life, deny that the nature of the litigation introduced by British laws and encouraged by the machinery of British Courts in this country is responsible for some of the greatest evils we suffer from.

I have had the honour of belonging to the legal profession for the last 37 years and whatever its detractors might say, I maintain that it is second to none in the world in its high traditions and its brilliant record of public service. At the same time, I cannot conceal from myself the fact that the moral tone of the profession has steadily declined during my own experience, and that, from top to bottom. The leaders have in succeeding years yielded more and more to the prevailing commercial spirit of the age and have gone on raising their fees from time to time, till they have now reached enormous figures out of all proportion to the nature, quality or quantity of the work required to be done.

The employment of counsel at present partakes of the nature of a contract of hiring which it was never intended to be, and the good old principle that counsel's fees were mere honorariums can only excite laughter in these advanced days. A keen competition to break all previous records in the matter of high fees is proceeding between eminent lawyers with annual income already running into six figures, and it is impossible to say where it will lead to. The effect of this on the unfortunate

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litigants is thus crisply put in the popular saying: "*Adalat men jo jita, so hara, jo hara, so mara.*" (Success in Court is defeat, defeat is death.)

I am free to confess that I have taken no small part in this competition and, indeed, was in the thick of it till some four weeks ago. What contribution I have made to the disastrous results so graphically described in the Hindi saying I cannot tell; but in the very nature of things, the total output during the last 37 years could not have been insignificant. It is perhaps possible in view of modern conditions of life to defend high fees and cite precedents associated with honoured names, but I am concerned here with the consequences to the country at large and these in all honesty can only be described as ruinous.

Much the greater evil of the present system, however, is the creation of a class of lawyers and litigants who, but for the excuse afforded by the existing machinery of the courts, would find no place in any decent society. Their methods are well-known and their agents infest the precincts of almost every court. There can be no greater condemnation of the ordinary law court morality than what one often hears when litigants of this class approach each other for an amicable settlement. "We are not in the court, why don't you tell the truth?" is not an uncommon form in which a fact alleged by one party is challenged by the other.

Coming to the courts themselves, we all know what kind of justice is to be expected in criminal matters under the special procedure prescribed for the trial of Europeans. During the last 150 years, every Indian who has met with his death at the hands of a European has either had an enlarged spleen or his death has turned out to be the result of a pure accident. There has not

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been a single case, so far as I am awar, of murder pure and simple. The climax was reached in the Punjab the other day. After the travesty of justce we have experienced in that unfortunate province, I feel that it is to drag the noble profession in the mire to pactise it before courts which are the outcome of an unrighteous and oppressive system. The disreputable class of practitioners I have just referred to are but the black sheep you find in every fold, and under nornal conditions it would be the business of the profession to drive them out. But when law courts are made subservient to the ends of the executive and such functions as they exercise can be suspended at the sweet will and pleasure of a legal or a provincial despot, when the enormities committed in the name of law and order are condemned by the British Parliament from which the courts derive their jurisdiction, it is time that we ceased to have anything to do with these effete creations of autocratic power.

We hold widely divergent views on certain public questions. It is idle to waste valuable time in trying to bring about a consensus of opinion on these. The best course is to agree to differ till time and experiences show us the wisdom or unwisdom of the course we have decided to follow. Meanwhile, let us combine our energies and make a united and determined endeavour to achieve what we are all agreed is worth achieving.

The increase of litigation is one of those evils which we are all interested in combating against. I earnestly appeal to my countrymen of all shades of political opinion to join in a holy war against this evil. More specially I appeal to legal practitioners of all grades to take their right and proper place at the head of the movement and lead the campaign within their respective

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spheres of influence. By doing so, they would be upholding the best traditions of the honourable profession to which they belong. Let them organise panchayats and divert to them the ceaseless stream of litigation which flows into the courts.* They are now in the midst of the Dasara vacation and can well afford the time to approach their friends appearing on the opposite side and advise the parties to approach each other. Open the campaign on the re-opening day of your court after the vacation by seeing that the number of fresh litigation is cut down within the narrowest limits and that a

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 16th March, 1921:

*A Jullundar Circular*—The instructions of the Dy. Commissioner of Jullunder on the Panchayats are innocent to look at. He has laid down the law in an unexceptionable manner but he has missed the point of attack. No doubt the decisions of private Panchayats are not binding in law. But only those will seek the protection of the Panchayats who wish voluntarily to abide by their decisions and therefore need no process of enforcement of Panchayat decrees. No doubt, compounding of a felony is wrong. But no court in the world can compel a man whose property is stolen to lodge a complaint. Even in my capacity as a lawyer, I have had the privilege of advising clients not to prosecute thieves they had known and have rescued some of them from the police. Neither the police nor I, much less did the client, compound a felony in such cases. Why should not a Panchayat excommunicate a habitual thief? Society does not deprive itself of social protection when law-courts are established for the punishment of offenders. The Government have their own remedy when they wish to punish thieves and other offenders. I would therefore strongly advise the Panchayats of Jullunder to continue their very useful work of giving people cheap, speedy, and efficient justice. Care must of course be exercised that they resort to no punitive measures. The only penalty that is at our disposal is the force of public opinion. There is not much danger of parties who voluntarily seek the protection of the Panchayat disobeying the latter's verdicts. We must run the risk of some disobedience; we must not, in impatience, resort to force or intimidation for the purpose either of securing reference to Panchayats or execution of their decrees.

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large number of applications withdrawing pending cases is filed on that day and continues to be filed day after day. Let these cases and others which have not yet gone to court be disposed of by the panchayats which you will have organised by that time. Within the next few days, I hope to submit for your approval a scheme for the organisation of panchayats and the disposal of business before them. The work of educating the clients* and the public should however begin at once.

To those who believe in Non-co-operation—and their number is legion—I say: take your courage in both hands and boycott the courts completely regardless of any loss or inconvenience you may have to suffer. What you now look upon as a loss will undoubtedly be the greatest gain of your life—gain to yourself and to the Motherland. A few of you are rich, some are well off, but the vast majority can hardly make the two ends meet. To the rich and the well-off, I say it is criminal to be either the one or the other with the wrongs inflicted on the Motherland remaining unredressed and the possibility of similar wrongs being repeated at any time and time after time continuing undiminished. Those who can merely eke out a bare subsistence need only to be reminded of the ineffaceable truth contained in the

*In answer to an enquiry by a friend as to what a man falsely sued was to do, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 25th May, 1921, under the heading: "A defendant's plight": Those who have been falsely charged by the Government have gone to gaol. Those who are falsely sued may, if the plaintiff will not go to private arbitration, make a statement and produce even witnesses without engaging a lawyer. He is likely to have judgment in his favour. But at the worst he runs the risk of having to pay a blackguard. Surely wrong judgments have been given before now in spite of the assistance of the ablest lawyers.

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well-known Persian couplet which means, whatever is your lot you shall have it, if you refuse you will be forced to take it.

You may be sure that your country will not forsake you in the hour of your need. As you are aware, the All-India Congress Committee has started a national fund for this and other purposes connected with the Non-co-operation movement. It is your duty to help in collecting this fund for which detailed instructions will soon be issued. Meanwhile remember:

"The Giver of daily bread gives to you His wings to fly"—MOTILAL NEHRU.

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*30th March, 1921*

## PRACTISING LAWYERS

The *Patrika* devotes a leading article to an examination of the position taken up by me regarding lawyers,*

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 20th April, 1921:

*A Protest.*—The Editor, *Young India*, Ahmedabad,—Sir,—The other day when you left Jubbulpore for Cuttack, you had an interview with 'Gunada Babu at Calcutta. I have seen that interview in the "Independent" of the 2nd instant, which appears to have borrowed it from the "Servant." I refer you to a statement in that article attributed to you.

It runs thus:

"At Jubbulpore, from where he (Mahatma Gandhi) was coming, two young men (sons of rich merchants) were leading the movement very successfully against a whole host of lawyers. Being businessmen, they were carrying on the work of organisation most effectively."

This statement is incorrect.

The facts are:

These young men are not merchants. They are foundation stones of the British Government in India. They are Malguzars. Their trade is to realize Rs. 100 from the poor tenants, give the Government

and strongly dissents from it. The *Patrika* thinks that practising lawyers may continue to lead public opinion on Congress platform. I respectfully suggest that any such deviation from the Non-co-operation resolution will be a serious mistake. I am aware that the *Patrika* thinks that the Congress has not called upon *all* lawyers to suspend practice. I venture to differ from the interpretation. The resolution calls upon all lawyers to make greater effort to suspend practice. And, in my opinion, those lawyers who have not yet

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Rs. 55 and keep Rs. 45 with themselves as commission and guarantee to recover the money even in the worst times. What a Non-co-operation with the Government! If these Malguzars are not co-operators, no one else is a co-operator. The Malguzari system was an invention of Todermal by which means people could be systematically dominated by the rulers through their mercenaries. These mercenaries are the Malguzars, who, you have said, are leading the movement.

If a lawyer who has not suspended his practice is not a proper person to be an office-bearer, certainly a Malguzar too should not be an office-bearer. A Malguzar is more attached to the Government than a lawyer.

In Jubbulpore these young men, Malguzars, are not leading the movement.

The movement in Jubbulpore is being led by the lawyers and the whole host of them are supporting it.

You did not give sufficient time to Jubbulpore, else the members of the Bar would have gladly seen you and discussed the matter with you. I fully believe that it will never be wealth which will lead the movement. It will always be the intellect and I hope you will correct the wrong impression created by the interview.

I suspended my practice in November last.

I am etc,
G. C. VARMA,
Barrister-at-law

JUBBULPORE,
10-4-21.

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[I am glad of Mr. Varma's energetic protest. And I hope that the lawyers of Jubbulpore are leading the N. C. O. Movement. I must however adhere to my statement that the lawyers were conspicuous

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succeeded in suspending their practice, cannot expect to hold office in any Congress organisation or lead opinion on Congress platforms. Will titled men be elected as office bearers, although they may not have given up their titles? If we do not face the issues boldly, we stand in danger of corrupting the movement. We must exact correspondence between precept and practice. I hold that a lawyer president of a Provincial Committee cannot lead his province to victory, if he does not suspend his practice. He simply will not carry weight. I have noticed this again and again during my tours. Lawyers, who have higherto led public opinion, have either renounced practice or public life.

The *Patrika* errs in comparing practising lawyers to merchants. Not many merchants have yet led public opinion, but where they have come forward, they have certainly renounced dealing in foreign cloth. The public will not, I am glad to be able to say, tolerate divorce between profession and practice. But not to seek, or give up public position is one thing, and to help the movement as a weak but humble follower is another.

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by their absence on the day I visited Jubbulpore, and that the two young men referred to by me, were in charge of the whole management. That they are sons of land-holders is true enough. Theirs to-day is co-operation of necessity. The Congress has not yet called upon land-holders to surrender their lands to the Government nor is it ever likely to. These youngmen, like some land-holders' sons elsewhere are taking an honorable part in the national uplift and they deserve every encouragement from lawyers. There are no two opinions about the fact that intellect rather than riches will lead. It might equally be admitted by the correspondent that the heart rather than the intellect will eventually lead. Character, not brains, will court at the crucial moment. And I fancied that these young men showed character. I should be sorry to find otherwise.—M. K. G.]

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Thousands are unable to carry out the full advice of the Congress and are yet eagerly helping as silent camp-followers. That is the position that practising lawyers should take up. It will be honourable, dignified, and consistent. We may not, in our progress towards Swaraj, consider the lead of any class or individual as essential to success.

The *Patrika* goes beyond the scope of the paragraph of "Young India" when it presents as an alternative to suspension, derision and insult. He would be an unworthy Non-co-operator who would deride or insult a lawyer, or any one else who is too weak or otherwise unable to respond to the Congress call. Because we may not elect such persons as office-bearers, we may not be intolerant and insulting to them. On the contrary, those, who are honestly unable to follow the Congress resolution are in every way, worthy of sympathy.

Nor is the *Patrika* right in thinkng that, before practising lawyers cease to be leaders, there should be a complete boycott of law courts; and as that is impossible without a rebel government, and as we do not contemplate rebellion, practising lawyers may safely lead opinion as hitherto. Taere is an obvious fallacy underlying this suggestion. Carried to its logical extent, it would mean that no leader need practise what he preaches. The fact is that, although law courts may not be completely boycotted by the sacrifice of Messrs. Nehru and Das, and by our refusal to give any public status to practising lawyers and others who have not carried out the Congress resolution, we have succesfully demolished the prestige of these institutions, and, therefore, to that extent, of the Government. If we restore titled men, lawyers, and others, to their status even though they have not responded, we commit national

suicide. Lastly, the *Patrika* is wrong in arguing that the Congress has called for suspension in order to secure the lawyer's services. The motive, as the preamble of the original resolution clearly states, is to undermine the Government's prestige by the Non-co-operation of parties to the institutions on which the prestige is built.

—M. K. G.

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*29th September, 1921*

## COBBLERS *vs.* LAWYERS

Babu Motilal Ghosh,* whose mind is fresh like that of a youth though he is too frail even to move, summoned Maulana Mahomed Ali and me chiefly to urge us to invite the lawyers to the Congress fold and in effect to restore them to their original status of unquestioned leadership of public opinion. Both the Maulana and I told him that we did want the lawyers to work for the Congress, but that those who would not suspend practice could not and should not become leaders. Moti Babu said that my mention of cobblers in the same breath as lawyers had offended some of them.† I felt sorry to hear this. I remember the note in

* Well-known, old Indian Nationalist; ex-Editor of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of Calcutta.

† The following appeared in *Young India* of 25th August, 1921.

*Practising Lawyers*—Letters continue to pour in regarding practising lawyers holding offices in Congress Committees. Ever since my arrival in Bengal, the question has been still more pressingly put to me. An ex-student from Dhubri writes to ask whether I expect the movement to succeed under the leadership of practising lawyers. I cannot conceive the possibility of the movement, which is one of self-sacrifice, succeeding if it is led by lawyers who do not believe in self-sacrifice. I have not hesitated to advise that electors rather than be ably led by such lawyers should be content to be more humbly guided. I can certainly imagine a brave and believing weaver or cobbler more

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these pages, and it was certainly not written to offend. I have said many hard things about lawyers, but I have never considered them to be guilty of caste prejudices. I am sure that the lawyers have appreciated the spirit of my remark. I hope I am never guilty of putting a sting in any of my writings. But I certainly meant no offence in the paragraph referred to by Moti Babu. Having been myself a lawyer, I could not so far forget myself as wantonly to offend members of the same profession. Nor can I forget the brilliant and unique services rendered to the country by lawyers such as Pherozeshah Mehta, Ranade, Taiyabjee, Telang, Mano-mohan Ghose, Krishnaswami Iyer, not to speak of the living ones.

When no one else had the courage to speak, they were the voice of the people and guardians of their country's liberty. And, if to-day the majority of them are no longer accepted as leaders of the people, it is because different qualities are required for leadership from what they have exhibited hitherto. Courage, endurance, fearlessness and above all self-sacrifice are the qualities required of our leaders. A person belonging to the suppressed classes exhibiting these qualities in their fulness would certainly be able to lead the nation; whereas the most finished orator, if he have not these qualities, must fail.

And it has been a matter of keen satisfaction to me to find the lawyers all over India, who have not been able to suspend practice, readily assenting to the proposition and being content to work as humble camp-followers. A general will find his occupation gone, if there were no camp-followers in his army.

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effectively leading than a timid and sceptical lawyer. Success depends upon bravery, sacrifice, truth, love and faith; not on legal acumen, calculation, diplomacy, hate and unbelief.

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"But," said Moti Babu, "there is a great deal of intolerance that has crept into our movement. Non-co-operators insult those lawyers who have not suspended practice." I fear that the charge is true to a certain extent. Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit. Arrogant assumption of superiority on the part of a Non-co-operator who has undergone a little bit of sacrifice or put on *Khadi* is the greatest danger to the movement. A Non-co-operator is nothing if he is not humble. When self-satisfaction creeps over a man, he has ceased to grow and therefore has become unfit for freedom. He who offers a little sacrifice from a lowly and religious spirit quickly realises the miserable littleness of it. Once on the path of sacrifice, we find out the measure of our selfishness, and must continually wish to give more and not be satisfied till there is a complete self-surrender.

And this knowledge of so little attempted and still less done must keep us humble and tolerant. It is our exclusiveness and the easy self-satisfaction that have certainly kept many a waverer away from us. Our motto must ever be conversion by gentle persuasion and a constant appeal to the head and the heart. We must therefore be ever courteous and patient with those who do not see eye to eye with us. We must resolutely refuse to consider our opponents as enemies of the country.

Lawyers and others who believe in Non-co-operation but have not, from any cause, been able to non-co-operate in matters applicable to them, can certainly do silent work as lieutenants in the matter of Swadeshi. It requires the largest number of earnest workers. There is no reason why a practising lawyer should not

make *Khadi* fashionable by wearing it even in courts. There is no reason why he and his family should not spin during leisure hours. I have mentioned one out of a variety of things that can be done by practising lawyers for the attainment of Swaraj.* I hope, therefore, that no practising lawyer and for that matter no

* The following appeared in *Young India*, 12th January, 1922:

*About Lawyers*—The Jamnalal Bajaj fund of one lac of Rupees that was given last year for the support of lawyers who had suspended practice as a result of the Nagpur resolution is nearly, as it was intended to be, exhausted. The lawyers cannot go back to practice with any show of decency, and I am sure that many will not countenance even the idea of a return when the country is showing such wonderful example of self-sacrifice. But it would not be proper to leave the lawyers to their own resources. I would therefore certainly suggest to the Provincial Committees that they should take up the burden subject to assistance from the Central fund, if it was at all found necessary. The arrangement should be quickly made so as to avoid suspense and delay in the even tenor of national work.

This, however, is the least among the difficulties that surround the lawyer class at the present moment. They are eager to take part in the national awakening. The spirit is willing, the flesh is weak. I still feel that practising lawyers cannot lead. They cannot but weaken a movement which demands complete, almost reckless, sacrifice. The whole cause can be lost if top-men weaken at a supreme crisis. But the Congress has purposely opened an honourable door for them. The original draft was perhaps uncertain as to any but full Non-co-operators being entitled to sign the volunteer pledge. The conditions for them are easy of fulfilment, being mostly matters of belief. The use of *Khadi* may cause some little inconvenience at first, but I feel sure that they will not mind it, if otherwise they believe in the requirements of the pledge. And, as among Non-co-operators imprisonment covers a multitude of defects, practising lawyers who go through the fire of imprisonment will by that one fact come to occupy the position of honour which once was theirs. There is also the general resolution appealing to and inviting all including full co-operators to take up such activities as do not admit of any sacrifice or any difference of opinion. I hope therefore that lawyers will, to the best of their ability and opportunity, respond to the country's call in many of the

co-operating student will keep himself from serving the movement in every way open to him. All cannot become leaders, but all can be bearers. And Non-co-operators, I hope, will always make it easy for such countrymen to offer and render service.

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*29th September, 1920*

## THE HALLUCINATION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Much is being said and written against the proposed boycott of Government-controlled schools and colleges. The proposal has been described as 'mischievous,' 'harmful,' 'opposed to the best interest of the country,' etc. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is among its most uncompromising opponents.

I have been taxing myself to the best of my capacity in order to discover my error. But the effort has resulted in deepening my conviction that it is sinful to receive any education under the control of the present Government, no matter how high its quality may be, even as it would be to take the richest milk when it is tainted with poison.

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various ways open to them. Where all are expected to help none should be found wanting or indifferent. Non-co-operators on their part instead of priding themselves upon their achievements should be humble enough to receive all the aid that might be rendered to the country's cause. The spirit of toleration should take the place of intoleration and exclusiveness. It can do no credit to the movement or good to the cause if a man, who has nothing or little to sacrifice, claims, by reason of his putting on *Khadi*, the right of slighting practising lawyers or others who may be honestly and according to their lights serving the country in various ways. Whatever is offered upon the altar of service to the motherland with a willing heart must be thankfully received.

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I ask myself why some see the truth of the proposition quite clearly whilst others, the accepted leaders, condemn it as an error. The answer I have been able to find is that the latter do not consider the present system of Government as an unmixed evil as the former do. In other words, the opponents do not sufficiently realise the significance of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. They do not feel as the others do that these wrongs show conclusively that the sum total of the activity of the present Government is injurious to national growth. I know that this is a serious statement to make. It is unthinkable that Malaviyaji and Shastriar cannot feel the wrongs even as I do. And yet that is precisely my meaning. I am positive that they will not put their children in a school where there was any likelihood of their becoming degraded instead of being elevated. I am equally positive that they would not send their children to a school managed, controlled or even influenced by a robber who had robbed them of their possessions. I feel that the nation's children suffer degradation in the Government schools. I feel that these schools and colleges are under the influence of a Government that has deliberately robbed the nation of its honour, and therefore the nation must withdraw its children from such schools. It may be that some learning even in such schools may be able to resist the progress of degradation. But it cannot be right to countenance national humiliation going on in the schools, because some have risen above their environment. In my opinion it is self-evident that the honoured leaders of the nation to-day do not realise that the Government-controlled shools are tainted in the manner described by me.

It may be urged that the schools are no worse to-day

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than they were before the Punjab wrong or the Khilafat breach, and that we tolerated them before these events. I admit that the schools are not much worse now than before. But so far as I am concerned, the knowledge of the Punjab and the Khilafat betrayal has revolutionized my view of the existing system of Government. My ignorance of its inherent wickedness made the system tolerable to the extent of my not rising against the schools. And that is just the reason why I fear that those who oppose the proposed boycott of the schools on the ground of its harmfulness, do not put the same valuation on the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs that I do.

And so I congratulate Messrs. S. B. Tilak, Patel, Tripathi and others on their having given up their colleges even as they were on the point of finishing their education. That is also why I congratulate Misses Desai and Patel for their having left their high school. It is perhaps not generally known that these high-spirited girls left the schools of their own accord as have the young men.

I have no hesitation in wishing that the youth of India, both boys and girls, will, if they have felt personally the deep humiliation of atrocities of the Punjab, or understood the meaning of the violation of the Khilafat pledge, without any further reflection, empty the Government-controlled schools and colleges. The moral education that they will gain in a moment when they take that step will more than make up for the temporary loss of literary education. For the day that the boys and the girls empty the Government-controlled schools will be the day that will mark a very definite advance towards the goal. It will mark a revolution in the national thought. It will mark our freedom from the hallucination of schools and colleges. Is not the nation able to take

charge of its own education without any Government intervention, protection, advice or grant?* Abandonment of the present schools means consciousness of our

*Young India of 17th November, 1920, contained the following :

*Hallucination of Schools & Colleges* :—Though we would advocate and preach the Boycott of Schools and Colleges, with as much vigour and earnestness as we do now, even if the whole cost of education were borne by Government, we state some facts and figures which will disillusion those who believe it is not possible to nationalise education without Government aid.

The total expenditure on Primary, Secondary and Higher Education, including all educational departments, for the year 1918-19 was Rs. 1,129 lacs or 11.29 crores. It was met as follows:

| | Lacs |
|---|---|
| Government Treasury ... ... | 392 |
| Local Funds ... ... | 174 |
| Municipal Funds ... ... | 49 |
| Fees ... ... | 319 |
| Public Funds ... ... | 195 |
| | 1,129 |

Thus it will be seen that, while the Government spent 3. 92 crores and the Municipalities and local Boards Rs. 2. 23 crores, the people spent from their own purse directly Rs. 5. 16 crores. It may be noted that a good part of Government contribution was spent towards the upkeep of their own costly Educational Services.

* * *

If we take Secondary education only, which is the chief item of expenditure and of usefulness, we shall have a further revelation. The total amount spent on this branch was Rs. 3.67 crores. It was met as follows :

| | Lacs |
|---|---|
| Government treasury ... | 94.75 |
| Municipal and Local Boards ... | 26.36 |
| Fees ... | 1·66 |
| Public and Charitable Trusts ... | 80 |
| | 367.11 |

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ability to educate ourselves in spite of Himalayan difficulties.*

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*27th October, 1920*

## ALIGARH

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Aligarh is an old institution—forty-five years old. It has unique traditions. It has a great record behind it. It may claim to have given to India the Ali Brothers. It is the best known centre of Islamic culture in India.

Why do I seek to destroy it? Some Mussalmans really think that I mean ill under the pretence of wishing well to Aligarh. Little do they know that I am

*The relation between destructive work and construction is discussed in the following which appeared in *Young India* of 3rd November, 1920:

*Non-co-operation in Education.*—Revered Mahtmaji,—One serious circumstance that impedes the advancement of your cause in this part of the country is the belief, shared by a section of the educated community, that your efforts being avowedly destructive cannot be deemed worthy of promotion. My own faith in your work as a great leaven of good, actual and potential, remains unshaken as before, for I consider it unsound to argue that 'negative agitation,' as it comes to be called, *ipso facto* forfeits all claim to rational support. When an

Thus less than ¼th was spent by Government, little more than ¼ by Government and Municipalities combined, while the rest was borne by the people directly.

Do these figures not show that practically we ourselves finance the Governmental education system, while all along we entertain the hallucination that the Government does everything, and that we can, without Government aid, do nothing for ourselves. If we get rid of this hallucination and further decide upon curtailing the useless and costly paraphernalia, we can very easily make education, independent of Government control, stand on its own legs and make improvements, necessary to suit it to the needs of the country.

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imploring Punditji to do to the Hindu University what I am asking the Trustees to do to Aligarh.* And I am certainly going to plead with the Benares students as

* The following is from *Young India* of 27th October, 1920:

*To The Trustees of the Aligarh College.*—Gentlemen,—I know you are about to meet in order to give your decision on a most momentous issue for Islam and India. I hear that you are calling in the aid of the Government and the police for the occasion of your meeting. If the rumour is true you would be making a grievous mistake. In a matter which is purely domestic you need neither the intervention of the Government, nor the protection of its police. Neither the Ali Brothers nor I are engaged in brute war. We are engaged in a war in which our only weapon is force of public opinion and we shall reckon ourselves beaten in the battle, if we do not carry the public with us. In the present dispute the test of public opinion will be in the first instance your majority. Therefore, if you after a full and free discussion decide by a majority, that the college and school students may not remain in the college ground either as students or even as boarders, if they persist in their demand of disaffiliation and

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individual becomes enslaved, body and soul, to a pernicious habit like drink, the way to wean him is ever double-edged, or to use the opponents' phraseology, at once 'negative and positive.' If the physician wishes to succeed in his cure, he must primarily employ all his energy in enabling the patient to resist the temptation and overcome the evil, ere he prescribes to him some substitute in place of the poison. The new recipe must needs fail to produce an effect, if, concomitantly, the patient persists in his old habit; from which the lesson may be deduced that the initial 'negative' stage of destruction is as essential for cure as the later 'positive' stage of recuperation. Even so our country should first shake itself free from the shackles of emasculating institutions, in advance of any constructive programme of work that may be undertaken for its regeneration. I appeal to my countrymen not to be oblivious of this important truth, and earnestly trust that it may be driven home in their minds by yourself, with due emphasis and frequency.

Wishing you every success,

Believe me,
Very sincerely yours,
DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

*Shantiniketan,*
November 10, 1920.

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earnestly as I have with the Aligarh boys. I have done the same with the Khalsa College. The latter is the only centre of Sikh culture.

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the rejection of the Government grant, they will be peacefully withdrawn. We propose in that event to carry on their education if at all possible in Aligarth itself, or elsewhere. The desire is not to suspend their secular education for one moment longer than is absolutely necessary. But it is our sincere desire that it should be given in consistence with the Law of Islam and the honour of India. I understand that in the opinion of the recognized Ulemas it is not lawful for a believing Muslim to receive the assistance of a Government that has directly or indirectly sought to cause the destruction of the holy Khilafat and to tamper with the exclusive Muslim control of Jazirat-ul-Arab. You know as well as I do, how this Government has wilfully trampled under foot Indian honour. Consistently, therefore, with the control of the passions by the people, all voluntary association with the Government is being withdrawn by the people. The least that you, in my humble opinion, can do is to decline any further Government grant, disaffiliate the great institution of which you are the trustees and reject the charter of the Muslim University. The least that the Aligarh boys can do, if you fail to respond to the call of Islam and India, is to wash their hands clean of an institution acknowledging the aegis of Government that has forfeited all title to the allegiance of Islam and India and to bring into being a larger, nobler and purer Aligarh that would carry out the inmost wishes of its great founder. I cannot imagine the late illustrious Sir Syed Ahmed keeping his noble creation under the control or influence of the present Government.

As I have been the orginator of the idea of disaffiliation of Aligarh and rejection of the Government grant, I feel that I might be able to assist you in your discussions, and therefore, offer my humble services to you, and will gladly attend your meeting if you will allow me to do so. I am proceeding to Bombay and shall await your answer there.

But whether you wish me to attend or not, I hope that you will not summon Government intervention in this purely domestic matter.

And let me say to the Government through you, that one hears all sorts of rumours of their intentions about the Ali Brothers and myself. I hope, for the peaceful evolution of the struggle, they will not restrict our liberty. We are endeavouring in a most constitutional

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I do desire passionately to destroy all these three institutions as they are, and would strive to raise purer and truer ones instead.

I deny that these institutions are in any way true representatives of their respective cultures. In as much as Islam is in peril at English hands, Hinduism and Sikhism are also in peril. I asked an Aligarh professor whether he could preach complete independence for India as her goal if necessary, or if the institution as such could refuse to receive a Governor in his official capacity. He frankly admitted that it was not possible. And yet I make bold to say that to-day the vast majority of the students of India have no regard or respect for British rule. They are disgusted with it. They have certainly no genuine affection for it. I venture to submit that to keep our boys in this false atmosphere is to teach them to deny their faith and for us to do

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manner to conduct our propaganda. We are seeking to bend the Government to the people's will, or if it will not, to overthrow it, not by brute-force but by creating real public opinion. We hold it to be perfectly constitutional, legitimate and honourable to expose the satanic nature of the Government, and to ask the people by appealing to their heads and their hearts, never to their animal passions, to express their will, not in words but in action, *i.e.*, by withdrawing all possible association with the Government. But if the Government wish even to suppress the liberty of opinion and peaceful action, I hope they will issue no internment orders against us, but will imprison us. For, inspite of our sincere desire not to offer Civil Disobedience even in our own persons, it will not be possible for us to respect any internment orders. So long as our movement is not physically restrained we must use it in such a manner as we consider to be the best in the interests of our mission.

With humble apology,

Your faithful Servant,

M. K. GANDHI.

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violence to our respective cultures. We will not make a nation out of hypocrites.

With the knowledge we have of British intentions, it is unmanly, un-Indian, for us to accept even a portion of our own money through hands, stained with the blood of the innocents at Jallianwalla. We may as well accept gifts from a robber who has robbed us of our property. This Government has robbed us of our honour and put one of our religions in peril. In my humble opinion, it is a sin for the nation to receive education in schools financed by or under the influence or control of the Government.

I have therefore no hesitation in advising immediate destruction of these institutions at all cost. But if the trustees, the teachers, and the parents or the boys will act in unison, there is no cost to be paid and everything to be gained.

I am asking for the form to be changed, I do not seek to destroy the soul. Even as we leave bodies which we have outgrown, so must we leave the institutions which we have outgrown, and bring into being others, more in accord with our needs. How can scholastic institutions which represent the youth of a nation, lag behind when the nation is marching forward*? Several High Schools,

*The following appeared in *Young India* of 3rd November, 1920:

*To the Parents of Aligarh Boys.*—Gentlemen,—I know that the best of my friends are bewildered at many of my doings at the present moment, not the least among which is my advice to the youth of the country. I do not wonder at their bewilderment. I have undergone a complete transformation in my attitude towards the system of Government under which we are labouring. To me it is satanic even as was the system under *Ravan's* rule according to the scriptures of my religion. But my friends are not so convinced as I am of the supreme necessity of ending this rule, unless the system undergoes a radical change and there is definite repentance on the part of the rulers.

I share too your concern about your boys who are learning at

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having a more or less distinguished record, have thrown off the yoke of grant and affiliation in Gujarat. They are none the worse for it. They are all the purer for it.

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Aligarh. You will believe me when I tell you that I do not wish to hurt your feelings. I am, myself, the father of four boys whom I have brought up to the best of my lights. I have been an extremely obedient son to my parents, and an equally obedient pupil to my teachers. I know the value of filial duty. But I count duty to God above all these. And in my opinion, the time has come for every young man and young woman in this country to make their choice between duty to God and duty to others. I claim to know the youth of our country in a fairly intimate manner. I know that in the majority of cases the youth of our country have the determining of their higher education in their own hands. I know cases in which parents find it difficult to wean their children from what to them (the parents) appears to be the infatuation of their children, about higher education. I am convinced that I am doing no violence to the feelings of parents when I address our young men and ask them to leave their schools or colleges even in spite of their parents. You will not be astonished to learn that, of the parents of hundreds of boys who have left schools or colleges, I have received only one protest and that from a Government servant, whose boys have left their college. The protest is based on the ground that they were not even consulted before their boys decided to leave their college. In fact my advice to the boys was even to discuss with their parents the question of leaving before arriving at a decision.

I have myself appealed to thousands of parents at scores of meetings at which hardly a parent has objected to the proposition of leaving Government-controlled schools. Indeed they have with wonderful unanimity passed resolutions on Non-co-operation including the item on schools. I therefore take leave to think that the parents of the Aligarh boys are no less convinced than the others of the necessity of withdrawing their children from schools and colleges supported or controlled by a government that has participated in betraying the Mussulmans of India and has wantonly humiliated the nation through its barbarous treatment of the Punjab.

I hope you know that I am as eager as any that our boys' education should not be neglected. But I am certainly more eager that their education is received through clean hands. I hold it to be unmanly

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The principals and the trustees can train the youth under their charge in a freer atmosphere.

Financial considerations deter those who do not want to work. Our institutions will collapse if the teachers or the trustees are false to their trust, or the nation really does not want them. The programme of Non-co-operation is based on the belief that the nation is tired of the present Government and wants to change it without resorting to methods of violence. The experience so far gained shows that the nation does definitely desire the change. If there is failure or delay, it will be due to want of workers.

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for us to continue to receive grants for our education from a government which we heartily dislike. In my humble opinion that would be even dishonourable and disloyal.

Is it not better that our children should receive their education in a free atmosphere, even though it may be given in humble cottages or in the shade of trees and under teachers who, being themselves free, would breathe into our children the spirit of freedom? I wish you could realise that the destiny of our beloved land lies not in us, the parents, but in our children. Shall we not free them from the curse of slavery which has made us crawl on our bellies? Being weak, we may not have the strength or the will even to throw off the yoke. But shall we not have the wisdom not to leave the cursed inheritance to our children?

They can lose nothing by pursuing their studies as free lads and lasses. Surely they do not need Government university degrees. And if we could but get rid of the love of Government degrees for our boys the question of finding money for their education is in reality simple. For a week's self-denial by the nation will provide for the education of its school-going children for one year. Our existing religious and charitable Hindu and Muslim funds can support our education without even a week of self-denial. The present effort is no more than an attempt to take a referendum of our capacity to govern ourselves and to protect our religions and our honour.

I remain,
Well-wisher of the youth of India,
M. K. GANDHI.

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*17th November, 1920*

## THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF GUJARAT

By establishing a university and starting a college, at Ahmedabad, Gujarat has shown that Non-co-operation has a constructive side as well.* Only, being a purifying process, Non-co-operation has to destroy before it can construct. The National University stands to-day as a protest against British injustice, and as a vindication of National honour. But it has come to stay. It draws its inspiration from the national ideals of a united India. It stands for a religion which is the Dharma of the Hindus and Islam of Mohamedans. It wants to rescue the Indian vernaculars from unmerited oblivion and make them the fountains of national regeneration and Indian culture. It holds that a systematic study of Asiatic cultures is

*The following also appeared in *Young India* of 17th November, 1920:

*The Gujarat National College.*—Never have I felt my position as embarrassing as I felt it at the time of inaugurating the Gujarat National College. I knew that it marked a silent and peaceful revolution which my audience might not understand or appreciate. I felt too that the National College would suffer in comparison, if brick and mortar or academic distinction were to be the test. It was hardly possible to have a *national* building, when a government, which claimed to be the ultimate proprietor of all our earthly possessions, had ceased to be the mouth-piece of the nation, and had even forfeited its confidence—yet the new college has in it possibilities which it is impossible to forecast. May it be the seed of national freedom! Its success will depend upon the combined efforts of the teachers and the scholars. Without any literary merit, I have accepted the office of Chancellor, and performed the inauguration ceremony, because I believe in Non-co-operation being the only remedy for national regeneration, and because I believe that the staff of the College and members of the Senate are truly imbued with the same belief. I have approached my task in prayerful humility. May God protect the new University and the College!

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no less essential than the study of western sciences for a complete education for life. The vast treasures of Sanskrit and Arabic, Persian and Pali, and Magadhi have to be ransacked in order to discover wherein lies the source of strength for the nation. It does not propose merely to feed on, or repeat, the ancient cultures. It rather hopes to build a new culture based on the traditions of the past enriched by the experience of later times. It stands for the synthesis of the different cultures that have come to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that, in their turn, have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the soil. This synthesis will naturally be of the Swadesi type where each culture is assured its legitimate place, and not of American pattern, where one dominant culture absorbs the rest, and where the aim is not towards harmony, but towards an artificial and forced unity. That is why the University has desired a study of all the Indian religions by its students. The Hindus may thus have an opportunity of studying the Koran and the Muslims of knowing what the Hindu Shastras contain. If the University has excluded anything, it is the Spirit of Exclusion that regards any section of humanity as permanently untouchable. The study of Hindustani, which is a national blend of Sanskrit, Hindi and Persianised Urdu, has been made compulsory. The spirit of independence will be fostered not only through Religion, Politics, and History, but through vocational training also, which alone can give the youths of the country economic independence and a back-bone that comes out of a sense of self-respect. The university hopes to organise higher schools throughout the mofussil towns, so that education may be spread broad-cast and filtered down to the masses as early as possible. The

use of Gujrati as the medium of education will facilitate this process and, ere long, the suicidal cleavage between the educated and the non-educated will be bridged. And, as an effect of industrial education to the genteel folks, and literary education for the industrial classes, the unequal distribution of wealth and the consequent social discontent will be considerably checked. The greatest defect of the Government Universities has been their alien control and the false values they have created as regards 'careers.' The Gujarat University by non-co-operating with the Government has automatically eradicated both these evils from its own system. If the founders and promoters stick to this resolve till the Government becomes nationalised, it will help them to cultivate a clear perception of national ideals and national needs. Let us pray to God that the workers get the necessary faith and strength to uphold the banner they have unfurled.

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*1st September, 1921*

## NATIONAL EDUCATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

So many strange things have been said about my views on national education, that it would perhaps not be out of place to formulate them before the public.

In my opinion, the existing system of education is defective, apart from its association with an utterly unjust Government, in three most important matters:

(1) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous culture.

(2) It ignores the culture of the heart and the hand and confines itself simply to the head.

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(3) Real education is impossible through a foreign medium.

Let us examine the three defects. Almost from the commencement, the text-books deal, not with things the boys and the girls have always to deal with in their homes, but things to which they are perfect strangers. It is not through the text-books, that a lad learns what is right and what is wrong in the home life. He is never taught to have any pride in his surroundings. The higher he goes, the farther he is removed from his home, so that at the end of his education he becomes estranged from his surroundings. He feels no poetry about the home life. The village scenes are all a sealed book to him. His own civilization is presented to him as imbecile, barbarous, superstitious and useless for all practical purposes. His education is calculated to wean him from his traditional culture. And if the mass of educated youths are not entirely denationalised, it is because the ancient culture is too deeply embedded in them to be altogether uprooted even by an education adverse to its growth. If I had my way, I would certainly destroy the majority of the present text-books and cause to be written text-books which have a bearing on and correspondence with the home life, so that a boy as he learns may react upon his immediate surroundings.

Secondly, whatever may be true of other countries, in India at any rate where more than eighty per cent of the population is agricultural and another ten per cent industrial, it is a crime to make education merely literary and to unfit boys and girls for manual work in after-life. Indeed I hold that, as the larger part of our time is devoted to labour for earning our bread, our children must from their infancy be taught the dignity of such labour. Our children should not be so taught as to

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despise labour. There is no reason why a peasant's son, after having gone to a school, should become useless, as he does become, as agricultural labourer. It is a sad thing that our schoolboys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt. Moreover, in India, if we expect, as we must, every boy and girl of school-going age to attend public schools, we have not the means to finance education in accordance with the existing style, nor are millions of parents able to pay the fees that are at present imposed. Education to be universal must therefore be free. I fancy that, even under an ideal system of government, we shall not be able to devote two thousand million rupees which we should require for finding education for all the children of school-going age. It follows, therefore, that our children must be made to pay in *labour* partly or wholly for all the education they receive. Such universal labour to be profitable can only be (to my thinking) hand-spinning and hand-weaving. But for the purposes of my proposition, it is immaterial whether we have spinning or any other form of labour, so long as it can be turned to account. Only, it will be found upon examination, that on a practical, profitable and extensive scale, there is no occupation other than the processes connected with cloth-production which can be introduced in our schools throughout India.

The introduction of manual training will serve a double purpose in a poor country like ours. It will pay for the education of our children and teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in after-life, if they choose, for earning a living. Such a system must make our children self-reliant. Nothing will demoralise the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.

One word only as to the education of the heart. I do

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not believe that this can be imparted through books. It can only be done through the living touch of the teacher. And, who are the teachers in the primary and even secondary schools? Are they men and women of faith and character? Have they themselves received the training of the heart? Are they even expected to take care of the permanent element in the boys and girls placed under their charge? Is not the method of engaging teachers for lower schools an effective bar against character? Do the teachers get even a living wage? And we know that the teachers of primary schools are not selected for their patriotism. They only come who cannot find any other employment.

Finally, the medium of instruction. My views on this point are too well known to need re-stating. The foreign medium has caused brain-fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the powers of a despot, I would to-day stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy.

My uncompromising opposition to the foreign medium has resulted in an unwarranted charge being levelled against me of being hostile to foreign culture or the learning of the English language. No reader of "Young

India," could have missed the statement often made by me in these pages, that I regard English as the language of international commerce and diplomacy, and therefore consider its knowledge on the part of some of us as essential. As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

Nothing can be farther from my thought than that we should become exclusive or erect barriers. But I do respectfully contend that an appreciation of other cultures can fitly follow, never precede, an appreciation and assimilation of our own. It is my firm opinion that no culture has treasures so rich as ours has. We have not known it, we have been made even to deprecate its study and depreciate its value. We have almost ceased to live it. An academic grasp without practice behind it is like an embalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look at but nothing to inspire or ennoble. My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own.

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*23rd February, 1921*

## HOW MAY LAWYERS AND STUDENTS HELP

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Everywhere I have been asked whether lawyers and students who do not carry out the Congress resolution affecting them can help the movement in any other way.* The question is rather strange, for it assumes

* Students who non-co-operated should not however return to their studies. The following appeared in *Young India* of 19th January, 1920:

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that, if a lawyer or a student cannot non-co-operate as such, he cannot help at all.

There are undoubtedly hundreds of students and

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*To Young Bengal.*—Dear Young Friends,—I have just read an account of your response to the nation's call. It does credit to you and to Bengal. I had expected no less: I certainly expect still more. Bengal has great intelligence, it has a greater heart, it has more than its share of the spiritual heritage for which our country is specially noted. You have more imagination, more faith, and more emotion than the rest of India. You have falsified the calumny of cowardice on more occasions than one. There is, therefore, no reason why Bengal should not lead now as it has done before.

You have taken the step: you will not recede. You had ample time to think. You have paused, you have considered. You held the Congress that delivered to the nation the message of Non-co-operation, *i.e.*, of self-purification, self-sacrifice, courage, and hope. The Nagpur Congress ratified, clarified, and amplified the first declaration: It was delivered in the midst of strife, doubt, and disunion. It was open to you to refuse, or to hesitate to respond. You have chosen the better, though, from a worldly-wise standpoint, less cautious way. You dare not go back without hurting yourselves and the cause.

But for the evil spell that the existing systems of government and, most of all, this western education has cast upon us, the question will not be considered as open to argument. Can the brave Arabs retain their independence and yet be schooled under the aegis of those who would hold them under bondage? They will laugh at a person who dare to ask them to go to schools that may be established by their invaders. Is the case different, or if it is different, is it not stronger in our case when we are called upon to give up schools conducted under the aegis of Government which, rightly or wrongly, we seek to bend to our will or destroy?

We cannot get *Swaraj* if not one class in the country is prepared to work and sacrifice for it. The Government will yield not to the logic of words. It knows no logic but that of brave and true deeds.

Bravery of the sword they know. And they have made themselves proof against its use by us. Many of them will welcome violence on our part. They are unconquerable in the art of meeting and suppressing violence. We propose, therefore, to sterilize their power of inflicting violence by our Non-violence. Violence dies when it ceases

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scores of lawyers who are not suspending their normal studies or their practice, as the case may be, only out of weakness. A lawyer who cannot suspend practice

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to evoke response from its object. Non-violence is the corner-stone of the edifice of Non-co-operation. You will, therefore, not be hasty or over-zealous in your dealings with those who may not see eye to eye with you. Intolerance is a species of violence and therefore against our creed. Non-violent Non-co-operation is an object lesson in democracy. The moment we are able to ensure non-violence, even under circumstances the most provoking, that moment we have achieved our end because that is the moment when we can offer complete Non-co-operation.

I ask you not to be frightened at the proposition just stated. People do not move in arithmetical progression, not even in geometrical progression. They have been known to perish in a day: they have been known to rise in a day. Is it such a difficult thing for India to realise that thirty crores of human beings have but to feel their strength and they can be free without having to use it? As we had not regained national consciousness, the rulers have hitherto played us against one another. We have to refuse to do so, and we are masters: not they.

Non-co-operation deals first with those sensitive classes upon whom the Government has acted so successfully and who have been lured into the trap consciously or unconsciously as the school-going youths have been.

When we come to think about it, the sacrifice required is infinitesimal for individuals, because the whole is distributed among so many of us. For what is your sacrifice? To suspend your literary studies for one year or till Swaraj is established. If I could infect the whole of the student world with my faith, I know that the suspension of studies need not extend even to a year.

And in the place of your suspended studies, I would urge you to study the methods of bringing about Swaraj as quietly as possible even within the year of grace. I present you with the SPINNING WHEEL and suggest to you that on it depends India's economic salvation.

But you are at liberty to reject it if you wish and go to the College that has been promised to you by Mr. Das. Most of your fellow-students in the National College at Gujarat have undertaken to give at least four hours to spinning every day. It is no sacrifice to learn a beautiful art and to be able to clothe the naked at the same time.

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can certainly help with money, he can give his spare hours to public service, he can introduce honesty and fair dealings in his profession, he can cease to consider clients as fit prey for his pecuniary ambition, he can cease to have anything to do with touts, he can promote settlement of cases by private arbitration, he can at least do spinning himself for one or two hours per day, he can simplify the life of his family, he can induce the members of the family to do spinning religiously for a certain time daily, he can adopt for himself and his family the use of Khaddar. These are only some of the things that can be done by every lawyer. Because a man cannot or will not carry out a particular part of the Non-co-operation programme, he need not be shy about the other items. One thing a practising lawyer may not do; he may no longer figure as a leader on public platforms. He must be content to be a silent worker. What I have said about practising lawyers applies to students also who cannot or will not withdraw from schools. Most of our volunteers are drawn from the student world. Volunteering is a privilege and a student who has not been able to withdraw from Government schools cannot receive privileges from the nation. They too must be content to be unambitious servants of the nation. Even if we cannot completely boycott schools and colleges, we must destroy their prestige. That prestige has almost gone and is daily

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You have done your duty by withdrawing from Government colleges. I have only showed you the easiest and the most profitable way of devoting the time at your disposal.

May God give you strength and courage to sustain you in your determination.

Your well-wisher,
M. K. GANDHI.

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decreasing. And we must do nothing that would restore their prestige till they are nationalised and answer the requirements of the nation.

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*15th June, 1921*

## A PARENT'S DUTY

"This year, my third son aged 21 years has passed his B. A. with honours at an enormous expense. He does not wish to enter Government service. He wants to take up national service only. My family consists of twelve members. I have still to educate five boys. I had an estate, which has been sold to pay a debt of Rs. 2,000. In educating my three sons, I have spent all my earnings and all this in the hope, that my third son would secure the highest degree in the University, and then try to retrieve the position I have almost lost. I had expected him to be able to take up the whole burden of my family. But now I am almost led to think that I must give my family up to ruin. There is a conflict of duties on the one hand and motives on the other. I seek your careful consideration and advice."

This is a typical letter. And it is the universality, almost of the attitude, that set me against the present system of education years ago, and made me change the course of the education of all my boys and others with (in my opinion) excellent results.* The hunt after position

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 3rd November, 1921 :

*Education and Non-co-operation.*—To the Editor, *Young India*,

Sir,—In the Karti issue of the *Pravasi*, a Bengali monthly edited by the reputed journalist Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, appears an article over the initials S. C. on the present educational activities of Russia. In this article occurs a passage to which I wish to draw your attention. I am translating it below.

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and status has ruined many a family, and has made many depart from the path of rectitude. Who does not know, what questionable things fathers of families in

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"But even under the stress of the present upheavals, Russia has kept burning her torch of learning, faint though it is. None has advised her, like the wise patriots of our country (India), to let education wait. Russia knows that no vital antagonism (incompatibility) exists between war and education, as exists between water and oil."

I apologise for the bad rendering but this is the idea contained in the few Bengali lines I refer to.

I do not exactly understand what the writer means by these lines and as Mr. Gandhi is one of the "wise patriots who have advised us to let education wait", I would respectfully request him to express his views on the above passage, as such a view is held by a section of the community which declares itself to be "sane" and "rational."

Yours, etc.,

*Purnlia.* PHANINDRANATH DASGUPTA.

[I am not surprised at the view expressed in the *Pravasi*. In my humble opinion, it betrays at once ignorance of the position of the 'wise patriots' and a distorted view of education. The Russians are not non-co-operating with their existing institutions. And yet in a state of war there too, the torch of learning is burning faint even as in Non-co-operation schools. But what happened in England when it was at war with Germany? How many schools were then going on in England? I know that the Inns of Court and many colleges were practically closed. I know that during the Boer war not a Boer child had literary education. The Boer children's education consisted in suffering for the sake of their country.

The fact is that the present peaceful movement is so silent and gentle on the whole, that it is possible for those who do not believe in the doctrine to continue the education of their children under a system against which the country is 'waging war.' That the movement is the more effective for its gentleness will, I prophesy, be recorded by the future historian with grateful appreciation. Lastly we have little reason to be proud of our educational institutions which by their very nature are accessible to a mere fringe of our population. In our state of intoxication, we do not perceive the disastrous effect of the present system of education on the country. I have taxed myself to find something to the credit of the system in

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need of money for their children's education have considered it their duty to do. I am convinced that we are in far worse times, unless we change the whole system of our education. We have only touched the fringe of an ocean of children. The vast mass of them remain without education, not for want of will but of ability and knowledge on the part of the parents. There is something radically wrong, especially for a nation so poor as ours, when parents have to support so many grown-up children, and give them a highly expensive education without the children making any immediate return.

I can see nothing wrong in the children, from the very threshold of their education, paying for it in work. The simplest handicraft suitable for all, required for the whole of India, is undoubtedly spinning along with the previous processes. If we introduced this in our educational institutions, we should fulfil three purposes, make education self-supporting, train the bodies of the children as well as their minds, and pave the way for a complete boycott of foreign yarn and cloth. Moreover, the children thus equipped will become self-reliant and independent. I would suggest to the correspondent that he should invite all the members of his family to contribute to its upkeep by spinning or weaving. Under my scheme, no child is entitled to education, who does not spin a minimum quantity of yarn.

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the way of a solution of the various problems affecting the country: I have failed to find a single thing of that character. There are to-day 7, 851, 946 children receiving instruction in our schools. I claim that it is impossible under the present system even to double the number of learners during the next fifty years. If education is to be universal, the system will have to be revised out of all recognition. This is possible only by Non-co-operation. Public conscience cannot be stung into quickness with a milder remedy.—M. K. G.]

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Such families will acquire a prestige for self-respect and independence not hitherto dreamt of. This scheme does not exclude a liberal education, but on the contrary brings it within the easy reach of every boy or girl, and restores literary traning to its original dignity by making it primarily a means of mental and moral culture, and only secondarily and indirectly a means of livelihood.

—M. K. G.

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*25th February, 1920.*

## HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Candler* some time ago asked me in an imaginary interview whether if I was sincere in my professions of Hindu-Mahomedan Unity, I would eat and drink with a Mahomedan and give my daughter in marriage to a Mahomedan. This question has been asked again by some friends in another form. Is it necessary for Hindu-Mahomedan Unity that there should be interdining and intermarrying? The questioners say that if the two are necessary, real unity can never take place because crores of *Sanatanis* would never reconcile themselves to interdining, much less to intermarriage.

I am one of those who do not consider caste to be a harmful institution. In its origin, caste was a wholesome custom and promoted national well-being. In my opinion, the idea that interdining or intermarrying is necessary for national growth, is a superstition borrowed from the West. Eating is a process just as vital as the other sanitary necessities of life. And if mankind had not, much to its harm, made of eating a fetish and indulgence, we would have performed the operation of

* *See* page 162.

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eating in private even as one performs the other necessary functions of life in private. Indeed the highest culture in Hinduism regards eating in that light and there are thousands of Hindus still living who will not eat their food in the presence of anybody. I can recall the names of several cultured men and women who ate their food in entire privacy but who never had any ill will against anybody and who lived on the friendliest terms with all.

Intermarriage is a still more difficult question. If brothers and sisters can live on the friendliest footing without ever thinking of marrying each other, I can see no difficulty in my daughter regarding every Mahomedan brother and *vice versa*. I hold strong views on religion and on marriage. The greater the restraint we exercise with regard to our appetites whether about eating or marrying, the better we become from a religious standpoint. I should despair of ever cultivating amicable relations with the world, if I had to recognise the right or the propriety of any young man offering his hand in marriage to my daughter or to regard it as necessary for me to dine with anybody and everybody. I claim that I am living on terms of friendliness with the whole world. I have never quarrelled with a single Mahomedan or Christian, but for years I have taken nothing but fruits in Mahomedan or Christian households. I would most certainly decline to eat cooked food from the same plate with my son or to drink water out of a cup which his lips have touched and which has not been washed. But the restraint or the exclusiveness exercised in these matters by me has never affected the closest companionship with the Mahomedan or the Christian friends or my sons.

But interdining and intermarriage have never been a bar to disunion, quarrels and worse. The Pandavas and

the Kauravas flew at one another's throats without compunction although they interdined and intermarried. The bitterness between the English and the Germans has not yet died out.

The fact is that intermarriage and interdining are not necessary factors in friendship and unity though they are often emblems thereof. But insistence on either the one or the other can easily become and is to-day a bar to Hindu-Mahomedan Unity. If we make ourselves believe that Hindus and Mahomedans cannot be one unless they interdine or intermarry, we would be creating an artificial barrier between us which it might be almost impossible to remove. And it would seriously interfere with the growing unity between Hindus and Mahomedans if, for example, Mahomedan youths consider it lawful to court Hindu girls. The Hindu parents will not, even if they suspected any such thing, freely admit Mahomedans to their homes as they have begun to do now. In my opinion, it is necessary for Hindu and Mahomedan young men to recognise this limitation.

I hold it to be utterly impossible for Hindus and Mahomedans to intermarry and yet retain in tact each other's religion. And the true beauty of Hindu-Mahomedan Unity lies in each remaining true to his own religion and yet being true to each other. For, we are thinking of Hindus and Mahomedans even of the most orthodox type being able to regard one another as natural enemies as they have done hitherto.

What then does the Hindu-Mahomedan Unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A

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common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. And today seeing that the Mahomedans are deeply touched on the question of Khilafat and their case is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Mahomedan friendship for the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the Mahomedan claim. No amount of drinking out of the same cup or dining out of the same bowl can bind the two as this help in the Khilafat question.

And mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races. We cannot live in peace if the Hindu will not tolerate the Mahomedan form of worship of God and his manners and customs or if the Mahomedans will be impatient of Hindu idolatory or cow-worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate. I heartily dislike drinking, meat-eating and smoking, but I tolerate all these in Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians even as I expect them to tolerate my abstinence from all these although they may dislike it. All the quarrels between the Hindus and the Mahomedans have arisen from each wanting to *force* the other to his view.

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*6th October, 1920*

## HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There can be no doubt that successful Non-co-operation depends as much on Hindu-Muslim Unity as on non-violence. Greatest strain will be put upon both in the course of the struggle, and if it survives that strain, victory is a certainty.

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A severe strain was put upon it in Agra,* and it has been stated that, when either party went to the authorities, they were referred to Maulana Shaukat Ali and me. Fortunately there was a far better man at hand. Hakimji Ajmal Khan is a devout Muslim who commands the confidence and the respect of both the parties. He with his band of workers hastened to Agra, settled the dispute and the parties became friends as they were never before. An incident occurred nearer Delhi, and the same influence worked successfully to avoid what might have become an explosion.

But Hakimji Ajmal Khan cannot be everywhere appearing at the exact hour as an angel of peace. Nor can Maulana Shaukat Ali or I go everywhere. And yet perfect peace must be observed between the two communities in spite of attempts to divide them.†

* About this time Hindu-Muslim relations were strained at Agra over the cow question.

† The following note written by Mr. Satish C. Guha appeared in *Young India* of 10th November, 1920:

Dr. Taylor's "Topography of Dacca" was written in the early part of the nineteenth century and published in 1839 A. C. The book relates that the relation between the two religions was amicable in general. In Chap. 9 (P. 257) of Dr. Taylor's book, we read:

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *Hoka*".

Although, both from the sanitary and religious points of view, it may not be an ideal practice for any two smokers to use the same *Hoka* without properly washing it after each use, the practice as observed amongst friends belonging to different religions in those days clearly shows how amicable the relations between the two peoples were in those days.

Another book, a rather earlier publication, 'The East India Gazetteer' by Walter Hamilton (published in 2 Vols. in 1828 A. C.) notices a similar state of things existing all over India and even the

Why was there any appeal made to the authorities at all at Agra? If we are to work out Non-co-operation with any degree of success, we must be able to dispense with the protection of the Government when we quarrel among ourselves. The whole scheme of Non-co-operation must break to pieces, if our final reliance is to be

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border of India where Hindus and Mahomedans live side by side. The book particularly refers to the following places, (1) Hindustan (Northern India), (2) Rangpur, (3) Malabar and (4) the Deccan within the borders of India, and such places outside the borders as (5) Khelat, the capital of Baluchistan, (6) Afghanistan with its capital Kabul and Kandahar. The materials from which the above work was compiled were either printed documents or manuscript records deposited at the India Board. The following extracts from the book are given in support of our statement that there was no Hindu-Muslim problem in those days:

(1) "*Hindustan*:—Open violence produced little effect on so patient a people, and although the Mahomedans subsequently lived for centuries, intermixed with the Hindus, no radical change was produced in the manners or tenets of the latter; on the contrary, for almost a century past, the Mahomedans have evinced much deference to the prejudices of their Hindu neighbours, and a strong predilection towards many of their ceremonies." (Vol. I., p. 648).

"*Rangpur*:—The two religions, however, are on most friendly terms, and mutually apply to the deities or saints of the other when they imagine, that application to their own will prove ineffectual."

(Vol. II., p., 478).

"*Malabar*:—When the Portuguese discovered India, the dominions of the Zamorin, although ruled by a superstitious Hindu prince, swarmed with Mahomedans, and this class of population is now considered greatly to exceed in number all other descriptions of people in the British District of S. Malabar. This extraordinary progress of the Arabian religion does not appear (with the exception of Hyder and Tipoo) to have been either assisted by the countenance of the Government or obstructed by the jealousy of Hindus, and its rapid progress under a series of Hindu princes demonstrates the toleration or rather the indifference, manifested by the Hindus to the peaceable diffusion of religious practices and opinions at variance with their own.

"*Deccan*:—There is a considerable Mahomedan population in the

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upon British intervention for the adjustment of our quarrels or the punishment of the guilty ones. In every village and hamlet, there must be at least one Hindu and one Muslim whose primary business must be to prevent quarrels between the two. Some times, however, even blood-brothers come to blows. In the initial stages, we are bound to do so here and there. Unfortunately we who are public workers have made little attempt to understand and influence the masses and least of all the most turbulent among them. During the process of insinuating ourselves in the estimation of the masses

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countries subject to the Nizam, but those of the lower classes, who are cultivators, have nearly adopted all the manners and customs of the Hindus." (Vol. II. P. 81).

"*Khelat*:—The Hindus are principally mercantile speculators from Multan and Shikarpur, who occupy about 400 of the best houses and are not only tolerated in their religion, but allowed to levy a duty on goods entering the city for the support of their pagoda" (Vol. II. P. 81).

"*Afghanistan*:—Brahmanical Hindus are found all over Kabul, especially in the towns, where they carry on the trade of brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths and grain-sellers." (Vol. I. P. 81).

"*Kabul*:—Many Hindus frequent Kabul, mostly from Peshawar; and as by their industry they contribute greatly to its prosperity, they are carefully cherished by the Afghan Government." (Vol. I. P. 307).

"*Kandahar*:—Among the inhabitants he (Syed Mustafa) receives a considerable number of Hindus (partly Kanoje Brahmans), both settled in the town as traffickers and cultivating the fields and gardens in the vicinity. With respect to religion, a great majority of inhabitants are Mahomedans of Sooni persuasion, the country abounds with Mosques, in which Syed Mustafa asserts both Hindu and Mahomedan worship and in other respects merely assimilate." (Vol. I. P. 341).

May we not infer that the policy of 'Divide and rule' adopted by the foreign Government, especially during the latter half of the 19th Century and after, was the root cause of so many discords between the two religious peoples inhabiting the country?

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and until we have gained control over the unruly, there are bound to be exhibitions of hasty temper now and then. We must learn at such times to do without an appeal to the Government. Hakimji Ajmal Khan has shown us how to do it.

The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the indubitable proposition that Swaraj for India must be an impossible dream without an indissoluble union between the Hindus and the Muslims of India. It must not be a mere truce. It cannot be based upon mutual fear. It must be a partnership between equals each respecting the religion of the other.

I would frankly despair of reaching such union, if there was anything in the holy Quran enjoining upon the followers of Islam to treat Hindus as their natural enemies or if there was anything in Hinduism to warrant a belief in the eternal enmity between the two.

We would ill learn our history if we conclude that because we have quarrelled in the past, we are destined so to continue unless some such strong power like the British keep us by force of arms from flying at each other's throats. But I am convinced that there is no warrant in Islam or Hinduism for any such belief. True it is that interested or fanatical priests in both religions have set the one against the other. It is equally true that Muslim rulers like Christian rulers have used the sword for the propagation of their respective faiths. But in spite of many dark things of the modern times, the world's opinion today will as little tolerate forcible conversions as it will tolerate forcible slavery. That probably is the most effective contribution of the scientific spirit of the age. That spirit has revolutionised many a false notion about Christianity as it has about Islam.

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I do not know a single writer on Islam who defends the use of force in the proselytising process. The influences exerted in our times are far more subtle than that of the sword.

I believe that, in the midst of all the bloodshed, chicane and fraud being resorted to on a colossal scale in the West, the whole of humanity is silently but surely making progress towards a better age. And India by finding true independence and self-expression through an imperishable Hindu-Muslim unity and through non-violent means *i.e.*, unadulterated self-sacrifice, can point a way out of the prevailing darkness.

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*11th May, 1921*

## HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

That unity is strength is not merely a copybook maxim but a rule of life, is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Divided we must fall. Any third power may easily enslave India so long as we Hindus and Mussalmans are ready to cut each other's throats. Hindu-Muslim Unity means not unity only between Hindus and Mussalmans but between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong.*

I am fully aware that we have not yet attained that unity to such an extent as to bear any strain. It is a daily growing plant, as yet in delicate infancy, requiring special care and attention. The thing became clear in

* This point was further emphasised in articles on Sikhs, etc. See *Infra*.

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Nellore when the problem confronted me in a concrete shape. The relations between the two were none too happy. They fought only about two years ago over what appeared to me to be a small matter. It was the eternal question of playing music whilst passing mosques. I hold that we may not dignify every trifle into a matter of deep religious importance. Therefore a Hindu may not insist on playing music whilst passing a mosque. He may not even quote precedents in his own or any other place for the sake of playing music. It is not a matter of vital importance for him to play music whilst passing a mosque. One can easily appreciate the Mussalman sentiment of having solemn silence near a mosque the whole of the twenty four hours. What is a non-essential to a Hindu may be an essential to a Mussalman. And in all non-essential matters, a Hindu must yield for the asking. It is criminal folly to quarrel over trivialities. The Unity we desire will last only if we cultivate a yielding and a charitable disposition towards one another. The cow is as dear as life to a Hindu; the Mussalman should therefore voluntarily accommodate his Hindu brother. Silence at his prayer is a precious thing for a Mussalman. Every Hindu should voluntarily respect his Mussalman brother's sentiment. This however is a counsel of perfection. There are nasty Hindus as there are nasty Mussalmans who would pick a quarrel for nothing. For these we must provide Panchayats of unimpeachable probity and imperturbability whose decisions must be binding on both parties. Public opinion should be cultivated in favour of the decisions of such panchayats so that no one would question them.

I know that there is much, too much, distrust of one another as yet. Many Hindus distrust Mussalman

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honesty. They believe that Swaraj means Mussalman Raj, for they argue that without the British, Mussalmans of India will aid Mussalman powers to build up a Mussalman empire in India. Mussalmans, on the other hand, fear that the Hindus being in an overwhelming majority will smother them. Such an attitude of mind betokens impotence on either's part. If not their nobility, their desire to live in peace would dictate a policy of mutual trust and mutual forbearance. There is nothing in either religion to keep the two apart. The days of forcible conversion are gone. Save for the cow, Hindus can have no ground for quarrel with Mussalman. The latter are under no religious obligation to slaughter a cow*. The fact is we have never before now endea-

* *Young India* of 7th January, 1920, contained the following: *Qurbani and Hindu-Muslim Unity.—Apropos* of the question of *Qurbani*, dealt at once from a religious and practical point of view, by Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan in his remarkable address as President of the Muslim League, the following quotation from an article by Dr. Leitner in the *Asiatic Review*, published as far back as 1893, will be of striking interest (Dr. Leitner explains that the Koran only speaks of the offering of the Qurbani, meaning a 'noble sacrifice' which the earliest commentators explained to mean a "ram," and goes on to say):

The Hindustani name for goat is 'bakra,' but the 'k' is a 'kef,' whereas the 'k' in the Arabic word 'Baqr' or 'Bakr' is a 'qaf,' but it makes all the difference to the peace of India if the 'Bakra-Id' is with a 'kef' or a 'qaf.' If it be, as the vulgar call it, and it is in general practice, 'a sacrifice of goats,' or 'bakri-ka-Id,' or even 'bakra-Id', the contention between Hindus and Muhammadans is at an end, but if, as mischief makers have invented, 'baqr-Id' is a festival of the sacrifice of a cow, then the Pax Britannica may at any moment give way to a universal rising among Hindus throughout India. *It is therefore the most elementary commonsense and good feeling which would point out to the Muhammadans that the sacrifice of a cow is not* enjoined by the text or tradition regarding the festival, but that on the contrary, it is universal as it most certainly is seditious in India. In Turkey,

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voured to come together, to adjust our differences and to live as friends bound to one another as children of the same sacred soil. We have both now an opportunity of a lifetime. The Khilafat question will not recur for another hundred years. If the Hindus wish to cultivate eternal friendship with the Mussalmans, they must perish with them in the attempt to vindicate the honour of Islam.

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*18th May, 1921*

## LET HINDUS BEWARE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Bihar is the land of promise for Non-co-operation. For the Hindu-Muslim Unity of Bihar is proverbial. I was therefore distressed to find that the unity was suffering a strain which might almost prove unbearable.

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Egypt, Syria and Persia, where a cow *might* be sacrificed without the least offence to any one, a sheep is preferred; why then should a cow be killed in India, where it is a most heinous crime in the eyes of the vast majority of the population, and when neither scripture nor practice requires it throughout the Muhammadan world?"

Dr. Leitner even urges that British soldiers and officials should receive as little encouragement as possible in the consumption of beef. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan's address shows that, in declaring that neither the text nor tradition enjoined the slaughter of a cow, he was actuated as much by true patriotism as by 'common sense and good feeling'. It was a truly noble thing on the Hakim Saheb's part and we hope that our Mussalman countrymen will as nobly respond to his appeal and his practical suggestions,—which, as he rightly emphasised, "were springing from the depth of honesty and sincerity" —and claim the "proud privilege of being regarded the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the internal peace of the country." We need not say the Hakim Saheb has laid the Hindu community under a debt of gratitude by his bold and noble solution of a most vital issue.

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I was told by all responsible leaders—both Hindu and Mahomedan—who are not given to be panicky—that it was taxing their resources to the utmost to avoid a Hindu-Mussalman disturbance. They informed me that certain Hindus, by name Gangaram Sharma, Bhutanath and Vidyanand for instance, had told the people that I had prohibited the use of meat to any Hindus or Mussalmans and that meat and fish were even forcibly taken away from people by overzealous vegetarians. I know that unlawful use is being made of my name in many places, but this is the most novel method of misusing it. It is generally known that I am a staunch vegetarian and food reformer. But it is not equally generally known that *Ahimsa* extends as much to human being as to lower animals and that I freely associate with meat-eaters.

I would not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious.* Needless to say I have authorised no

*More than one note appeared in *Young India* regarding this question.

Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 4th August, 1920, under the heading, "Cow Protection": Cow protection is an article of faith in Hinduism. Apart from its religious sanctity, it is an ennobling creed. But we, Hindus, have to-day little regard for the cow and her progeny. In no country in the world are cattle so ill fed and ill kept as in India. In beef-eating England, it would be difficult to find cattle with bones sticking out of their flesh. Most of our *panjarapoles* are ill managed and ill kept. Instead of being a real blessing to the animal world, they are perhaps simply receiving depots for dying animals. We say nothing to the English in India for whose sake hundreds of cows are slaughtered daily. Our Rajas do not hesitate to provide beef for their English guests. Our protection of the cow, therefore, extends to rescuing her from Mussalman hands. This reverse method of cow protection has led to endless feuds and bad blood between Hindus and Mussalmans. It has probably caused greater slaughter of cows than otherwise would have been the case if we had begun the propaganda

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one to preach vegetarianism as part of Non-co-operation. I do not know the persons named above. I am sure that our purpose will be defeated if propaganda of any kind is accompanied by violence. Hindus may not compel

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in the right order. We should have commenced, as we ought now to commence, with ourselves and cover the land with useful propaganda leading to kindness in the treatment of cattle and scientific knowledge in the management of cattle farms, dairies and *panjarapoles*. We should devote our attention of propaganda among Englishmen in the shape of inducing them voluntarily to abandon beef or, if they will not do so, at least be satisfied with imported beef. We should secure prohibition of export of cattle from India and we should adopt means of increasing and purifying our milk supply. I have not a shadow of doubt that if we proceed along these sane lines, we would secure voluntary Mussalman support, and when we have ceased to compel them to stop killing cows on their festival days, we would find that they have no occasion for insisting on killing them. Any show of force on our part must lead to retaliation and accerbation of feeling. We may not make Mussalmans or anybody respect our feelings religious or otherwise by force. We can really do so only by exciting their fellow-feeling.

My advice to my Hindu brethren is, simply help the Mussalmans in their sorrow in a generous and self-sacrificing spirit without counting the cost and you will automatically save the cow. Islam is a noble fath. Trust it and its followers. We must hold it a crime for any Hindu to talk to them about cow-protection or any other help in our religious matters, whilst the Khilafat struggle is going on.

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Mr. Gandhi wrote more than once on this topic. In *Young India* of 16th March, 1920, he opposed attempts made to pass a bye-law prohibiting slaughter of calves by the Lahore Municipality. Writing under the heading, "Impatient Cow Protectors," he declared himself against securing legislative protection for the cow. He returned to the subject in *Young India* of 8th June and deprecated the attempts of the Shikarpur Municipality to pass bye-laws regarding cow protection. Under the heading, "Save the Cow," he wrote:

The Mussalmans are striving their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities in this matter of life and death to the Hindu. The Muslim League, under Hakimji Ajmal Khan's presidentship, carried a cow

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Mussalmans to abstain from meat or even beef-eating. Vegetarian Hindus may not compel other Hindus to abstain from fish, flesh or fowl. I would not make India sober at the point of the sword. Nothing has lowered

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protection resolution at Amritsar, two years ago. Maulana Abdul Bari has written upon it. The Ali Brothers, for the sake of their Hindu countrymen, have given up the use of beef in their house. Mian Chhotani saved hundreds of cows in Bombay alone during the last Bakr-Id. We could not accuse our Mussalman countrymen of apathy in the matter.

Let us recognise that there is an interest actively working to keep us—Hindus and Mussalmans—divided. That very interest is quite capable of developing regard for Hindu susceptibilities in this respect. I should beware of it, and distrust it. I strongly advise the Shikarpur friends to wait for their Mussalman brethren.

Let them by all means abstain from all meat, so that their Mussalman brethren may have other meat cheaper than beef. Let them consider it a shame to have a single cow or her progeny in distress, or undergoing ill-treatment at the hands of Hindus themselves. Let them develop their *Goshala*; so as to make it a model dairy farm as well as a home for aged and infirm cattle. Let them breed the finest cattle in their *Goshala*. They will do real service to *Gomata*. Let the Shikarpuris one and all become true non-co-operators, and hasten the redress of the Khilafat wrong. I promise, they will save the Cow when they have done their utmost to save the Khilafat.

It must be an article of faith for every Hindu, that the cow can only be saved by Mussalman friendship. Let us recognise frankly, that complete protection of the cow depends purely upon Mussalman goodwill. It is as impossible to bend the Mussalmans to our will, as it would be for them to bend us to theirs. We are evolving the doctrine of equal and free partnership. We are fighting Dyerism—the doctrine of frightfulness.

Cow protection is the dearest possession of the Hindu heart. It is the one concrete belief common to all Hindus. No one who does not believe in cow protection, can possibly be a Hindu. It is a noble belief. Cow protection means brotherhood between man and beast. It is a noble sentiment that must grow by patient toil and *tapasya*. It cannot be imposed upon any one. To carry cow protection at the point of the sword, is a contradiction in terms. Rishis of old are said

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the morale of the nation so much as violence. Fear has become the part of the national character. Non-co-operators will make a serious mistake, if they seek to convert people to their creed by violence. They will play into the hands of the government, if they use the slightest coercion towards anybody in the course of their propaganda.

The cow question is a big question, the greatest for a Hindu. I yield to no one in my regard for the cow. Hindus do not fulfil their trust so long as they do not possess the ability to protect the cow. That ability can be derived either from body-force or soul-force. To attempt cow protection by violence is to reduce Hinduism to Satanism and to prostitute to a base end the grand significance of cow protection. As a Mussalman friend writes, beef-eating which is merely permissible in Islam will become a duty, if compulsion is resorted to by Hindus. The latter can protect the cow only by developing the faculty for dying, for suffering. The only chance Hindus have of saving the cow in India from the butcher's knife, is by trying to save Islam from the impending peril and trusting their Mussalman countrymen to return nobility, *i.e.*, voluntarily to protect the cow out of regard for their Hindu countrymen. The Hindus must scrupulously refrain from using any violence against Mussalmans. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul

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to have performed penance for the sake of the cow. Let us follow in the foot-steps of the Rishis, and ourselves do penance, so that we may be pure enough to protect the cow and all that the doctrine means and implies.

In *Young India* of 29th June, he added :

Nor must the Hindus of Bihar mix up vegetarianism with cow-killing. The two stand on a different footing. Cow protection is the creed of twenty million Hindus, vegetarianism is confined to a small minority. The latter cannot be permitted to force its views upon others.

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force. I have heard that at big fairs if a Mussalman is found in possession of cows or even goats, he is at times forcibly dispossessed. Those who, claiming to be Hindus, thus resort to violence, are enemies of the cow and of Hinduism. The best and the only way to save the cow is to save the Khilafat. I hope therefore that every Non-co-operator will strain himself to the utmost to prevent the slightest tendency to violence in any shape or form, whether to protect the cow or any other animal or to effect any other purpose.

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*28th July, 1921*

## HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Everybody knows that, without unity between Hindus and Mussalmans, no certain progress can be made by the nation. There is no doubt that the cement binding the two is yet loose and wet. There is still mutual distrust. The leaders have come to recognise that India can make no advance without both feeling the need of trust and common action. But though there is a vast change among the masses, it is still not a permanent quantity. The Mussalman masses do not still recognise the same necessity for Swaraj as the Hindus do.* The Mussalmans do not flock to public meetings

*The following appeared in *Young India* of 25th August, 1921:

*Hindu Muslim Unity*—Mr. Saiyad Mahammad, President, Khilafat Committee, Unao, writes as follows to the editor:

"I have read with pain and anxiety occasional remarks in your paper about the Mussalmans not joining the Congress. It is a matter for regret that the Hindu leaders in districts generally feel a sort of estrangement from their Mussalman neighbours and both the Hindu

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the same numbers as the Hindus. This process cannot be forced. Sufficient time has not passed for the national interest to be awakened among the Mussalmans. Indeed it is a marvel that, whereas but a year ago the Mussalmans as a body hardly took any interest in Congress affairs, all over India thousands have registered themselves as members. This in itself is an immense gain.

But much more yet remains to be done. It is essentially the work of the Hindus. Wherever the Mussalmans are still found to be apathetic, they should be invited to come in. One often hears from Hindu quarters the complaint that Mussalmans do not join the Congress organisations or do not pay to the Swaraj Fund. The natural question is, have they been invited? In every district, Hindus must make special effort to draw out their Mussalman neighbours. There will never be real

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and Mussalman workers in small districts are fired with the ambition of personal advertisement and claim a superiority which is the most dangerous poison to real unity. The result is that the Hindu workers hardly take any active part in the Khilafat movement, and the gulf thus gets wider. The Congress Committees are doing nothing so far as the propaganda work is concerned, and they think that their work is quite different from that of the Khilafat Committees. This evil in *small districts* is most deplorable and in spite of my most earnest endeavours to bring about a complete union, matters have not gone beyond a surface unity. Once the Hindus understand and realize this power of unity, I can confidently say that the cow sacrifice in this district will be reduced to almost nothing. Our great impediment is their aloofness."

I should be very sorry, indeed, if the Hindus of Unao are apathetic to the Khilafat cause. I have no doubt that the more interest the Hindus take in the Khilafat, the nearer comes Swaraj. Let us not ignore the fact that it is not yet possible to induce Mussalmans to take interest in Swaraj except in terms of the Khilafat. It is sad but it is true. The two communities have remained so long estranged that the

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equality so long as one feels inferior or superior to the other. There is no room for patronage among equals. Mussalmans must not feel the lack of education or numbers where they are in a minority. Deficiency in education must be corrected by taking education. To be in a minority is often a blessing. Superiority in numbers has frequently proved a hindrance. It is character that counts in the end.

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## A PERTINENT QUESTION

I paraphrase below what a friend writes regarding the influence of the Moplah outbreak on Hindu-Muslim unity:

I am a staunch believer in Hindu-Muslim unity. But this Moplah outbreak has raised doubts in me. Success in the Khilafat means strength to Islam. Strength to Islam means attempts at conversion. Have we not often been given the choice between Islam and the sword? Can people such as Moplahs learn the beauty of non-violence? And even if they appreciate non-violence for the sake of their faith, will they not use violence for the sake of spreading their faith? My belief in the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity is there. But do you not think that the questions I have raised are relevant?

The questions are indeed relevant, if only because they have occurred to one so sane as the writer is. But in my opinion, there is a misunderstanding about the whole question. Our advocacy of the Khilafat would be wrong if Islam were based on force. There is no-

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Mussalmans had unconsciously almost come to think that India was not their home. The peril to the Khilafat has opened their eyes. The Hindus can take note of the fact, help their Musalman countrymen and help themselves, and thus for all time cement Hindu-Muslim union. Happily for both, whatever may be true of Unao is most certainly not true of many other places where the Hindus are doing all they can to help the Khilafat movement. There can be no real progress, if the awakening is not general among both the communities.

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thing in the Koran to warrant the use of force for conversion. The holy book says in the clearest language possible, 'There is no compulsion in religion'. The Prophet's whole life is a repudiation of compulsion in religion. No Mussalman, to my knowledge, has ever approved of compulsion. Islam would cease to be a world religion if it were to rely upon force for its propagation.

Secondly, historically speaking, the charge of conversion to Islam by force cannot be proved against its followers as a body. And whenever attempts have been made to convert by force, responsible Mussalmans have repudiated such conversions.

Thirdly, the conception of Hindu-Muslim unity does not presuppose a total absence for all time of wrong by any of the parties. On the contrary, it assumes that our loyalty to the unity will survive shocks such as forcible conversions by Moplahs, that in every such case we shall not blame the whole body of the followers but seek relief against individuals by way of arbitration and not by way of reprisals.

Fourthly, acceptance of non-violence for organising India's freedom involves acceptance of non-violence for Hindu-Muslim solidarity. The Moplahs have certainly broken the rule. But they were prevented from having access to the new manifestation. Whilst they had heard something about the Khilafat vaguely, they knew nothing of non-violence.

Fifthly, we need not suspect any evil befalling India under Swaraj; for it is tolerably certain that, had the Congress and the Khilafat workers been permitted to penetrate the Moplah territories, they would have been able to nip the evil in the bud. As it was, it is a matter capable of proof that the Khilafat workers, wherever

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they could go, were able to exercise great restraining influence. To me the Moplah madness is proof of the Hindu-Muslim solidarity, because we kept calm. As members of a family, we shall sometimes fight, but we shall always have leaders who will compose our differences and keep us under check.

Sixthly, in the face of possibilities of such madness in future, what is the alternative to Hindu-Muslim unity? A perpetuation of slavery? If we regard one another as natural enemies, is there any escape from eternal foreign domination for either of us? Is not the present domination worse than the possibility of forcible conversions or worse? Is Hinduism worth anything, if it cannot survive force? Cannot the Mussalmans too ask the same question as the friend has asked? Is there no possibility of a repetition of pillage and murder on the part of Hindus as happened in Shahabad three years ago? Is not the remedy therefore clearly Hindu-Muslim unity at all hazards? The Hindus as also the Mussalmans, whenever one of them goes mad, have two courses left open. Either to die valiantly without retaliation, that will at once arrest the progress of mischief; or to retaliate and live or die. For individuals both the courses will abide as long as the world lasts. All questionings arise, because we have become helpless. We have forgotten the divine art of dying for our faiths without retaliation, and we have equally forgotten the art of using force in self-defence at the peril of our lives. And Hindu-Muslim unity is nothing, if it is not a partnership between brave men and women. We must trust each other always, but in the last resort we must trust ourselves and our God.

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*20th October, 1921*

## HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY A CAMOUFLAGE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The editorial notes in the current number of the *Modern Review* contain reflections on Hindu-Muslim unity, which deserve a reply. The talented editor has headed them with the word 'camouflage,' and has evidently come to the conclusion that the unity is only so-called. In my opinion, however, it is not only not a camouflage but is fast becoming a permanent reality. I have made the admission in these pages, that it is all sapling requiring delicate handling. But it is certainly not a pretension or make-believe if only because both realise the truth of the common danger.

It is unfortunately still true that the communal or the sectarian spirit is predominant. Mutual distrust is still there. Old memories are still alive. It is still true that at elections considerations not of fitness but of religion prevail. But to recognise these facts is to recognise the difficulty of union. When both parties know them and are honestly trying to achieve unity in spite of them, it is hardly just to call the attempt or the limited achievement a camouflage.

It is not correct to say that the appeal of the Khilafat associations against cow-killing leaves the Mussalmans cold and unresponsive. In the first place, is it not a cheering phenomenon that Khilafat workers, themselves Mussalmans, are working to prevent cow-killing? In the second place, I venture to assure the editor that the appeal has had wonderful success in almost all the parts of India. Is it a small matter that the burden of cow protection has been taken over almost entirely by the Mussalman workers? Was it not a soul-stirring thing

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for Hindus to witness Messrs. Chhotani and Khatri of Bombay rescuing hundreds of cows from their co-religionists and presenting them to the grateful Hindus?

It is certainly true that both Maulana Mahomed Ali and I are careful enough 'not to tread on each other's corns.' But, for frankness of treatment it would be difficult to beat us. For us the unity is not 'a house of cards' as the writer cruelly suggests, but it is such a substantial fact that we would die to keep it intact. Let me inform the reader that throughout all our journeyings there has never been a jar between us, never any mental reservations. The cruellest cut however is given in the following sentence: 'Reading between the lines of their speeches, it is not difficult to see that with one of them the sad plight of the Khilafat in distant Turkey is the central fact, while with the other the attainment of Swaraj here in India is the primary object in view.' I claim that with us both the Khilafat is the central fact, with Maulana Mahomed Ali because it is his religion, with me because, in laying down my life for the Khilafat, I ensure the safety of the cow, that is my religion, from the Mussalman knife. Both hold Swaraj equally dear, because only by Swaraj is the safety of our respective faiths possible. This may seem a lower ideal. But there is no concealment in it. For me the attainment of the Khilafat through India's power is the attainment of Swaraj. Love is the basis of our friendship as it is of religion. I seek to gain Mussalman friendship by right of love. And if love persists even on the part of one community, unity will become a settled fact in our national life. It is unjust to suggest of Maulana Mahomed Ali that he speaks in elegant Urdu ununderstandable to the majority of Bengali Mussalmans. I know that

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he has been trying his best to introduce into his Urdu speech as much simplicity as possible.

It is unfortunately true that there are still Hindus and Mussalmans who out of fear of one another consider foreign domination a necessity. And that has not a little to do with the delay in the attainment of our goal. We do not yet clearly perceive that the possibility of a free fight between the two communities is a lesser evil than the existence of foreign domination. And if it is the interposition of the British Government which keeps us from fighting one another, the sooner we are left free to fight, the better for our manhood, our respective religions and our country. (It will not be a new phenomenon if we fought ourselves into sanity.)

The English carried on internecine warfare for twenty-one years before they settled down to peaceful work. The French fought among themselves with a savage ferocity hardly excelled during recent times. The Americans did nothing better before they evolved their commonwealth. Let us not hug our unmanliness for fear of fighting amongst ourselves. The able writer of the notes loves unity as much as any of us and suggests that there must be 'a root and branch change, a radical transformation and reconstruction from the foundation." But he leaves the reader to guess the remedy. It would have been better if he had made concrete suggestions. He would evidently have us intermarry and interdine if only by way of a beginning. If that is the radical transformation desired by him and if it is a condition precedent to the attainment of Swaraj, I very much fear that we would have to wait at least for a century. It is tantamount to asking Hindus to give up their religion. I do not say that it is wrong to do so, but I do suggest that it is reformation outside practical

politics. And when that transformation comes, if it is ever to come, it will not be Hindu-Muslim unity. And what the present movement is aiming at is to achieve unity even whilst a devout Mussalman retains his faith intact and devout Hindu his. I have therefore often said to my audiences that the Ali Brothers and I serve as an object lesson to all Hindus and Mussalmans in Hindu-Muslim unity. We both claim to be devoted to our respective faiths. In spite of the greatest regard for the Brothers, I would not give my daughter in marriage to one of their sons, and I know that they would not give theirs to my son, assuming that, in spite of his being a Hindu, he so far reformed himself as to covet the hand of their daughter. I do not partake of their meat foods, and they scrupulously respect my bigotry, if my self-denial may be so named. And yet I do not know three persons whose hearts are more united than those of the Ali Brothers and myself. And I wish to assure the reader that the unity is not a camouflage but it is a lasting friendship based upon exquisitely delicate regard and toleration of one another's views and habits.

And I have no manner of fear that, when the protecting hand of the British is withdrawn from me, either the Brothers or their friends would violate my freedom or attack my religion. And I base this security from fear first upon God and His promise of safety to every creature of His who endeavours to walk in His fear, and then upon the honourable conduct of the Brothers and their friends, although I am aware that physically any one of them is more than a match for twelve like me taken together. And so from the particular instance, I have generalised for the whole of India, and shown that Hindu-Muslim unity is possible, if only we have mutual

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toleration and faith in ourselves and therefore in the ultimate goodness of human nature.

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*17th November, 1920*

## THE SIKH LEAGUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Babu Kalinath Roy, the talented Editor of the *Tribune*, has kindly sent me an extract from a press letter received by him from a Sikh correspondent, for my comments. The extract runs as follows: "Mahatma Gandhi told some of the Sikh gentlemen who went to remonstrate with him on the 21st October last on the pernicious effects of his propaganda on Sikh masses, that his propaganda of Non-co-operation was non-violent, that there were no doubt visible signs that the movement was likely to become violent among the Sikhs, that he would strongly urge the Sikhs to remain non-violent both in word and deed; but that if despite his warning the Sikhs become violent, he shall not regret if the British authorities crushed them by force. He shall then let them be annihilated without letting either Hindus or Mahomedans come to their help, for it shall be by the sacrifice (*ahuti*) and total extinction of an element which is likely to become violent that the propaganda of Non-violent Non-co-operation will succeed." Babu Kalinath Roy, after quoting the foregoing, says: "The writer adds that at a meeting of the Sikh League these words were duly repeated as having been used by you and that you, who was present, did not contradict the report." The letter has, I am further informed, been published by the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore.

The above remarks are, I suppose, intended to discredit me. Now the conversation referred to was long, lasting

nearly an hour. Some of the remarks made by me during the conversation have been torn from their setting and put together as though I had made them in the manner and the order given. The fact is that the conversation was carried on partly in Hindustani and partly in English. My remarks were addressed to several members of the deputation. The latter had come to urge me not to put the idea of Non-co-operation before the Sikhs, especially as I had myself witnessed the violent attitude of some members of the League. I told them in the course of my replies to several questioners that I did not like the attitude of some of the Sikhs present at the meeting, and that it filled me with grief. I told them also that, if I was permitted to speak, I would warn the audience against the danger of violence, that it would be suicidal to do violence to co-operators and seek to make them Non-co-operators by compulsion. I told them too that the Non-co-operators would be courting destruction if they committed violence, for the British would in that event have an opportunity of destroying the whole of the community. I certainly told my hearers that, so far as I could, I would dissuade both Hindus and Mahomedans from helping any campaign of violence, and that I would not, in this struggle against the Government, be deterred by the fear of such a calamity as has been described to me.

The summary of my remarks given by the writer thus hardly does justice to me. I may state that I do not know the writer nor have I seen the letter from which Babu Kalinath Roy has taken the extract. I do recollect a speaker at the Sikh League reproducing the conversation. His speech was in Gurumukhi, and in so far as I understood him, I think he correctly represented the gist of my remarks.

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*17th November, 1920*

## BRAHMINS AND NON-BRAHMINS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When I wrote in "Young India" on the Non-Brahmin question in Maharashtra,* I little realised that the Non-Brahmin case was largely, if not entirely, a political matter, and that the complaint was not so much against the Brahmins as a class by the Non-Brahmins as a class, as by some educated Non-Brahmins, against the Nationalists who were mostly Brahmins. Non-Brahmins include the Lingayats, the Marathas, the Jains and the "untouchables". The latter, however, have a separate grievance against the other Non-Brahmins in that they are isolated as much by the Non-Brahmins. The case for the educated Non-Brahmins is again not common to all. It may however be stated in the following terms:

(1) Educated Non-Brahmins do not possess the same political power that the Brahmins possess.

The latter have the largest number of Government posts and seats on representative bodies, although the former are, numerically, by far the strongest.

(2) Some Brahmins debar the Lingayats from the inner sanctuary of Temples, which the latter claim as their own; and this false (in their estimation) claim is supported by the Brahmins in general.

(3) The Brahmins treat all Non-Brahmins as Shudras, and treat them precisely as the British treat all Indians.†

In my opinion, the Non-Brahmin case is exceedingly

*Omitted in this collection.

†In South India, there is sought to be made a further difference in that, while the Brahmins cherished Aryan culture, the Non-Brahmins cherished the Dravidian culture.

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weak and is certain to disappear from the public life of Maharashtra, if the Brahmins of the Nationalist Party carry out the Congress Non-Co-operation programme in its entirety.

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The following is from *Young India* of 27th April, 1920:

*A Non-Brahmin's compliant.*—To the editor, *Young India.* Sir,—Mr. Gandhi made some remarks regarding Brahmins and Non-Brahmins in the course of his lecture at the Beach in Madras last Friday. His speech has caused great pain to the Non-Brahmin Nationalists of Madras. It would have been highly preferable if Mr. Gandhi had not at all touched on this point; for from his speech it was evident that he was completely ignorant of Dravidian civilization, religion, culture, and the inner meaning and causes of the present Non-Brahmin movement. He does not seem to have recognized the special features of Dravidian civilization which marks off South India from the rest of India. In praising the Brahmins for their contribution to the religion and civilization of India (probably he means North India), he has involuntarily cast a slur on the Non-Brahmans whose ancestors have also contributed as much as, if not more than, the Brahmins to the glory of South India as seen in their literature, religion, and philosophy.

It need hardly be pointed out that nothing can offend a whole community like a slur of the above kind, even though it may be done unwittingly by one whose heart is overflowing with love, and for whom the community has the highest regard. Further, the object of Mr. Gandhi's recent visit and proposed long tour in the South in the middle of the next month is, we may take, to strengthen the cause, and propagate the movement of Non-co-operation.

Surely, making hasty and flippant remarks about a highly vexed question, is likely to weaken the cause he advocates and estrange the sympathies of a vast majority of the masses who feel strongly on the matter.

If he really wants to bridge the gulf unhappily widening between the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins of South India, let Mr. Gandhi take up the question in right earnest with an entirely blank and open mind, and then he may in all probability be in a position, after careful study, to find out a solution for the problem. Otherwise he will do well in the interest of the great Non-co-operation movement, to leave

The movement owes its vitality, not to the religious or the social disabilities, but to the political ascendancy of the Brahmins, which the latter undoubtedly enjoy by right of merit. That grievance must vanish if the Nationalist Brahmins, having evolved larger views about Swaraj, taboo all Government posts and boycott the Councils and nominated seats on municipalities. It is clear to me that the Government, in accordance with its confirmed policy, will play the Non-Brahmins against the Brahmins, even without the knowledge of the former, and endeavour to prolong its lease of life by fostering quarrels between the two, and holding out political inducements to the Non-Brahmins.

It is clear too, that the Brahmins will take the wind out of the Non-Brahmin sail, and make that opposition innocuous by a right renunciation of every form of Government patronage. The reason why the question has assumed a more acute form is that Non-Brahmin leaders are trying to influence the electorate in their favour and are telling the electors that, Non-Brahmins being weak, they must seek the British alliance. Brahmin leaders are naturally trying to influence the same electors and dissuade them from using their vote. This

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severely alone the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin controversy, in the course of his forthcoming long tour in South India.

Madras, 11th April, 1921. C. KANDASWAMY.

[I have received more letters in a similar strain. The correspondents have clearly misunderstood me. I have not seen the report of my speech. I do not therefore know whether it lends itself to misinterpretation. But I claim that the Brahmins' service to Hinduism or humanity is unaffected and undiminished by the achievements of the Dravidian civilisation which nobody denies or disputes. I warn the correspondents against segregating the Dravidian South from the Aryan North. The India of to-day is a blend not only of two, but of many other cultures. M. K. G.]

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gives rise to bad blood but not more than when the Moderates and the Nationalists are fighting. The most painful part of the situation, however, is that the Non-Brahmin leaders, who claim to represent the masses and to feel for them, will by their co-operation with the Government, or by seeking to better their condition by Government aid, will actually tighten the hold of the Government on the masses. And by their countenancing the Government aid they will make more difficult the remedy of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. The Non-Brahmin policy is thus demonstrably suicidal.

Whatever their grievance against the Brahmins or the Nationalists, their remedy certainly does not lie through alliance with a Government, whose creed is economic exploitation of the masses and to that end also their emasculation. For, this refusal to right the Punjab, and partly even the Khilafat wrong, is based upon the policy of keeping up the British prestige at any cost. One lac of Englishmen cannot keep under subjection thirty crores of human beings merely by brute force.

But it can, and does, consolidate its power, by making them progressively helpless, in a most subtle manner. I venture, therefore, to warn the Non-Brahmin leaders against the danger of co-operation with the Government which is bound to hurt the very cause which they seek to espouse. They will not better the economic condition of the masses by gaining a few Government posts, or by being elected legislative councillors.

Judged by the economic standard, thirty-five years of our political activity have resulted in disaster. The masses of India to-day are less able to stand the ravages of famine and disease than they were fifty years ago. They are less manly than they were at any period in the history of the nation.

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The impending calamity of Non-Brahmin leaders running into the arms of the Government for the supposed betterment of their political condition can easily be averted by the great Brahmin party. It is intelligent, it is strong, it has the traditional prestige of authority It can afford to stoop to conquer. A whole-hearted acceptance of the Non-co-operation programme does provide an automatic solution. But it is not enough. Bitterness will still remain, unless the Brahmins extend the hand of fellowship to those who feel weak and injured. Complaints were made about nationalist papers in the Karnatik using offensive and haughty language towards Non-Brahmins; of Nationalist Brahmins otherwise also belittling them and treating them with contempt. Their ignorant Non-Brahmin countrymen have a right to expect courtesy and considerateness from comparatively more enlightened Brahmins. The mass of Non-Brahmins are still untouched by the anti-Brahmin prejudice. I have faith enough in the Maharashtra Brahmin to know that he will solve the Non-Brahmin question in a manner befitting thetraditions of Hinduism of which he is trustee.

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*23rd March, 1921*

## TO THE PARSIS

DEAR FRIENDS,—

I know that you are following with considerable interest the present Non-co-operation movement. You may know, too, that all thoughtful Non-co-operators are anxiously waiting to see what part you are going to play in the process of purification through which the whole country is passing. I, personally, have every reason to have full faith in your doing the right thing when the

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moment for making the final choice comes to you. And I address these few words to you because I feel that, probably, that moment has now arrived.

Apart from your being fellow-countrymen, I am bound to you by many sacred ties. Dadabhai was the first patriot to inspire me. He was my guide and helper when I did not know any other leader. It was to him that I bore, when yet a boy, a letter of introduction. It was the late uncrowned king of Bombay who led me in 1896 and showed me the way to work. It was he who, when I wanted to give battle to a Political Agent as far back as 1892, restrained my youthful ardour and taught me the first practical lesson in Ahimsa in public life. He taught me not to resent personal wrongs if I would serve India. A Parsee merchant in Durban, Rustamjee Ghorkhodoo, was among my most valued clients and friends in South Africa. He gave freely to the public cause, and he and his brave son were the first among my fellow-prisoners.

He gave me shelter when I was lynched, and now, too, he is following the Swaraj movement with considerable interest and has just donated Rs. 40,000 to it.* In my

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 29th June, 1921:

*Parsi Generosity.*—Mr. Godrej of the "Safe" fame has eclipsed all donations to the Tilak Swaraj Fund with his announcement of three lacs of rupees. His donations to public purposes have been hitherto quite unknown. But he was induced to appreciate the necessity this time of a public announcement. I tender my congratulations to Mr. Godrej and the whole Parsi Community. I wish also to testify that, during the collection week in Bombay, not a day has passed without Parsi donations. Parsi ladies and gentlemen are also making door to door collections. Parsis are also working as pickets. Among the newspapers, too, not all the Parsi papers are hostile to the Movement. But Mr. Godrej's generosity puts the Parsis easily first in all India. Parsi Rustamji's 52,000 would in any case have put the Parsis in a respectable position. Mr. Godrej has secured the first place.

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humble opinion, probably the first woman in India to-day is a Parsi woman—gentle as a lamb, with a heart that holds the whole humanity. To have her friendship is the rarest privilege of life. I would love to multiply these sacred memories, but I have given you enough of them to enable you to understand and to appreciate the motive of this letter.

You are a very cautious community. You are compact, and you rightly insist on abundant proof of the stability and the morality of any movement before you would take to it. But there is now danger of your becoming over-cautious, and your success in trade may make you oblivious of the wants and aspirations of the multitude of your countrymen.

I dread the Rockfeller spirit that seems to be overtaking the great House of the Tatas. I dread to think of the consequences of their appropriating poor people's properties for the doubtful benefit of making India industrial. But I do believe that this is a passing phase. Your shrewdness will show you the suicidal nature of such enterprises. Your quick wit will tell you that what India needs is not concentration of capital in a few hands, but is distribution so as to be within easy reach of the 7½ lakhs of villages that make this continent 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad. I know, therefore, it is a question of time when you will throw in your lot as a community with the reformers who are hungering to free India from the curse of an Imperialism which is bleeding her to death.

But there is one thing for which it will be criminal to wait. A temperance wave is passing over India. The people want voluntarily to become teetotallers. Society is fast developing a public opinion that would consider drinking an unpardonable vice. Many Parsis make a

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living by running liquor shops.* Your whole-hearted co-operation can sweep out of existence many of these plague-spots in the Bombay Presidency. The Local Governments almost all over India are making a discreditable attempt to thwart the movement which bids fair to succeed even to the point of destroying the whole of the Abkari revenue. Will you help the Government or the people? The Bombay Government has not yet been seized by panic. But I can hardly imagine that it will have the courage and wisdom to sacrifice the drink-revenue. You have to make your immediate choice. I do not know what your Scriptures say about drink. I can guess what the Prophet, who separated good from evil and sang the victory of the former over the latter, is likely to have said. But apart from your own religious belief, you have to make up your mind as to whether you will forward the cause of temperance in a whole-hearted manner or whether you will supinely and philosophically watch developments. I shall hope that you as a practical community of India will actively and thoroughly associate yourselves with the great

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 29th June, 1921:

*Danger a head.*—The liquor-shop picketing has an intimate relation to Parsis. We will have to exercise great forbearance towards our Parsi countrymen. While we cannot stop picketing altogether, we must meet the liquor-dealers in conference, understand their difficulties and explain our own. Mr. Godrej has earmarked his donation for liquor prohibition and the uplift of the suppressed classes. Let us not, therefore, think that all Parsis are necessarily hostile to the great temperance movement. At the present movement, an outbreak of violence is the most to be feared from the temperance campaign, unless the Moderate ministers take their courage in both hands, refund all auction bids and close liquor-shops. I assure them that the movement can only be regulated, it cannot be checked. The people are bent on ending liquor-shops, and treating as a crime all liquor-selling except as a medicine by chemists. It is a matter that brooks no delay.

temperance movement which bids fair to outshine every such movement in the world.

I am,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

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*8th June, 1921*

## TO THE MODERATES

DEAR FRIENDS,

It is a matter of no small grief to me, that I find myself estranged from you in ideas, although by training and association I have been brought up in the company of those who have been regarded as Moderates. Partly owing to circumstances, and partly owing to temperament, I have never belonged to any of the great parties in India. Nevertheless, my life has been influenced much more by men belonging to the Moderate party than the Extremist. Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta are all names to conjure with. Their services to the country can never be forgotten. They have inspired the lives of many like myself throughout our country. I have enjoyed the pleasantest associations with many of the living amongst you. What is it that has flung me away from you and into the lap of the Nationalist party? Why do I find more in common with the Nationalists than with you? I am unable to see that you love your country less than the Nationalists. I refuse to believe that you are less willing to sacrifice yourselves for the country's good, than the Nationalists. Certainly, the Moderate party can claim as much intelligence, integrity and ability as the Nationalists, if not more. The difference, therefore, lies in the ideals.

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I will not weary you with a discussion of the different ideals. For the moment, I will simply invite your attention to some of the items in the constructive programme in the movement of Non-co-operation. You may not like the word itself. You may intensely dislike, as I know you do, many items in the programme. But if you concede to the Non-co-operators the same credit for love of the land that you will claim for yourselves, will you not view with favour those parts of the programme on which there cannot be two opinions? I refer to the drink evil. I ask you to accept my evidence that the country as a whole is sick of the drink curse. Those unfortunate men, who have become slaves to the habit, require to be helped against themselves. Some of them even ask to be helped. I invite you to take advantage of the wave of feeling that has been roused against the drink traffic. The agitation arose spontaneously. Believe me, the deprivation to the Government of the drink revenue is of the least importance in the campaign. The country is simply impatient of the evil itself. In no country in the world, will it be possible to carry on this traffic in the face of the united and the enlightened opposition of a people, such as is now to be witnessed in India. Whatever the errors or excesses that were committed by the mob in Nagpur, the cause was just. The people were determined to do away with the drink curse that was sapping their vitality. You will not be deceived by the specious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion, and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The State does not cater for the vices of its people. We do not regulate or license houses of ill fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more

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damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both? I ask you to join the country in sweeping out of existence the drink revenue and abolishing the liquor-shops. Many liquor-sellers would gladly close their shops, if the money paid by them were refunded.

'What about the education of the children?' may be the question asked. I venture to suggest to you that it is a matter of deep humiliation for the country to find its children educated from the drink revenue. We shall deserve the curse of posterity, if we do not wisely decide to stop the drink evil, even though we may have to sacrifice the education of our children. But we need not. I know many of you have laughed at the idea of making education self-supporting by introducing spinning in our schools and colleges. I assure you that it solves the problem of education as nothing else can. The country cannot bear fresh taxation. Even the existing taxation is unbearable. Not only must we do away with the opium and the drink revenue, but the other revenue has also to be very considerably reduced, if the ever-growing poverty of the masses is to be combated in the near future.

And that brings me to the existing system of government. The country is the poorer for the Reforms. The annual expenditure has grown. A deeper study of the system has convinced me that no tinkering with it will do. A complete revolution is the greatest need of the time. The word revolution displeases you. What I plead for, however, is not a bloody revolution, but a revolution in the thought-world, such as would compel a radical revision of the standard of life in the higher services of the country. I must frankly confess to you that the ever increasing rate of salaries paid to the higher branches of the Civil Service fairly frightens me,

I hope it would frighten you. Is there any correspondence between the life of the governors and of the governed millions who are groaning under their heels? The bruised bodies of the latter are a standing testimony to the truth of my statement. You now belong to the governing class. Let it not be said that your heels are no softer than your predecessors' or your associates'. Must you also rule from Simla? Must you also follow the policy that, only a year ago, you criticised adversely? It is under your *regime* that a man has been sentenced to transportation for life for holding certain opinions. You may not plead that he was inciting to violence, for not very long ago you dismissed such pleas. The Ali Brothers have apologised for even a suspicion of violence in their speeches.* You will be doing a cruel injustice to the country, if you allow yourselves to believe that any fear of prosecution has prompted the apology. A new spirit has been born in the country. The fear of the judge within is more terrible than that of the one without.

Do you know that, during the past six months several high-souled youths, your countrymen, have gone to gaol, because they will not condescend to give security, which in their opinion was dishonourable for them to do? It is under your *regime* that the patience of utterly innocent Moplas has been put to a severe test, and has as yet not been found wanting. I would gladly think as I really believe that you are not responsible for the atrocities, that are at present being perpetrated in the name of peace and justice. But you will not let the public or me say that you are helpless where you are not hoodwinked. That, however, would bring me to a discussion of our ideals, which I must not enter upon at the present moment. If the country can only get your assistance in stopping the

*See infra.

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drink traffic, you will certainly add to the many services that you have rendered it in the past, and, may be, that one step will open your eyes to many another possibility.

I remain,
Yours, as ever,
M. K. GANDHI.

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*13th April, 1921*

## THE NATIONAL FLAG

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

A flag is a necessity for all nations. Millions have died for it. It is no doubt a kind of idolatry which it would be a sin to destroy. For a flag represents an ideal. The unfurling of the Union Jack evokes in the English breast sentiments whose strength it is difficult to measure. The Stars and Stripes mean a world to the Americans. The Star and the Crescent will call forth the best bravery in Islam.

It will be necessary for us Indians—Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Jews, Parsis, and all others to whom India is their home*—to recognise a common flag to live and to die for.

* The following is from *Young India* of 18th May 1921:

*Sikh Colour.*—A friend has just drawn my attention to a resolution passed by the Sikh League inviting me to include the Sikh black colour in the national flag. These friends forget that all other colours are represented on the white strip. We must not be parochial, provincial or clannish. Hindu and Mussalman colours are specially represented, not so much for the numbers they represent, as for the fact that they have remained apart for so long and that their mutual distrust has been an effectual bar against the realization of national aspirations. The Sikhs have never had any quarrel with Hindus. And if one has the Sikh colour separately represented, why not the Parsee, the Christian and the Jewish? I hope the Sikh Leaguers will see the unpractical nature of their suggestion.

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Mr. P. Venkayya of the National College, Masulipatam, has for some years placed before the public a suggestive booklet describing the flags of the other nations and

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I have been flooded with letters suggesting changes in the proposed national flag. I am unable to publish the voluminous correspondence. There is nothing striking in any of the letters. Some deplore the want of artistic beauty about the flag, others would make additions representing Hindu and Mahomedan symbols. The critics have missed the central idea. We must not have any religious symbols and we must find a clear and permanent rallying object. That is the spinning wheel, according to the vast majority who believe with me that we lost our liberty with the loss of the spinning wheel, and we can only regain it when we have revived the spinning-wheel and rejected foreign cloth.

The following is from *Young India* of 4th August, 1921 :

*The Sikh Colour*—The Sikh friends are needlessly agitated over the colours in the proposed national flag. They want the black colour also to be inserted on the ground of their military importance. Apart from the merits, their agitation has no point, as the flag has not even come before the All-India Congress Committee for discussion or decision. And in view of their objection, I do not propose to bring it up before the Committee at all, so long as I have failed to convince them of the unreasonableness of the demand. On the merits, I have not the shadow of a doubt that they should withdraw the objection. The white includes all other colours. To ask for special prominence is tantamount to a refusal to merge in the two numerically great communities. I would have had only one colour if there had been no quarrel between Hindus and Mussalmans. The Sikhs never had any difference with the Hindus. And their quarrel with the Mussalmans was of the same type as the Hindus. It is a dangerous thing to emphasise our differences or distinctions. We must seek for points of contact. Distinguished Mussalman friends on hearing of the Sikh claim advised me to adopt a single colour, either white or red. But that too would be inadvisable. The two colours red and green should be there to perpetuate the growing unity. I am aware of the difficulty of Sikh Nationalists. The Government agents in the Sikh Camp are making all kinds of mischievous suggestions to breed dissensions. And they are naturally afraid. The best thing is not to worry. If they attempt to set right every grievance manufactured

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offering designs for an Indian National Flag. But, whilst I have always admired the persistent zeal with which Mr. Venkayya has prosecuted the cause of a national flag at every session of the Congress for the past four years, he was never able to enthuse me; and in his designs I saw nothing to stir the nation to its depths. It was reserved for a Punjabee to make a suggestion that at once arrested attention. It was Lala Hansraj of Jullunder who, in discussing the possibilities of the spinning wheel, suggested that it should find a place on our Swaraj Flag. I could not help admiring the originality of the suggestion. At Bezwada I asked Mr. Venkayya to give me a design containing a spinning wheel on a red (Hindu colour) and green (Muslim colour) background. His enthusiastic spirit enabled me to possess a flag in three hours. It was just a little late for presentation to the All-India Congress Committee. I am glad it was so. On maturer consideration, I saw that the background should represent the other religions also. Hindu-Muslim unity is not an exclusive term; it is an inclusive term, symbolic of the unity of all faiths domiciled in India.* If Hindus and Muslims can

*When Mr. Gandhi talks of Hindu-Muslim unity, he should be understood in a broad sense, implying unity among all creeds. Thus he wrote in *Young India* of 15th August, 1921, under the heading, *Christians and Non-co-operation*: An Indian Christian from Basrah, North writes:

"I am sorry to say that you do not take us Indian Christians as the people of India, as I have seen many times *Young India* mentioning Mussalmans, Hindus, Sikhs, etc., but omitting the Christians.

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against Hindus or Mussalmans or against the Non-co-operation movement in general, they will find that they will have no platform to stand upon. Whether they are few or many, Sikh Nationalists must know their own mind and stand unmoved by anything said by their detractors.

tolerate each other, they are together bound to tolerate all other faiths. The unity is not a menace to the other faiths represented in India or to the world. So I suggest

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I should like you to believe that we Indian Christians are also the people of India, and take much interest in India's own affairs.

I am sure, there are very few who have followed N. C. O. as Indian Christians have. I have much sympathy for my motherland's affairs. I am also a follower of N. C. O.

I promise to give some news about the state of Indians in Mespot now and then."

I assure the correspondent and other Indian Christians that Non-co-operation is no respecter of creeds or races. It invites and admits all to its fold. Many Indian Christians have contributed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. There are some noted Indian Christains as Non-co-operators in the front rank. There is constant mention of Musalmans and Hindus, as they have hitherto regarded one another as enemies. Similarly, there always has been some cause when any race has been specially mentioned in these columns.

The above was followed by the following note in *Young India* of 22nd september, 1921: *Christian Non-co-operators*—A Christian student writes: 'Though we are Christian students, you are our national leader, and we feel that we ought to learn from you what India stands for and what is her spiritual heritage. Will you therefore send me your criticism of Western Christianity with constructive suggestions regarding organisation, worship and ministry?'

My inquirer did not know that he was taking me beyond my depth. It is a pleasure to me, however, that Indian Christians are taking growing interest in the national movement. I know that hundreds of poor Christians in Bombay paid what they could to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. I know that several educated Christians are devoting their splendid talents to national work. I propose, therefore, to satisfy my inquirer,—not in the way he would have me to—but in the only way I can.

India of the near future stands for perfect toleration of all religions. Her spiritual heritage is simple living and high thinking. I consider Western Christianity in its practical working a negation of Christ's Christianity. I cannot conceive Jesus, if he was living in the flesh in our midst, approving of modern Christian organisations, public worship or modern ministry. If Indian Christians will simply cling

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that the background should be white and green and red. The white portion is intended to represent all other faiths. The weakest numerically occupy the first place,

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Sermon on the Mount, which was delivered not merely to the peaceful disciples but a groaning world, they would not go wrong, and they would find that no religion is false, and that if all live according to their lights and in the fear of God, they would not need to worry about organisations, forms of worship and ministry. The Pharisees had all that, but Jesus would have none of it, for they were using their office as a cloak for hypocrisy and worse. Co-operation with forces of Good and Non-co-operation with forces of Evil are the two things we need for a good and pure life, whether it is called Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

The following is from *Young India* of 19th January, 1922:

*Christian Awakening.*—Mr. Andrews writes as follows:

"When I was in Lahore a short time ago in order to see Mr. Stokes in the Central Jail, a group of some fifteen to twenty Indian Christian students came to see me. We sat down and talked very earnestly together. The conversation was chiefly about Mr. Stokes himself, and afterwards they asked me particularly concerning my recent visit to East Africa and Uganda. I tried to point out to them how beautiful a thing it would be, if some of them could go out to Central Africa, not to make money, but simply to help the Africans in love. The talk went on till college time drew near and they said good-bye. But a short time after, two of them came back and said to me,—"We wanted to come back on behalf of every one of us to tell you that we had a short informal meeting outside, after we had left you and we passed a unanimous resolution asking you to give to Mahatma Gandhi our love and to tell him that our hearts were with him."

The following is from *Young India* of 4th August, 1921:

*Sikh Representation.*—I regard the Sikh fear about representation at the present stage to be justified. They have been assured by the Congress communal representation if the Mussalmans insist upon the Lucknow compact. The Working Committee issued only advisory instructions because of attempts to divide Mussalmans. The Sikhs therefore are entitled to similar assurances. There should be no difficulty about issuing them. It is largely a question for the three communities in the Punjab to settle among themselves. The Committee can only issue helpful instructions.

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the Islamic colour comes next, the Hindu colour red comes last, the idea being that the strongest should act as a shield to the weakest. The white colour, moreover, represents purity and peace. Our national flag must mean that or nothing. And to represent the equality of the least of us with the best, an equal part is assigned to all the three colours in the design.

But India as a nation can live and die only for the spinning wheel. Every woman will tell the curious that with the disappearance of the spinning wheel, vanished India's happiness and prosperity. The womanhood and the masses of India have been awakened as never before at the call of the spinning wheel. The masses recognise in it the giver of life. The women regard it as the protector of their chastity.* Every widow I have met has recognised in the wheel a dear forgotten friend. Its restoration alone can fill the millions of hungry mouths. No industrial development schemes can solve the problem of the growing poverty of the peasantry of India covering a vast surface, 1900 miles long and 1500 broad. India is not a small island, it is a big continent which cannot be converted like England into an industrial country. And we must resolutely set our face against any scheme of exploitation of the world. Our only hope must centre upon utilising the wasted hours of the nation, for adding to the wealth of the country, by converting cotton into cloth in our cottages. The spinning wheel is, therefore, as much a necessity of Indian life as air and water.

Moreover, the Muslims swear by it just as much as the Hindus. As a matter of fact, the former are taking to it more readily than the Hindus. For the Muslim woman is *purdanashin* and she can now add a few

*See *infra* articles on spinning.

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*paisas* to the poor resources that her husband brings to the family. The spinning wheel, therefore, is the most natural, as it is the most important, common factor of national life. Through it we inform the whole world that we are determined, so far as our food and clothing are concerned, to be totally independent of the rest of it. Those who believe with me will make haste to introduce the spinning wheel in their home and possess a national flag of the design suggested by me.

It follows that the flag must be made of *khaddar*, for it is through coarse cloth alone that we can make India independent of foreign markets for her cloth. I would advise all religious organisations, if they agree with my argument, to weave into their religious flags, as for instance the Khilafat, a miniature National Flag in the upper left hand corner. The regulation size of the Flag should contain the drawing of a full-sized spinning wheel.

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*8th September, 1920*

## THREE NATIONAL CRIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During the Madras tour, at Bezwada I had occasion to remark upon the national cries and I suggested that it would be better to have cries about ideals than men. I asked the audience to replace *Mahatma Gandhiki Jai* and *Mahomed Ali-Shaukat Aliki Jai* by *Hindu-Mussalmanki Jai*. Brother Shaukat Ali, who followed, positively laid down the law. In spite of the Hindu-Muslim unity, he had observed that, if Hindus shouted *Bande Mataram*, the Muslims rang out with *Allaho Akbar* and vice versa. This, he rightly said, jarred on the ear and still showed that the people did not act with one mind.

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There should be therefore only three cries recognised, *Allaho Akbar* to be joyously sung out by Hindus and Muslims showing that God alone was great and no other. The second should be *Bande Mataram* (Hail Motherland) or *Bharat Mataki Jai* (Victory to Mother Hind). The third should be *Hindu-Mussalmanki Jai*, without which there was no victory for India, and no true demonstration of the greatness of God. I do wish that the newspapers and public men would take up the Maulana's suggestion and lead the people only to use the three cries. They are full of meaning. The first is a prayer and a confession of our littleness and therefore a sign of humility. It is a cry in which all Hindus and Muslims should join in reverence and prayerfulness. Hindus may not fight shy of Arabic words, when their meaning is not only totally inoffensive but even ennobling. God is no respector of any particular tongue. *Bande Mataram*, apart from its wonderful associations, expresses the one national wish—the rise of India to her full height. And I should prefer *Bande Mataram* to *Bharat Mataki Jai*, as it would be a graceful recognition of the intellectual and emotional superiority of Bengal. Since India can be nothing without the union of the Hindu and the Muslim heart, *Hindu-Mussalmanki Jai* is a cry which we may never forget.

There should be no discordance in these cries. Immediately some one has taken up any of the three cries, the rest should take it up and not attempt to yell out their favourite. Those, who do not wish to join may refrain, but they should consider it a breach of etiquette to interpolate their own when a cry has already been raised. It would be better too, always to follow out the three cries in the order given above. Nor should cries be incessantly shouted. One often hears an incessant

yell when a popular leader is passing through a station. I doubt if this incessant noise does the slightest good to the nation except to provide an indifferent exercise for one's lungs. Moreover, it is necessary to think of our hero's nerves and time. It is a national waste to keep him occupied in gazing at a crowd and hearing a cry in his praise or any other for full thirty minutes. We must cultivate the sense of proportion.

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*21st January, 1920*

## AN APPEAL TO MADRAS

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

I use the word Madras here in its popular sense, meaning the people of the whole of the Madras Presidency, speaking all the Dravidian languages.

I observe that Mrs. Besant was disappointed that the proceedings of the Congress were conducted mainly in Hindustani, and she has therefore come to the amazing conclusion that it became a Provincial rather than a National assembly. I entertain a very high regard for Mrs. Besant and her services to India. No one has popularised the idea of Home Rule for India with so much success as she. The best of us, much younger in age, are unable to approach her in her industry, zeal and organising ability, all devoted to the service of India. She has devoted the best part of her mature life to the service of India and she has deservedly attained to popularity in India, second perhaps only to that of Lokamanya Tilak. But, for the present moment, her views being unacceptable to a large body of educated Indians, she has become somewhat unpopular, and it grieves me to have to dissent publicly from her view about

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Hindustani making the Congress provincial. In my humble opinion, it is a grave error of judgment, and duty compels me to draw attention to it. I have attended all the Congress Sessions, but one, since 1915. I have studied them specially in order to study the utility of Hindustani compared to English for the conduct of its proceedings. I have spoken to hundreds and thousands of visitors and I have perhaps covered a larger area and seen a much larger number of people, literate and illiterate, than any public man not excluding Mrs. Besant and Lokamanya Tilak, and I have come to the deliberate conclusion that no language except Hindustani—a resultant of Hind and Urdu—can possibly become a national medium for exchange of ideas or for the conduct of national proceedings. It is also my deliberate opinion based upon extensive experience that the nation has very materially sufered by reason of the proceedings of the Congress having been conducted almost entirely in English except during the last two years. I furthe wish to state as a fact that, barring the presidency of Madras, everywhere else the majority of the visitors and delegates to the National Congress have always been able to understand more Hindustani than English. The astounding result therefore has been that the Congress has been national throughout all these long years only as a spectacle but never for its real educative value. In any other country in the world an assembly of this character that has become progressively popular from year to year would have, during thirty-four years of life, given a political education that would have had various questions threshed out before them in their own language. Whatever therefore the shortcomings of the Congress, it has certainly been more fully national than any of its predecessors, by reason of the

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majority of the delegates and visitors having understood the proceedings. If the audience was weary of Mrs. Besant, it was not because it was indifferent or disrespectful to her, but because it could not follow her speech, interesting and able though it was. And as national consciousness develops and as the appetite for political knowledge and education grows, as it must, it will become more and more difficult, and rightly so, for a speaker, no matter how able and popular, to command the attention of a popular audience if he spoke in English. I therefore appeal to the people of Madras presidency to recognise the national necessity for public men to learn Hindustani. Audiences outside Madras can more or less understand Hindustani without difficulty. Dayananda Saraswati enthralled audiences outside Northern India with his Hindustani eloquence, and could be understood by even the common people without difficulty. The nation has very materially suffered by reason of the proceedings of the Congress having been conducted in English. That means that, out of a population of three hundred and fifteen millions, only over thirty-eight millions composing the Madras presidency cannot follow a Hindustani speaker. I have deducted the Mahomedan population, for it is common knowledge that the majority of the Mahomedans of Madras presidency understand Hindustani. The question therefore is: what is the duty of the thirty-eight million inhabitants of that presidency? Should India for their sake learn English? Or should they for the sake of two hundred and seven-seven million inhabitants of India learn Hindustani? The late Justice Krishnaswami, with his unerring instinct, recognised Hindustani as the only possible medium of expression between the different parts of India. I am not aware that the proposition is seriously challenged

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by anybody at the present moment. It is not possible for thousands of people to make English their common tongue, and it would be highly undesirable, even if it were possible, for the simple reason that the higher and technical knowledge being acquired through English cannot percolate to the masses, as it would if it became current among the upper classes through any of the vernaculars. It is easier, for instance, to translate the writings of Sir J. C. Bose from Bengalee into Gujarati than it is to translate Huxley from English into Gujarati. And what does the proposition that the Madrasi should learn Hindustani for the sake of the rest of India amount to? It simply means that those public workers in Madras who want to work outside India and who want to take part in national assemblies outside the Madras Presidency should devote an hour a day for one year to learning Hindustani. Such an effort would enable several thousand Madrasis to pick up sufficient Hindustani to enable them to follow at least the drift of the Congress proceedings at the end of a year's study. They have got in several parts of the Presidency Hindi Prachar Offices where Hindustani is taught free of charge to all who wish to learn.*

* The following is from *Young India* of 16th June, 1920:

I have the greatest faith in the Dravidians some day taking up Hindi study seriously. If an eighth of the industry that they put in mastering English were to be devoted to learning Hindi, instead of the rest of India remaining a sealed book to them, they will be one with us as never before. I know that some would say the argument cuts both ways. The Dravidians being in a minority, national economy suggests that they should learn the common language of the rest of India than that the rest should learn Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam in order to be able to converse with Dravidian India. It is for that reason that Hindi-propaganda work of an intense type has been going on in the Madras Presidency for the past eighteen months under the aegis of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan of Allahabad.

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I appeal to Mr. Besant, who is already devoting "New India" from time to time to the cause of Hindustani learning, to support my appeal.

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In response to an appeal by me to the Agraval Marwadi Sammelan held in Bombay last week, the wealthy Marwadis of Bombay and Calcutta present there subscribed on the spot Rs. 50,000 for five years' Hindi-propaganda in Madras Presidency. They have once more demonstrated that Hindi work is a speciality of this princely merchant class of India. This generous response increases the responsibility of the Sammelan of Allahabad and of those Dravidians who share with me the belief that Madras must take up Hindi for the sake of full national expansion. Let no Dravidian think that learning Hindi is at all difficult. A little time taken from the recreation hour daily and in a systematic manner will enable an average man to learn Hindi in one year. I would venture to suggest too that large Municipalities might now introduce Hindi as an optional language to be learnt in the municipal schools. I can say from experience that Dravidian children take to Hindi in a remarkably easy manner. Little does any one know that almost all the Tamils and the Telugus living in South Africa can carry on an intelligent conversation in Hindi. I venture to hope, therefore, that the young men of Madras will show their appreciation of Marwadi generosity by availing themselves of the facility afforded to them of learning Hindi without payment.

In *Young India* of 2nd February, 1921, Mr. Gandhi wrote under the heading, *The need for Hindustani*: I have ventured to advise every student to devote this year of our trial to the manufacture of yarn and learning Hindustani. I am thankful to the Calcutta students that they have taken kindly to the suggestion. Bengal and Madras are the two provinces that are cut off from the rest of India for want of a knowledge of Hindustani on their part—Bengal, because of its prejudice against learning any other language of India, and Madras, because of the difficulty of the Dravidians about picking up Hindustani. An average Bengali can really learn Hindustani in two months if he gave it three hours day and a Dravidian in six months at the same rate. Neither a Bengali nor a Dravidian can hope to achieve the same result with English in the same time. A knowledge of English opens up intercourse only with the comparatively few English knowing Indians, whereas a passable knowledge of Hindustani enables us to hold intercourse with the largest number of our country-

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*21st April, 1920*

## THE CAUSE OF THE VERNACULARS

To anyone who watched the proceedings of the recent Sahitya Sammelams it must be clear that our national awakening is not confined to politics alone. The enthusiasm displayed at these gatherings indicated a happy change. We are giving in thought their proper place to the vernaculars in our national life. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's prophecy that India will one day be an English-speaking country, has to-day many stars in its favour. The great reformer's spirit, however, still haunts some. A number of our eminent men hastily generalise in favour of English as the national medium. The present status of English as a court language weighs with them unduly. They fail to see that the present status of English is no credit to us and that it is not conducive to the growth of a true democratic spirit. That crores of men should learn a foreign tongue for the convenience of a few hundreds of officials is the height of absurdity. An instance is often cited from our past history to prove the necessity of a *lingua franca* to strengthen the central Government of the country. Nobody disputes the necessity of a common medium. But it cannot be English. The officials have to recognise the vernaculars. The second consideration that appeals to the Anglicists is India's position in the Empire. The argument, put in plain words, amounts to asking 31

men. I do hope the Bengalis and the Dravidians will come to the next Congress with a workable knowledge of Hindustani. Our greatest assembly cannot be a real object lesson to the masses unless it speaks to them in a language which the largest number can understand. I appreciate the difficulty with the Dravidians, but nothing is difficult before their industrious love for the Motherland.

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crores of Indians to accept English as their common language, for the sake of the other parts of the Empire whose population is not more than 12 crores.

The first fact that ought to receive consideration from every student of this problem, is that after a century and a half of British Rule English has failed to take the place of a *lingua franca* of India. A kind of broken English, no doubt, does seem to have succeeded in this respect in our cities. But this fact can only dazzle those who profess to study our national problems, in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta. And what is their population after all? It is only 2.2 per cent. of the total population of India. The second fact that the Anglicists ignore is that a very large majority of our vernaculars are akin to one another, and as a result of this, Hindi as a *lingua franca* suits all the provinces except the Madras Presidency. In view of this advantage in favour of Hindi and in view of our present national consciousness, how can we accept English as our *lingua franca*?

The solution of this problem will decide the fate of the vernaculars. In our educational system, English is suffered to have an unnatural dominance over vernaculars. The extreme Anglicists hold that English should be used as the medium of instruction 'at the earliest age possible.' This argument, is based on the fact that children in a foreign country pick up the language of the country without difficulty at an early age. Refuting this argument, the Calcutta University Commission say; "Whereas in a foreign country a child is surrounded by others who speak the language of the country, in a class room, he is surrounded by others who, with the exception of the teacher, are as ignorant as himself of the new medium; it is a class of one person teaching many, not of many teaching one; and it is only by experiment that class

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room methods can be worked out successfully." The 'educational economy,' as an advantage of vernacularising our educational system, has received recognition at the hands of the Commission. We have pointed out, in our issue of Feb. 11,* that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission in this connection are a further step. The next logical step after this is recommending the use of vernaculars as the medium in our universities also. The Sadler Commission have made the matricular stage as a halting place between the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and their use in the college department. They have suggested as their own opinion a bilingual system for the future. But they also say: "We do not wish to prejudge the future. It is not for us to predict whether the natural desire to use Bengali to the utmost will eventually outweigh the immense advantages of being able to use a medium common not only to the educated classes throughout India, but to more peoples than any other, and giving access in effect to the literature and the scientific records of the world." Though, in view of the evidence submitted to them, the Commissioners could not be persuaded to lay down a policy for the future in favour of vernacularising university education also, it is equally true that they could not find anything in the evidence which supported the Anglicists or the Bilinguists. Thus, though the replies to the Commissioners' question do not in themselves decide the future, they do "reveal a strong movement in favour of the immediate introduction of Bengali for some university purposes, and of its ultimate introduction for others, a movement of which there was little sign in the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council of 1915."

* Omitted in this collection.

If we study the Commissioners' analysis of the replies, we can more fully appreciate their remark. The question put to the witnesses was: "Do you hold English should be used as the medium of instruction and examination at every stage above matriculation in the university course?"

The replies are analysed as follows:—

(i) 129 are positively in the affirmative;

(ii) 29 are in the affirmative, with slight reservations;

(iii) 68 are in favour of a joint use of English and the vernacular either side by side in the same institution, or in parallel institutions;

(iv) 33 replies suggest the gradual replacement of English by the vernacular as the object to be aimed at;

(v) 37 are in the negative; and

(vi) 9 are insusceptible of classification.

So 155 replies are in favour of the English-medium and nearly 138 are not against using the vernacular-medium sooner or later. This proportion is certainly encouraging to the vernacularists. Besides, even among those that favour the English-medium there is not an inconsiderable section of witnesses who advise the foreign medium, because there is no provision for proper and sufficient text-books for different subjects. This school of educationists is not against the vernacular-medium on principle. They do not like us to get into water till we have learnt swimming. Of a similar sort but more decisive is the evidence of the remaining witnesses that stand for the English-medium. This latter evidence has stamped the vernaculars as unfit ever to serve the purpose of the medium of instruction. These witnesses betray an ignorance of the history of our vernaculars. There was a time when Sanskrit was the sole medium for Hindu philosophy. But a few enthusias-

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the scholars enriched their vernaculars with a decent store of philosophic literature and brought Hindu philosophy within the reach of the masses. Can we not, with our present ideas of organisation do for our vernaculars in the sphere of science what once those vernacular scholars did in the sphere of philosophy? As against the diffidence of these witnesses, the vernacularists can cite the example of Japan. The Rev. W. E. S. Holland, Principal of St. Paul's Cathedral College, Calcutta, in his evidence, writes: "Japan by use of the vernacular, has built up an educational system that commands the respect of the West." The evidence of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor of the *Modern Review*, is even more convincing. He says: "The use of the vernaculars in all grades of university education is indispensably necessary. All objections have force only temporarily; for the most highly developed modern languages and literatures were at first no better than Bengali. In their case development was obtained by use: and it will be obtained in our case, too, in the same way." Thus we find that that, though the evidence before Dr. Sadler's Commission is not today in favour of vernacularising university education, it does hold high hopes for the future of the cause of the vernacular-meduim. Time was when the vernacularist's cause was looked upon with distrust. There is now not only no distrust but confidence has taken its place. Two important institutions have recently joined the cause. The Women's University of Poona and the Osmania University of Hyderabad are using the vernaculars as the sole medium. Their progress is being keenly watched by many. Their success will, as Justice Sir Abdur Rahim says, make the solution of the problem of the vernaculars easier. At the last convocation of the Hindu

University, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya invited all the eminent vernacularists to meet in a conference. We hope that such an organised effort will hasten full recognition of the vernaculars as media of instruction.

The present distribution of provinces is another factor which has done no less an injury than any other to the cause of the vernaculars. The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis will be followed by a re-arrangement of universities.

We have shown above the three allied spheres of work for the cause of vernaculars. And it is evident that, unless we advance this cause, we shall not be able to remove the growing intellectual and cultural gulf between our men and women and between the classes and the masses. It is also equally certain that the vernacular-medium alone can stimulate originality in thought in the largest number of persons.

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*18th April, 1921*

## 'AN UNMITIGATED EVIL'

In reply to a question put to him in a public meeting at Orissa, whether English education was not a mixed evil,* inasmuch as Lok. Tilak, Babu Rammohan Rai,

* *In Young India* of 2nd February, 1921, Mr. Gandhi wrote as follows:

*The place of English*—Alongside of my suggestion about Hindustani has been the advice that the students should, during the transition period from inferiority to equality—from foreign domination to Swaraj, from helplessness to self-help—suspend their study of English. If we wish to attain Swaraj before the next Congress, we must believe in the possibility, we must do all that we are capable of doing for its advancement, and one must do

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and Mr. Gandhi were products of English education, Mr. Gandhi replied as follows:

> This is a representative view being expressed by several people. We must conquer the battle of Swaraj by conquering this sort of wilful ignorance and prejudice of our countrymen and of Englishmen. The system of education is an unmitigated evil. I put my best energy to destroy that system. I don't say that we have got as yet any advantage from the system. The advantages, we have so far got, are in spite of the system, not because of the system. Supposing the English were not here, India would have marched with other parts of the world, and even if it continued to be under Moghul rule, many people would learn English as a language and a literature. The present system enslaves us, without allowing a discriminating use of English literature. My friend had cited the case of Tilak, Ram Mohan, and myself. Leave aside my case, I am a miserable pigmy.

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nothing that would not advance it or would actually retard it. Now, adding to our knowledge of English cannot accelerate our progress towards our goal and it can conceivably retard it. The latter calamity is a reality in many cases, for there are many who believe that we cannot acquire the spirit of freedom without the music of the English words ringing in our ears and sounding through our lips. This is an infatuation. If it were the truth, Swaraj would be as distant as the Greek Kalends. English is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to Western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary. They can carry on the departments of national commerce and international diplomacy, and for giving to the nation the best of Western literature, thought, and science. That would be the legitimate use of English. Whereas to-day English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother-tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen. The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj.

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Tilak and Ram Mohan would have been far greater men if they had not had the contagion of English learning (clapping). I don't want your verbal approval by clapping but I want the approval of your intellect and reasoning. I am opposed to make a fetish of English education. I don't hate English education. When I want to destroy the Government, don't want to destroy the English language but read English as an Indian Nationalist would do. Ram Mohan and Tilak (leave aside my case) were so many pigmies who had no hold upon the people compared with Chaitanya, Shanker, Kabir, and Nanak. Ram Mohan, Tilak, were pigmies before these giants. What Shanker alone was able to do, the whole army of English-knowing men can't do. I can multiply instances. Was Guru Govind a product of English education?

Is there a single English-knowing Indian who is a match for Nanak, the founder of a sect second to none in point of valour and sacrifice? Has Rammohan produced a single martyr of the type of Dulip Singh? I highly revere Tilak and Mohan. It is my conviction that, if Ram Mohan and Tilak had not received this education but had their natural training, they would have done greater things like Chaitanya. If that race has even to be revived, it is to be revived not by English education. I know what treasures I have lost in not knowing Hindustani and Sanskrit. I ask you to consider and value the glamour of education at its true worth. English education has emasculated us, constrained our intellect, and the manner of imparting this education has rendered us effeminate. We want to bask in the sunshine of freedom, but the enslaving system emasculates our nation. Pre-British period was not a period of slavery. We had some sort of Swaraj under Moghul rule. In Akbar's time the birth of a Pratap was possible, and in Aurangzeb's time a Sivaji could flourish. Has 150 years of British rule produced any Pratap and Sivaji?

You have got several Feudatory Native Chiefs, every one of whom bends the knee before the Political Agent and admits his slavery. When I find young men complaining against Native Chiefs, my sympathy goes to them. They are doubly oppressed. When the Native Chiefs, do so, I ascribe it to the British conqueror, not to the Chiefs. They are victims to the slave-owning system. So my appeal to you all is, "Fly from this monster." Never mind if you beg from door to door. Rather die begging than live in bondage. We must be able to hold the country. Who holds the country now? It is not the English, it is we the Indian people

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who have accepted bondage. I refuse to shed a single tear if the English retire at this moment. I ask them to help us as our servants, equals, and friends. I shall not allow them to lord it over us with our consent. They may use aeroplanes, army, navy, but not our consent. Realise your own dignity even though India was infested with robbers. You must do your duty. What can be nobler than to die as free men of India? It is a satanic system. I have dedicated my life to destroy the system.

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In "Young India" of 27th April, 1921, Mr. Gandhi further elucidated his point under the heading, *English Education.* He wrote:

A friend asks me to give my considered view on the value of English education and explain my talk on the sands at Cuttack. I have not read the report of the talk. But I gladly respond to the friend's wish. It is my considered opinion that English education in the manner it has been given has emasculated the English-educated Indian, it has put a severe strain upon the Indian students' nervous energy, and has made of us imitators. The process of displacing the vernacular has been one of the saddest chapters in the British connection. Rammohan Rai would have been a greater reformer, and Lokmanya Tilak would have been a greater scholar, if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English. Their effect on their own people, marvellous as it was, would have been greater if they had been brought up under a less unnatural system. No doubt they both gained from their knowledge of the rich treasures of English literature. But these should have been accessible to them through their own vernaculars. No country can become a nation by producing a race of translators. Think of what would have happened to the English if they had not an

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authorised version of the Bible. I do believe that Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Guru Govindsing, Sivaji, and Pratap were greater men than Rammohan Rai and Tilak. I know that comparisons are odious. All are equally great in their own way.

But judged by the results, the effect of Ram Mohan and Tilak on the masses is not so permanent or far-reaching as that of the others more fortunately born. Judged by the obstacles they had to surmount, they were giants, and both would have been greater in achieving results, if they had not been handicapped by the system under which they received their training. I refuse to believe that the Raja and the Lokmanya could not have thought the thoughts they did without a knowledge of the English language. Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty, and developing accuracy of thought. It should be remembered that there has been only one system of education before the country for the past fifty years, and only one medium of expression forced on the country. We have, therefore, no date before us as to what we would have been but for the education in the existing schools and colleges. This, however, we do know that India to-day is poorer than fifty years ago, less able to defend herself, and her children have less stamina. I need not be told that that is due to the defect in the system of government. The system of education is its most defective part. It was conceived and born in error, for the English rulers honestly believed the indigenous system to be worse than useless. It has been nurtured in sin, for the tendency has been to dwarf the Indian body, mind, and soul.

*1st June 1921*

## ENGLISH LEARNING

Elsewhere * the reader will see my humble endeavour in reply to Dr. Tagore's criticism of Non-co-operation. I have since read his letter to the Manager of Shantiniketan. † I am sorry to observe that the letter is written in anger and in ignorance of facts. The Poet was naturally incensed to find that certain students in London would not give a hearing to Mr. Pearson, one of the truest of Englishmen, and he became equally incensed to learn that I had told our women to stop English studies. The reasons for my advice, the Poet evidently inferred for himself.

How much better it would have been, if he had not imputed the rudeness of the students to Non-co-operation, and had remembered that Non-co-operators worship Andrews, honour Stokes, and gave a most respectful hearing to Messrs. Wedgwood, Ben Spoor and Holford Knight at Nagpur, that Maulana Mahomed Ali accepted the invitation to tea of an English official when he invited him as a friend, that Hakim Ajmalkhan, a staunch Non-co-operator, had the portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge unveiled in his Tibbi College and had invited his many English friends to witness the ceremony. How much better it would have been, if he had refused to allow the demon doubt to possess him for one moment, as to the real and religious character of the present movement, and had believed that the movement was altering the meaning of old terms, nationalism and patriotism, and extending their scope.

If he, with a poet's imagination, had seen that I was

* See *infra* under Non-co-operation campaign.

† Omitted in this collection.

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incapable of wishing to cramp the mind of the Indian women, and I could not object to English learning as such, and recalled the fact that throughout my life I had fought for the fullest liberty for women, he would have been saved the injustice which he has done me, and which, I know, he would never knowingly do to an avowed enemy. The Poet does not know perhaps that English is to-day studied because of its commercial and so-called political value. Our boys think, and rightly in the present circumstances, that without English they cannot get Government service. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage. I know several instances of women wanting to learn English so that they may be able to talk to Englishmen in English. I know husbands who are sorry that their wives cannot talk to them and their friends in English. I know families in which English is being *made* the mother tongue. Hundreds of youths believe that without a knowledge of English freedom for India is practically impossible. The canker has so eaten into the society that, in many cases, the only meaning of Education is a knowledge of English. All these are for me signs of our slavery and degradation. It is unbearable to me that the vernaculars should be crushed and starved as they have been. I cannot tolerate the idea of parents writing to their children, or husbands writing to their wives, not in their own vernaculars, but in English. I hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great Poet. I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed.

I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as interloper, a beggar or a slave. I refuse to put the unnecessary strain of learning English upon my

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sisters for the sake of false pride or questionable social advantage. I would have our young men and young women with literary tastes to learn as much of English and other world-languages as they like, and then expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India and to the world, like a Bose, a Roy or the Poet himself. But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother-tongue, or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his or her own vernacular. Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation. But it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or colour. I am extremely sorry for the Poet's misreading of this great movement of reformation, purification and patriotism spelt humanity. If he will be patient, he will find no cause for sorrow or shame for his countrymen. I respectfully warn him against mistaking its excrescences for the movement itself. It is as wrong to judge Non-co-operation by the students' misconduct in London or Malegaon's in India, as it would be to judge Englishmen by the Dyers or the O'Dwyers.

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Mr. Gandhi's views on the relations between English culture and Indian are further elucidated in the following which appeared in "Young India" of 9th June, 1920:—

"*Seed of Race.*"—Sir John Woodroffe wrote: Dear Sir,—I have just received a criticism of my book "Seed of Race" contained in your issue of the 11th February. (Omitted in this collection). Your reviewer approves of my standpoint, but, dealing with my statement that Indian culture should *also* be given a place together with English studies, says that the tone of this and other remarks sounds apologetic, which seems unfortunate and hardly consistent with the note which I submitted to the Calcutta University Commission. It is certainly unfortunate that I used language which has apparently ill expressed what I wanted to say. To correct this misunderstanding I now write. I am the last person to apologise for Indian culture, the

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fostering of which I have consistently urged, not as of matter a concession or expediency, but of right—the right of every individual and racial soul to fully and freely express itself in accordance with Svadharma. I have done so also because I believe in its beneficial influence on the world at large.

As your reviewer admirably says, Indian culture is no cripple, and when it borrows from elsewhere it must do so in its fulness and strength and not out of a sense of its own impotency or deficiency, by which I understand incapacity. Indian culture should, he says, be at once the basis, superstructure, and crown of the educational edifice. With this general proposition I agree. But what do we mean by fostering Indian culture? Some merely understand thereby the teaching of what has been thought and done in the past, and then its mere reproduction to-day. I do not.

I understand by this phrase primarily the liberation of the general Indian Sangskara from all alien incrustation, and then its nourishment, so that it may become in its turn a living cause of culture forms to-day. These may or may not be the same as the forms of the past, but whatever they be, they are vitally produced as fresh creations and not merely taken over into the present because they have lingered over, often with spent force, from the past. These past cultural forms are the useful and indeed indispensable subject of our study—indispensable because they recall and strengthen the Sangskara which has produced the Arya Dharma. We steep ourselves in tradition, not merely to automatically reproduce it, but to make ourselves worthy of our forefathers, capable of being as vitally creative as they were. But since they laid the foundations, much has happened. Other cultures have elsewhere grown up and become known to India. Are we not to study these and appropriate from them what is suitable to us? Or are we to build a cultural hot-house, forcing plants which will not live in the rude movements of the airs of Heaven? Certainly not. We enrich the Sangskara by every widening of our knowledge; therefore English and other cultures should "also" be studied. As my remarks were addressed to those interested in the furtherance of English studies, I put it in the form that Indian culture must also have its place. Those who have not fallen into the path of error have scarcely need of counsel.

It is in this way that the so-called "universal" as opposed to "regional" culture will (if at all) come about. As each race and man acts according to his own Dharma, that is according to natural law, he and they perfect their form, for Dharma is the Law of Form.

perfecting our forms, we approach to others who have perfected theirs. The highly intellectual, moral, and spiritual are everywhere akin, and this is as a Russian friend of mine calls it, "the International of Culture." It is not to be obtained by neglect of one's own Dharma and by taking a bit here and a bit there to make up some combination which is neither "fish, flesh, fowl, nor even good red herring." But in practice the following case arises—the case of those whose intellect, capacity, general development, and opportunities do not permit of this both intensive and extensive culture. Take for instance the ordinary Indian peasant—what of him? If it be the fact that education both in his own and other cultures cannot be given, then, naturally, his own racial culture must be given the first place. Great care must be taken in dealing with the question of primary education in India, for here the mischief may occur. If we sever the people from their past traditions, it is difficult to recall them. Whereas if they are preserved, they can be added to or improved later on. All this is becoming increasingly recognized now-a-days, when the people are getting away from what the Henry James called "a superstitious valuation of Europe." If there is in other parts of the world a "rebarbarization," as Herbert Spencer feared, it may be that in such case the True, the Good, and the Beautiful will be upheld by a cultivated and aristocratic India which with its roots deep in the past bears exemplary flower in the present. Certainly it is necessary, as your reviewer does, to feel all this passionatety. Those who think it necessary to apologise for their Race and its traditions have ceased to belong to the former and to be worthy to carry on the latter. The late George Tyrrell, in one of his recently published letters, says: "I begin to think the only real sin is suicide or not being oneself." Just so. But if so, we certainly should not apologise for being what we ought to be.

I am, dear Sir,

Bath, Yours truly,

May 8th, 1920. (Sd.) JOHN WOODROFFE.

[We are glad Sir John has explained himself as regards his view of the place of Indian culture in the education of Indian youths. We hope he has not misunderstood us. We are not for reproducing old forms without considering whether they are good or bad. Nor do we want a cultural hothouse; what we maintain is, how much soever important a knowledge of English culture may be to the Indians of to-day, it need not form the *sine quo non* of all Indian education What we would wish is that, when the the Indian Educational System

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is fully developed and organised, a study of English and other foreign cultures should form part of a post graduate course. We admit that a knowledge of different cultures will enable us to perfect our own by assimilating the best of the others. Perhaps in the God's world differences will persist, but they must not represent divisions; they must be like facets of one beautiful gem. Has not the Lord said "Nastyanto Vistarasya Me"?—Ed. Y. I.]

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*27th October, 1920*

## 'DEPRESSED' CLASSES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Vivekananda used to call the Panchamas 'suppressed classes.' There is no doubt that Vivekananda's is a more accurate adjective. We have suppressed them and have consequently become ourselves depressed. That we have become the 'Pariahs of the Empire' is, in Gokhale's language, the retributive justice meted out to us by a just God. A correspondent indignantly asks me in a pathetic letter reproduced elsewhere,* what I am doing for them. I have given the letter with the correspondent's own heading. Should not we the Hindus wash our bloodstained hands before we ask the English to wash theirs'? This is a proper question seasonably put. And if a member of a slave nation could deliver the suppressed classes from their slavery without freeing myself from my own, I would do so to-day. But it is an impossible task. A slave has not the freedom even to do the right thing. It is right for me to prohibit the importation of foreign goods, but I have no power to bring it about. It was right for Maulana Mahomed Ali to go to Turkey and to tell the Turks personally that India was with them in their righteous struggle. He was not free

*Omitted in this collection.

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to do so. If I had a truly national legislature, I would answer Hindu insolence by erecting special and better wells for the exclusive use of suppressed classes and by erecting better and more numerous schools for them, so that there would be not a single member of the suppressed classes left without a school to teach their children. But I must wait for that better day.

Meanwhile, are the depressed classes to be left to their own resources? Nothing of the sort. In my own humble manner have done and am doing all I can for my Panchama brother.

There are three courses open to these down-trodden members of the nation. For their impatience they may call in the assistance of the slave-owning Government. They will get it, but they will fall from the frying pan into the fire. To-day they are slaves of slaves. By seeking Government aid, they will be used for suppressing their kith and kin. Instead of being sinned against, they will themselves be the sinners. The Mussalmans tried it and failed. They found that they were worse off than before. The Sikhs did it unwittingly and failed. To-day there is no more discontented community in India than the Sikhs. Government aid is, therefore, no solution.

The second is rejection of Hinduism and wholesale conversion to Islam or Christianity. And if a change of religion could be justified for worldly betterment, I would advise it without hesitation. But religion is a matter of the heart. No physical inconvenience can warrant abandonment of one's own religion. If the inhuman treatment of the Panchamas were a part of Hinduism, its rejection would be a paramount duty both for them and for those like me who would not make a fetish even of religion and condone every evil in its sacred name. But I believe that untouchability is no

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part of Hinduism.* It is rather its excrescence to be removed by every effort. And there is quite an army of Hindu reformers who have set their heart upon ridding Hinduism of this blot. Conversion therefore, I hold, is no remedy whatsoever.

Then there remains, finally, self-help and self-dependence, with such aid as the non-Panchama Hindus will render of their own motion, not as a matter of patronage but as a matter of duty. And herein comes the use of Non-co-operation. My correspondent was correctly informed by Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Hanumantrao that I would favour well-regulated Non-co-operation for this acknowledged evil. But Non-co-operation means independence of outside help, it means effort from within. It would not be Non-co-operation to insist on visiting prohibited areas. That may be Civil Disobedience if it is peacefully carried out. But I have found to my cost that Civil Disobedience requires far greater preliminary training and self-control. All can non-co-operate, but few only can offer civil Disobedience. Therefore, by way of protest against Hinduism, the Panchamas can certainly stop all contact and connection with the other Hindus so long as the special grievances are maintained. But this means organised intelligent effort. And so far as I can see, there is no leader among the Panchamas who can lead them to victory through Non-co-operation.

The better way therefore, perhaps, is for the Panchamas heartily to join the great national movement that is now going on for throwing off the slavery of the present Government.† It is easy enough for the Panchama

* For the detailed views of Mr. Gandhi on Hinduism, *See infra.*

† Commenting on the above, Mr. R. G. Pradhan, a well-known writer and pleader, wrote in *Young India* of 29th December, pointing

friends to see that Non-co-operation against this evil Government pre-supposes co-operation between the different sections forming the Indian nation. The Hindus must realise that, if they wish to offer successful Non-co-operation against the Government, they must make common cause with the Panchamas, even as they have made common cause with the Mussalmans. Non-co-operation when it is free from violence is essentially a movement of intensive self-purification. That process has commenced and whether the Panchamas deliberately take part in it or not, the rest of the Hindus dare not

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out that he was voicing the view of some leaders of the depressed classes when he said that the Congress politicians and Swarajists were, most of them, social reactionaries, that, while they talked of the Non-co-operation resolution of the Congress as mandatory on the country, they totally ignored the resolution regarding untouchability, that the depressed classes were not and could not be anti-Nationalists and did not desire to play into the hands of the Government because the latter upheld orthodoxy and that if the campaign against untouchability went on simultaneously with the political campaign, the depressed classes would join the Non-co-operation movement.

The following was Mr. Gandhi's note on the letter: "Mr. Pradhan forgets that Non-co-operation against the Government means co-operation among the governed, and if Hindus do not remove the sin of untouchability, there will be no Swaraj whether in one year or in one hundred years. If I invite the depressed classes to join the movement of Non-co-operation, I do so because I want them to realise their strength. Swaraj is as unattainable without the removal of the sin of untouchability as it is without Hindu-Muslim unity.—M. K. G."

In *Young India* of 3rd November, 1921, in reply to a correspondent, Mr. Gandhi wrote:

Untouchability cannot be given a secondary place on the programme. Without the removal of the taint Swaraj is a meaningless term. Workers should welcome social boycott and even public execration in the prosecution of their work. I consider the removal of untouchability as a most powerful factor in the process of attainment of Swaraj and for that matter also the Khilafat. Impure Hinduism cannot help the process of Islamic purification.

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neglect them without hampering their own progress. Hence though the Panchama problem is as dear to me as life itself, I rest satisfied with the exclusive attention to national Non-co-operation. I feel sure that the greater includes the less.

Closely allied to this question is the Non-Brahmin question. I wish I had studied it more closely than I have been able to. A quotation from my speech delivered at a private meeting in Madras has been torn from its context and misused to further the antagonism between the so-called Brahmins and the so-called Non-Brahmins. I do not wish to retract a word of what I said at that meeting. I was appealing to those who are accepted as Brahmins. I told them that, in my opinion, the treatment of Non-Brahmins was as satanic as the treatment of us by the British. I added that the Non-Brahmins should be placated without any ado or bargaining. But my remarks were never intended to encourage the powerful Non-Brahmins of Maharashtra or Madras, or the mischievous element among them, to overawe the so-called Brahmins. I use the word 'so-called' advisedly. For the Brahmins who have freed themselves from the thraldom of superstitious orthodoxy have not only no quarrel with Non-Brahmins as such, but are in every way eager to advance Non-Brahmins wherever they are weak. No lover of his country can possibly achieve its general advance if he dared to neglect the least of his countrymen. Those Non-Brahmins therefore who are coqueting with the Government are selling themselves and the nation to which they belong. By all means let those who have faith in the Government help to sustain it, but let no Indian worthy of his birth cut off his nose to spite the face.

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*19th January, 1921*

## THE SIN OF UNTOUCHABILITY

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

It is worthy of note that the Subjects Committee and the Committee of the Nagpur Congress held in December, 1920, accepted without any opposition the clause regarding the sin of untouchability. It is well that the National assembly passed the resolution stating that the removal of this blot on Hinduism was necessary for the attainment of Swaraj. The Devil succeeds only by receiving help from his fellows. He always takes advantage of the weakest spots in our natures in order to gain mastery over us. Even so does the Government retain its control over us through our weaknesses or vices. And if we would render ourselves proof against its machinations, we must remove our weaknesses. It is for that reason that I have called Non-co-operation a process of purification. As soon as that process is completed, this government must fall to pieces for want of the necessary environment, just as mosquitos cease to haunt a place whose cesspools are filled up and dried.

Has not a just Nemisis overtaken us for the crime of untouchability? Have we not reaped as we have sown? Have we not practised Dyerism and O'Dwyerism on our own kith and kin? We have segregated the 'pariah' and we are in turn segregated in the British Colonies. We deny him the use of public wells; we throw the leavings of our plates at him. His very shadow pollutes us. Indeed there is no charge that the 'pariah,' cannot fling in our faces and which we do not fling in the faces of Englishmen.

How is this blot on Hinduism to be removed? 'Do

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unto others as you would that others should do unto you.' I have often told English officials that, if they are friends and servants of India, they should come down from their pedestal, cease to be patrons, demonstrate by their loving deeds that they are in every respect our friends, and believe us to be equals in the same sense they believe fellow Englishmen to be their equals. After the experiences of the Punjab and the Khilafat, I have gone a step further and asked them to repent and to change their hearts. Even so is it necessary for us Hindus to repent of the wrong we have done,to alter our behaviour towards those whom we have 'suppressed' by a system as devilish as we believe the English system of the government of India to be. We must not throw a few miserable schools at them : we must not adopt the air of superiority towards them. We must treat them as our blood brothers as they are in fact. We must return to them the inheritance of which we have robbed them. And this must not be the act of a few English-knowing reformers merely, but it must be a conscious voluntary effort on the part of the masses. We may not wait till eternity for this much belated reformation. We must aim at bringing it about within this year of grace, probation, preparation, and *tapasya*. It is a reform not to follow *Swaraj* but to precede it.

Untouchability is not a sanction of religion, it is a device of Satan. The devil has always quoted scriptures. But scriptures cannot transcend Reason and Truth. They are intended to purify Reason and illuminate Truth. I am not going to burn a spotless horse, because the Vedas are reported to have advised, tolerated, or sanctioned the sacrifice. For me the Vedas are divine and unwritten. 'The letter killeth'. It is the spirit that giveth the light. And the spirit of the Vedas is

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purity, truth, innocence, chastity, simplicity, forgiveness, godliness, and all that makes a man or woman noble and brave. There is neither nobility nor bravery in treating the great and uncomplaining scavengers of the nation as worse than dogs to be despised and spat upon. Would that God gave us the strength and the wisdom to become voluntary scavengers of the nation as the 'suppressed' classes are forced to be. There are Augean stables enough and to spare for us to clean.

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*27th April, 1921*

## Mr. GANDHI AND THE SUPPRESSED CLASSES

Mr. Gandhi presided at the Suppressed Classes Conference held in Ahmedabad on the 13th and 14th instant. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen from the town, though the number of the untouchables was much less than expected, a rumour having spread in the town that Government would arrest those of them who attended.

Mr. Gandhi regretted in the beginning this small attendance, and said that incidents as the present took away what little faith he had in conferences as an effective agency of social reform. If therefore he occupied the audience shorter than they expected, it would be because his remarks would not reach all he meant to address and not because his enthusiasm for the work was in any way damped.

Coming to the subject, he said:

I do not know how I am to convince those who oppose the reform, of the wrong position they have taken. How am I to plead with those who regard any contact with the members of the suppressed community as entailing defilement and of which they cannot be cleansed without necessary ablutions, and who thus regard omission to perform

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ablutions a sin? I can only place before them my innermost convictions.

I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism. This idea was not brought home to me by my bitter experiences during the S. African struggle. It is not due to the fact that I was once an agnostic. It is equally wrong to think, as some people do, that I have taken my views from my study of Christian religious literature. These views date as far back as the time when I was neither enamoured of, nor was acquainted with, the Bible or the followers of the Bible.

I was hardly yet twelve when this idea had dawned on me. A scavanger named Uka, an untouchable, used to attend our house for cleaning latrines. Often I would ask my mother why it was wrong to touch him, why I was forbidden to touch him. If I accidentally touched Uka, I was asked to perform the ablutions, and though I naturally obeyed, it was not without smilingly protesting that untouchability was not sanctioned by religion, that it was impossible that it should be so. I was a very dutiful and obedient child and so far as it was consistent with respect for parents, I often had tussles with them on this matter. I told my mother that she was entirely wrong in considering physical contact with Uka as sinful.

While at school I would often happen to touch the "untouchables", and as I never would conceal the fact from my parents, my mother would tell me that the shortest cut to purification after the unholy touch was to cancel the touch by touching any Mussalman passing by. And simply out of reverence and regard for my mother I often did so, but never did so believing it to be a religious obligation. After some time we shifted to Porebander, where I made my first acquaintance with Sanskrit. I was not yet put to an English school, and my brother and I were placed in charge of a Brahman, who taught us *Ramraksha* and *Vishnu Punjar*. The texts "*jale Vishnuh*" "*sthale Vishnuh*" (there is the Lord (present) in water, there is the Lord (present) in earth) have never gone out of my memory. A motherly old dame used to live close by. Now it happened that I was very timid then, and would conjure up ghosts and goblins whenever the lights went out, and it was dark. The old mother, to disabuse me of fears, suggested that I should mutter the *Ramraksha* texts whenever I was afraid, and all evil spirits would fly away. This I did and, as I thought, with good effect. I could never believe then that there was any text in the *Ramraksha* pointing to the contact of the 'untouchables' as a sin. I did not understand its meaning then, or understood it very imperfectly. But I was confident that *Ram-*

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*Rakṣha*,' which could destroy all fear of ghosts, could not be countenancing any such thing as fear of contact with the 'untouchables'.

The *Ramayana* used to be regularly read in our family. A Brahmin called Ladha Maharaj used to read it. He was stricken with leprosy, and he was confident that a regular reading of the *Ramayana* would cure him of leprosy, and, indeed, he was cured of it. 'How can the Ramayana,' I thought to myself, 'in which one who is regarded now-a-days as an untouchable took Rama across the Ganges in his boat, countenance the idea of any human beings being untouchable on the ground that they were polluted souls?' The fact that we addressed God as the 'purifier of the polluted' and by similar appellations, shows that it is a sin to regard any one born in Hinduism as polluted or untouchable—that it is satanic to do so. I have hence been never tired of repeating that it is a great sin. I do not pretend that this thing had crystalised as a conviction in me at the age of twelve, but I do say that I did then regard untouchability as a sin. I narrate this story for the information of the Vaishnavas and Orthodox Hindus.

I have always claimed to be a Sanatani Hindu. It is not that I am quite innocent of the scriptures. I am not a profound scholar of Sanskrit. I have read the Vedas and the Upanishads only in translations. Naturally therefore, mine is not a scholarly study of them. My knowledge of them is in no way profound, but I have studied them as I should do as a Hindu and I claim to have grasped their true spirit. By the time I had reached the age of 21, I had studied other religions also.

There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I recovered my balance of mind, I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and more enlightened.

But even then I believed that untouchability was no part of Hinduism; and that, if it was, such Hinduism was not for me.

True, Hinduism does not regard untouchability as a sin. I do not want to enter into any controversy regarding the interpretation of the shastras. It might be difficult for me to establish my point by quoting authorities from the Bhagwat or Manusmriti. But I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism. Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability. It has degraded us, made us the pariahs of the Empire. Even the Mussalmans caught the sinful contagion from us; and in S. Africa, in E. Africa and in Canada, the Mussalmans no ess than Hindus came to be regarded as pariahs. All this evil has resulted from the sin of untouchability.

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I may here recall my proposition, which is this: So long as the Hindus wilfully regard untouchability as part of their religion, so long as the mass of Hindus consider it a sin to touch a section of their brethren, Swaraj is impossible of attainment. Yudhishthira would not enter heaven without his dog. How can, then, the descendants of that Yudhishthira expect to obtain Swaraj without the untouchables? What crimes, for which we condemn the Government as satanic, have not we been guilty of towards our untouchable brethren?

We are guilty of having suppressed our brethren; we make them crawl on their bellies; we have made them rub their noses on the ground; with eyes red with rage, we push them out of railway compartments—what more than this has British Rule done? What charge, that we bring against Dyer and O'Dwyer, may not others, and even our own people, lay at our doors? We ought to purge ourselves of this pollution. It is idle to talk of Swaraj so long as we do not protect the weak and the helpless, or so long as it is possible for a single Swarajist to injure the feelings of any individual. Swaraj means that not a single Hindu or Muslim shall for a moment arrogantly think that he can crush with impunity meek Hindus or Muslims. Unless this condition is fulfilled, we will gain Swaraj only to lose it the next moment. We are no better than the brutes until we have purged ourselves of the sins we have committed, against our weaker brethren.

But I have faith in me still. In the course of my peregrinations in India, I have realised that the spirit of kindness of which the Poet Tulsidas sings so eloquently, which forms the corner-stone of the Jain and Vaishnava religions, which is the quintessence of the *Bhagavat* and which every verse of the Gita is saturated with—this kindness, this love, this charity, is slowly but steadily gaining ground in the hearts of the masses of this country.

Many a fracas between Hindus and Mussalmans is still heard of. There are still many of these who do not scruple to wrong one another. But as to the net result, I feel that kindness and charity have increased. The Hindus and Mahomedans have become God-fearing. We have shaken ourselves free from the hypnotism of law-courts and Government schools, and no longer labour under many another hallucination. I have also realized that those whom we regard as illiterate and ignorant are the very people who deserve to be called educated. They are more cultured than we, their lives are more righteous than ours. A little study of the present-day mentality of

people will show that according to the popular conception Swaraj is synonymous with *Ram Raj*—the establishment of the Kingdom of Righteousness on earth.

If it can bring any comfort to you, my untouchable brethern, I would say that your question does not cause so much stir as it used to do formerly. That does not mean that I expect you to cease to have misgivings about the Hindus. How can they deserve to be not mistrusted having wronged you so much? Swami Vivekanand used to say that the untouchables were not depressed, they were suppressed by the Hindus who in turn had suppressed themselves by suppressing them.

I suppose I was at Nellore on the 6th of April. I met the untouchables there and I prayed that day as I have done to-day. I do want to attain Moksha. I do not want to be reborn. But if I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings, and the affronts levelled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition. I, therefore, prayed that, if I should be born again, I should do so not as a Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, or Shudra, but as an Atishudra.

To-day is much more solemn than the sixth. It is hallowed by the memory of the massacre of thousands of innocents. And I prayed, therefore, also to-day that if I should die with any of my desires unfructified, with my service of the untouchables unfinished, with my Hinduism unfulfilled, I may be born again amongst the untouchables to bring my Hinduism to its fulfilment.

I love scavengering. In my Ashram, an eighteen year old Brahmin lad is doing the scavenger's work in order to teach the Ashram scavenger cleanliness. The lad is no reformer. He was born and bred in orthodoxy. He is a regular reader of the Gita and faithfully performs Sandhyavandana. His pronunciation of Sanskrit verses is more faultless than mine. When he conducts the prayer, his soft sweet melodies melt one into love. But he felt that his accomplishments were incomplete until he had become also a perfect sweeper, and that if he wanted the Ashram sweeper to do his work well, he must do it himself and set an example.

You should realize that you are cleaning Hindu society. You have therefore to purify your lives. You should cultivate the habits of cleanliness, so that no one may point his finger at you. Use alkali-ash or earth, if you cannot afford to use soap, to keep yourselves clean. Some of you are given to drinking and gambling which you must get rid of. You will point your finger at the Brahmins and say even they

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are given to these vices. But they are not looked upon as polluted; and you are. You must not ask the Hindus to emancipate you as a matter of favour. Hindus must do so, if they want, in their own interests. You should, therefore, make them feel ashamed by your own purity and cleanliness. I believe that we shall have purified ourselves within the next five months. If my expectations are not fulfilled, I will think that, although my proposition was fundamentally correct, yet I was wrong in my calculation; and I will again say that I had erred in my calculation.

You claim to be Hindus; you read the Bhagavat; if, therefore, the Hindus oppress you, then you should understand that the fault does not lie in the Hindu Religion but in those who profess it. In order to emancipate yourselves, you shall have to purify yourselves You shall have to get rid of evil habits like drinking.

If you want to ameliorate your condition, if you want to obtain Swaraj, you should be self-reliant. I was told in Bombay that some of you are opposed to N. C. O. and believe that salvation is only possible through the British Government. Let me tell you that you will never be able to obtain redress by discarding Hindu Religion and courting the favour of a third party. Your emancipation lies in your own hands.

I have come in contact with the untouchables all over the country; and I have observed that immense possibilities lie latent in them of which neither they nor the rest of the Hindus seem to be aware. Their intellect is of virginal purity. I ask you to learn spinning and weaving, and if you take them up as a profession, you will keep poverty from your doors. As regards your attitude towards the Bhangis, I will repeat what I said at Godhra. I cannot understand why you should yourselves countenance the distinction between Dheds and Bhangis. There is no difference between them. Even in normal times their occupation is as honourable as that of lawyers or Government servants.

You should now cease to accept leavings from plates however clean they may be represented to be. Receive grain only—good, sound grain, not rotten grain, and that too only if it is courteously offered. If you are able to do all I have asked you to do, you will secure your emancipation, not in four or five months, but in so many days.

The Hindus are not sinful by nature; they are sunk in ignorance. Untouchability must be extinct in this very year. Two of the strongest desires that keep me in flesh and bone are the emancipation

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of the untouchables and the protection of the cow. When these two desires are fulfilled, there is Swaraj, and therein lies my own *Moksha*. May God give you strength to work out your salvation.

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The following appeared in *Young India* of 27th April, 1921, under the heading, "*Disappearing untouchability*":

Of all the sweet experiences during my Gujarat tour,* none was sweeter than the sympathetic manner in which the 'suppressed' were received by the other Hindus. Everywhere the audience has received my remarks on

* The position in Madras, however, was different. Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 29th September, 1921, under the heading, "The Panchamas":

Nowhere is the "untouchable" so cruelly treated as in the Madras presidency. His very shadow defiles the Brahman. He may not even pass through Brahman streets. Non-Brahmans treat him no better. And between the two, the Panchama, as he is called in these parts, is ground to atoms. And yet Madras is a land of mighty temples and religious devotion. The people with their big *tilak* marks, their long locks and their bare clean bodies look like rishis. But their religion seems almost to be exhausted in these outward observances. It is difficult to understand this Dyerism towards the most industrious and useful citizens in a land that has produced Shankara and Ramanuja. And in spite of the satanic treatment of our own kith and kin in this part of India, I retain my faith in these Southern people. I have told them at all their huge meetings in no uncertain terms that there can be no Swaraj without the removal of the curse from our midst.

I have told them, that our being treated as social lepers in practically the whole world is due to our having treated a fifth of our own race as such. Non-co-operation is a plea for a change of heart, not merely in the English but equally in ourselves. Indeed, I expect the change first in us and then as a matter of course in the English. A nation that can throw away an age-long curse in a year, a nation that can shed the drink-habit as we shed our garments, a nation that can return to its original industry and suddenly utilise its spare hours to manufacture sixty crores worth of cloth during a single year, is a transformed nation. Its transformation must react upon the world.

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the matter without resentment. At Kalol there was to be a meeting of 'untouchables' to be addressed by me. I pleaded with the Mahajans that they should permit me to address them in the pandal erected for the general meeting. After some hesitation, they agreed. I was to have gone to fetch these 'outcastes' from their quarters. Their abode was too far from the pandal to enable them to come. I therefore addressed them near the hospital. But I was glad to note that many orthodox Hindus, who accompanied me, freely mixed with the men and women who had flocked round me from the pariah quarters. But the height of satisfaction was reached when in Shisodra, a big village near Navsari, there were know-

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It must constitute even for the scoffer a convincing demonstration of God's existence and grace, and so I say that, if India can become transformed in this wise, no power on earth can deny India's right to establish Swaraj. In spite of all the clouds that are thickening on the Indian horizon, I make bold to prophesy that the moment India has repented of her treatment of the 'untouchables,' and has boycotted foreign cloth that moment India will be hailed, by the very English officials who seem to have hardened their hearts, as a free and a brave nation. And because I believe that, if Hindus will, it is possible for them to enfranchise the so called Panchamas and extend to them the rights that they claim for themselves, and it is possible for India, if she wills, to manufacture all the cloth she needs even as she cooks all the food she eats, I therefore also believe that Swaraj is attainable this year. This transformation cannot take place by any elaborately planned mechanical action. But it can take place if God's grace is with us. Who can deny that God is working a wonderful change in the hearts of every one of us? Any way it is the duty of every Congress worker everywhere to befriend the untouchable brother, and to plead with the un-Hindu Hindus, that Hinduism of the Vedas, the Upanishads, Hinduism of the Bhagavadgita and of Shankara and Ramanuja contains no warrant for treating a single human being, no matter how fallen, as an untouchable. Let every Congressman plead in the gentlest manner possible with orthodoxy, that the bar sinister is the very negation of Ahimsa.

jingly admitted to the place reserved for the elite of the village, all the many Dheds who were standing at a distance from the great meeting which I was addressing. As they were admitted, not a man or woman moved or protested. Almost every one in the village was present at the meeting. People from surrounding villages too had attended. This deliberate and solemn admission of several hundred men and women of the untouchable class to the centre of a great gathering like the above is to me a sure sign of the pure religious character of the movement. Mr. Vallavabhai Patel in order to make assurance doubly sure asked those who approved of the step to raise their hands, and quite a forest of hands went up. The experiment was repeated in Bardoli before an equally large audience and with equally satisfactory results. Untouchability is surely disappearing, and with its disappearance the way to Swaraj is becoming safe and easy.

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*8th December, 1920*

## THE CASTE SYSTEM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received several angry letters about my remarks* during my Deccan tour on the caste system. I am not publishing these letters, because there is nothing but vituperation in them, and when there is no vituperation, there is little argument about them. I am anxious to open the columns of "Young India" to opinions expressing dissent from its views, but the writers must be brief and interesting. Acrimony is no argument. I am obliged to make these remarks, because two writers at

* Omitted in this collection.

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least would have gained publicity for their letters, if they had not been prolix and unintelligible in their expression. The question, however, that my correspondents have raised, commands attention and deserves an answer. They argue that the retention of the caste system spells ruin for India and that it is caste which has reduced India to slavery. In my opinion, it is not caste that has made us what we are. It was our greed and disregard of essential virtues which enslaved us. I believe that caste has saved Hinduism from disintegration.

But like every other institution, it has suffered from excrescences. I consider the four divisions alone to be fundamental, natural, and essential. The innumerable sub-castes are sometimes a convenience, often a hindrance. The sooner there is fusion the better. The silent destruction and reconstruction to sub-castes have ever gone on and are bound to continue. Social pressure and public opinion can be trusted to deal with the problem. But I am certainly against any attempt at destroying the fundamental divisions. The caste system is not based on inequality, there is no question of inferiority, and so far as there is any such question arising, as in Madras, Maharashtra, or elsewhere, the tendency should undoubtedly be checked. But there appears to be no valid reason for ending the system because of its abuse. It lends itself easily to reformation. The spirit of democracy, which is fast spreading throughout India and the rest of the world, will, without a shadow of doubt, purge the institution of the idea of predominance and subordination.

The spirit of democracy is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by abolition of forms. It requires change of the heart. If caste is a bar to the spread of the spirit,

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the existence of five religions in India—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Zorastrianism, and Judaism—is equally a bar. The spirit of democracy requires the inculcation of the spirit of brotherhood, and I can find no difficulty in considering a Christian or a Mahomedan to be my brother in absolutely the same sense as a blood brother, and Hinduism that is responsible for the doctrine of the caste is also responsible for the inculcation of the essential brotherhood, not merely of man but even of all that lives.

One of my correspondents suggests that we should abolish the caste but adopt the class system of Europe —meaning thereby I suppose that the idea of heredity in caste should be rejected. I am inclined to think that the law of heredity is an eternal law and any attempt to alter that law must lead, as it has before led, to utter confusion. I can see very great use in considering a Brahmin to be always a Brahmin throughout his life. If he does not behave himself like a Brahmin, he will naturally cease to command the respect that is due to the real Brahmin. It is easy to imagine the innumerable difficulties if one were to set up a court of punishments and rewards, degradation and promotion. If Hindus believe, as they must believe in reincarnation, transmigration, they must know that nature will, without any possibility of mistake, adjust the balance by degrading a Brahmin, if he misbehaves himself, by reincarnating him in a lower division, and translating one who lives the life of a Brahmin in his present incarnation to Brahminhood in his next.

Interdrinking, interdining, intermarrying, I hold, are not essential for the promotion of the spirit of democracy.* I do not contemplate under a most democratic

* *See* p. 397.

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constitution a universality of manners and customs about eating, drinking and marrying. We shall ever have to seek unity in diversity, and I decline to consider it a sin for a man not to drink or eat with any and everybody. In Hinduism, children of brothers may not intermarry. The prohibition does not interfere with cordiality of relations, probably it promotes healthiness of relationships. In Vaishnava households, I have known mothers not dining in the common kitchen, nor drinking from the same pot, without their becoming exclusive, arrogant, or less loving. These are disciplinary restraints which are not in themselves bad. Carried to ridiculous extremes, they may become harmful, and if the motive is one of arrogation of superiority, the restraint becomes an indulgence, therefore hurtful. But as time goes forward, and new necessities and occasions arise, the custom regarding interdrinking, interdining and intermarrying, will require cautious modifications or rearrangement.

Thus, whilst I am prepared to defend, as I have always done, the division of Hindus into four castes, as I have so often said in these columns, I consider untouchability to be a heinous crime against humanity. It is not a sign of self-restraint but an arrogant assumption of superiority. It has served no useful purpose and it has suppressed, as nothing else in Hinduism has, vast numbers of the human race who are not only every bit as good as ourselves, but are rendering in many walks of life an essential service to the country. It is a sin of which the sooner Hinduism purges itself the better it is for itself, if it is to be recognised as an honourable and elevating religion. I know no argument in favour of its retention and I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority of a doubtful character in order to support a

sinful institution.* Indeed I would reject all authority if it is in conflict with sober reason or the dictates of the heart. Authority sustains and ennobles the weak when it is the hand-work of reason, but it degrades them when it supplants reason sanctified by the still small voice within.

* Occupation is no test of superiority or otherwise with Mr. Gandhi. The following appeared in *Young India* of 17th November, 1921 :

*Prejudice and Insolence.*—A correspondent from the Tanjore District writes, saying that he and his brother though Brahmans felt that rather than lead a lazy life, they should do some work and they 'turned their hands to the plough.' So they began agriculture. Thereupon their fellow villagers became disgusted and excommunicated them. They however remained firm in their resolve. When the Shankaracharya of Kumbakonam visited their part of the district, they went with their offering which was rejected, because they had committed the sin of labouring for their livelihood. My correspondent tells me he is not at all put out by the Shankaracharya's action. I congratulate the brothers on their public spirit. Excommunication from a tyrannical society is indeed a reward of merit and should be welcomed. To say that a Brahman should not touch the plough is a parody of Varnashrama and a prostitution of the meaning of the Bhagavadgita. Surely the qualities predominantly ascribed to the different divisions are not denied to the others. Is bravery to be the prerogative only of the Kshatriya and restraint only of the Brahman? Are Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Shudras not to protect the Cow? Can any one remain a Hindu without readiness to die for the Cow? Yet strangely enough, I have a letter from the Madras Presidency seriously telling me, that Cow protection has nothing to do with any but the Vaishyas. When there is so much ignorance combined with insolence, the best thing to do is to incur all risks and pursue the path of reform expecting time to prove the truth of one's position. If we combine love with firmness, we shall disarm all opposition in the end. Reformers may neither relent nor become angry.

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*10th December, 1919*

## SWARAJ IN SWADESHI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The real reform that India needs is Swadeshi in its true sense. The immediate problem before us is not how to run the government of the country, but how to feed and clothe ourselves. In 1918, we sent sixty crores of rupees out of India for buying cloth. If we continue to purchase foreign cloth at that rate, we deprive the Indian weaver and spinner of that amount from year to year *without practically giving him or her any other work in exchange.* No wonder a tenth at least of the population is cruelly half-starved and the majority of the rest underfed. He who has eyes may see for himself that *the middle class people are already being underfed and our babies are not getting enough milk for themselves.* The Reform Scheme, no matter how liberal it is, will not help to solve the problem in the immediate future. But Swadeshi can solve it *now.*

The Punjab has made the solution still clearer to me. God be thanked that the beautiful women of the Punjab have not yet lost the cunning of their fingers. High or low, they still know the art of spinning. They have not yet burnt their spinning wheels as many Gujarati women have done. It is to me a perfect delight to find them throwing balls of yarn into my lap. They admit they have time at their disposal for spinning. They admit that the *Khaddar* woven from their hand spun-yarn is superior to the machine-spun yarn. Our forefathers were well able to clothe themselves with little effort and with perfect comfort without having to buy from the foreign markets.

This beautiful art—and yet so simple—is in danger of

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being lost if we do not wake up betimes. The Punjab gives proof of its possibilities. But the Punjab too is fast losing her hold of it. Every year witnesses a decrease in the output of hand-spun yarn. It means greater poverty in our homes and greater idleness. The women who have ceased to spin are not utilizing their time in any other or better manner than gossiping.

But one thing is needful to undo the mischief. If every educated Indian will realise his clear primary duty, he will straightway present the women of his household with a spinning wheel and provide the facilities for learning the art of spinning. Millions of yards of yarn can be produced from day to day. And if every educated Indian will condescend to wear the cloth produced from such yarn, he will support and assist in rebuilding the only possible cottage industry of India.

Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary industry. Spinning is the easiest, the cheapest and the best.

I know this means a revolution in our mental outlook. And it is because it is a revolution that I claim that the way to Swaraj lies through Swadeshi. A nation that can save sixty crores of rupees per year and distribute that large sum amongst its spinners and weavers in their own homes will have acquired powers of organisation and industry that must enable it to do everything else necessary for its organic growth.

The dreamy reformer whispers, 'Wait till I get responsible government and I will protect India's industry without our women having to spin and our weaver having to weave.' This has been actually said by thinking men. I venture to suggest that there is a double fallacy underlying the proposition. India cannot

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wait for a protective tariff and protection will not reduce the cost of clothing. Secondly, mere protection will not benefit the starving millions. They can only be helped by being enabled to supplement their earnings by having a spinning indusry restored to them. So whether we have a protective tariff or not, we shall still have to revive the hand-spinning industry and stimulate hand-weaving.

When the war was raging, all available hands in America and England were utilized in the naval yards for building ships and they built them too at an amazing pace. If I would have my way, I would make every available Indian learn spinning or weaving and make him or her do that work for a certain fixed portion of every day. I would start with schools and colleges, presenting as they do ready-made organised units.

Multiplication of mills cannot solve the problem. They will take too long to overtake the drain and they *cannot distribute* the sixty crores in our homes. They can only cause concentration of money and labour and thus make confusion worse confounded.

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*21st April, 1920*

## SWADESHI

The National week closed on Tuesday the 13th. It was in every way a remarkable demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity, the determination to secure repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the Satyagrah spirit. The speeches delivered were sober and more to the point than before. There was no disorderliness at any of the meetings of which we have received reports.

What however about Swadeshi? Was Swadeshi too

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not a product of Satyagrah spirit and activity? It undoubtedly was.* But Swadeshi work is the most constructive of all. It does not lend itself to speeches

* Mr. Gandhi sharply distinguishes Boycott from Swadeshi, *see* p. 147.

In *Young India* of 14th January, 1921, replying to Mr. Baptista, Mr. Gandhi pointed out among other things that Boycott was not constructive like Swadesi but "operates like an undue influence brought in to secure one's purposes." Further, "one can make Boycott successful only by an appeal to angry passions. It may therefore result in unintended consequences and may even lead to a permanent estrangement between parties. Mr. Baptista, however, denies that appeal to angry passions is a necessary consequence of Boycott especially if some one like me were to manage the movement. I venture to challenge the position. A man suffering from an injustice is exposed to the temptations of having his worst passions roused on the slightest pretext. By asking him to boycott British goods, you inculcate the idea of punishing the wrong doer. And punishment necessarily evokes anger."

In *Young India* of 25th August, 1920, in the course of an article, headed "Boycott of Goods *vs.* Non-co-operation programme," Mr. Gandhi further wrote:

I must deal with the question of boycott which has now received the imprimatur of so able a publicist as Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyengar. . . . Boycott of British goods is thoroughly unpractical, for it involves sacrifice of their millions by millionaires. It is in my opinion infinitely more difficult for a merchant to sacrifice his millions than for a lawyer to suspend his practice or for a titleholder to give up his title or for a parent to sacrifice, if need be, the literary instruction of his children. Add to this the important fact that merchants have only lately begun to interest themselves in politics. They are therefore yet timid and cautious. But the class, to which the first stage of Non-co-operation is intended to appeal, is the political class which has devoted years to politics and is not mentally unprepared for communal sacrifice.

Boycott of British goods to be effective must be taken up by the whole country at once or not at all. It is like a siege. You can carry out a seige only when you have the requisite men and instruments of destruction. One man scratching a wall with his finger nails may hurt his fingers but will produce no effect upon the walls.

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so much as to solid action. It is not possible to save fifty crores of rupees annually by speeches or demonstrations. It involves much more than the saving of this annual drain. It involves the honour of Indian womanhood. Everyone who has any connection with the mill industry knows that the women working in the mills are exposed to temptations and risks to which they ought not to be exposed. Many women for want of home employment accept road repair labour. And only those who know what this labour is, understand the risks the women run. Give them the spinning wheel and no woman need ever seek any other employment than sitting at the spinning wheel. Swadeshi means even distribution of wealth from an occupation next in importance only to agriculture. It supplements agriculture and therefore automatically assists materially to solve the problem of our growing poverty. Thus Swadeshi is our veritable Kamadhenu* supplying all our wants and solving many of our difficult problems. And

*The cow in Hindu Mythology gives everything that is desired of it.

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One title-holder giving up his title has the supreme satisfaction of having washed his hands clean of the guilt of the donor and is unaffected by the refusal of his fellows to give up theirs. The motive of boycott being punitive lacks the inherent practicability of Non-co-operation. The spirit of punishment is a sign of weakness. A strengthening of that spirit will retard the process of regeneration. The spirit of sacrifice is a determination to rid ourselves of our weakness. It is therefore an invigorating and purifying process and is therefore also calculated to do good both to us and to those who evoke the spirit of sacrifice in us. Above all, if India has a mission of her own, she will not fulfil it by copying the doubtful example of the West and making even her sacrifice materialistically utilitarian instead of offering a sacrifice spotless and pleasing even in the sight of God.

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an occupation which saves our honour and provides our livelihood, becomes a religious duty.

How can the great consummation be achieved? The answer is simple. Those who realise the importance of the problem must set about working in one or all of the following directions:

(1) Learn spinning yourself whether man or woman. Charge for the labour if you need money, or make a gift of at least one hour's labour to the nation daily.

(2) Learn weaving yourself whether for recreation or for maintenance.

(3) Make improvements in the present handlooms and the spinning wheels, and if you are rich, pay for them to those who would make them.

(4) Take the Swadeshi vow and patronise the cloth that is both hand-spun and hand-woven.

(5) Introduce such cloth among your friends and believe that there is more art and humanity in Khadi whose yarn has been prepared by your poor sisters.

(6) If you are a mother, you will give a clean and national culture to your children and make them wear clothes made out of beautiful Khadi which is available to millions and which can be most easily produced.

Swadeshi then means the creation of a most perfect organisation in which every part works in perfect harmony with every other. If we succeed in bringing into being such an organisation, not only is the success of Swadeshi assured, but real Swaraj comes to us as a matter of course.*

* For a fuller exposition of this point, *see infra*.

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*28th April, 1920*

## THE USES OF KHADDAR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

While the Swadeshi movement is going forward by leaps and bounds and Mahomedans are taking it up as enthusiastically as Hindus, it is well to consider the best method of promoting Swadeshi. The veriest tyro in Swadeshi knows that we do not manufacture enough cloth to supply our wants. If therefore we merely use mill-made cloth, we simply deprive the poor of what they need, or at least increase the price of mill-made cloth. The only way therefore to encourage Swadeshi is to manufacture more cloth. Mills cannot grow like mushrooms.* We must, therefore, fall back upon hand-

* The following is from *Young India* of 28th April, 1920:

*The Problem of the Unclothed.*—Sir Charles Macara of the Empire Cotton-growing Association has recently published that, out of the world's population, 750 million people are well clothed, 500 million are half clothed and 250 million unclothed. We have no such figures in regard to India: still it is undeniable that the proportion between clothed and unclothed people is highly discreditable to the Indian Nation, especially so in view of the fact that it ranks only second to America among the cotton-growing countries. It is proved by the Cotton Committee that we can grow more and better cotton. We are indefinitely waiting for new mills to be erected to utilise our cotton. We look to others to provide us with machinery. But, the situation regarding mill machinery is very serious even in England which has been one of our largest importing countries. The "Manchester Guardian," in its quarterly review of the cotton industry, tells us "that new mills would be so costly that hardly anybody contemplates erecting them, and consequently, there is a prospect of the demand for goods exceeding the supply, for quite a considerable period." This makes it evident that, unless we revive our old spinning wheels and handlooms, we cannot solve the problem of the unclothed. Nature has given us enough and it promises more; we must work to deserve it.

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woven and handspun yarn. Yarn has never perhaps been so dear as it is to-day, and mills are making fabulous profits out of yarn. Hand-spinning helps its production and cheapens its price.

How to spin yarn and weave cloth is then the question. I know from personal experience that it is possible to flood the market with handspun yarn and handwoven cloth, if the standard cloth comes to be recognised as fit for wear. This cloth is called Khaddar in Upper India. It is called Khadi in the Bombay Presidency. Thanks to Sarala Devi, she has shown that it is possible to make even Saris out of Khaddar. She thought that she could best express herself during the National Week by wearing Khaddar Sari and Khaddar blouse. And she did it.* She attended parties in her Khaddar Sari. Friends thought it was impossible. They thought a woman who had never worn anything but the finest silk or the finest Dacca Muslin could not possibly bear the weight of heavy Khaddar. She falsified all fears and was no less active or less elegant in her Khaddar Sari than in her finished silk Saris. "If you do not feel awkward in that Sari of yours, you may go anywhere and to any party and you will find it would be well with you." It was with some such words that her great uncle, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, blessed her when he saw her in her Khaddar Sari. I relate this sacred incident in order to show that two of the most artistic people of India found nothing inartistic in Khaddar. This is the cloth I venture to introduce to the cultured families of India, for on its use hangs the immediate success of the Swadeshi movement during this its infant stage.

To me Khaddar is any day more artistic than the

* *See* p. 494.

finest Dacca Muslin, for its associations. Khaddar supports to-day those who were starving. It supports women who have been reclaimed from a life of shame or women who, because they would not go out for work, remained idle and quarrelled among themselves for want of occupation. Khaddar therefore has a soul about it. It has an individuality about it. The wearer is able to trace all the processes of its manufacture to the respective manufacturers. If our tastes were not debased, we would prefer Khaddar to sticky calico even during the summer season. Let those who are now using it certify, if they will, to the truth of my statement.

This Khaddar is now being stocked at the Satyagrah Ashram. And I have accumulated a stock which is beyond the capacity of the space at my disposal. I therefore ask the readers of "Young India" to come to the rescue by introducing Khaddar in their own homes.

Needless to say, the Ashram makes no profits from it. Any margin left is devoted to recouping the loss incurred in the initial stages or in reducing the price of Khaddar received from districts where the cost is heavier than elsewhere, for the cost is not the same all over. In inducing weavers to take to their original occupation, I am obliged to pay enough to support them and for the present.

Khaddar can be used for making underwear, even if one is disinclined to use it for the outer costume. But even if one is not inclined to use it for personal wear, it can be used for making caps, towels, wipers, tea-cloths, satchels, bedsheets, beddings, holdalls, carpet pieces, cushions, covers for furniture, &c. I am having it dyed turkey-red in Swadeshi dye. It then becomes more durable and looks less dirty when it is used for carpets or mattress-making or upholstering. I would advise

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those who wish to support this industry of the poor and the neglected to send for the Khaddar by corresponding with the Manager, Khaddar Department, Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati.

RATES

*Mill Yarn Warp and Weft Khadi*

| Double warp and double weft | | | RS. | AS. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Width | 25 | Inches per yd. | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| ,, | 27 | ,, ,, | 0 | 9 | 6 |
| ,, | 30 | ,, ,, | 0 | 10 | 0 |

*Mill Yarn Warp and Hand Spun Weft Khadi*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Width | 25" | 20—Count's warp per yd. | 0 | 9 | 6 |
| | 8 | ,, ,, | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| ,, | 24" | 20 ,, ,, | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Lined Khadi | | ,, | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| Red Coloured | | ,, | 0 | 8 | 6 |

*Hand Spun Warp and Weft*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Khadi | 24" | per yd. | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| ,, | 27" | ,, | 0 | 8 | 6 |

For washed Khadi add 0-0-6 to the above rates.

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*19th May, 1920*

SWADESHI DAY BY DAY

Readers of "Young India" will be agreeably surprised to learn that the article about Khaddar has not only resulted in complete disposal of the stock that had accumulated at the Ashram, but it has evoked orders from Baluchistan, the Nilgiris, and even Aden. This is as it should be. The revival of the ancient cottage industry of India—hand-spinning during leisure hours in their own homes by the millions of women, and hand-

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weaving in similar circumstances by men—cannot but produce a silent yet effective revolution in this country and prevent an annual drain of crores of rupees which need never have left India and distribute the savings among the poor millions instead of concentrating them in the hands of a few capitalists.* This is not to say

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 6th July, 1921:

*The potency of the spinning-wheel.*—No amount of human ingenuity can manage to distribute water over the whole land, as a shower or rain can. No irrigation department, no rules of precedence, no inspection and no water-cess. Every thing is done with an ease and a gentleness that by their very perfection evade notice. The spinning-wheel, too, has got the same power of distributing work and wealth in millions of houses in the simplest way imaginable. Those of us who do not know what it is to earn a livelihood by the sweat of one's brow, may consider the three annas a day as a pittance beneath the consideration of any man. They do not know that, even in these days of high prices, there are districts in India where even three annas a day would be a boon to the poor. But we must not consider the question of the spinning-wheel merely from the point of individual earnings. The spinning-wheel is a force in national regeneration. If we wish for real Swaraj, we must achieve economic independence. Boycott of foreign cloth is its negative aspect. For this we must produce cloth sufficient to clothe the country. This can only be done by hand-spinning. All the mills that we have got, will not be able together to cope with the situation. If all rush for the thin mill-made cloth, it will rise in price beyond the capacity of the poor, and the experience of 1907-08 will be repeated.

Moreover, the cloth best suited for the three seasons of India is *Khadi*. Those who have used *Khadi* during this summer, have come to realise that, after the soft clean touch of *Khadi*. it is impossible to use sticky Malmal or twills. *Khadi* can enable its wearer to withstand the cold of an average winter as even wool cannot. The climate of India demands that clothes be washed as often as possible. Only *Khadi* can stand this constant wash. *Khadi* was once the dress of the nation at large. One must see to believe how venerable the old Patels and Deshmukhs looked when dressed in home-spun *Khadi*. There are instances of whole villages taking a legitimate pride in the fact that they had to import nothing but salt in the whole round of

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that we do not want capitalists in India. They are there already. They are able to take care of themselves. It is the poor millions who need to be lifted up from grinding poverty and consequent degradation. Nothing but a full revival of the hand-spinning and the hand-weaving industry can raise them effectively and speedily. It is to be hoped therefore that the demand for Khaddar being proved, its production will be stimulated, in every nook and corner of India.

The most wonderful experience, however, of the popularity of Swadeshi has been that of Shrimati Sarladevi Chaudhrani and Mrs. Mohani, the wife of that sincere and indefatigable worker, Maulana Hazrat Mohani. Writing from Lahore whilst preparing to go to Barreilly where she had gone to attend the Khilafat Conference, the former says: "I have done my packing racked with conflicts as to what to take and what not to take with me—whether to wear Khaddar dress there while addressing the audience or Swadeshi silk the point of which will not be so well understood—whether to take up the trunk or to wrap up the hold-all with cloths inside the bedding—whether to be smart and fashionable as of old or to be simple and common only. I have at last chosen to be the latter. But it is taking time and trouble to assimilate the new method." Writing after her experiences of Barreilly, she says: "Just coming back from visits to Mahomedan families. There were two ladies—wife and sister in one place. They took the vow for Charkha and Swadeshi. In another place,

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the six seasons. With such conditions, there could be no drain, no exploitation and therefore no Para-raj (Other's Rule). A little village could make terms with the rulers of the land consistent with its self-respect, dignity and independence. Is our love of luxury so inveterate, that we cannot control it even for the sake of Swaraj?

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there were six ladies who all took the same vow. It was a family of Cutch Borahs very rich and cultured, settled down here since the days of the Mutiny. I find I can do the Swadeshi and Charkha propaganda to perfection in these provinces. My Swadeshi dress is having its effect. At a meeting called in Barreilly by Mrs. Mohani, fifteen Mahomedan ladies took the Swadeshi vow."

Speaking to the Barreilly divisional conference in Hindustani on a resolution on Swadeshi, she laid stress upon the deep poverty of India and her two chief wants—food and raiment—and she said that, if we did not know how to manage our own homes and could not make the two ends meet, we would be ill fitted to undertake the management of the national affairs. It was remarkable, she added, that, whilst the people were ready to listen to speeches, which required from them no action and no sacrifice, they were chary of attending meetings where they were told home-truths and which drew their attention to their primary duty of attending to Swadeshi at all costs. She asked them to work in the spirit of the late Vidyasagar, who was not only not ashamed of but took pride in wearing throughout his life Khaddar cloth. She admitted that return to Khaddar was difficult, but all upward movements were so. India would never be able to produce the beautiful cloth she did before, until she resolutely refused to use silks from China, Japan, France and elsewhere, and was content in the interval to wear cloth made out of coarse yarn that daughters of India were able to produce to-day. Her poverty and her nakedness too left no option to those who realised the actual condition of the country. She appealed to those on the platform to lead the way.

The Chaudhries had not much time left to them to test

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the truth of the above remarks in their own home, for they had to prepare dresses for their eldest son whose marriage was to take place on the 14th instant. Pandit Rambhuj Datta Chaudhry writes: "All marriage clothes have been made of Swadeshi silk made in Benares. It is somewhat costly but excellent stuff. We have rigidly excluded all foreign silk."*

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*21st July, 1920*

## THE MUSIC OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Slowly but surely the music† of perhaps the most

* The following is from *Young India* of 15th June, 1921:

*Khadi in Temples*—Foreign cloth has made such encroachments upon our life, that we use it even for sacred purposes. Thus I noticed the use of foreign cloth for the decoration of idols in Puri and Ayodhya, and indeed in almost all the temples I have visited. Even the sacred thread is not always hand-made. It refreshes me, therefore, to find a correspondent from Sindh sending the news, that Acharya Gidwani of the Gujarat Vidyapitha was the first, when he recently visited Sindh, to present a *khadi* cover for the Granth Saheb instead of foreign silk which is usually presented. I hope the good example will be followed by all devotees, and foreign cloth replaced in all temples by *Khadi*.

† The following is from *Young India* of 29th June, 1921:

*In Praise of the Charkha*—A Christian lady writes: "I shall do my very best in working for winning Swaraj by the spinning-wheel. Just before I left, I succeeded in getting good wheels made. *Ratnums* we call them in Tamil. And poor women came, and asked me to give them a wheel and to teach them to spin so as to earn a little for their living. I then remembered the word of Christ, 'I was naked and you clothed me not', 'I was hungry and you gave me not to eat.' I hope that my Master will not say that hard word to me on the Day of Judgment. India is naked and starving. Her poor women whose children are crying for bread, have been tempted to sell their honour

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ancient machine of India * is once more permeating society. Pandit Malaviyaji has stated that he is not going to be satisfied until the Ranis and the Maharanis

* The following is from *Young India* of 6th July, 1921 :

*The Charkha in Islam.*—These notes have been sent by a Mussalman friend :

The following is related in Da-em-ul-Islam, Vol. II by Kazi Noman ben Mahomed, the Chief Justice of Cairo during the time of the Fatamide Khalifs of Egypt in about the third quarter of the 10th century A. D. He was one of the greatest scholars of the time, and has left a number of books on religion, laws, history, philosophy, etc.:

"The holy prophet, divine peace be on him, said that *the best occupation for a believing woman is the Charkha.*"

The following commentary on the above occurs in Kitabun Najah by Shaikh Ebrahim Saifee, who lived nearly 250 years ago :

This shows that the prophet has praised the woman who keeps herself engaged with the Charkha, and similarly he has spoken highly of the occupation of spinning, because there are two excellences in the Charkha. One is, that it is an indoor occupation, and the second is, that it is a means of earning something. How excellent is the

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in order to feed them. And the more is the pity, as India has enough of natural riches within her own borders. She is like a naked starving woman sitting by the roadside in the midst of cotton, rice and wheat fields. Why are the women of India sitting idle, while foreigners grow fat on her produce ? Because they take away the work the women of India ought to be doing. The spinning-wheel will give India work, and give the little ones the morsel of food they are crying for. And to the music of the spinning-wheel the women will sing their beautiful songs, tell their stories of old, and the beauty and the contentment of simple home-life will be renewed. If I had the gift of a poet, I would sing the song of the spinning-wheel, of its beauty and its usefulness, of its poetry and its religious value. I would sing a song of praise to God for helping us in our hour of need. I should ask all my sisters in India to take to the spinning-wheels keeping the wolf of hunger and starvation and dishonour from their door. But I am not gifted. The song is singing only in my own soul. What can I do then, but let the spinning-wheel sing its own song, while I am working it and teaching others to do likewise."

of India spin yarn for the nation, and the Ranas and the Maharanas sit behind the handlooms and weave cloth for the nation. They have the example of Aurangzeb

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occupation, which combines both livelihood in this world and merit in the next?

It is said that the inventor of the Charkha has made the instrument a replica of the physical world. It represents the world in miniature. It consists of two parts, one higher and the other lower, showing heaven and earth. The rotundity of the wheel represents that of the heavens. Its revolutions indicate the revolutions of the planets. It consists of 12 spokes representing 12 constellations. It has two legs upon which it is supported; these represent the two poles north and south. It has a handle, which indicates the responsive quality of the heavens to man's work. It has got an axis, which represents the relations between the powers of the poles and their support of each other. It has a spindle on which the yarn is wound. This represents the earth, which produces all things. There is a thread which connects the spokes with the spindle and rotates it, whereby the cotton is spun. That thread represents the medium, through which pass the influences of the heavenly bodies over the earth. Cotton represents the four elements, out of which all things are produced, and the yarn represents the three products, i.e. mineral, plant and animal. The two hands of the spinner represent the angels who arrange the creation of the creatures. The right hand indicates the angels of heaven, and the left hand those of the earth. Lastly the spinner represents God the Creator. There is no God but He."

[The foregoing description may be too fanciful for the modern reader. It is reproduced to show, if the dates given are right, what value was attached to the spinning-wheel by Mussalman writers two-hundred and fifty year ago.—Ed. *Y. I.*]

* *Young India* of 20th October, 1921, contained the following:

*The Charkha in the Gita.*—In the last issue, I have endeavoured to answer the objections raised by the Poet against spinning as a sacrament to be performed by all. I have done so in all humility and with the desire to convince the Poet and those who think like them. The reader will be interested in knowing that my belief is derived largely from the "Bhagavadgita." I have quoted the relevant verses in the article itself. I give below Edwin Arnold's rendering of the verses from his Song Celestial for the benefit of those who do not read Sanskrit.

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who made his own caps. A greater emperor—Kabir—was himself a weaver and has immortalised the art in his poems. The queens of Europe, before Europe was

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Work is more excellent than idleness;
The body's life proceeds not, lacking work.
There is a task of holiness to do,
Unlike world-binding toil, which bindeth not
The faithful soul; such earthly duty do
Free from desire, and thou shalt well perform
Thy heavenly purpose. Spake Prajapati
In the beginning, when all men were made,
And, with mankind, the sacrifice—"Do this!
Work! Sacrifice! Increase and multiply
With sacrifice! This shall be Kamadhuk,
Your 'Cow of Plenty', giving back her milk
Of all abundance. Worship the gods thereby;
The gods shall yield ye grace. Those meats ye crave
The gods will grant to Labour, when it pays
Tithes in the alter-flame. But if one eats
Fruits of the earth, rendering to kindly heaven,
No gift of toil, that thief steals from his world."
Who eat of food after their sacrifice
Are quit of fault, but they that spread a feast
All for themselves, eat sin and drink of sin.
By food the living live; food comes of rain.
And rain comes by the pious sacrifice,
And sacrifice is paid with tithes of toil;
Thus action is of Brahma, who is One,
The Only, All-pervading; at all times
Present in sacrifice. He that abstains
To help the rolling wheels of this great world
Glutting his idle sense, lives a lost life,
Shameful and vain.

Work here undoubtedly refers to physical labour, and work by way of sacrifice can only be work to be done by all for the common benefit. Such work—such sacrifice can only be spinning. I do not wish to suggest that the author of the Divine Song had the spinning wheel in mind. He merely laid down a fundamental principle of

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caught in Satan's trap, spun yarn and considered it a noble calling. The very words, spinster and wife, prove the ancient dignity of the art of spinning and weaving. 'When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman', also reminds one of the same fact. Well may Panditji hope to persuade the royalty of India to the ancient calling of this sacred land of ours. Not on the clatter of arms depends the revival of her prosperity and true independence. It depends most largely upon reintroduction, in every home, of the music of the spinning wheel. It gives sweeter music and is more profitable than the execrable harmonium, concertina and the accordian.

Whilst Panditji is endeavouring in his inimitably suave manner to persuade the Indian royalty to take up the spinning wheel, Shrimati Sarala Devi Choudhrani, who is herself a member of the Indian nobility, has learnt the art and has thrown herself heart and soul into the movement. From all the accounts received from her and others, Swadeshi has become a passion with her. She says she feels uncomfortable in her muslim saris and is content to wear the Khaddar saris even in the hot weather. Her Khaddar saris continue to preach true Swadeshi more eloquently than her tongue. She has spoken to audiences in Amritsar, Ludhiana and elsewhere and has succeeded in enlisting the services, for

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conduct. And reading in and applying it to India, I can only think of spinning as the fittest and most acceptable sacrificial body labour. I cannot imagine anything nobler or more national than that for, we should all do the labour that the poor must do and thus identify ourselves with them and through them with all mankind. I cannot imagine better worship of God than that in His name I should labour for the poor even as they do. The spinning-wheel spells a more equitable distribution of the riches of the earth.

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her spinning committee at Amritsar, of Mrs. Ratanchand and Bugga Chowdhry and the famous Ratan Devi who, during the frightful night of the 30th April despite the Curfew Order of General Dyer, sat all alone in the midst of the hundreds of the dead and dying, with her dead husband's cold head in her lap. I venture to tender my congratulations to these ladies. May they find solace in the music of the spinning wheel and in the thought that they are doing national work. I hope that the other ladies of Amritsar will help Sarala Devi in her efforts and that the men of Amritsar will realise their own duty in the matter.

In Bombay, the readers are aware that ladies of noted families have already taken up spinning. Their ranks have been joined by Dr. Mrs. Manekbai Bahudarji who has already learnt the art and who is now trying to introduce it in the Sevasadan. Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Janjira and her sister Mrs. Atia Begum Rahiman have also undertaken to learn the art. I trust that these good ladies will, having learnt spinning, religiously contribute to the nation their daily quota of yarn.

I know that there are friends who laugh at this attempt to revive this great art.* They remind me that, in these days of mills, sewing-machines or typewriters, only a

* The following appeared in *Young India* of 15th September, 1921 : *Hand-Spinning and hand-weaving.*—Some people spurn the idea of making in this age of mechanism hand-spinning and hand-weaving a national industry, but they forget there are millions of their countrymen in this age who for want of suitable occupation are eking out a most miserable existence, and thousands who die of starvation and underfeeding every year, whereas only a hundred years ago hand-spinning and hand-weaving proved an insurance against a pauper's death. The extent to which relief was provided by this industry is recorded by Mr. Dutt in his " History of India : Victorian age " from

lunatic can hope to succeed in reviving the rusticated spinning wheel. These friends forget that the needle has not yet given place to the sewing machine nor has the hand lost its cunning in spite of the typewriter. There is not the slightest reason why the spinning wheel may not coexist with the spinning mill even as the domestic kitchen coexists with the hotels. Indeed typewriters and sewing machines may go, but the needle and the reed pen will survive. The mills may suffer destruction. The spinning wheel is a national necessity. I would ask sceptics to go to the many poor homes where the spinning wheel is again supplementing their slender resources and ask the inmates whether the spinning wheel has not brought joy to their homes.

Thank God, the reward issued by Mr. Rewashanker Jagjiwan bids fare to bear fruit. In a short time, India will possess a renovated spinning wheel—a wonderful invention of a patient Deccan artisan. It is made out of simple materials. There is no great complication about it. It will be cheap and capable of being easily mended. It will give more yarn than the ordinary wheel and is capable of being worked by a five-years old boy or girl.

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the investigations conducted by Dr. Buchanan for seven years, 1813-1820.

It will be seen from the details published in this book that crores of rupees were earned by these spinners and weavers by following their noble and honest calling. The decentralisation of the industry—every village, town and district having always at its command as much supply as it needed—automatically facilitated its distribution and saved the consumer from Railway, Excise and all sorts of tariffs and middlemen's profits that he is a victim to to-day. If we cannot return to these days—though there is no reason, except our own bias and doubt why we should not—can we not at least so organise our industries as to do away without much delay with the foreign cloth with which our markets are being dumped to-day?

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But whether the new machine proves what it claims to be or it does not, I feel convinced that the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the largest contribution to the economic and the moral regeneration of India. The millions must have a simple industry to supplement agriculture. Spinning was the cottage industry years ago, and if the millions are to be saved from starvation, they must be enabled to reintroduce spinning in their homes, and every village must repossess its own weaver.

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*18th August, 1920*

## SWADESHI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In criticising my article entitled 'The Music of the Spinning Wheel,'* the *Leader* the other day attributed to me ideas that I have never entertained. And it is necessary, for the purpose of understanding the true value of Swadeshi, to correct some of the current fallacies. The *Leader* considers that I am putting back the hands of the clock of progress by attempting to replace mill-made cloth and mill-spun yarn by hand-woven and hand-spun yarn. Now, I am making no such attempt at all. I have no quarrel with the mills. My views are incredibly simple. India requires nearly 13 yards of cloth per head per year. She produces, I believe, less than half the amount. India grows all the cotton she needs. She exports several million bales of cotton to Japan and Lancashire and receives much of it back in manufactured calico, although she is capable of producing all the cloth and all the yarn necessary for supplying her wants by hand-weaving and hand-spinning. India needs

* *See* p. 497.

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to supplement her main occupation, agriculture, with some other employment. Hand-spinning is the only such employment for millions. It was the national employment a century ago. It is not true to say that economic pressure and modern machinery destroyed hand-spinning and hand-weaving. This great industry was destroyed or almost destroyed by extraordinary and immoral means adopted by the East India Company. This national industry is capable of being revived by exertion and a change in the national taste without damaging the mill industry. Increase of mills is no present remedy for supplying the deficiency. The difficulty can be easily supplied only by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. If this employment were revived, it would prevent sixty million rupees from being annually drained from the country and distribute the amount among lacs of poor women in their own cottages. I therefore consider Swadeshi as an automatic, though partial, solution of the problem of India's grinding poverty. It also constitutes a ready-made insurance policy in times of scarcity of rain.

But two things are needful to bring about the needed revival—to create a taste for Khaddar and to provide an organisation for the distribution of carded cotton and collection of yarn against payment.

In one year, by the silent labour of a few men, several thousand rupees have been distributed in Gujarat among several thousand poor women who are glad enough to earn a few pice per day to buy milk for their children, etc.

The argument does not apply to the sugar industry as the "Leader" has attempted. There is not sufficient cane grown in India to supply India's wants. Sugar was never a national and supplementary industry.

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Foreign sugar has not supplanted Indian sugar. India's wants of sugar have grown and she therefore imports more sugar. But this importation does not institute a drain in the sense in which importation of foreign cloth does. Production of more sugar means more scientific agriculture, more and better machinery for crushing and refining. The sugar industry therefore stands on a different platform. Swadeshi in sugar is desirable. Swadeshi in cloth is an urgent necessity.

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*25th August, 1920*

## KHILAFAT AND SWADESHI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It was not without much misgiving that I consented to include Swadeshi as a plank in Non-co-operation. But Maulana Hasrat Mohani by his sheer earnestness bore me down. I fear however that his reasons for including Swadeshi are different from mine. He is a protagonist of boycott of British goods. I cannot reconcile myself to the doctrine as I have explained elsewhere.* But having failed to popularise boycott, Mohani Saheb accepted Swadeshi as the lesser good. It is however necessary for me to explain how I have come to include Swadeshi in the programme of Non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation is nothing but discipline in self-sacrifice. And I believe that a nation that is capable of limitless sacrifice is capable of rising to limitless heights. The purer the sacrifice, the quicker the progress. Swadeshi offers every man, woman and child an occasion to make a beginning in self-sacrifice of a pure type. It therefore presents an opportunity for testing our capacity

* *See* p. 487, 488.

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for sacrifice. It is the measure for gauging the depth of national feeling on the Khilafat wrong. Does the nation feel sufficiently to move it to go through even the preliminary process of sacrifice? Will the nation revise its taste for the Japanese silk, the Manchester calico or the French lace and find all its decoration out of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, *i.e.*, Khadi? If crores of people will refuse to wear or use foreign cloth and be satisfied with the simple cloth that we can produce in our homes, it will be proof of our organising ability, energy, co-operation and self-sacrifice that will enable us to secure all we need. It will be a striking demonstration of national solidarity.

Such a consummation cannot be achieved for the mere wish. It cannot be achieved by one man, no matter how capable and sincere he may be. It cannot be achieved by dotting India with Swadeshi stores. It can only be achieved by new production and judicious distribution. Production means lacs of women spinning in their own homes. This requires earnest men to be engaged in honestly distributing carded cotton and collecting yarn and paying for it. It means manufacture of thousands of spinning wheels. It means inducing the hereditary weavers to return to their noble calling and distributing home-spun yarn amongst them and selling their manufactures. It is thus only as an energising agent that I can think of Swadeshi as a plank in Non-co-operation. But it is not to be despised in that capacity. And I hope that every worker for the cause, even if he can do nothing else, will have done something if he can advance Swadeshi first by increasing production and then distribution. He would be simply moving in a circle if he is satisfied with distributing cloth that is already being manufactured in India.

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*8th September, 1920*

## SWADESHI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Swadeshi propaganda has been going on in a more or less organised manner now for the past eighteen months. Some of its results are surprising and gratifying. It has taken a fairly firm hold in the Punjab,*

* Under the heading, " Swadeshi in the Punjab, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 7th July, 1920:

The Joint Secretaries of the Bharat Stri Maha Mandal, Punjab Branch, send a report of the Swadeshi activities of Shrimati Saraladevi Chaudhrani ever since her return to Lahore from Bombay. Miss Roy and Mrs. Roshanlal, the Secretaries, state that meetings of women were held respectively on the 23rd, 24th and 25th June at three different places in Lahore. All the meetings were attended by hundreds of women who were deeply interested in what Shrimati Saraladevi had to say. The burden of her discourses was India's deep poverty. She traced the causes and proved that our poverty was primarily due to the abandonment of Swadeshi by the people. The remedy therefore lay in reverting to Swadeshi.

Saraladevi herself writes to say that her Khaddar Sari impressed her audiences more than her speeches, and her songs came next, her speeches last. The good ladies of Lahore flocked round her and felt her coarse but beautifully white Sari and admired it. Some took pity on her that she who only the other day was dressed in costly thin silk Saris now decked herself in hand-woven Swadeshi Khaddar. Saraladevi wanted no pity and retorted that their thin foreign scarves lay heavier on their shoulders with the weight of their helpless dependence on foreign manufacture, whereas her coarse Khaddar lay light as a feather on her body with the joy of the knowledge that she was free, because she wore garments in the manufacture of which her sisters and her brothers had laboured. This statement so pleased her audience that most of the women present resolved to discard foreign clothes. Saraladevi has now been charged by these ladies to open a shop where they could buy Swadeshi good. She has since addressed more audiences. She spoke at the District Conference at Sialkot and to a meeting exclusively devoted to ladies numbering over one

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Madras and the Bombay Presidency. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving are steadily increasing in these parts. Several thousand rupees have been distributed in homes where women never did any work before. And if more work of this kind has not been done, it is due to want of workers.

This is however written more to note the mistakes of the past than to sum up the bright side. My observations lead me to the conclusion that, whilst the inauguration of the three vows* and Swadeshi stores have greatly stimulated the Swadeshi spirit, it is no longer possible to advocate the taking of any of the three vows or the opening of new Swadeshi stores for the sale of mill-made cloth. The result of the propaganda has been to send up the prices of yarn and cloth rather than increase production. It is clear that the purpose of Swadeshi is not served until the quantity of yarn and cloth produced is increased. The gain therefore is merely moral and not material. The people have begun to perceive the desirability of wearing only Swadeshi cloth if the real interest of the country is to be advanced.

But it is clear that we must take practical steps for

**See* Appendix.

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thousand. I hope that the men of Punjab will help Saraladevi in her self-imposed mission. They may harness her talents and her willingness in founding Swadeshi Sabha and organising Swadeshi propaganda on a sound basis. My Swadeshi spirit makes me impatient of garments that denude India of her wealth and equally impatient of the Smiths, the O'Briens, the Shri Rams and the Maliks who denude her of her self-respect and insolently touch women's veils with their sticks, chain innocent men as if they were beasts, or shoot them from armoured cars or otherwise terrorise people into subjection.

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meeting the growing demand for Swadeshi cloth. One way, no doubt, is to increase the mills. But it is obvious that capitalists do not need popular encouragement. They know that India needs much more cloth than is manufactured by our mills. But mills do not spring up like mushrooms. It is a matter of getting machinery from outside, let alone the difficulty of getting labour. And after all, India cannot become truly and economically independent so long as she must rely on the supply of machinery from outside for the manufacture of her cloth.

The cleanest and the most popular form of Swadeshi, therefore, is to stimulate hand-spinning and hand-weaving and to arrange for a judicious distribution of yarn and cloth so manufactured. With a little talent and a little industry this thing is easy. Even as each home cooks its own food without difficulty, so may each home weave its own yarn. And just as, in spite of every home having its own kitchen, restaurants continue to flourish, so will mills continue to supply our additional wants. But even as because of our private kitchens we would not starve if every restaurant was through some accident closed, so would we, by reason of domestic spinning, not have to go naked even if every mill, by a blockade from the West, had to stop work. Not long ago, we knew this secret of our own economic independence, and it is possible for us to regain that independence by a little effort, a little organising agency and a little sacrifice.

Therefore true Swadeshi consists in introducing the spinning wheel in every household and every household spinning its own yarn. Many a Punjabi woman does it to-day. And though we may not supply our own cloth entirely, we shall be saving yearly crores of rupees. In

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any event, there is no other Swadeshi than increased manufacture by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Whether we take up hand-spinning and hand-weaving or we do not, it is at least necessary to understand what true Swadeshi is.

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*22nd September, 1920*

## SWADESHI STORES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In a previous issue I endeavoured to show how stores for the sake of selling mill-manufactures did not advance Swadeshi in any way whatsoever, but, on the contrary, tended to send up the price of cloth. I propose to show in this article how, with a small capital, it is possible to advance true Swadeshi and earn a modest livelihood.*

Suppose that there is a family consisting of husband, wife and two children one of whom is ten years old and the other five. If they have a capital of Rs. 500, they can manage a Khaddar Bhandar in a small way.† They can hire, say in a place with a population of 20,000 inhabitants, a shop with dwelling rooms for Rs. 10 per month. If they sell the whole of the stock at 10 p. c. profit, they can have Rs. 50 per month. They have no servants. The wife and the children in their spare time would be expected to help in keeping the shop tidy and looking after it when the husband is out. The wife and children can also devote their spare time to spinning.

*The way in which weaving suffered for lack of organisation and the remedy thereof are detailed at length in Mr. Havell's *Artistic and Industrial Revival in India*. "Swadesi Department of the Satyagraha Ashram," says *Young India* of 15th September, 1920 "is being run almost on the same lines as the scheme (Havell's) suggests."

†*See* page 512.

In the initial stages, the Khaddar may not sell at the shop. In that case, the husband is expected to hawk the Khaddar from door to door and popularise it. He will soon find a custom for it.

The reader must not be surprised at my suggesting 10 p. c. profits. The Khaddar Bhandars are not designed for the poorest. The use of Khaddar saves at least half the cost not necessarily because the Khaddar is more durable (though that it certainly is) but because its use revolutionises our tastes. I know what saving of money its use has meant to me. Those, who buy Khaddar from patriotic motives merely, can easily afford to pay 10 p. c. profits on Khaddar. Lastly, the popularising of Khaddar means much care, devotion and labour. And the owner of a Khaddar Bhandar does not buy it at a wholesale shop, but he must wander to get the best Khaddar, he must meet the local weavers and induce them to weave hand-spun yarn. He must stimulate in his own district hand-spinning among its women. He must come in touch with the carders and get them to card cotton. All this means intelligence, organisation and great ability. A man who can exhibit these qualities has a right to take 10 p. c. profits. And a Swadeshi Bhandar conducted on these lines becomes a true centre of Swadeshi activity. I commend my remarks to the attention of the managers of Swadeshi stores that are already in existence. They may not revolutionise their method at once, but I have no doubt that they will advance Swadeshi only to the extent that they sell Khaddar.

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*19th January, 1921*

## THE SECRET OF SWARAJ

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Congress* resolution has rightly emphasised the the importance of Swadeshi and there anent of greater sacrifice by merchants.

India cannot be free so long as India voluntarily encourages or tolerates the economic drain which has been going on for the past century and a half. Boycott of foreign goods means no more and no less than boycott of foreign cloth. Foreign cloth constitutes the largest drain voluntarily permitted by us. It means sixty crores of rupees annually paid by us for piecegoods. If India could make a successful effort to stop that drain, she can gain Swaraj by that one act.

India was enslaved for satisfying the greed of the foreign cloth manufacturer. When the East India Company came in, we were able to manufacture all the cloth we needed, and more for export. By processes that need not be described here, India has become practically wholly dependent upon foreign manufacture for her clothing.

But we ought not to be dependent. India has the ability to manufacture all her cloth if her children will work for it. Fortunately India has yet enough weavers to supplement the out-turn of her mills. The mills do not and cannot immediately manufacture all the cloth we want. The reader may not know that, even at the present moment, the weavers weave more cloth than the mills. But the latter weave five crore yards of fine foreign counts, equal to forty crore yards of coarser counts. The way to carry out a successful boycott of

* Held at Nagpur in December, 1920.

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foreign cloth is to increase the out-put of yarn. And this can only be done by hand-spinning.

To bring about such a boycott, it is necessary for our merchants * to stop all foreign importation, and to sell

* The following is from *Young India* of 16th February, 1921 :

*The Duty of Merchants.*—In the course of his speech, at the merchants' meeting held in Calcutta on January 27, Mr. Gandhi spoke strongly against the waste of time, by thousands of people who gather just to see him and do nothing but shout. "Shouting was of no avail unless they voiced forth their true feeling. There was no necessity for shouting, Bande Mataram, Hindu-Mussalman-ki-Jai, and Allah-ho-Akbar. If Swaraj was to be attained in nine months, they must all combine and lend a helping hand. Men must translate into action what they utter.

"If the merchants wished to do the work of 30 crores of men, they must come out with their money. If they did not help with the money, Swaraj will be difficult, but not impossible, to attain. If the students did not help, if the pleaders did not help, if monied men did not help, even then the attainment of Swaraj was not impossible, because it so very much more depended on the labourers and the agriculturists. If the merchants wanted Swaraj, in the shortest possible time, they would have to make sacrifices. They would have to sacrifice themselves, their children, their parents, everything. They had prospered in trade, but did they know that it was a sin to deal in foreign cloth? They must neither buy, nor sell, nor wear foreign cloth. Let them send their stocks of foreign cloth to South Africa, or better burn them. Let them give up their Mulmul pugarees. They ought to be proud to wear Khaddar pugarees. The millowners were profiteering and people in Orissa, in Champaran—everywhere—were dying of starvation. There was only one remedy and that was the Charka. If all the women and girls spun yarn, they would be able to feed themselves. But the merchants must henceforth only sell Khaddar. The Marwaris had been dealing in foreign cloth; it was irreligion, they had given up their religion."

Concluding, Mr. Gandhi said that they must be pure, patriotic, and devoted to Swaraj and Khilafat. They must use only Swadeshi things in their households and sell only Swadeshi cloth in their shops. That would save 60 crores and feed the hungry and win Swaraj in nine months.

out, even at a loss, all foreign cloth already stocked in India, preferably to foreign buyers. They must cease to speculate in cotton, and keep all the cotton required for home use. They must stop purchasing all foreign cotton.

The mill-owners should work their mills not for their profits but as a national trust and therefore cease to spin finer counts, and weave only for the home market.

The householder has to revise his or her ideas of fashion and, at least for the time being, suspend the use of fine garments which are not always worn to cover the body. He should train himself to see art and beauty in the spotlessly white *khaddar* and to appreciate its soft unevenness. The householder must learn to use cloth as a miser uses his hard.

And even when the householders have revised their tastes about dress, somebody will have to spin yarn for the weavers. This can only be done by every one spinning during spare hours either for love or money.

We are engaged in a spiritual war. We are not living in normal times. Normal activities are always suspended in abnormal times. And if we are out to gain *Swaraj* in a year's time, it means that we must concentrate upon our goal to the exclusion of every thing else. I therefore venture to suggest to the students all over India to suspend their normal studies for one year and devote their time to the manufacture of yarn by hand-spinning. It will be their greatest act of service to the motherland, and their most natural contribution to the attainment of *Swaraj*. During the late war, our rulers attempted to turn every factory into an arsenal for turning out bullets of lead. During this war of ours, I suggest every national school and college being turned into a factory for preparing cones of yarns for the

nation. The students will lose nothing by the occupation: they will gain a kingdom here and hereafter. There is a famine of cloth in India. To assist in removing this dearth is surely an act of merit. If it is sinful to use foreign yarn, it is a virtue to manufacture more Swadeshi yarn in order to enable us to cope with the want that would be created by the disuse of foreign yarn.

The obvious question asked would be, if it is so necessary to manufacture yarn, why not pay every poor person to do so? The answer is that hand-spinning is not, and never was, a calling like weaving, carpentry, etc. Under the pre-British economy of India, spinning was an honourable and leisurely occupation for the women of India. It is difficult to revive the art among the women in the time at our disposal. But it is incredibly simple and easy for the school-goers to respond to the nation's call. Let no one decry the work as being derogatory to the dignity of man or students. It was an art confined to the women of India, because the latter had more leisure. And being graceful, musical, and as it did not involve any great exertion, it had become the monopoly of women. But it is certainly as graceful for either sex as is music for instance. In hand-spinning is hidden the protection of women's virtue, the insurance against famine, and the cheapening of prices. In it is hidden the secret of *Swaraj*. The revival of hand-spinning is the least penance we must do for the sin of our forefathers in having succumbed to the satanic influences of the foreign manufacturer.

The school-goers will restore hand-spinning to its respectable status. They will hasten the process of making *Khaddar* fashionable. For no mother, or father, worth the name will refuse to wear cloth made out of

yarn spun by their children. And the scholars' practical recognition of art will compel the attention of the weavers of India. If we are to wean the Punjabi from the calling not of a solider but of the murderer of innocent and free people of other lands, we must give back to him the occupation of weaving. The race of the peaceful Julahis of the Punjab is all but extinct. It is for the scholars of the Punjab to make it possible for the Punjabi weaver to return to his innocent calling.

I hope to show in a future issue* how easy it is to introduce this change in the schools and how quickly, on these terms, we can nationalise our schools and colleges. Everywhere the students have asked me what new things I would introduce into our nationalised schools. I have invariably told them I would certainly introduce spinning. I feel, so much more clearly than ever before that, during the transition period, we must devote exclusive attention to spinning and certain other things of immediate national use, so as to make up for past neglect. And the students will be better able and equipped to enter upon the new course of studies.

Do I want to put back the hand of the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages. This I

* *See* p. 519.

cannot do unless and until the nation is prepared to devote its leisure hours to hand-spinning. To that end we must adopt the methods I have ventured to suggest for popularising spinning as a duty rather than as a means of livelihood.

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*2nd February, 1921*

## THE DUTY OF SPINNING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In "The Secret of Swaraj,"* I have endeavoured to show what home-spinning means for our country. In any curriculum of the future, spinning must be a compulsory subject. Just as we cannot live without breathing and without eating, so is it impossible for us to attain economic independence and banish pauperism from this ancient land without reviving home-spinning. I hold the spinning wheel to be as much a necessity in every household as the hearth. No other scheme that can be devised will ever solve the problem of the deepening poverty of the people.

How then can spinning be introduced in every home? I have already suggested the introduction of spinning and systematic production of yarn in every national school. Once our boys and girls have learnt the art, they can easily carry it to their homes.

But this requires organisation. A spinning wheel must be worked for twelve hours per day. A practised spinner can spin two tolas and a half per hour. The price that is being paid at present is on an average four annas per forty tolas or one pound of yarn, *i.e.*, one pice per hour. Each wheel therefore should give three annas

* *See* p. 513.

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per day. A strong one costs seven rupees. Working, therefore, at the rate of twelve hours per day, it can pay for itself in less than 38 days. I have given enough figures to work upon. Anyone working at them will find the results to be startling.

If every school introduced spinning, it would revolutionize our ideas of financing education. We can work a school for six hours per day and give free education to the pupils. Supposing a boy works at the wheel for four hours daily, he will produce every day 10 tolas of yarn and thus earn for his school one anna per day. Suppose further that he manufactures very little during the first month, and that the school works only twenty six days in the month. He can earn after the first month Rs. 1-10 per month. A class of thirty boys would yield, after the first month, an income of Rs. 48-12 per month.

I have said nothing about literary training. It can be given during the two hours out of the six. It is easy to see that every school can be made self-supporting without much effort and the nation can engage experienced teachers for its schools.

The chief difficulty in working out the scheme is the spinning wheel. We require thousands of wheels if the art becomes popular. Fortunately, every village carpenter can easily construct the machine. It is a serious mistake to order them from the Ashram or any other place. The beauty of spinning is that it is incredibly simple, easily learnt, and can be cheaply introduced in every village.

The course suggested by me is intended only for this year of purification and probation. When normal times are reached and Swaraj is established, one hour only may be given to spinning and the rest to literary training.

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*9th February, 1921*

## ABUSING THE KHADDAR

A friend draws attention to the fact that many who have adopted the Khaddar costume are using it as a passport for arrogance, insolence, and what is worse, fraud. He says that they have neither the spirit of Non-co-operation in them nor the spirit of truth. They simply use the Khaddar dress as a cloak for their deceit. All this is likely, especially during the transition stage *i.e.*, whilst khaddar is beginning to become fashionable. I would only suggest to my correspondent that such abuse of Khaddar must not even unconsiously be allowed to be used as an argument against its use. Its use to-day is obligatory on those who believe that there is not sufficient Indian mill-made cloth to supply the wants of the nation, that the wants must be supplied in the quickest way possible by increasing home manufacture, and that such manufacture is possible only by making home-spinning universal. The use of Khaddar represents nothing more than a most practical recognition of the greatest economic necessity of the country. Even a scoundrel may recognise this necessity, and has therefore a perfect right to wear it. And if a Government spy wore it to deceive people, I would welcome his use of Khaddar as so much economic gain to the country. Only I would not give the wearer of the Khaddar more than his due. And I would therefore not ascribe to him any piety or special virtue. It follows, therefore, that co-operationists or government servants may wear Khaddar without incurring the danger of being mistaken for Non-co-operationists. We may no more shun Khaddar, than a devout churchgoer may renounce his church, because bad characters

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go to it for duping gullible people. I recall the name of an M. P. who successfully cloaked many of his vices by pretending to be a staunch temperance man. Not very long ago, a bold and unscrupulous speculator found entry into most respectable circles by becoming a temperance advocate. Well has a poet said that 'hypocrisy is an ode to virtue.'

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*16th February, 1921*

## HAND-SPINNING AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

*The Servant of India* has a fling too at spinning and that is based, as I shall presently show, on ignorance of the facts. (Spinning does protect a woman's virtue, because it enables women, who are to-day working on public roads and are often in danger of having their modesty outraged, to protect themselves, and I know no other occupation that lacs of women can follow save spinning.) Let me inform the jesting writer that several women have already returned to the sanctity of their homes and taken to spinning which they say is the one occupation which means so much *barket* (blessing).

Yes, it does solve the problem of India's chronic poverty and is an insurance against famine. The writer of the jests may not know the scandals that I know about irrigation and relief works. These works are largely a fraud.

The fact is that, in spite of the manufacture of 62-7 crores pounds of yarn in 1917-18, India imported several crore yards of foreign yarn which were woven by the mills as well as the weavers. The writer does not also seem to know that more cloth is to-day woven by our

weavers than by mills, but the bulk of it is foreign yarn, and therefore our weavers are supporting foreign spinners. I would not mind it much, if we were doing something else instead. When spinning was almost compulsorily stopped, nothing replaced it save slavery and idleness. Our mills cannot to-day spin enough for our wants, and if they did, they will not keep down prices unless they were compelled. They are frankly money-makers and will not therefore regulate prices according to the needs of the nations.

And now a few figures. One boy could, if he worked say four hours daily, spin ¼ lb. of yarn. 64,000 students would, therefore, spin 16,000 lbs per day, and therefore feed 8,000 weavers if a weaver wove two lbs. of hand-spun yarn. But the students and others are required to spin during this year of purification by way of penance in order to popularise spinning and to add to the manufacture of hand-spun yarn so as to overtake full manufacture during the current year. The nation may be too lazy to do it. But if all put their hands to this work, it is incredibly easy, it involves very little sacrifice and saves an annual drain of sixty crores, even if it does nothing else. I have discussed the matter with many mill-owners, several economists, men of business and no one has yet been able to challenge the position herein set forth.

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*What is profitable.*—In its issue of the 10th, *Servant of India* again ridicules the revival of hand-spinning. The writer of the comments has not obviously yet made any attempt to know the precise nature of the revival advocated by Mr. Gandhi. If the income from the spinning wheel is low it can, he says, "only deepen the country's poverty instead of remedying it, firstly, because the wage is not sufficient for the worker's maintenance and second-

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is because it prevents him from following a more profitable occupation." His assumption is gratuitous. No one suggests that hand-spinning should replace any wage-earning occupation.* It was never made to do that even in pre-British days. It has always been regarded as a supplementary occupation. Assuming that it was to be a wage-earning occupation—two annas being the daily wage earned by an average spinner,—it promises a better yearly income than the average income at present. The latter income has never yet been estimated over 27 rupees per head per year! If the *Servant of India* is prepared to provide work, at the rate of two annas per day, for every worker, we would entrust thousands of workers to its care. But the fact is that the average income per day is not two annas and that hand-spinning need not prevent anyone from following "more

* The point that spinning was only to be a subsidiary and not a supplanting industry was emphasised by Mr. Gandhi more than once. In *Young India* of 4th August 1921, in reply to the *Leader*, he wrote:

No one has ever said that spinning can be a means of livelihood except to the very poor. It is intended to restore spinning to its ancient position as a universal industry auxiliary to agriculture and resorted to by agriculturists during those months of the year when agricultural operations are suspended as a matter of course and cultivators have otherwise little to do. For the present all people alike are invited to devote their leisure to spinning, with a view to bringing about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in course of the present year. No one asks an able-bodied labourer who can earn twelve annas a day to give up his work in order to take to spinning. However, people are so poor in many parts of the country that a daily wage of even 3 annas a day would be a veritable boon to them and enable them to tide over bad seasons. The spinning wheel is capable of being applied as a complete insurance against famines and droughts. 3 annas again is only a most cautious and conservative estimate. If the reader turns to the second article on the weaving-school which commences to-day, he will find that the daily wage might easily be 4 or 5 annas.

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profitable occupations." A vast population of the country remain, part of the year, practically without any occupation. Many of the women of the upper classes have ample leisure. It is for them that hand-spinning is recommended as a profitable occupation for idle hours. And does the *Servant of India* seriously contend that the vast mass of students, who spend their days and nights in cramming, indiscriminately, Shakespeare and Milton, are engaged in a "more profitable occupation" than hand-spinning?

But to come to figures. The *Servant of India* argues that "the combined production of all the students of the arts and professional colleges—about 64000—would not be equal to the output of a single spinning mill." According to it, 235 mills, were able to produce only *65 crores* of yarn in one year. Let us now see how much the nation can produce if it determines religiously to dedicate its *spare* hours to spinning. Taking the population of India as consisting of five crore families, let us assume that a fourth of them are either families of co-operators or of those not convinced of the virtues of hand-spinning. If only two members of the remaining four crore families give *two hours* per day to spinning, they would spin a crore lbs. of yarn everyday, *i.e.*, 365 crore lbs of yarn in the year, which means nearly six times as much as the yarn produced by our mills.

But the only proper way of comparing between the economic value of the spinning wheel and a spinning mill is to consider in each case the cost of production. Every mill-manager knows that the cost of one spindle which can produce a pound of coarse yarn (of six counts) per day is not less than Rs. 100. For a mill producing 20,000 lbs. of coarse yarn, we have got to invest for the full supply of 20,000 lbs. on less than 20 lacs of rupees.

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Let us see how much the same capital invested on spinning-wheels would yield. Twenty lacs of rupees would give us four lacs of spinning wheels producing on an average half a pound of yarn daily *i.e.*, two hundred thousand pounds of yarn. This is enough to show the extent of the wastefulness of the spinning mill. But economic wastefulness is not the only, or the principal, factor to be considered. Think of the huge moral wastefulness involved, of strikes and similar evils under which the industrial world in Europe is reeling. One shudders to think of perpetuating the inhuman slums that form an universal feature of modern industrial towns. We do not speak here of the utter impracticability of erecting spinning mills in a year or even in the course of a score of years, sufficient to clothe the country. The *Servant of India* by quoting the import figures tries to make out that, as we cannot turn out fine counts either in our spinning mills or on the spinning wheel, we must remain dependent on the foreigner for a large part of the yarn we import. Not being a non-co-operator, the paper evidently forgets that the enforcement of the Congress Resolution regarding abolition of foreign goods presupposes abolition of all finer fabrics. The figures of exports of yar only strengthen our case. It is contemplated that, only should even one out of the 123 millions pound yarn not go to foreign countries but, that not a pou raw cotton should be exported. In the year 19 8,558,747 cwts. of raw cotton of the value of Rs 40,510 was exported to foreign countries. Und proposed scheme, where every adult will devo spare hours to spinning, there will be room en every pound of cotton that is at present expo work enough for every weaver in the land. U

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scheme, therefore, and under no other, is it possible to win our economic freedom.

It is strange that, whilst the country's efforts to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth are jeered at by a section of publicists in this country, their magnitude has been completely realised by men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Shorrock. The latter in the course of a very long article in the *Evening Standard* writes :

Look for a moment at some hard facts and figures. Our annual trade with India based on the most recent figures available, must be worth at least £ 80,000,000. If "Non-Co-operation" succeeds, we should at one stroke lose to that extent in work and wages, and this at a time when the cry of unemployment, due mainly to the tardy revival of our export industries, is daily growing in strength. Factories which cater for this Eastern market could never survive such a blow.

From the Lancashire cotton mills alone we export annually about £ 34,458,000 worth of goods to India, and from the industrial centres of the Midlands and the North, iron and steel worth £21,139,000. . . . .

or would the £80,000,000 represent our total loss. ıtimately is one trade interlocked with another that blow to the chief industries immediately reacts on y other industry. . . . .

ıill be seen, then, that, if Mr. Gandhi's programme ıally carried through, the position of this country ɔ very different from that represented by the latest of Trade return headed "Indian Imports and " Great Britain would be poorer by many milli- ɔar. It would be poorer in actual earnings . As every producing country pays for its food by manufactured goods, the closure of

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any big market for such goods means inevitably a new addition to the high cost of living.

It is not necessary now to point out that the scheme of Non-co-operation does not aim at starving any labourer outside the country, it is meant to stop him from starving and keeping naked the people of India.—M. D. "Young India," 2nd March, 1921.

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*18th May, 1921*

## SPINNING AS FAMINE RELIEF

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

Mrs. Jaiji Petit has sent the following notes of an experiment being conducted in spinning among the famine-stricken people at Miri near Ahmednagar. I gladly publish the notes as the experiment is being conducted under the supervision of an Englishwoman. The reader will not fail to observe the methodical manner in which the work is being done. All the difficulties have been met and provided for. Even the very small experiment shows what a potent instrument, the spinning-wheel is for famine relief. Properly organised, it cannot but yield startling results:—

In the month of August 1920, when the severity of the famine was being felt, the idea of introducing spinning as a famine relief occurred to respectable middle class people was started and Miss Latham kindly 19-20, gave a spinning wheel to introduce the work. Attempts were made to 58,60, introduce the work especially among the Dhangars who were using the spinnig-wheel but they proved futile. Spinning a thin thread over the was thought an impossibility in a village which did not know to some about it. Doubts were also entertained as to whether though for taken up would be paying or at least helpful. In such circumstances and difficulties and objections, the wheel remained idle for nearly under this months, and in spite of vigorous efforts no body seemed

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take up the work. In December 1920, Miss Latham again sent four more wheels through the kindness of Mrs. J. Petit and some cotton. They were given for trial to different persons. Signs now seemed a little hopeful, and at last one Ramoshi woman was prevailed upon to take up the work seriously. This was about the 20th of January 1921, since when the work has assumed a different shape. The example of this woman was copied by two more who undertook to take up the work. Through great perseverance 4lbs. of yarn were prepared by these three spinners, and it was sent for sale. In the meantime, many women began to make inquiries and expressed a desire to take it up if it helped them financially in some way. A rate of spinning 6 as. a lb. was therefore fixed and it helped other spinners to join the work.

Here another difficulty *viz.*, that of funds, came in the way. All the five wheels were engaged and five more prepared locally were also engaged. The stock of cotton was also exhausted. It seemed that the work would suffer for want of funds to prepare wheels, purchase cotton, and pay the workers. Rao Bahadur Chitale personally saw this difficulty and helped the work with a grant of Rs. 100. Miss Latham, when she knew of this difficulty, kindly sent another hundred. These two grants came at the right time and gave a stimulus to the work. Local gentlemen helped with their own cotton.

The demand for wheels went on increasing day by day. People being too poor to pay for the wheels, it became necessary to get the wheels prepared locally and lend them to the workers. Twenty seven more wheels were prepared which also gave work to local carpenters who had no work on account of famine. One carpenter improved the wheel by making it more light and useful for finer yarn. The prices of the wheel were paid at Rs. 3, Rs. 3-8, and Rs. 4 per wheel according to the quality. Three of these wheels have been sold for Rs. 9-8 as. The total sum spent on these wheels is Rs. 103-8-0 which includes the sum for the wheels kindly sent by Mrs. Petit.

Though local cotton was secured for the work, it proved too bad for beginners. A new method therefore was introduced to improve the local cotton, which not only helped the work but also provided work for a few more persons. Raw cotton was secured and the dirt and the dry leaves in it were carefully removed before it was ginned. The rate for this work was fixed at one pice per lb. Any old man who did this workgot an opportunity of earning one anna a day, by cleaning 4 lbs. of raw cotton. After it was thus cleaned, it was ginned with a hand-gin which gave work to some women who ginned, at the rate of one anna per 10 lbs. One woman could thus earn 2 as.

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and 6 pies each day. This ginned cotton was then cleaned by a *pinjari* who charged at the rate of one anna per pound and earned about 8 as. per day. It would have been better and easier too, if cotton had been purchased from the mills, but as this cleaning process of the local cotton provided work for a few workers, it was thought the more desirable in these days. A major portion of these cleaning charges is however made up by the sale of cotton seed secured after ginning. The following statement will show the expenses incurred for this and the price of raw cotton for every 60 lbs.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Price of 60 lbs. of raw cotton @ 20 Rs. a patia (240 lbs.) ... ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Removal of dirt waste and dry leaves @ 1 pice per pound ... ... ... | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| Ginning of 52 lbs. of raw clean cotton @ 1 anna per 10 lbs. ... ... ... | 0 | 5 | 3 |
| Cleaning the Lint (17 lbs.) by a pinjari @ 1 anna per lb. ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Total ... | | 5 | 3 |
| Deduct price of cotton seed 35 lbs. @ 20 lbs. per Re. ... ... ... ... | 1 | 12 | 0 |
| Net charges for 17 lbs. of clean cotton ... | 5 | 9 | 3 |

Thus the cost of one pound of cotton comes to 5 as. and 3 pies only. The proportion of waste *viz.* 8 lbs. in 60 lbs. of raw cotton is too high and could be avoided by securing better and cleaner cotton.

There are at present 29 wheels going and there is still a great demand for wheels. But the funds being limited, more wheels could not be prepared and provided. Spinning is done by those who absolutely know nothing about it previously. Consequently the yarn is still of an inferior sort. It is improving day by day, but if a competent teacher could be secured, it would improve rapidly. Amongst the spinners, some are full-time workers and others are leisure-time workers.

About two lbs. of yarn are now prepared every day and the quantity will increase as the spinners get used to the work. The rate for spinning is fixed @ 6 as. a lb., though many workers complain that it is not enough. As the yarn sent for sale realised a price of 12 as a lb., the spinning charges could not be increased without a loss.

every lb. of yarn requires Annas 11 pies 3 for expenses, as 0-5-3 for cotton & 0-6-0 for spinning. Thus every lb. leaves a profit of 9 pies only. The establishment and other charges are not calculated. With the present rate of spinning @ 6 as. a lb., one spinner earns 3 as. per day by spinning 20 to 24 tolas, others earn 2 as. a day by spinning 15 tolas and the rest 1½ as. a day for 10 tolas, the beginners excluded. The more the spinner is used to the work, the more he will earn.

An attempt was made to prepare cloth out of the yarn and three and a half lbs. of yarn were given to a weaver for weaving. He however charged an exorbitant rate for weaving. He prepared nine and a half yard of cloth and charged Rs. 3-9 for it, practically 1 rupee a lb. The cloth cost Rs. 6-0-6 and was sold at Rs. 6-3-0, with a profit of as. 2 pies 6 only. To obviate the difficulty about weaving, a separate loom with one teacher to teach weaving to local persons is urgently required. Many local people wish to learn this art. A separate loom will reduce the cost of the cloth prepared on it below the prevailing market rate. About 6 lbs. of yarn are given to different weavers to ascertain the exact charges, but all this difficulty can only be removed by having a special loom.

When there was a shortage of cotton and the workers had no work, wool was introduced for spinning till cotton was ready. This work was willingly taken up by the Dhangars. They were however required to spin finer thread of wool than they usually prepared. They took some time to pick up the work, and now there are 10 wool spinners working fine thread. They are also paid at 6 as. a lb. for spinning. Wool worth Rs. 31 @ 2 lbs. a rupee was purchased, and though the cotton was ready, the wool spinning was continued by starting a separate department, as the Dhangars readily took up the work. The whole process of cleaning the wool is also done by the Dhangar women, who get an extra anna per lb. for it. The sorting of wool is carefully looked to. The majority of wool spinners use their own spinning wheels but a few are now asking for the improved wheel for preparing finer threads.

Dhangar weavers being locally available, blankets of the Pandharpur and Dawangiri pattern are being prepared from this finer thread and different designs have been suggested to them. The Dhangars being a stubborn race do not readily adopt the new improvement, but this work has set them to work up new designs of blankets which will permanently help them in their own profession. They now require a broader and improved loom and instruction in colouring wool. Efforts are made to secure a clever full-time weaver who will intro-

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duced better method of weaving. Two blankets were prepared and sold at cost price, one for Rs. 5-13-6 and the other for Rs. 6-6-0. Orders are being received for more blankets now, but to continue the work would require some funds.

To keep so many persons working is not only an ideal form of famine relief, but a means to promote village industries, and remove the demoralising effects of successive famines. Thus stands the work of about one month. It now requires an improved handloom, a good teacher, a special loom for wool, more spinning wheels (which the neighbouring villagers are also demanding) & many other things. The work is going on vigorously, and, it is hoped, will not be allowed to suffer for want of funds.

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Mr. Gandhi wrote the following in *Young India* of 26th March, 1921 in the course of an article entitled "Famine Insurance."

A spinning wheel costs, say, six rupees. If we supply a family of three with two wheels and all the members work at it together for eight hours each, they will, between them, earn at least six annas per day. I claim that six annas per day for a family will keep it going during a season of distress. I can conceive it to be possible for them to work at the rate of twelve hours each, when the work has to be done in their homes at their own leisure. They add fifty per cent. to the daily earning making it nine annas per day. Thus at an outlay of Rs. 12,000, we can support for four months one thousand families, or three thousand souls, and get from them a return of

$$\frac{1{,}000 \text{ families} \times 6 \text{ annas} \times 120 \text{ days}}{16} = \text{Rs. } 45{,}000$$

worth of labour. No doubt, forty-five thousand rupees will have to be found in the first instance for organising famine relief, in addition to carded cotton and the spinning-wheels. The whole of the yarn that may be produced by the famine-stricken people would be used by the nation. There will be some little waste during the first month of learning. I use the adjectives 'some little' advisedly, because cotton will not be absolutely wasted.

The only requisites, Mr. Gandhi wrote, are (1) the spinning wheel; (2) a supply of cotton; and (3) a ready sale of yarn. Of course, it is assumed that the famine is one of money and that corn is available.

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Writing in *Young India*, of 6th October, 1921, regarding famine in the Ceded districts which he visited, Mr. Gandhi remarked:

It is not possible to give doles of charity to hundreds of thousands of men. And men who live on charity lose all sense of self-respect. It is not as if there is no corn to be had in the affected area. People have no work and no money. The Government's relief works consist in breaking and carrying stones. A friend remarked that the Government had roads torn down and repaired in order to find work for the men and women in distress. Whether roads are torn down or not, road repair is the only relief work the Government provides. I understood that the actual wage that found its way into a woman's hands was an anna or five pice, and not more than ten pice into a man's hands. I saw, on the other hand, that a Congress Committee was paying three annas per day to Panchama women working at the spinning wheel for eight hours a day. And what is being done for the Panchama women can be done for thousands of famine-stricken women and, for that matter, men. In these districts 3 annas a day, even for men, is a veritable boon. But the spinning wheel has possibilities which no other occupation has. For it involves the preliminary processes of ginning and carding and the subsequent process of weaving. In the Ceded Districts, it is possible without much difficulty to teach weaving. And if the whole of cloth manufacture can be organised, thousands of men can find permanent occupation in their own homes.

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## SOME FACTS AND COMMENTS

The following additional facts are summarised from *Young India*:

*The Loom vs. the Wheel.*—Dr. S. B. Mitra wrote to *Young India* under date, Calcutta, 12th April, 1921, a letter on the need for "greater use of hand-looms" which was published on 11th May, 1921. Dr. Mitra pointed out that about 143 million pounds of twist and yarn made in India were exported every year from India and that if this stuff was converted into cloth, the Indian cloth problem was solved. Dr. Mitra added that, if the present number of hand-looms was doubled,

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which could be easily done, the necessary cloth could be woven in the country itself. He therefore appealed to the readers of *Young India* to increase the number of hand-looms. Mr. Gandhi, commenting on the letter, stated that "hand spinning includes all that the correspondent suggests and it includes much more." The mill-owners cared for profit and therefore exported yarn. Then,the agriculturists wanted a supplementary industry. After all, hand-weaving was progressing.

Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society continuing the above controversy pointed out, in a letter to "Young India" of 3rd June 1921, that for every ten new wheels introduced there must be one additional hand-loom, but that while thousands of wheels were set to work, not even a few dozen new looms were being made. Women were turned back, as in scores of *Khadi*-producing centres spinning operations were restricted for want of weavers. "The loom is not less important than the wheel for clothing India, as for providing a supplementary industry for our semi-starved peasantry." Mr. Gandhi, commenting on this, said that the existing looms should be fed with hand-spun yarn instead of with foreign yarn, and that for this the weavers must be trained and the quality of yarn improved. The weaver's wages had risen and there was no danger of hand-weaving not keeping pace with hand-spinning.

In *Young India* of 29th June, Mr. Gandhi wrote, under the heading, "The Message of the Charka":

There are *enough weavers and enough looms in India to replace the whole of the foreign import of cloth.* It should be understood that our looms—thousands of them in Madras, Maharashtra and Bengal—are engaged in weaving the fine yarn imported from Japan and

Manchester. We *must* utilize these for weaving hand-spun yarn. And for that purpose, the nation has to revise its taste for the thin tawdry and useless muslins. I see no art in weaving muslins, that do not cover but only expose the body.

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*Organisation for Khaddar production.*—In "Young India" of 11th August, 1921, Mr. Gandhi stated that while all should spin, weavers, carders and clothiers should also be organised.

The ideal no doubt is for every village to spin and weave for itself, just as to-day most villages grow corn for themselves. It is easier for every village to spin and weave for itself than to grow all its corn. Every village cannot grow wheat or rice, but every village can stock enough cotton and spin and weave without any difficulty. But it must be some time before we can arrive at that happy state. Meanwhile, those provinces that are at all organised for the work, for instance, the Punjab, must not only immediately exclude all foreign cloth from their own markets but must send out to the parts of India that need their superfluous stock of Khadi. Punjab, Andhra, Bihar* and Gujarat seem to be the best organised provinces for the manufacture of Khadi. And they must busy themselves with the work so as to anticipate a famine of Khadi.

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*Fradulent imitations.*—The decentralisation of production will prevent fraud which undoubtedly existed and to tackle which Mr. Gandhi wrote in "Young India" of 18th August, 1921: How to detect and check these frauds is the question. The golden rule of course is that we must spin our own yarn and get a weaver to

*See* pp. 508, 540.

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have it under our superintendence. That time is undoubtedly coming. When we cannot spin for ourselves, we must get the spinning done by the thousands of spinners coming into being all over the country. Where we cannot do it, we must, in choosing our Khadi, reject every piece of cloth that looks at all like mill-made. For coarser counts it will be most difficult to distinguish between imported cloth and that manufactured by our mills. Hand-spun Khadi lacks the dead polish of the mills but is rougher to look at, porous, light to handle, and pleasant to the touch. It is never glossy. Another safeguard I suggest is that the cloth should be unbleached. The third alternative which is not free from danger is that in every Congress district there should be Swadeshi shops licensed by the Congress and there should be expert inspectors who should constantly inspect the stock in licensed shops. If possible, every article should be stamped. I know that we are not organised and trained enough for undertaking this work on a universal scale. But till every district has begun to manufacture all Khadi for itself, some such inspection is undoubtedly necessary, and whatever can be honestly improvised should be done.

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*Spinning wheel and education.*—In the course of an article entitled, "A Confession of Error" in "Young India" of 18th August, 1921, Mr. Gandhi wrote:

It would have been better to have insisted on hand-spinning as a necessary part of the educational item in Non-co-operation. I invite those who share my belief to hasten to repair the mistake and earnestly take up the work of production of yarn and Khadi in all national institutions which they influence. They will not ask me to supply them with teachers. I have far too few. But

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jot down for them the processes that bale cotton which is what we usually have to-day has to go through. It must be first carded. There is no district in India which has no carders, *i.e., pinjaras* or *dhunias*. They can card and a mere watching them for a day or two enables one to understand the process. A week's practice at the rate of six hours per day will enable one to card moderately well.

The carded cotton has to be turned into slivers or *punis*, an incredibly simple and easy process.

The cotton is now ready for hand-spinning, which can be learnt from any spinner. Yarn to be yarn must be free from dirt, even and well-twisted. If it is not well-twisted or even, it cannot be woven.

The next process is sizing. It is rather difficult to practise. I have no scientific formula giving the quantity of ingredients. It must be learnt from an experienced weaver.

Joining the thread is also a process to be separately learnt. It requires like cycling a little knack which is easily acquired.

Lastly comes weaving which is purely a matter of practice. One learns the principle in a day. The reader must not be surprised at the ease with which I claim processes can be learnt. All natural and necessary work is easy. Only it requires constant practice to become perfect, and it needs plodding. Ability to plod is Swaraj. It is Yoga. Nor need the reader be frightened of the monotony. Monotony is the law of nature. Look at the monotonous manner in which the sun rises. And imagine the catastrophe that would befall the universe, if the sun became capricious and went in for a variety of pastime. But there is a monotony that sustains and a monotony that kills. The monotony of necessary

occupations is exhilarating and life-giving. An artist never tires of his art. A spinner who has mastered his art, will certainly be able to do sustained work without fatigue. There is a music about the spindle which the practised spinner catches without fail. And when India has monotonously worked away at turning out Swaraj, she will have produced a thing of beauty which will be a joy for ever. But it cannot be without the spinning wheel. Therefore, the best National Education for India is undoubtedly intelligent handling of the spinning wheel.

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*How to deal with shortage of cloth.*—Mr. Gandhi issued an appeal to the public, headed, "The Poor Man's Way," which was published in "Young India" of 29th September, 1921, in the course of which he stated: I know that many will find it difficult to replace their foreign cloth all at once. Millions are too poor to buy enough *Khadi* to replace the discarded cloth.* To them I repeat my advice given on the Madras beach. Let them be satisfied with a mere loin cloth. In our climate, we hardly need more to protect our bodies during the warm months of the year. Let there be no prudery about dress. India has never insisted on full covering of the body for the males as a test of culture.

I gave the advice under a full sense of my responsibility. In order, therefore, to set the example, I propose to discard at least up to the 31st of October my *topi* and vest, and to content myself with only a loin cloth and a *chaddar* whenever found necessary for the protection of the body. I adopt the change, because I have always

*The Jamiat-ul-Ulema volunteer pledge did not insist on *Khaddar* on the ground that it was not available.

hesitated to advise anything I may not myself be prepared to follow, also because I am anxious by leading the way to make it easy for those who cannot afford a change on discarding their foreign garments. I consider the renunciation to be also necessary for me as a sign of mourning, and a bare head and a bare body is such a sign in my part of the country. That we are in mourning is more and more being borne home to me, as the end of the year is approaching and we are still without Swaraj. I wish to state clearly that I do not expect co-workers to renounce the use of the vest and *topi* unless they find it necessary to do so for their own work.

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*Ten Precious Reasons.*—"Young India" of 3rd November, 1921 contained the following:

The Behar Government Publicity Bureau has issued leaflets in Hindustani giving ten reasons why foreign cloth should not be boycotted. The reader should know how the reforms are working and the public is being misled at its own expense. Here are the reasons:

1. Cloth manufactured in India is not sufficient for our needs.
2. People being used to wearing fine cloth for a long time find it heavy to wear garments made from Indian yarn.
3. Even Indian mills use foreign yarn for the fine cloth they weave.
4. If we give up foreign cloth, we shall be in the same plight we were in 1905, when, owing to Swadeshi agitation, Indian mills sent up prices and drained our wealth. Thus mill-owners will fatten themselves on our ruin.
5. So long as foreign cloth is imported, there is competition between Indian cloth and foreign cloth, and thus the mill-owners cannot raise prices very high.
6. There are not enough mills and handlooms in India for the cloth required.

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7. Hand-spinning is not profitable because it yields no more than two annas per day.

8. Hand-looms produce very little; therefore much cannot be produced from them.

9. By such boycott there will be great unrest and commotion, and India's progress will be greatly arrested.

10. By the rise in the price of cloth the poor will suffer much and discontent will spread all over.

The most natural thing that a national Government will do will be to multiply handlooms and spinning wheels and flood the market with plenty of handspun. A national Government will prevent the mill-owners from unduly raising prices, a national Government would take advantage of the glorious upheaval to stabilize a great cottage industry. It did not strike the author of the precious reasons, that the millions do not even now wear fine cloth, that spinning is intended for leisure hours, that millions will do need to pay anything for spinning, that they will do it themselves and that therefore handspun will always be comparatively cheap for them as home-cooked food is cheaper than hotel-cooked.

*Export of Indian yarn—a fallacy.*—Writing in "Young India" of 23rd March, 1921, under the heading, "More fallacies," in reply to the Bihar Director of Industries' suggestion that, since India exported in 1919 nearly 12 times as much yarn as she imported, therefore it was ridiculous to suggest that India was helpless, Mr. Gandhi wrote: The revivalists not only insist that more yarn should be manufactured in India, but that no yarn should be exported from India till the whole nation is clothed in Indian spun and Indian woven yarn. Whilst the export of yarn and twist was 10 times the import, the import of piece goods in the same year was nearly *six times* as much, and the import of hand-

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Kerchiefs etc. was *twenty-three* times as much as the export, and there was absolutely no export of hosiery to balance the import of hosiery worth Rs. 1,45,04,6,92. It is from the bondage of the sixty crore Rupees worth of these imports that the country is sought to be freed by means of a revival of the spinning wheel. India does not need to import finer goods to-day, as the problem, we repeat, is to clothe India and not to decorate her.

*Progress of Khaddar Protection.*—"Ramanuj" was deputed by Mr. Gandhi to Chicacole in Ganjam district (Andhradesa) for conducting a personal investigation. In his report published in "Young India" of 18th May, 1921, he said he was convinced of the existence in Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Nellore of both home-spinning and home weaving in great perfection. In the village of Umpolu, he saw an old lady spinning yarn of 80 to 100 counts with great dexterity. The processes of carding, cleaning, etc., also she demonstrated which were done to perfection. The same was the case with weaving. The dhoties were silk-like and, it was claimed, four times more durable than the mill-made stuff. Unfortunately, the weavers were yielding to the temptation of using cheap Japanese yarn: and the art of weaving hand-spun was near dying out.

*Progress of Khaddar in Bihar.*—"Young India" of 9th March, 1922, contained the following: The "Bihar Herald" is responsible for the following:

In "the Land Revenue Administration Report of the Bihar and Orissa Government, it is recorded that in Patna, Bhagalpur and Tirhut the levying of 'ahwabs' has materially decreased with the growing knowledge among the tenantry of their rights, and that at Bhagalpur the opposition to such exactions has been stiffened by the Non-co-operation movement."

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The contribution of Non-co-operation to the revival of the *Charka* and the weaving industry is noteworthy. In Bihar, according to official figures, three-eighths of the cloth worn is woven on the hand-loom. The *Charka* gave a further impetus to the weaving trade. In Patna, Tirhut, Orissa and Chota-Nagpur divisions 'Motia', cloth is being spun and woven with success. . . . An extended use of coarse cloth manufactured in country looms is evident . . . the weaving industry of Tasar in Navadah and Daris' etc., in Aurangabad continued."

The extract shows the steady progress made by constructive work in Bihar, a place where 3 years ago it would have been difficult to see a spinning wheel anywhere or a yard of home-spun *khaddar*. Only the poor people of Bihar know what a blessing the *Charka* has been to them.

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*Some 'ifs'*—If you are a *weaver* feeling for the country, the Khilafat and the Punjab.—

(1) You should weave only hand-spun yarn, and charge so as to give you living. You should overcome all the difficulties of sizing and adjusting your loom to the requirements of coarse yarn.

(2) If you cannot possibly tackle hand-spun yarn for warp, you must use Indian mill-spun yarn for it and use hand-spun for woof.

(3) Where even the second alternative is not possible, you should use mill-spun yarn for both warp and woof.

But you should henceforth cease to use any foreign yarn, whether it is silk or cotton.

If you are a *Congress official or worker*, you should get hold of the weavers within your jurisdiction, and place

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the foregoing propositions before them for acceptance and help them to the best of your ability.

If you are a *buyer*, insist upon the first class of cloth, but if you have not the sense or the courage to do so, take up the second or the third, but on no account purchase foreign cloth or cloth woven in India but made of foreign yarn.

If you are a *householder*,

(1) You should make a fixed determination henceforth not to buy any foreign cloth.

(2) You should interview the weaver in your neighbourhood, and get him to weave for you enough Khadi out of home-spun and failing that to weave out of Indian mill-spun yarn.

(3) You should deliver to the Congress Committee all your foreign cloth for destruction or sending to Smyrna or elsewhere outside India.

(4) If you have not the courage to give up your foreign cloth, you may wear it out at home for all dirty work, but never go out in foreign cloth.

(5) If you have any leisure, you should devote it to learning the art of spinning even and properly-twisted yarn for the sake of the nation.

If you are a *schoolboy or schoolgirl*, you should consider it a sin to receive literary training, before you have spun, carded or woven for the nation for at least four hours per day till the establishment of Swaraj.

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*22nd September, 1921*

## WANTED EXPERTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Attacks on hand-spinning notwithstanding, I cling to the belief that Swaraj is unattainable without the beautiful art becoming universal in India. The reasoning applied to the proposition is incredibly simple. India cannot live unless her homes become self-supporting. They cannot become so, unless they have a supplementary occupation. It will, therefore, not avail if all our cloth was manufactured in our mills. If hand-spinning became universal, every home would get a share of the crores and without any complicated machinery being necessary. And India is able to manufacture all her own cloth. It is understood that, when spinning becomes universal, the millions of weavers and lacs of carders will revert to their original occupation.

This is the economic aspect of hand-spinning.

It will save our women from forced violation of their purity. It will, as it must, do away with begging as a means of livelihood. It will remove our enforced idleness. It will steady the mind. And I verily believe that, when millions take to it as a sacrament, it will turn our faces Godward.

This is the moral aspect of spinning.

And when it has become universal and traffic in foreign cloth has become a thing of the past, it is the surest sign that India is earnest, sober, and believes in the non-violent and religious character of her struggle.

At present, outsiders do not believe in our ability to boycott foreign cloth and to manufacture enough for our requirements by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

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But when it becomes an established fact, India's opinion, too, will become an irresistible force, and if necessary, she can then, but not till then, resort to Civil Disobedience in order to bend a recalcitrant Government to its will.

This is the political aspect.

Therefore, I was sad to see that, in all Bengal, I found no one who was a spinning-expert and who devoted his whole time and attention to nothing but spreading the gospel of hand-spinning, teaching, organising and advising. I found that the masses were ready to take it up, but they did not know how to go about it. What is true of Bengal is perhaps true of most provinces. We should have in each province a standard *charkha** and a body of experts to whom one can refer for advice and guidance. Much splendid talent could be utilised, if there was expert knowledge available. Who is to decide upon the utility or otherwise of over fifteen inventions that were exhibited in the National College Hall at Calcutta? I saw everywhere different kinds of *charkhas* in use. But I saw no attempt to test the capacity of these wheels. Thousands are spinning to-day in Bengal, but there is nobody to measure their work. I therefore advise all Congress Committees to set apart at least six men and six women with faith in their mission in this direction.

* See *infra* for tests of a good charka.

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*3rd November, 1921*

## CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Probably very few workers have noticed that progress of hand-spinning means the greatest voluntary co-operation the world has ever seen. It means co-operation among millions of human beings scattered over a very wide area and working for their daily bread. No doubt agriculture has required much co-operative effort, but hand-spinning requires still greater and more honest co-operation. Wheat grows more by nature's honesty than by man's. Manufacture of yarn in our cottages is dependent solely on human honesty. Hand-spinning is impossible without the willing and intelligent co-operation of millions of human beings. We have to arrive at a stage when the spinner like the grain-seller is assured of a steady market for his yarn as well as the supply of cotton sliver, if he or she does not know the process of carding. Is it any wonder if I claim that hand spinning can drive away as if by magic the growing pauperism of the masses? An English friend sends me a newspaper cutting showing the progress of machinery in China. He has evidently imagined that in advocating hand-spinning I am propagating my ideal about machinery. I am doing nothing of the kind. I would favour the use of the most elaborate machinery if thereby India's pauperism and resulting idleness be avoided. I have suggested hand-spinning as the only ready means of driving away penury and making famine of work and wealth impossible. The spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery, and in my own humble way I have tried to secure improvements in it in keeping with the special conditions of

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India. The only question therefore that a lover of India and humanity has to address himself to is how best to devise practical means of alleviating India's wretchedness and misery. No scheme of irrigation or other agricultural improvement that human ingenuity can conceive can deal with the vastly scattered population of India or provide work for masses of mankind who are constantly thrown out of employment. Imagine a nation working only five hours per day on an average, and this not by choice but by force of circumstances, and you have a realistic picture of India.

If the reader would visualise the picture, he must dismiss from his mind the busy fuss of the city life or the grinding fatigue of the factory life or the slavery of the plantations. These are but drops in the ocean of Indian humanity. If he would visualise the picture of the Indian skeleton, he must think of the eighty per cent. of the population which is working its own fields and which has practically no occupation for at least four months in the year and which therefore lives on the borderland of starvation. This is the normal condition. The ever recurring famines make a large addition to this enforced idleness. What is the work that these men and women can easily do in their own cottages so as to supplement their very slender resources? Does anyone still doubt that it is only hand-spinning and nothing else? And I repeat that this can be made universal in a few months' time, if only the workers will. Indeed it is on a fair way to becoming universal. Experts only are needed to organise it. People are ready, and what is most in favour of hand spinning is that it is not a new and untried method, but people have up to recently been using it. Its successful reintroduction does need skilful endeavour, honesty and co-opera-

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tion on the largest scale known to the world. And if India can achieve this co-operation, who shall deny that India has by that one act achieved Swaraj?

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*8th December, 1921*

## INDIAN ECONOMICS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend has placed in my hands a bulletin on Indian Piece Goods Trade prepared by Mr. A. C. Coubrough, C. B. E. by order of the Government of India. It contains the following prefatory note: 'The Government of India desire it to be understood that the statements made and the views expressed in this bulletin are those of the author himself'. If so, why has the Government of India burdened the tax-payer with the expense of such bulletins? The one before me is 16th in the series. Do they publish both the sides of the question?

The bulletin under review is intended to be an answer to the Swadeshi movement. It is an elaborate note containing a number of charts showing the condition of imports and home manufacture of piece goods including hand-woven. But it does not assist the reader in studying the movement. The painstaking author has bestowed no pains upon a study of the present movement or its scope. That the Government of India treats the greatest constructive and co-operative movement in the country with supreme contempt and devotes people's money to a vain refutation instead of a sympathetic study and treatment is perhaps the best condemnation that can be pronounced upon the system under which it is carried.

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The author's argument is:

(1) The movement if successful will act not as a protective but a prohibitive tariff.

(2) This must result in merely enriching the Indian capitalist and punishing the consumer.

(3) The imports are non-competitive in that the bulk of the kind of piece goods imported are not manufactured in India.

(4) The result of boycotting such piece goods must be high prices without corresponding benefit.

(5) The boycott therefore being against the law of supply and demand and against the consumer must fail in the end.

(6) The destruction of hand-spinning which I have deplored is due to natural causes, *viz.*, the invention of time-saving appliances and was therefore inevitable.

(7) The Indian farmer is responsible for his own ruin in that he has indolently neglected cotton culture which was once so good.

(8) The best service I can render is therefore to induce the agriculturist to improve the quality of cotton.

(9) The author concludes, 'If, instead of filling homes with useless *Charkhas*, he were to start a propaganda for the more intensive cultivation of cotton and particularly for the production of longer staple cotton, his influence would be felt not only at the present day but for many generations to come.'

The reader will thus see that what I regard as the supreme necessity for the economical salvation of India, the author considers to be rank folly. There is therefore no meeting ground here. And, in spite of the prefatory note of the Government of India reproduced by me, the author does represent the Government attitude. I have invited them and the co-operators

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definitely to make common cause with the people in this movement at any rate. They may not mind its political implications because they do not believe in them. And surely they need not feel sorry, if, contrary to their expectation, the rise of the *Charkha* results in an increase in the political power of the people. Instead of waging war against *Khadi*, they might have popularised its use and disarmed the terrible suspicion they labour under of wishing to benefit the foreign manufacturer at the expense of the Indian cultivator. My invitation is open for all time. I prophesy that, whatever happens to the other parts of the national programme, Swadeshi in its present shape will bide for ever and must, if India's pauperism is to be banished.

Even though I am a layman, I make bold to say that the so called laws laid down in books on economics are not immutable like the laws of Medes and Persians, nor are they universal. The economics of England are different from those of Germany. Germany enriched herself by bounty-fed beet sugar. England enriched herself by exploiting foreign markets. What was possible for a compact area is not possible for an area 1,900 miles long and 1,500 broad. The economics of a nation are determined by its climatic, geological and temperamental conditions. The Indian conditions are different from the Eaglish in all these essentials. What is meat for England is in many cases poison for India. Beef tea in the English climate may be good, it is poison for the hot climate of religious India. Fiery whisky in the north of the British Isles may be a necessity, it renders an Indian unfit for work or society. Fur coats in Scotland are indispensable, they will be an intolerable burden in India. Free trade for a country which has

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become industrial, whose population can and does live in cities, whose people do not mind preying upon other nations and therefore sustain the biggest navy to protect their unnatural commerce, may be economically sound (though, as the reader perceives, I question its morality). Free trade for India has proved her curse and held her in bondage.

And now for Mr. Coubrough's propositions.

(1) The movement is intended to serve the purpose of a voluntary prohibitive tariff.

(2) But it is so conceived as neither unduly to benefit the capitalist nor to injure the consumer. During the very brief transition stage, the prices of home manufactures may be, as they are, inflated. But the rise can only be temporary as the vast majority of consumers must become their own manufacturers. This cottage manufacture of yarn and cloth cannot be expensive even as domestic cookery is not expensive and cannot be replaced by hotel cookery. Over twenty five crores of the population will be doing their own hand-spinning and having yarn thus manufactured woven in neighbouring localities. This population is rooted to the soil and has at least four months in the year to remain idle.

If they spin during those hours and have the yarn woven and wear it, no mill-made cloth can compete with their *Khadi*. The cloth thus manufactured will be the cheapest possible for them. If the rest of the population did not take part in the process, it could easily be supplied out of the surplus manufactured by the twenty five crores.

(3) It is true that non-competitive imports are larger than those that compete with the manufactures of Indian mills. In the scheme proposed by me, this

question does not arise, because the central idea is not so much to carry on a commercial war against foreign countries as to utilise the idle hours of the nation and thus by natural processes to help it to get rid of her growing pauperism.

(4) I have already shown that the result of boycott cannot in the end be a rise in the price of cloth.

(5) The proposed boycott is not against the law of supply and demand, because it does away with the law by manufacturing enough for the supply. The movement does require a change of taste on the part of those who have adopted finer variety and who patronise fantastic combinations of colours and designs.

(6) I have shown, in these pages, that the destruction of hand-spinning was designed and carried out in most inhuman manner by the agents of the East India Company. No amount of appliances would ever have displaced this national art and industry but for this artificial and systematically cruel manner of carrying out the destruction.

(7) I am unable to hold the Indian farmer responsible for the deterioration in cotton culture. The whole incentive was taken away when hand-spinning was destroyed. The state never cared for the cultivator.

(8) My activity, I am proud to think, has already turned the cultivator's attention to the improvement of cotton. The artistic sense of the nation will insist on fine counts for which long staple is a necessity. Cotton culture by itself cannot solve the problem of India's poverty. For it will still leave the question of enforced idleness untouched.

(9) I therefore claim for the *Charkha* the honour of being able to solve the problem of economic distress in a most natural, simple, inexpensive and businesslike

spinner. * The *Charkha* therefore is not only not useless as the writer ignorantly suggests, but it is a useful and indispensable article for every home. It is the symbol of the nation's prosperity and therefore freedom. It is a symbol not of commercial war but of commercial peace. It bears not a message of ill-will towards the nations of the earth but of good-will and self-help. It will not need the protection of a navy threatening a world's peace and exploiting its resources, but it needs the religious determination of millions to spin their yarn in their own homes as to-day they cook their food in their own homes. I may deserve the curses of posterity for many mistakes of omission and commission, but I am confident of earning its blessings for suggesting a revival of the *Charkha*. I stake my all on it. For, every revolution of the wheel spins peace, good-will and love. And with all that, inasmuch as the loss of it brought about India's slavery, its voluntary revival with all its implications must mean India's freedom.

* Besides Mr. Gandhi, Mr. A. V. Thakkar and others, Sir P. C. Ray, the eminent Bengali chemist, was also convinced of the need for charka. In an introduction to a pamphlet (republished in *Young India* of 2nd February, 1922), Sir P. C. Ray urged that it was absurd for an Indian earning one anna per day to employ a Manchester spinner earning Rs. 3/5 a day, that it was useless to depend on Indian Mills in Bombay and elsewhere which profiteered at the expense of Bengal, that the 93 per cent. of the rural population should have subsidiary employment, that khadi could be spun with greater ease than fine yarn and that therefore all Bengalees should take a vow to use hand-spun and hand-woven coarse cloth only.

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## HOW TO BOYCOTT FOREIGN CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is needless to say, at this time of the day, that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth is not a vindictive measure, but is as necessary for national existence as breath is for life. The quicker, therefore, it can be brought about, the better for the country. Without it, Swaraj cannot be established or retained after establishment. It is of the highest importance to know how it can be brought about even before the first day of August next.

To arrive at the boycott quickly, it is necessary (1) for the mill-owners to regulate their profits and to manufature principally for the Indian market, (2) for importers to cease to buy foreign goods, (A beginning has already been made by three principal merchants), (3) for the consumers to refuse to buy any foreign cloth and to buy *Khadi* wherever possible, (4) for the consumers to wear only *Khadi* cloth, mill cloth being retained for the poor who do not know the distinction between Swadeshi and Pardeshi, (5) for the consumers to use, till Swaraj is established and *Khadi* manufacture increased, *Khadi* just enough for covering the body, (6) for the consumers to destroy Pardeshi cloth,* as they

* Under the heading, "Why Burn," Mr. Gandhi gave in *Young India* of 28th July, 1921, the following reasons as to why foreign cloth should be burned. (1) It revives black memories and is a mark of shame, the East India Company having forced it on us and is an emblem of slavery (2) the poor should not be given these for they ought not to be dead to patriotism, dignity and respect. And it is after all making a convenience of an act of renunciation to send cloth thus discarded even to Smyrna or elsewhere abroad. But the moral objection to the despatch abroad is certainly not so strong as to its use at home.

would destroy intoxicating liquors on taking the vow of abstinence, or to sell it for use abroad, or to wear it out for all dirty work or during private hours.

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In reply to Mr. N. V. Thadani who, *apropos* the Bombay Congress Committee's decision, argued that if foreign cloth be destroyed, all foreign things should be dealt with likewise, that, if the East Indian Company's policy is the reason for burning them, English cloth alone should be burned and that if foreign cloth was poison to India, it was mean to foist it on the poor Turks, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of 15th September, 1921 :

I have already admitted the weakness of the argument in favour of sending foreign cloth to Smyrna. But it is a concession to Mussalman opinion. Nevertheless, the use of foreign cloth is poison in India, certainly not in Smyrna, for the cloth industry has never been Smyrna's lung, as it has been India's. In burning foreign clothes, we are burning our taste for foreign fineries. The effect upon India would have been equally disastrous, if Japan instead of England had tempted us in the first instance. The motive was to punish ourselves and not the foreigner. We are boycotting not British but all foreign cloth. The one would be meaningless as the other is a sacred duty. The idea of burning springs not from hate but from repentance of our past sins. A moment's reflection must show the writer that burning must make us earnest and thus stimulate, as it has stimulated, fresh manufacture. The disease had gone so deep, that a surgical operation was a necessity. The ill-clad or the naked millions of India need no charity but work that they can easily do in their cottages. Have not the poor any feeling of self-respect or patriotism? Is the gospel of Swadeshi only for the well-to-do?—M. K. G.

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The following appeared in *Young India* of 11th August, 1921 :

*Burning in Bombay.*—If anybody had any doubt as to the necessity and the practical value of burning foreign clothes, those who witnessed the ceremony at Mr. Sobani's yard in Parel must have had their doubts set at rest. It was a most inspiring sight witnessed by thousands of spectators. And as the flame leapt up and enveloped the whole pyramid, there was a shout of joy resounding through the air. It was as if our shackles had been broken asunder. A glow of freedom passed through that vast concourse. It was a noble act nobly performed. It has I am sure struck the imagination of the

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It is to be hoped that all the parties referred to in the foregoing clauses will respond well and simultaneously. But in the end, success depends upon the persistent determination of the consumer. He has simply to decline to wear the badge of his slavery.

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*1st September, 1921*

## ETHICS OF DESTRUCTION *

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader, I am sure, will appreciate my sharing

* Dwijendranath Tagore wrote a letter headed, "A dilemma," under date Shantiniketan, 7th September, 1921, to *Young India* (15th September):

On reading the article headed, "Ethics of Destruction" in your paper, the following dilemma has occurred to me:

1. If we consent to wear cheaper foreign clothes, our people will be ruined. This is hard to bear.

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people as nothing else could have so far as Swadeshi is concerned. And it was as well that it was not rags that were burned, but some of the finest sadis, shirts and jackets were consigned to the flames. I know that in some cases choicest silks kept by mothers for their daughters' wedding were given up for burning. The value consisted in destroying such costly things. Not less than one lac and a half pieces were burnt including articles worth several hundred rupees each. I am sure it was all for the good of the country. It would have been a crime to have given such things to the poor. Just imagine the poor people wearing the richest silks. To say the least it would have been highly inartistic and incongruous. The fact is that the majority of the articles burnt had no correspondence with the life of the poor. The dress of the middle classes had undergone such a transformation that it was not fit to be given to the poor people. It would have been like giving discarded costly toilet brushes to them. I hope therefore that the burning process will continue and spread from one end of India to the other and not stop till every article of foreign clothing has been reduced to ashes or sent out of India.

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with him the following pathetic and beautiful letter from Mr. Andrews:

"I know that your burning of foreign cloth is with the idea of helping the poor, but I feel that there you have gone wrong. If

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2. If we consent to wear dearer Swadeshi clothes, we shall have to submit to other hardships.

In both cases, it will be said with equal force by the contending parties, that we must submit to Providence.

My opinion is, that this so called submission to Providence would be in the former case submission to the wrong side, and in the latter case submission to the right side.

Bada Dada Dwijendranath Tagore (Shantiniketan) also sent Mr. Gandhi the following, upon reading the article headed 'Ethics of Destruction.' It is naturally a source of joy to me, wrote Mr. Gandhi in publishing it in *Young India* of 6th October, 1921, that one so venerable and learned should agree with the ethical position taken up by me in opposition even to those whose opinion I value and respect. The reader will be glad to find that in Bada Dada we have a Rishi who in his quiet seclusion follows the national movement with the avidity of a young man of five and twenty, and is constantly thinking of it and praying for its success. Here is the letter:

There was a merchant, who suddenly became bankrupt, and was reduced to utter poverty; at the same time his wife was bed-ridden, suffering from acute rheumatic pain. There was an apothecary who dealt in patent medicine and always wanted cash payment from his customers. A doctor friend came to see the lady, and at the same time her daughter also came from her father-in-law's house to see her sick mother and brought with her a ten-rupee note, so that she might buy the patent medicine which could cure her pain immediately. She handed over the note to the doctor, and told him to get the medicine from the apothecary's shop which was near at hand, and went back. The doctor said that the medicine, no doubt, would give her instant relief, but at the same time it would injure her health to such a degree that she would remain decrepit throughout her life. However, the doctor said that he knew an electrician who was a next door neighbour and could cure rheumatism by electric treatment, his charge being Rs. 10/- per day. In a month, he would perfectly cure the disease for good without in the least injuring her general health.

But the patient insisted that she wanted immediate relief, and

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you succeed in boycotting all, or a greater part, of foreign cloth, it seems to me self-evident that the price of mill-made cloth will rise and it will hit the poor. But there is besides a subtle appeal to racial feeling in that word 'foreign' which day by day seems to me to need checking and not fomenting. The picture of your lighting that great pile, including beautiful fabrics, shocked me intensely. We seem to be losing sight of the great beautiful world to which we belong and concentrating selfishly on India, and this must (I fear) lead back to the old bad selfish nationalism. If so, we get into the vicious circle from which Europe is now trying so desperately to escape. But I cannot argue it out. I can only say again, that it shocked me and seemed to me a form almost of violence; and yet I know how violence is abhorrent to you. I do not at all like this question of foreign cloth being made into a religion.

I was supremely happy when you were dealing great giant blows at the great fundamental moral evils, drunkenness, drug-taking, untouchability, race arrogance etc., and when you were, with such wonderful and beautiful tenderness, dealing with the hideous

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repeatedly asked the doctor for the banknote, so that she might send for the medicine at once. But the doctor repeatedly said that he could not conscientiously give her the note for the purpose, and he considered it to be a sin to do so. But the lady implored and beseeched him to give her the note. The doctor then took the match box from his pocket and burnt the note to ashes, and said that she need not be afraid, for he was going to bring the electrician immediately at his own expense, which her husband would pay back as soon as he repaired his fortune. When the hope of obtaining instant relief was thus frustrated in a moment, the patient said to the doctor, "do as you think fit." So the doctor immediately brought the electrician who assured her that she would be permanently cured within a month, if she allowed him to treat her. Then the doctor did what he had promised to the satisfaction of all parties.

Was the burning of the note a virtuous or a sinful act?

The above is exactly analogous with Mr. Gandhi's cloth burning. Mr. Gandhi refuses to give to the poor the relief that could have been given by distributing the foreign cloth among them. In order to avoid making them permanently miserable creatures, he promised to make them permanently happy by providing them with clothes made by their own hands.—M. K. G.

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vice of prostitution. But lighting bonfires of foreign cloth and telling people it is a religious *sin* to wear it, destroying in the fire the noble handiwork of one's fellow men and women, one's brothers and sisters abroad, saying it would be 'defiling' to wear it—I cannot tell you how different all this appears to me. Do you know I almost fear now to wear the Khaddar that you have given me, lest I should appear to be judging other people as a Pharisee would, saying, "I am holier than thou!" I never felt like this before.

"You know how, when anything that you do hurts me, I must cry out to you and this has hurt me.

"I wrote the *Modern Review* articles which I have enclosed with such eager joy, because I felt certain that I had found your own life's meaning. But now my mind cries out to you that you are doing something violent, distorted, unnatural. You know that my love is stronger than ever, just as your love for your brother was when you felt he was doing something wrong. Do tell me what you mean. What you said in *Young India* about burning did not convince me a bit.

It is so like him. Whenever he feels hurt over anything I have done (and this is by no means the first such occasion), he deluges me with letters without waiting for an answer. For it is love speaking to love, not arguing. It is the outpouring of an nguished heart. And so it has been over the burning of foreign clothes.

What Mr. Andrews has put in loving language, correspondents already out of tune with me have written in coarse, angry and even vulgar words. Mr. Andrews' being words of love and sorrow have gone deep down in me and command a full answer, whereas the angry ones I was obliged to lay aside save for a passing reference. Mr. Andrews' being non-violent, charged with love, have told. The others being violent, charged with malice, took no effect and would have evoked angry retorts, if I was capable of or disposed to such retorts. Mr. Andrews' letter is a type of non-violence we need in order to win Swaraj quickly.

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This is however by the way. I remain just as convinced as ever of the necessity of burning. There is no emphasis in the process on race feeling. I would have done precisely the same thing in the sacred and select 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.

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 withal from a friend. Experience shows that the richest gifts must be destroyed without compensation 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? I can remember having broken to bits when a young man loved the bangles of my own dear wife, because they were a matter of difference between us. And if I remember right, they were a gift from her mother. I dit it, not out of hate but out of love—ignorant, I now see in my ripe age. The destruction helped us and brought us nearer.

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.

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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 many mean certain death.

India is racial to-day. 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.

Love of foreign cloth has brought foreign domination, pauperism and what is worst, shame to many a home. The reader may not know that not long ago hundreds of 'untouchable' weavers of Kathiawad having found their calling gone, became sweepers for the Bombay municipality. And the life of these men has become so difficult that many lose their children and become physical and moral wrecks; some are helpless witnesses of the shame of their daughters and even their wives. The reader may not know that many women of this class in Gujarat for want of domestic occupation have taken to work on public roads, where, under pressure of one sort or another, they are obliged to sell their honour. The reader may not know that the proud weavers of the Punjab, for want of occupation, not many years ago, took to the sword, and were instrumental in killing the proud and innocent Arabs at the bidding of their officers, and not for the sake of their country but for the sake of their livelihood. It is difficult to make a successful appeal to these deluded hirelings and wean

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them from their murderous profession. What was once an honourable and artistic calling is now held by them to be disreputable. The weavers of Dacca, when they wove the world-famous *subnum*, could not have been considered disreputable.

Is it now any wonder, if I consider it a sin to touch foreign cloth? Will it not be a sin for a man with a very delicate digestive apparatus to eat rich foods? Must he not destroy them or give them away? I know what I would do with rich foods, if I had a son lying in bed who must not eat them but would still gladly have them. In order to wean him from the hankering, I would, though able to digest them myself, refrain from eating them and destroy them in his presence, so that the sin of eating may be borne home to him.

If destruction of foreign cloth be a sound proposition from the highest moral standpoint, the possibility of a rise in the price of Swadeshi cloth need not frighten us. Destruction is the quickest method of stimulating production. By one supreme effort and swift destruction, India has to be awakened from her torpor and enforced idleness. Here is what Mr. Allen, the author of the Assam *Gazetteer*, wrote in 1905 of Kamrup:

"Of recent years, the use of imported clothing has been coming into favour,—an innovation which has little to recommend it, as the time formerly spent at the loom is not as a rule assigned to any other useful occupation."

The Assamese, to whom I have spoken, realise the truth of these words to their cost. Foreign cloth to India is like foreign matter to the body. The destruction of the former is as necessary for the health of India as of the latter for the health of the body. Once grant the immediate necessity of Swadeshi, and there is no half-way house to destruction.

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Nor need we be afraid, by evolving the fullest Swadeshi spirit, of developing a spirit of narrowness and exclusiveness. We must protect our own bodies from disruption through indulgence, before we would protect the sanctity of others. India is to-day nothing but a dead mass moveable at the will of another. Let her become alive by self-purification, *i.e.*, self-restraint and self-denial, and she will be a boon to herself and mankind. Let her be carelessly self-indulgent, aggressive, grasping; and if she rises, she will do so like Kumbhakarna only to destroy and be a curse to herself and mankind.

And for a firm believer in Swadeshi, there need be no pharisaical self-satisfaction in wearing *Khadi*. A Pharisee is a patron of virtue. The wearer of *Khadi* from a Swadeshi standpoint is like a man making use of his lungs. A natural and obligatory act has got to be performed, whether others do it out of impure motives or refrain altogether, as they do not believe in its necessity or utility.

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# PART V
# THE NON-CO-OPERATION CAMPAIGN