



from violence, not to throw stones or in any way whatever to injure anybody.

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

I have just heard that some English gentlemen have been injured. Some may even have died from such injuries. If so, it would be a great blot on Satyagraha.



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

SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD.

The following is the full text of the speech of Mr. Gandhi delivered at a meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held at his Ashram, Sabarmati, on Monday, the 14th April, 1919 :—

Brothers.—I mean to address myself mainly to you. Brothers, the events that have happened in course of the last few days have been most disgraceful to Ahmedabad, and as all these things have happened in my name, I am ashamed of them, and those who have been responsible for them have thereby not honoured me but disgraced me. A rapier run through my body could hardly have pained me more. I have said times without number that Satyagraha admits of no violence, no pillage, no incendiarism; and still in the name of Satyagraha we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison house or the scaffold, I should



not like to be so saved. I do wish to say in all earnestness that violence has not secured my discharge. A most brutal rumour was set afloat that Anasuya Bai was arrested. The crowds were infuriated all the more, and disturbance increased. You have thereby disgraced Anasuya Bai and, under the cloak of her arrest, heinous deeds have been done.

These deeds have not benefited the people in any way. They have done nothing but harm. The buildings burnt down were public property and they will naturally be rebuilt at our expense. The loss due to the shops remaining closed is also our loss. The terrorism prevailing in the city due to Martial Law is also the result of this violence. It has been said that many innocent lives have been lost as a result of the operation of Martial Law. If this is a fact, then for that too, the deeds described above are responsible. It will thus be seen that the events that have happened have done nothing but harm to us. Moreover they have most seriously damaged the Satyagraha movement. Had an entirely peaceful agitation followed my arrest, the Rowlatt Act would have been out or on the point of being out of the Statute Book today. It should not be a matter for surprise if the withdrawal of the Act is now delayed. When I was released on Friday my plan was to start for Delhi again on Saturday to seek re-arrest, and that would have been an accession of strength to the movement. Now, instead of going to Delhi, it remains to me to offer Satyagraha against our own people, and as it is my determination to offer Satyagraha even unto death for securing the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation, I think the occasion has arrived when I should offer Satyagraha against our-



selves for the violence that has occurred. And I shall do so at the sacrifice of my body, so long as we do not keep perfect peace and cease from violence to person and property. How can I seek imprisonment unless I have absolute confidence that we shall no longer be guilty of such errors! Those desirous of joining the Satyagraha movement or of helping it must entirely abstain from violence. They may not resort to violence even on my being rearrested or on some such events happening. Englishmen and women have been compelled to leave their homes and confine themselves to places of protection in Shahi Bag, because their trust in our harmlessness has received a rude shock. A little thinking should convince us that this is a matter of humiliation for us all. The sooner this state of things stops the better for us. They are our brethren and it is our duty to inspire them with the belief that their persons are as sacred to us as our own and this is what we call *Abhayadan*, the first requisite of true religion. Satyagraha without this is *Duragraha*.

There are two distinct duties now before us. One is that we should firmly resolve upon refraining from all violence, and the other is that we should repent and do penance for our sins. So long as we don't repent and do not realise our errors and make an open confession of them, we shall not truly change our course. The first step is that those of us who have captured weapons should surrender them. To show that we are really penitent we will contribute each of us not less than eight annas towards helping the families of those who have been killed by our acts. Though no amount of money contribution can altogether undo the results of the furious deeds of the past few days, our



contribution will be a slight token of our repentance. I hope and pray that no one will evade this contribution on the plea that he has had no part in those wicked acts. For if such as those who were no party to these deeds had all courageously and bravely gone forward to put down the lawlessness, the mob would have been checked in their career and would have immediately realised the wickedness of their doings. I venture to say that, if instead of giving money to the mob out of fear, we had rushed out to protect buildings and to save the innocent without fear of death, we could have succeeded in so doing. Unless we have this sort of courage, mischief makers will always try to intimidate us into participating in their misdeeds. Fear of death makes us devoid both of valour and religion. For want of valour is want of religious faith. And having done little to stop the violence we have been all participators in the sins that have been committed. And we ought, therefore, to contribute our mite as a mark of our repentance. Each group can collect its own contributions and send them on to me through its collectors. I would also advise, if it is possible for you, to observe a twenty-four hour's fast in slight expiation of these sins. This fast should be observed in private and there is no need for crowds to go to the bathing ghats.

I have thus far drawn attention to what appears to be your duty. I must now consider my own. My responsibility is a million times greater than yours. I have placed Satyagraha before people for their acceptance, and I have lived in your midst for four years. I have also given some contribution to the special service of Ahmedabad. Its citizens are not quite unfamiliar with my views.



It is alleged that I have without proper consideration persuaded thousands to join the movement. That allegation is, I admit, true to a certain extent, but to a certain extent only. It is open to anybody to say that but for the Satyagraha campaign, there would not have been this violence. For this, I have already done a penance, to my mind an unendurable one namely, that I have had to postpone my visit to Delhi to seek rearrest and I have also been obliged to suggest a temporary restriction of Satyagraha to a limited field. This has been more painful to me than a wound but this penance is not enough, and I have, therefore, decided to fast for three days, *i.e.*, 72 hours. I hope my fast will pain no one. I believe a seventy-two hours' fast is easier for me than a twenty-four hours' fast for you. And I have imposed on me a discipline which I can bear. If you really feel pity for the suffering that will be caused to me, I request that that pity should always restrain you from ever again being party to the criminal acts of which I have complained. Take it from me that we are not going to win Swarajya or benefit our country in the least by violence and terrorism. I am of opinion that if we have to wade through violence to obtain Swarajya and if a redress of grievances were to be only possible by means of ill will for and slaughter of English men, I, for one, would do without that Swarajya and without a redress of those grievances. For me life would not be worth living if Ahmedabad continues to countenance violence in the name of truth. The poet has called Gujarat the "Garvi" (Great and Glorious) Gujarat. The Ahmedabad, its capital, is the residence of many religious Hindus and Muhammadans. Deeds of public violence in a city like this is like an



ocean being on fire. Who can quench that fire? I can only offer myself as a sacrifice to be burnt in that fire, and I therefore ask you all to help in the attainment of the result that I desire out of my fast. May the love that lured you into unworthy acts awaken you to a sense of the reality, and if that love does continue to animate you, beware that I may not have to fast myself to death.

It seems that the deeds I have complained of have been done in an organised manner. There seems to be a definite design about them, and I am sure that there must be some educated and clever man or men behind them. They may be educated, but their education has not enlightened them. You have been misled into doing these deeds by such people. I advise you never to be so misguided, and I would ask them seriously to reconsider their views. To them and you I commend my book "Hind Swarajya" which, as I understand, may be printed and published without infringing the law thereby.

Among the mill-hands, the spinners have been on strike for some days. I advise them to resume work immediately and to ask for increase if they want any, only after resuming work, and in a reasonable manner. To resort to the use of force to get any increase is suicidal. I would specially advise all mill-hands to altogether eschew violence. It is their interest to do so and I remind them of the promises made to Anasuya Bai and me that they would ever refrain from violence. I hope that all will now resume work.



TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF THE MOVEMENT.

The following speech advising temporary suspension of the Satyagraha movement was made by Mr. Gandhi at Bombay on the 18th April:—

It is not without sorrow I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil disobedience. I give this advice not because I have less faith now in its efficacy but because I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of *Satyagraha* which impels me to suggest the suspension. I am sorry when I embarked upon a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation. But whilst doing so, I wish to say that from a careful examination of the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgaum, I am convinced that *Satyagraha* had nothing to do with the violence of the mob and that many swarmed round the banner of mischief raised by the mob largely because of their affection for Anasuya Bai and myself. Had the Government in an unwise manner not prevented me from entering Delhi and so compelled me to disobey their orders, I feel certain that Ahmedabad and Viramgaum would have remained free from the horrors of the last week. In other words *Satyagraha* has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything, the presence of *Satyagraha* has acted as a check ever so slight upon the perviously existing lawless elements.

As regards events in the Punjab, it is admitted that they are unconnected with the *Satyagraha* movement. In the course of the *Satyagraha* struggle in South Africa several thousands of intempered Indians had struck work. This was *Satyagraha* strike and, therefore, entirely peaceful and voluntary. Whilst the strike was going on, a strike of European miners, railway employees, etc., was declared. Overtures were made to me to make common cause with the European strikers. As a *Satyagrahi* I did not require a moment's consideration to decline to do so. I went further, and for fear of our strike being classed with the



strike of the Europeans in which methods of violence and use of arms found a prominent place ours was suspended and *Satyagraha* from that moment came to be recognised by the Europeans of South Africa as an honourable and honest movement; in the words of General Smuts, a constitutional movement. I can do no less at the present critical moment. I would be untrue to *Satyagraha* if I allowed it by any action of mine to be used as an occasion for feeding violence, for embittering relations between the English and the Indians. Our *Satyagraha* must, therefore, now consist in ceaselessly helping the authorities in all the ways available to us as *Satyagrahis* to restore order and to curb lawlessness. We can turn the tragedies going on before us to good account if we could but succeed in gaining the adherence of the masses to the fundamental principles of *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* is like a banyan tree with innumerable branches. Civil disobedience is one such branch. *Satya* (truth) and *Ahimsa* (non-violence) together make the parent trunk from which all innumerable branches shoot out. We have found by bitter experience that whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness civil disobedience found ready acceptance, *Satya* (truth) and *Ahimsa* (non-violence) from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring, have commanded little or no respect. Ours then is a herculean task, but we may not shirk it. We must fearlessly spread the doctrine of *Satya* and *ahimsa* and then and not till then, shall we be able to undertake mass *Satyagraha*. My attitude towards the Rowlatt legislation remains unchanged. Indeed, I do feel that the Rowlatt legislation is one of the many causes of the present unrest. But in a surcharged atmosphere I must refrain from examining these causes. The main and only purpose of this letter is to advise all *Satyagrahis* to temporarily suspend civil disobedience, to give Government effective co-operation in restoring order and by preaching and practice to gain adherence to the fundamental principles mentioned above.



NON-CO-OPERATION.

THE PUNJAB & KHILAFAT WRONGS

[In a public letter dated the 21st July, 1919, Mr. Gandhi announced that in response to the warnings conveyed to him by the Government of India and H. E. the Governor of Bombay that the resumption of civil disobedience was likely to be attended with serious consequences to public security and in response to the urgent pressure brought on him by Moderate leaders all over the country and some extremist colleagues, he decided not to resume civil resistance fearing a recrudescence of mob violence. But though further resistance was suspended, the course of events inevitably fed the rancour of the people. The disturbances which began in March at Delhi had spread to Lahore and Amritsar by the 10th April, where Martial Law was proclaimed on the 15th. Three other districts subsequently came under the military regime. The tragedy of Jullianwallah Bagh where an unarmed and defenceless crowd were ruthlessly massacred by General Dyer rankled in the minds of the people as an unwarrantable barbarity. Slowly again the cruelties and indignities of the Martial law regime with its crawling orders and thundering sentences for trivial offences, eked out and fed the flames of popular indignation. Meanwhile another specific grievance was added to the already long list. Nearly a year had elapsed since the declaration of Armistice in November 1918 and the treaty with Turkey was yet in the making. British opinion was supposed to be inimical to Turkey and the anxiety of Indian Muslims increased with the delay in the settlement. It was widely feared that the Allies wanted to deal a heavy blow on the suzerainty of the Sultan over Muslim peoples. The dismemberment of the Empire of the Khalifa is a thing unthinkable to the Muslim world. An Indian Khilafat movement was set on foot in which, somewhat to the embarrassment of many, Mr. Gandhi, who was already leading India in the Rowlatt and Punjab agitations, plunged with all the ardour of conviction. Thus the Punjab wrongs and the Khilafat question were the mainstay of a great agitation under the lead of



Mr. Gandhi, assisted by the Congress, the Muslim League, the Khilafat Conference and their many subsidiary organisations all over the country. But the peculiarity of Mr. Gandhi's lead was in his methods which were altogether novel in the history of agitations here or elsewhere. We shall have many occasions to refer to the Non-co-operation movement and his innumerable speeches thereon, but we begin with the cardinal features in Mr. Gandhi's programme, which are fasting, prayer and hartals; Writing on October 4, 1919 in his *Young India*, Mr. Gandhi observed :—]

In spite of the Herculean efforts made by the Punjab Government to crush the spirit of the people, prayer and fasting and *hartal* are institutions as old as the hills and cannot be stopped. Two illuminating abstracts from the bulky volumes published by the Government and containing a record of sentences inflicted by Martial Law Commissions and Summary Courts show although dimly what has happened during the past few months to the people of the Punjab. The leading cases examined by me have shaken my faith in the justice of these sentences. The sentence of stripes is beyond recall as are the 18 death sentences. Who will answer for them if they are proved to have been unjustly pronounced?

But sentences or no sentences, the spirit of the people is unbreakable. The Moslem Conference of Lucknow has proclaimed Friday, the 17th instant, as a day of fasting and prayer. The preliminaries will be presently arranged. The day is to be called the Khalifate day. Mr. Andrews' letter shows clearly what the Khalifate question is and how just is the case of the Muhamedans. He agrees with the suggestion I have ventured to make, *viz.* that, if justice cannot be obtained for Turkey, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford must resign. But better than resignation, better than protests are the prayers of the just. I therefore welcome the Lucknow resolution. Prayer expresses the soul's



Fasting and fasting sets the soul free for efficacious prayer. In my opinion, a national fast and national prayer should be accompanied by suspension of business. I therefore without hesitation advise suspension of business provided it is carried out with calmness and dignity and provided it is entirely voluntary. Those who are required for necessary work such as hospital, sanitation, off-loading of steamers etc., should not be entitled to suspend work. And I suggest that on this day of fast there are no processions, no meetings. People should remain indoors and devote themselves entirely to prayer.

It goes without saying that it is the bounden duty of the Hindus and other religious denominations to associate themselves with their Muhamedan brethren. It is the surest and simplest method of bringing about the Hindu-Muhamedan unity. It is the privilege of friendship to extend the hand of fellowship and adversity is the crucible in which friendship is tested. Let millions of Hindus show to the Muhomedans that they are one with them in sorrow.

I would respectfully urge the Government to make common cause with the people and encourage and regulate this peaceful exhibition of their feelings. Let the people not think that Government will put any obstacles directly or indirectly in their way.

I would urge the modern generation not to regard fasting and prayer with scepticism or distrust. The greatest teachers of the world have derived extraordinary powers for the good of humanity and attained clarity of vision through fasting and prayer. Much of this discipline runs to waste, because instead of being a matter of the heart, it is often resorted to for stage effect. I would therefore warn the bodies of this movement against any such suicidal manoeu-

ving. Let them have a living faith in what they urge or let them drop it. We are now beginning to attract millions of our countrymen. We shall deserve their curses if we consciously lead them astray. Whether Hindus or Muhamedans, we have all got the religious spirit in us. Let it not be undermined by our playing at religion.

THE AMRITSAR APPEALS.

[Before the end of the year, Indian opinion was greatly exasperated by the evidence of General Dyer and other Martial Law administrators before the Hunter Committee which began the enquiry about the end of October. The evidence of the Military officers shocked the sentiments of the public which were horrified by the revelations of cruelty and heartlessness. When the Congress met at Amritsar, the scene of the tragedy, feeling ran high and the President, Pandit Motilal Nehru, drew up a lengthy indictment against the Government. Just before the day of the session the political prisoners were released as the effect of a Royal Proclamation and Mr. Gandhi exercised a sobering influence over the Congress and even moved a resolution condemning mob excesses though under provocation. But soon after the Congress, when he found that the fate of the other prisoners was decreed by the Privy Council's dismissal of their appeals without further trial, he wrote to the press earnestly urging justice for the victims of Martial Law :—]

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 Simon was developing as arguments 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 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 Lajpat Rai 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.



THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

[In the first week of March, 1920, Mr. Gandhi issued the following manifesto regarding the Khilafat question. In this manifesto Mr. Gandhi enunciated the duty of the Muslims, as indeed of all India in case the agitation should fail to secure the redress of the Khilafat wrong.]

The Khalifat 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 Mohammedan leaders combined have brought the question to the force. The prelates threw down the challenge. The Muslim leaders have taken it up.

I trust the Hindus will realise 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.

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 Jazirat-ul-Aras i.e., Arabia as defined by the Moslem 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 Mohammedan soldiers would not have fought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khalif of this suzerainty 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 gunpowder solution. The Allies or England in the hour of her 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 Mohammedans, than with the Viceroy and still more with the Moslem 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 to madness and the latter must inevitably lead to violence. And I wish I could persuade everyone 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.

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

(4) There should be no mixing up of other questions 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.

This 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 proviso is that there should be no violence accompanying the "hartal." I have often been told that the C. I. D's sometimes provoke violence. I do not believe in it as a great charge. But even if it be true, our 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 everyone 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 expediency.

Non-co-operation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the clearest 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 sentiments. England cannot expect a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Mussalmans means matters of life and death. We may, therefore, begin at the top as also the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emoluments ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial services under the Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to service 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 soldier 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 desert us. Moreover, every step in withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure the retention of self-control under the fiercest heat.

Many look upon the Calcutta resolutions with the deepest alarm. They scent in them 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 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 demand 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



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cease to co-operate and advice 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 greatest 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 all my life even if I should alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

WHY I HAVE JOINED THE KHILAFAT
MOVEMENT.

[Mr. Gandhi's wholehearted espousal of the Khilafat cause was the subject of considerable discussion in the early stages of the movement. In answer to numerous letters from his countrymen and from abroad, Mr. Gandhi explained in an article in his *Young India*, of April 28, 1920, the reason why he joined the Khilafat movement:—]

An esteemed South African friend who is at present 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 embarrass-



ing 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 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 Muslims, 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 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 insistence on the retention of the so-called unjust despotism of the Stamboul Government; on 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 as 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 Mussalmans 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 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.

CONGRESS REPORT ON THE PUNJAB DISORDERS.

[The Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Sub-Committee of the Congress in Nov. 1919 to enquire into the Punjab disorders together with the evidence taken by them was published in May 1920. The Report was signed by M. K. Gandhi, C. R. Das, Abbas Tyabji and M. R. Jayakar who had examined over 1,700 cases and selected about 650 statements for publication. The inclusion of Mr. Gandhi's name among the Commissioners was accepted by all as a guarantee for accuracy. The report bears the impress of Mr



Gandhi's hands and though it was the joint production of all the Commissioners it was at once conceded that Mr. Gandhi's share alike in the examination and sifting of evidence and in drawing the conclusions was considerable. As Mr. Gandhi has stood by the findings of his committee we may here reproduce the more important portions of the Report.]

We have been obliged in places to use strong language, but we have used every adjective with due deliberation. If anything, we have understated the case against the Punjab Government. We recognise we have not right to expect an impossible standard of correctness from the Government. In times of excitement and difficulty, any officer is prone to make mistakes in spite of best intentions. We recognise, too, that when the country is on the eve of important changes being introduced in the administration, and the Sovereign has made an appeal to officials and the people for co-operation, we should say nothing that may be calculated to retard progress.

But we feel that it is not possible to ignore the acts of atrocious injustice on a wholesale scale by responsible officers, as it would not be possible, no matter how bright the future might be, to ignore criminal acts of the people. In our opinion, it is more necessary now than ever before, that official wrong should be purged as well as the peoples. The task of working the reforms and making India realise her goal in the quickest time possible would well nigh be impossible if both the people and the officials did not approach it with clean hands and clean minds. If, therefore, we recommend that the officials who have erred should be brought to justice, we do so, not in a vindictive spirit, but in order that the administration of the country may become purified of corruption and injustice. Whilst therefore, we believe that the mob excesses in Amritsar and elsewhere



were wrong and deserving of condemnation, we are equally sure the popular misdeeds have been more than punished by the action of the authorities.

We believe, had Mr. Gandhi not been arrested whilst he was on his way to Delhi and the Punjab and had Kitchlew and Satyapal not been arrested and deported, innocent English lives would have been saved and valuable property, including Christian churches, not destroyed. These two acts of the Punjab Government were uncalled for and served like matches applied to material rendered inflammable by previous processes.

In examining in detail the events in different districts of the Punjab, we have refrained from saying anything regarding the Government of India. It is impossible, however, to ignore or slur over the inaction, if not active participations of the Central Government in official action. The Viceroy never took the trouble to examine the people's case. He ignored the telegrams and letters from individuals and public bodies. He endorsed the action of the Punjab Government without enquiry, and clothed the officials with indemnity in indecent haste. He never went to the Punjab to make a personal enquiry, even after the occurrences. He ought to have known, at least in May, everything that various official witnesses have admitted, and yet he failed to inform the public or the Imperial Government of the full nature of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre or the subsequent acts done under Martial law. He became a party to preventing even a noble and well-known English Christian of unimpeachable veracity, in the person of Mr. Andrews, from proceeding to the Punjab whilst he was on his way, not to inflame passions, but simply to find out the truth. He allowed Mr. Thompson, Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, to indulge in distortion of facts and to insult Pundit Madan.



Mohan Malaviya whose statements made in the Council have almost all now been proved to be true out of the mouths of official witnesses themselves. He expressed such a callous indifference to popular feelings and betrayed such criminal want of imagination that he would not postpone death sentences pronounced by the Martial Law tribunal, except after he was forced to do so by the Secretary of State for India. He seems to have closed his heart against further light by shutting out questions by a responsible member of the Council like Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He would not visit the Punjab for local inquiry. We refrain from criticising his attitude over the Rowlatt agitation. But a sense of public safety forbids us to ignore His Excellency's inability to appreciate and deal with the situation in April. Whilst, therefore, we do not think His Excellency has wilfully neglected the interests of those who were entrusted to his charge by His Majesty, we regret to say that H. E. Lord Chelmsford has proved himself incapable of holding the high office to which he was called, and we are of opinion that His Excellency should be re-called.

We summarise below our other conclusions:—

The people of the Punjab were incensed against Sir M. O'Dwyer's administration by reason of his studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes, and by the reason of the cruel and compulsory methods adopted during the war for obtaining recruits and monetary contributions and by his suppression of public opinion, by gagging the local press and shutting out Nationalist newspapers from outside the Punjab.

The Rowlatt agitation disturbed the public mind and shocked confidence in the goodwill of the Government. This was shared by the Punjab in a fuller measure, perhaps, than elsewhere, because of the use made by Sir Michael

O'Dwyer of the Defence of India Act for purposes of stifling public movements.

The Satyagraha movement and hartal, which was designed as a precursor of it, whilst they vitalised the whole country into activity, saved it from more awful and more widespread calamities by restraining violent tendencies and passions of the people.

The Rowlatt agitation was not conceived in an anti-British spirit and the Satyagrahi movement was conceived and conducted in a spirit entirely free from ill-will and violence. There was no conspiracy to overthrow the Government in the Punjab.

The arrest and internment of Mr. Gandhi and the arrests and deportations of Kitchlew and Satyapal were unjustifiable and were the only direct cause of the hysterical popular excitement.

Mob violence, which began at Amritsar, was directly due to the firing at the Railway overbridge and the sight of dead and wounded, at a time when the excitement had reached white heat.

Whatever the cause of provocation, the mob excesses are deeply to be regretted and condemned.

So far as the facts are publicly known, no reasonable cause has been shown to justify the introduction of martial law.

In each case martial law was proclaimed after order had been completely restored.

Even if it be held that the introduction of martial law was a State necessity, it was unduly prolonged.

Most of the measures taken under martial law in all the five districts were unnecessary, cruel, oppressive and in utter disregard of the feelings of the people affected by them.



In Lahore, Akalgrah, Ramnagar, Gujerat, Jaillalpur, Jattan, Lyallpur and Sheikhupura, there were no mob excesses worthy of the name.

The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre was calculated piece of inhumanity towards utterly innocent and unarmed men including children, and unparralleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration.

Martial law tribunals and summary courts were made the means of harassing innocent people and resulted in an abortion of justice on a wide scale, and under the name of justice caused moral and material suffering to hundreds of men and women.

The crawling order and other fancy punishments were unworthy of a civilized administration, and were symptomatic of the moral degradation of their inventors.

The imposition of indemnity and of punitive police at various places, notwithstanding the exemplary and vindictive punishments meted out through nearly two long months to innocent men and the exaction of fines and illegal impositions, were uncalled for, unjust and added injury.

The corruption and bribery that took place during martial law form a separate chapter of grievance which could have been easily avoided under a sympathetic administration.

The measures necessary for redressing the wrong done to the people for the purification of the administration and for preventing repetition in future of official lawlessness are—(a) The repeal of the Rowlatt Act, (b) Relieving Sir Michael O'Dwyer of any responsible office under the crown (c) Relieving General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan of any position of responsibility under the Crown (b) Local inquiry into the corrupt practices of minor officials, whose



names have been mentioned in the statements published by us and their dismissal, on proof of their guilt. (e) Recall of the Viceroy, (f) Refund of fines collected from the people who were convicted by special tribunals and summary courts, remission of all indemnity imposed on the cities affected and refund thereof where it has already been collected, and the removal of punitive police.

It is our deliberate opinion that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan have been guilty of such illegalities that they deserve to be impeached, but we purposely refrain from advising any such course, because we believe India can only gain by waiving this right. Future purity will be sufficiently guaranteed by the dismissal of the officials concerned.

We believe Colonel Macrae and Captain Doveton have failed equally with Colonel O'Brien and others to carry out their trust, but we have purposely refrained from advising any public action against them, as, unlike others mentioned by us, these two officers were inexperienced and their brutality was not so studied and calculated as that of experienced officers.

THE PUNJAB DISORDER: A PERSONAL STATEMENT.

[The Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress contains a special note on Satyagraha from the pen of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. The Commissioners discuss how far Satyagraha was responsible for violent excesses in the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi, as the pioneer and the supreme exponent of the movement, here expounds the methods and the efficacy of "The Law of Love" as the governing law of life, as much



in the home as in the broader and more complex relations of national and international affairs :—]

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.

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.

Its root meaning is 'holding on to truth'; hence, Truth-force. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force. In the application of "Satyagraha" I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to 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 one's own self.

"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.

When Daniel disregarded the laws of the Medes and Persians which offended his conscience and meekly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered 'Satyagraha' in its purest form. Socrates would not refrain from preaching what he knew to be the truth to the Athenian youth, and bravely suffered the punishment of death. He



was, in this case, a 'Satyagrahi.' Prahlad disregarded the orders of his father because he considered them to be repugnant to his conscience. He uncomplainingly and cheerfully bore the tortures to which he was subjected at the instance of his father. Mirabai, who is said to have offended her husband by following her own conscience, was content to live in separation from him and bore with quiet dignity and resignation all the injuries that are said to have been done to her in order to bend her to her husband's will. Both Prahlad and Mirabai practised "Satyagraha." It must be remembered, that neither Daniel nor Socrates, neither Prahlad nor Mirabai had any ill-will towards their prosecutors. Daniel and Socrates are regarded as having been model citizens of the States to which they belonged, Prahlad a model son, Mirabai a model wife.

This doctrine of 'Satyagraha' is not new; it is merely an extension of the rule of domestic life to the political. Family disputes and differences are generally settled according to the law of love. The injured member has so much regard for the others that he suffers injury for the sake of his principles without retaliating and without being angry with those who differ from him. And as repression of anger, self-suffering are difficult processes, he does not dignify trifles into principles, but, in all non-essentials, readily agrees with the rest of the family, and thus contrives to gain the maximum of peace for himself without disturbing that of the others. Thus his action, whether he resists or resigns, is always calculated to promote the common welfare of the family. It is this law of love which, silently but surely, governs the family for the most part throughout the civilized world.

I feel that nations cannot be one in reality nor can their activities be conducive to the common good of the



whole humanity, unless there is this definite recognition and acceptance of the law of the family in national and international affairs, in other words, on the political platform. Nations can be called civilized, only to the extent that they obey this law.

This law of love is nothing but a law of truth. Without truth there is no love ; without truth it may be affection, as for one's country to the injury of others ; or infatuation, as of a young man for a girl ; or love may be unreasoning and blind, as of ignorant parents for their children. Love transcends all animality and is never partial. 'Satyagraha' has, therefore, been described as a coin, on whose face you read love and on the reverse you read truth. It is a coin current everywhere and has indefinable value.

'Satyagraha' is self-dependent. It does not require the assent of the opponent before it can be brought into play. Indeed it shines out most when the opponent resists. It is, therefore, irresistible. A 'Satyagrahi' does not know what defeat is, for he fights for truth without being exhausted. Death in the fight is a deliverance, and prison, a gateway to liberty.

It is called also soul-force, because a definite recognition of the soul within is a necessity, if a 'Satyagrahi' is to believe that death does not mean cessation of the struggle, but a culmination. The body is merely a vehicle for self-expression ; and he gladly gives up the body, when its existence is an obstruction in the way of the opponent seeing the truth, for which the 'Satyagrahi' stands. He gives up the body in the certain faith that, if anything would change his opponent's view, a willing sacrifice of his body must do so. And with the knowledge that the soul survives the body, he is not impatient to see the triumph of truth in the present body. Indeed, victory lies in the

ability to die in the attempt to make the opponent see the truth which the 'Satyagrahi' for the time being expresses.

And as a 'Satyagrahi' never injures his opponent and always appeals, either to his reason by gentle argument, or his heart by the sacrifice of self, 'Satyagraha' is twice blessed, it blesses him who practises it, and him against whom it is practised.

It has, however, been objected that 'Satyagraha' as we conceive it, can be practised only by a select few. My experience proves the contrary. Once its simple principles—adherence to truth and insistence upon it by self-suffering—are understood, anybody can practise it. It is as difficult or as easy to practise as any other virtue. It is as little necessary for its practice that everyone should understand the whole philosophy of it, as it is for the practice of total abstinence.

After all, no one disputes the necessity of insisting on truth as one sees it. And it is easy enough to understand that it is vulgar to attempt to compel the opponent to its acceptance by using brute force; it is discreditable to submit to error because argument has failed to convince, and that the only true and honourable course is not to submit to it even at the cost of one's life. Then only can the world be purged of error, if it ever can be altogether. There can be no compromise with error where it hurts the vital being.

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 lawgiver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to it, is to compel him to retrace his steps by suffering in your own person, i.e., that is 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 criminal, *i.e.* the ordinary law-breaker breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to void 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-giver, it is open to him to withdraw his co-operation from the State by disobeying such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude. 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.

I ventured therefore to present Satyagraha to the country, emphasising its civil resistance aspect. And as it is



purely an inward and purifying tonic I suggested the observance of fast, prayer and suspension of all work for one day, April 6. There was a magnificent response throughout the length and breadth of India, even in little villages, although there was no organisation and no great previous preparation. The idea was given to the public as soon as it was conceived. On April 6 there was no violence used by the people and no collision with the police worth naming. The hartal was purely voluntary and spontaneous.

THE "ARREST."

The observance of April 6 was to be followed by civil disobedience. For that purpose the Committee of the Satyagraha Sabha had selected certain 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," and "Defence and Death of Socrates."

But there is no doubt that April 6 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 Mr. 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 April 8 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. At Palwal I was served with an order prohibiting me from entering the Punjab and confine 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 April 10.

But the people at Ahmedabad and Viramgaum and in Gujerat 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.

HOW TO WORK NON-CO-OPERATION.

[Mr. Gandhi wrote the following article in *Young India*, May, 5, 1920:—]

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 dependants 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 a 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 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 their 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 sensitive classes 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, 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.

It is easy enough to pass resolutions or write articles condemning non-co-operation. But it is no easy task to restrain the fury of a people incensed by a deep sense of wrong. I urge those who talk or work against non-co-operation to descend from their chairs and go down to the people, learn their feelings and write, if they have the heart, against non-co-operation. They will find, as I have found, that the only way to avoid violence is to enable them to give such expression to their feelings as to compel redress. I have found nothing save non-co-operation. It is logical and harmless. It is the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a Government that will not listen to him.

Non-co-operation as a voluntary movement can only succeed, if the feeling is genuine and strong enough to make people suffer to the utmost. If the religious sentiment of the Mahomedans is deeply hurt and if the Hindus entertain neighbourly regard towards their Muslim brethren, they will both count no cost too great for achieving the end. Non-co-operation will not only be an effective remedy, but will also be an effective test of the sincerity of the Muslim claim and the Hindu profession of friendship.

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 illwill against the

English. I am sorry to have to confess that the ordinary Mohamedan entertains to-day 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 Mohomedans. 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 not injure him to gain a kingdom. But 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. And to-day if I have thrown in my lot with the Mohomedans 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 Mohomedans to achieve a three-fold 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 Muhomedan 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 Mohomedans of India are carrying. Their 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, the Mahomedans, expected to do less?

OPEN LETTER TO LORD CHELMSFORD.

[The Turkish Peace Treaty was handed to the Ottoman Delegation on the 11th May 1920 at Paris and the terms of that treaty were published in India on the 14th with a message from H. E. the Viceroy to the Muslim people of India. According to the proposals Turkey was to be dismembered and Constantinople alone was saved for the Sultan to whom only a fringe of territory was conceded for the defence of his Capital. The actual terms were a total violation of the promises (Lloyd George's pledge) not to deprive Turkey "of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace." In reply to the Viceroy's message of sympathy, Mr. Gandhi invited His Excellency to lead the agitation:—]

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 while 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 Mussalman world in London was, when Turkey decided to throw in her lot with Germany. On my arrival in January 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 fears and their hopes in a disciplined manner. It will be admitted that the whole of the 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.

MOSLEMS SHOCKED.

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 the 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. Mussalman 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.

THE ONLY COURSE.

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 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 don't 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 Mahommedans in order to mark their emphatic disapproval of the utter injustice to which His Majesty's ministers have become a 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 a party to the injustice by ceasing to co-operate with the Government.



NON-CO-OPERATION.

Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the boldest, though also the most thoughtless among the Mussalmans favoured violence and that 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 confesse that I did not—I did not attempt to—succeed in weaning them 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 a check 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 times 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 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, non-co-operation becomes a dire necessity. I hope 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.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Excellency's obdt. servant,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Laburnum Road,

Gandevi, Bombay.

22nd June 1920.

POLITICAL FREEMASONRY.

[The Report of the Hunter Committee together with the Government of India's Despatch was published on the 3rd May, 1920, and the Secretary of State's reply followed on the 26th. As was expected the Indian members of the Committee submitted a separate Report, the Hon. Mr. Shafi writing a strong dissenting minute to the Government of India's despatch. Mr. Montagu in his Despatch condemned the severity of the martial law administration and the excesses of Gen Dyer's action at Julianwallah Bagh and laid down in unmistakable terms the principle which ought to govern the policy of His Majesty's Government in similar cases in the future. Mr. Gandhi, disappointed at and stung by the injustice of the Government threw out the challenge that "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." He wrote in *Young India*, dated the 9th June, 1920:—]

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 flower 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 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 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, 1919, 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 world over 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 Satyagrah. 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 Satyagrah 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 res'lessness among the people from breaking forth into violence. The hold that Satyagrah 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 Satyagrah 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 for it. After all Satyagrah 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 subordinates; 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 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 petition 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 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 the 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 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 reticence. 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 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.



COURTS AND SCHOOLS

[Even before the special Congress Mr. Gandhi had enunciated his scheme of non-co-operation and begun his agitation in the press and platform urging his countrymen to follow the various terms in his programme. In the *Young India*, in August 1920, Mr. Gandhi laid special stress on the need for boycotting courts and schools. He 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 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