



We shall not court God's disfavour. We must pay heed to His warnings. If we had persisted in Mass Civil Disobedience at Bardoli, in spite of Gorakhpur, there would have resulted immense harm to the public cause. We would have thrown aside truth and peace. The first condition to Mass Civil Disobedience at Bardoli was perfect peace in the other parts of the country. Bardoli would have sinned if it had proceeded with the campaign in violation of our solemn pledge.

KEEP ABOVE REPROACH.

We need not feel impatient if some people ask whether such perfect peace is at all attainable. Those who argue in this strain, wish the abandonment of Satyagraha and civility. We have to keep above the *reproach of uncivility*. We should constitute ourselves the trustees of India's honour and it is incumbent on us to see that no unrighteous or uncivil action is done under cover of righteous or civil pretences. Bardoli kept peace and I maintained it. Both Bardoli and myself have done some service to the people. I think that by recanting my error, I have proved the fitness of a true servant. I am sure that the people will not lose strength but rise all the better for this confession. It is very true that God alone has rescued us from shame. I must have learnt a lesson from Madras but I did not. If a favourite of God does not take note of His warning by means of ordinary indications, the All-Merciful warns him by flare of trumpets and beat of drums and if he does not wake up even then He makes him realise the truth by thunder-storm. We have by doing the right thing put an end to imminent danger.



We had to retrace our steps and we did it in all humility.

A man who strays from his path has to retrace his steps and arrive at the same place from where he missed the way. We were taking the downward path after the Working Committee passed the resolution on Civil Disobedience but now we are climbing up.

HOW LOVE PUNISHES.

But a mere recantation was not enough for me. More severe penance had to be undergone. I was seized with an immense mental pain, the moment I heard of the Gorakpur tragedy. Bodily punishment was indispensable to me. A fast of five days will not suffice to make up for all my errors. I wished a fast of fourteen days, but friends persuaded me to limit it to five. The debtor who pays his full debt in time saves himself from future ruin. There must be no advertising of these prayaschittas. But there is a reason for my making it public. The fast is a penance for me and punishment for the culprits of Chauri Chaura. Love can only punish by suffering. I warn the public by making my fast known to them. I have no other option. If any Non-Co-operator deceives me—I take the whole of India to be a Non-Co-operating body—let him take away my body. I still believe that India wants my bodily existence. I warn the people by torturing my physical frame not to cheat me. If India wills it let her get rid of me by abandoning non-violence. But as long as she accepts my services she must remain non-violent and truthful. If the people will not heed this warning, I am determined to prolong this fast of five days into one of fifty and thus put an end to my life at the end of it.



INDIA IS AND MUST BE NON-VIOLENT.

I am writing this on the third day of my fast. My heart tells me that Hindus, Mussulmans, Sikhs, Jews, Christians, Parsis and others can attain Swaraj, serve the Khilafat and redress the Punjab wrong only by truth and non-violence. If we abandon them we cannot help others, not even Ghasi Mustapha Kemal Pasha. If two unequals compete the weaker must either be killed or subdued. Even a *gnani* cannot change his nature at once. If the world were to act according to its true nature what can force do? I am repeating the same old truth that India cannot attain Swaraj by physical force. Even to entertain a hope that physical force will succeed amounts to violence. India is by Nature non-violent. Knowingly or unknowingly she is intent on Non-Co-operation by means wholly non-violent and truthful. Nobody imitated the people of Ahmedabad and Viramgaum and none will imitate the mad people of Chauri-Chaura. Though violence is not in India's nature it has become a disease. Mustapha Kemal Pasha is using the sword, because the Truks are trained to violence and have been fighting for the last so many centuries. But India has been non-violent for thousands of years. We need not here discuss which nation adopted the right course. There is room for both violence and non-violence in this wide world even as the soul and body find room in life.

Now we must get Swaraj by the easiest and the shortest method. India cannot change her nature in a moment. I am firmly of opinion that it will take some *yugas* to make India free by the sword. If the Indian Mussulmans will adopt Mustapha Kemal Pasha's methods, I am sure they will corrupt Islam. There is



more room for non-violence in Islam. Self-restraint occupies a higher position than anger and violence. India has been adhering to truth and Ahimsa for centuries. India's slavery should be preferred to her attaining freedom by abandoning truth and non-violence. Man cannot run to both the poles at the same time. We now see that Western methods are violent whereas it is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Eastern method is non-violent and righteous. England has now become the central point of Europe. India has been the centre of all civil stations for centuries. Yet the world believes that England wields power and that India is still only a slave. Our attempt to-day is to get rid of slave mentality. If India succeeds in the attempt, it can only be by means of her ancient truth and non-violence. There is no country in the world which is inferior to India in physical prowess. Even little Afghanistan can subdue her. With whose help then does India wish to fight against England? Is it with the help of Japan or Afghanistan? India will then have to accept serfdom under any one who will help her in the fight. Therefore, if India wants to become free, she can only do so with God's help. God loves those who are truthful and non-violent. Hence the divine warning from Gorakhpur. It teaches us to get back, and to be more firm in non-violence if we wish to have our cherished desires accomplished.



ON THE EVE OF ARREST.

"IF I AM ARRESTED."

[For months past the rumour of Mr. Gandhi's impending arrest was in the air. Expecting the inevitable Mr. Gandhi had more than once written his final message. But in the first week of March the rumour became more widespread and intense. The stiffening of public opinion in England and Mr. Montagu's threatening speech in defence of his Indian policy in the Commons, revealed the fact that the Secretary of State had already sanctioned Mr. Gandhi's prosecution. Chauri Chaura and the Delhi decisions were presumably the immediate cause of Government's action on Mr. Gandhi. Realising that his arrest would not long be deferred, Mr. Gandhi wrote the following message in the *Young India* of March 9:]

The rumour has been revived that my arrest is imminent. It is said to be regarded as a mistake by some officials that I was not arrested when I was to be, *i.e.*, on the 11th or 12th of February and that the Bardoli decision ought not to have been allowed to affect the Government's programme. It is said, too, that it is now no longer possible for the Government to withstand the ever rising agitation in London for my arrest and deportation. I myself cannot see how the Government can avoid arresting me if they want a permanent abandonment of civil disobedience whether individual or mass.

I advised the Working Committee to suspend mass civil disobedience at Bardoli because that disobedience would not have been civil, and if I am now advising all provincial workers to suspend even individual civil



disobedience, it is because I know that any disobedience at the present stage will be not civil but criminal. A tranquil atmosphere is an indispensable condition of civil disobedience. It is humiliating for me to discover that there is a spirit of violence abroad and that the Government of the United Provinces has been obliged to enlist additional police for avoiding a repetition of Chauri Chaura. I do not say that all that is claimed to have happened, has happened but it is impossible to ignore all the testimony that is given in proof of the growing spirit of violence in some parts of those provinces. In spite of my political differences with Pundit Hridayanath Kunzru, I regard him to be above wilful perversion of truth. I consider him to be one of the most capable among public workers. He is not a man to be easily carried away. When, therefore, he gives an opinion upon anything, it immediately arrests my attention. Making due allowance for the colouring of his judgment by reason of his pro-Government attitude, I am unable to dismiss his report of the Chauri Chaura tragedy as unworthy of consideration. Nor is it possible to ignore letters received from Zamindars and others informing me of the violent temperament and ignorant lawlessness in the United Provinces. I have before me the Bareilly report signed by the Congress Secretary. Whilst the authorities behaved like madmen and forgot themselves in their fit of anger, we are not, if that report is to be believed, without fault. The volunteer procession was not a civil demonstration. It was insisted upon in spite of a sharp division of opinion in our own ranks. Though the crowds that gathered were not violent, the spirit of the demonstration was undoubtedly violent. It was an impotent show of force, wholly



unnecessary for our purpose and hardly a prelude to civil disobedience. That the authorities could have handled the procession in a better spirit, that they ought not to have interfered with the Swaraj flag, that they ought not to have objected to the seizure of the Town Hall which was town property as Congress offices in view of the fact that it had been so used for some months with the permission of the Town Council, is all very true. But we have ceased to give credit to the authorities for common or reasonable sense. On the contrary, we have set ourselves against them because we expect nothing but unreason and violence from them, and knowing that the authorities would act no better than they did, we should have refrained from all the previous irritating demonstrations. That the U. P. Government are making a mountain out of a mole hill, that they are discounting their own provocation and the provocation given by the murdered men at Chauri Chaura is nothing new. All that I am concerned with is that it is not possible for us to claim that we have given them no handle whatsoever. It is therefore as a penance that civil disobedience has been suspended. But if the atmosphere clears up, if the people realise the full value of the adjective 'civil' and become in reality non-violent both in spirit and in deed, and if I find that the Government still do not yield to the people's will, I shall certainly be the first person to advocate individual or mass civil disobedience as the case may be. There is no escape from that duty without the people wishing to surrender their birthright.

I doubt the sincerity of Englishmen who are born fighters when they declaim against civil disobedience as if it was a diabolical crime to be punished with



exemplary severity. If they have glorified armed rebellions and resorted to them on due occasions, why are many of them up in arms against the very idea of civil resistance? I can understand their saying that the attainment of a non-violent atmosphere is a virtual impossibility in India. I do not believe it, but I can appreciate such an objection. What however is beyond my comprehension is the dead set made against the very theory of civil disobedience as if it was something immoral. To expect me to give up the preaching of civil disobedience is to ask me to give up preaching peace which would be tantamount to asking me to commit suicide.

I have now been told that the Government are compassing the destruction of the three weeklies which I am conducting, viz., *Young India*, *Gujarati Nava Jivan* and *Hindi Nava Jivan*. I hope that the rumour has no foundation. I claim that these three journals are insistently preaching nothing but peace and goodwill. Extraordinary care is taken to give nothing but truth as I find it, to the readers. Every inadvertent inaccuracy is admitted and corrected. The circulation of all the weeklies is daily growing. The conductors are voluntary workers, in some cases taking no salary whatsoever and in the others receiving mere maintenance money. Profits are all returned to the subscribers in some shape or other, or are utilised for some constructive public activity or other. I cannot say that I shall not feel a pang if these journals cease to exist. But it is the easiest thing for the Government to put them out. The publishers and printers are all friends and co-workers. My compact with them is that the moment Government asks for security, that moment the newspapers must stop.



I am conducting them upon the assumption that whatever view the Government may take of my activities, they at least give me credit for preaching through these newspapers nothing but the purest non-violence and truth according to my light.

I hope, however, that whether the Government arrest me or whether they stop by direct or indirect means the publication of the three journals, the public will remain unmoved. It is a matter of no pride or pleasure to me but one of humiliation that the Government refrain from arresting me for fear of an outbreak of universal violence and awful slaughter that any such outbreak must involve. It would be a sad commentary upon my preaching of, and upon the Congress and Khilafat pledge of, non-violence, if my incarceration was to be a signal for a storm all over the country. Surely, it would be a demonstration of India's unreadiness for a peaceful rebellion. It would be a triumph for the bureaucracy, and it would be almost a final proof of the correctness of the position taken up by the Moderate friends, viz, that India can never be prepared for non violent disobedience. I hope therefore that the Congress and Khilafat workers will strain every nerve and show that all the fears entertained by the Government and their supporters were totally wrong. I promise that such act of self-restraint will take us many a mile towards our triple goal.

There should therefore be no *hartals*, no noisy demonstrations, no processions. I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honour paid to me by my countrymen. What I would love to see, however, is the constructive work of the Congress going on with clockwork regularity and



the speed of the Punjab express. I would love to see people who have hitherto kept back, voluntarily discarding all their foreign cloth and making a bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive programme framed at Bardoli, and they will not only release me and other prisoners, but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. Let them remember the four pillars of Swaraj: Non-violence, Hindu-Moslem-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew unity, total removal of untouchability and manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven *Khaddar* completely displacing foreign cloth.

I do not know that my removal from their midst will not be a benefit to the people. In the first instance the superstition about the possession of supernatural powers by me will be demolished. Secondly, the belief that people have accepted the non-co-operation programme only under my influence and that they have no independent faith in it will be disproved. Thirdly, our capacity for Swaraj will be proved by our ability to conduct our activities in spite of the withdrawal even of the originator of the current programme. Fourthly and selfishly, it will give me a quiet and physical rest, which perhaps I deserve.



MESSAGE TO CO-WORKERS.

[In the course of a letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Congress a couple of days before his arrest, Mr. Gandhi wrote as follows :—]

You ask me for my future programme. I have just sent you a telegram as follows :—

“ In Ahmedabad till Saturday; Surat Sunday; Monday; Bardoli Tuesday.”

But that is ‘ Government willing, ’ for I have persistent rumours being thrust upon me that my leave is now more than overdue, and I am also told that I shall be relieved of my burdens inside of 7 days. Subject, therefore, to that happy contingency, you have the foregoing programme. If I am arrested, I look to you and all who are out to keep absolute peace. It will be the best honour that the country can do me. Nothing would pain me more, in whatever jail I may find myself, than to be informed by my custodians that a single head has been broken by or on behalf of non-co-operators, a single man had been insulted or a single building damaged. If the people or the workers have at all understood my message, they will keep exemplary peace. I would certainly be delighted if in the night following my arrest, there was throughout the length and breadth of India, a bonfire of all foreign cloth voluntarily surrendered by the people without the slightest compulsion having been exercised, and a fixed determination to use nothing but khaddar, and till then in the glorious weather of India to wear nothing but a piece of loin-cloth, and in the case



of Mussulmans, the minimum required by religious obligation. I would certainly love to be told that there was a phenomenal demand for spinning wheels and that all workers who did not know hand-spinning had commenced it in right earnest. The more I think over our future programme, and the more news I get about the spirit of violence that has silently but surely crept into our ranks, the more convinced I am that even individual civil disobedience would be wrong. It would be much better to be forsaken by everybody and to be doing the right thing than to be doing the wrong thing for the sake of boasting a large following. Whether we are few or whether we are many, so long as we believe in the programme of non-violence there is no absolution from the full constructive programme. Enforce it to-day, and the whole country is ready for mass civil disobedience to-morrow. Fail in the effort, and you are not ready even for individual civil disobedience. Nor is the matter difficult. If all the members of the All-India Congress Committee and Provincial Congress Committees are convinced of the correctness of the premises I have laid down, it can be done. The pity of it is that they are not so convinced. A policy is a temporary creed liable to be changed, but while it holds good it has got to be pursued with apostolic zeal.



MESSAGE TO KERALA.

[The following message to Kerala was dictated by Mr. Gandhi an hour and a half before his arrest. It was addressed to Mr. U. Gopala Menon, Editor of "Naveena Keralam".]

The only message that I can send in the midst of overwhelming work is for both Hindus and Moplahs to realise their future responsibility, not to brood over the past. How to reach the Moplahs as also the class of Hindus whom you would want to reach through your newspaper is more than I can say, but I know that Hindus should cease to be cowardly. The Moplahs should cease to be cruel. In other words, each party should become truly religious. According to the Sastras Hinduism is certainly not the creed of cowards. Equally certainly, Islam is not the creed of the cruel. The only way the terrible problem before you can be solved is by a few picked-Hindus and Mussulmans working away in perfect unison and with faith in their mission. They ought not to be baffled by absence of results in the initial stages, and if you can get together from among your readers a number of such men and women your paper will have served a noble purpose.



AFTER THE ARREST.

THE ARREST.

Mr. Gandhi was arrested at the Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad on Friday the 10th March, for certain articles published in his *Young India*. On the 11th noon Messrs. Gandhi and Sankarlal Banker the publisher were placed before Mr. Brown, Assistant Magistrate, the Court being held in the Divisional Commissioner's Office at Sahibah. The prosecution was conducted by Rao Bahadur Girdharilal, Public Prosecutor. The Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, the first witness, produced the Bombay Government's authority to lodge a complaint for four articles published in *Young India*, dated the 15th June, 1921, entitled "Disaffection a Virtue", dated the 29th September, "Tampering with Loyalty" dated the 15th December, "The Puzzle and Its Solution" and dated the 23rd February 1922, "Shaking the Manes." Two formal police witnesses were then produced. The accused declined to cross-examine the witnesses.

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, 53, farmer and weaver by profession, residing at Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, said :

I simply wish to state that when the proper time comes I shall plead guilty so far as disaffection towards the Government is concerned. It is quite true that I am the Editor of *Young India* and that the articles read in my presence were written by me and the proprietors and publishers had permitted me to control the whole policy of the paper.

The case then having been committed to the Sessions Mr. Gandhi was taken to the Sabarmati Jail where he was detained till the hearing which was to come off on March 18.



THE MESSAGE OF THE CHARKA.

[Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who saw Mr. Gandhi in jail on Saturday the 11th March brought the following message to Bombay from him:—]

I do not want Bombay to mourn over the arrest of one of its mute Secretaries and myself but to rejoice over our rest. Whilst I would like an automatic response to all the items of Non-Co-operation, I would like Bombay to concentrate upon the "charka and khaddar." The monied men of Bombay can buy all the handspun and handwoven 'khaddar' that could be manufactured throughout India...The Women of Bombay, if they really mean to do their share of work, should religiously spin for a certain time everyday for the sake of the country. I wish that no one will think of following us to jail. It would be criminal to court imprisonment till a complete non-violent atmosphere is attained. One test of such atmosphere will be for us to put the Englishmen and Moderates at ease. This can be done only if we have good-will towards them in spite of our differences.



LETTER TO HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

[The following letter was addressed by Mr. Gandhi to Hakim Ajmal Khan from the Sabarmaty Jail, dated the 12th March, 1922.]

My dear Hakimji,

Since my arrest this is the first letter I have commenced to write after having ascertained that under the Jail Rules I am entitled to write as many letters as I like as an under-trial prisoner. Of course you know that Mr. Shankerlal Banker is with me. I am happy that he is with me. Every one knows how near he has come to me—naturally, therefore, both of us are glad that we have been arrested together.

I write this to you in your capacity as Chairman of the Working Committee and, therefore, leader of both Hindus and Mussulmans or better still, of all India.

I write to you also as one of the foremost leaders of Mussulmans, but above all I write this to you as an esteemed friend. I have had the privilege of knowing you since 1915. Our daily growing association has enabled me to seize your friendship as a treasure. A staunch Mussulman, you have shown in your own life what Hindu-Muslim unity means.

We all now realise, as we have never before realised that without that unity we cannot attain our freedom, and I make bold to say that without that unity the Mussulmans of India cannot render the Khilafat all the aid they wish. Divided, we must ever remain slaves. This unity, therefore, cannot be a mere policy to be discarded when it does not suit us. We



can discard it only when we are tired of Swaraj. Hindu-Muslim unity must be our creed to last for all time and under all circumstances.

Nor must that unity be a menace to the minorities—the Parsees, the Christians, the Jews or the powerful Sikhs. If we seek to crush any of them, we shall some day want to fight each other.

I have been drawn so close to you chiefly because I know that you believe in Hindu-Muslim unity in the full sense of the term.

This unity in my opinion is unattainable without our adopting non-violence as a firm policy. I call it a policy because it is limited to the preservation of that unity. But it follows that thirty crores of Hindus and Mussulmans, united not for a time but for all time, can defy all the powers of the world and should consider it a cowardly act to resort to violence in their dealings with the English administrators. We have hitherto feared them and their guns in our simplicity. The moment we realise our combined strength, we shall consider it unmanly to fear them and, therefore, ever to think of striking them. Hence am I anxious and impatient to persuade my countrymen to feel non-violent, not out of our weakness but out of our strength. But you and I know that we have not yet evolved the non-violence of the strong and we have not done so, because the Hindu-Muslim union has not gone much beyond the stage of policy. There is still too much mutual distrust and consequent fear. I am not disappointed. The progress we have made in that direction is indeed phenomenal. We seem to have covered in eighteen months' time the work of a generation. But infinitely more is necessary.



Neither the classes nor the masses feel instinctively that our union is as necessary as the breath of our nostrils.

For this consummation we must, it seems to me, rely more upon quality than quantity. Given a sufficient number of Hindus and Mussulmans with almost a fanatical faith in everlasting friendship between the Hindu and the Mussulmans of India, we shall not be long before the unity permeates the masses. A few of us must first clearly understand that we can make no headway without accepting non-violence in thought, word and deed for the full realisation of our political ambition. I would, therefore, beseech you and the members of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee to see that our ranks contain no workers who do not fully realise the essential truth I have endeavoured to place before you. A living faith cannot be manufactured by the rule of majority.

To me the visible symbol of All-India unity and, therefore, of the acceptance of non-violence as an indispensable means for the realisation of our political ambition is undoubtedly the Charka, i.e., *khaddar*. Only those who believe in cultivating a non-violent spirit and eternal friendship between Hindus and Mussulmans will daily and religiously spin. Universal hand-spinning and the universal manufacture and use of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* will be a substantial, if not absolute, proof of the real unity and non-violence. And it will be a recognition of a living kinship with the dumb masses. Nothing can possibly unify and revivify India as the acceptance by All-India of the spinning wheel as a daily sacrament and the *khaddar* wear as a privilege and a duty.



Whilst, therefore, I am anxious that more titleholders should give up their titles, lawyers law-courts, scholars the Government schools or colleges, the Councillors the Councils and the soldiers and the civilians, their posts, I would urge the nation to restrict its activity in this direction only to the consolidation of the results already achieved and to trust its strength to command further abstentions from association with a system we are seeking to mend or end.

Moreover, the workers are too few. I would not waste a single worker to day on destructive work when we have such an enormous amount of constructive work. But perhaps the most conclusive argument against devoting further time to destructive propaganda is the fact that the spirit of intolerance which is a form of violence has never been so rampant as now. Co-operators are estranged from us; they fear us. They say that we are establishing a worse bureaucracy than the existing one. We must remove every cause for such anxiety. We must go out of our way to win them to our side. We must make Englishmen safe from all harm from our side. I should not have to labour the point, if it was clear to every one as it is to you and to me that our pledge of non-violence implies utter humility and goodwill even towards our bitterest opponent. This necessary spirit will be automatically realised, if only India will devote her sole attention to the work of construction suggested by me.

I flatter myself with the belief that my imprisonment is quite enough for a long time to come. I believe in all humility that I have no ill-will against any one. Some of my friends would not have to be as non-violent as I am. But we contemplated the imprisonment of the



most innocent. If I may be allowed that claim, it is clear that I should not be followed to prison by anybody at all. We do want to paralyse the Government considered as a system, not however, by intimidation but by the irresistible pressure of our innocence. In my opinion it would be intimidation to fill the jails anyhow. And why should more innocent men seek imprisonment till one considered to be the most innocent has been found inadequate for the purpose.

My caution against further courting of imprisonment does not mean that we are now to shirk imprisonment. If the Government will take away every non-violent non-co-operator, I should welcome it. Only it should not be because of our civil disobedience, defensive or aggressive. Nor, I hope, will the country fret over those who are in jail. It will do them and the country good to serve the full term of their imprisonment. They can be fitly discharged before their time only by an act of the Swaraj Parliament. And I entertain an absolute conviction that universal adoption of *khaddar* is Swaraj.

I have refrained from mentioning untouchability. I am sure every good Hindu believes that it has got to go. Its removal is as necessary as the realisation of Hindu Muslim unity.

I have placed before you a programme which is in my opinion the quickest and the best. No impatient Khilafatist can devise a better. May God give you health and wisdom to guide the country to her destined goal,

I am, Yours Sincerely, (Sd) M. K. Gandhi.



LETTER TO SRIMATI URMILA DEVI

[The following letter was addressed to Srimati Urmila Devi, Nari Karma Mandir, Calcutta, from the Sabarmati Jail, under date the 18th instant.]

My dear sister,

You have neglected me entirely. But I know that you have done so to save my time.

I want you to devote the whole of your time to nothing but charka and khaddar. It is the only visible symbol of peace, All-India Unity and our oneness with the masses including the so-called untouchables.

Please show this to Basanti Devi and Deshabandhu. I hope he is well and strong. Prisoners cannot afford to be ill.

You know of course that Shankerlal Banker is with me.

With love to you all.

INTERVIEW IN JAIL.

[The *Bombay Chronicle* of March 14 published the following notes of an interview with Mr. Gandhi supplied by the Associated Press. Mr. Gordhandas J. Patel the Joint Honorary Secretary of the Millowners Association and a Member of the Ahmedabad Mills Tilak Swaraj Fund, in his private capacity, put a few queries to Mr. Gandhi.]

N. C. O. MOVEMENT.

Q.—In case you are convicted will the Non-Co-operation movement be adversely affected?



A.—The words "In case" are inappropriate. The more harsh the punishment, the more strong will the Non-Co-operation movement be. This is my firm conviction.

Q.—After your conviction if Government resort to rigorous repressive measures, can any district or tahsil embark upon mass civil disobedience?

A.—Certainly not. It is my emphatic advice that whatever repressive measures Government may adopt the people should in no circumstances indulge in any movement of mass civil disobedience.

Q.—What should be the next move of the nation now?

A.—The first and foremost duty of the nation is to keep perfect non-violence. Mutual ill-will and feelings of hatred among the different sections of people have taken such a strong root that constant effort to eradicate them is absolutely essential and the Non-Co-operators should take the lead, because their number is considerable. There is a considerable lack of toleration, courtesy and forbearance amongst Non-Co operators and it is my firm belief that is the sole reason why our victory is delayed and that I regard the "charkha" as the most potent weapon to secure the required peace, courtesy etc. Hence I would only advice that the people should become immediately occupied with the "charka" and khaddar prepared therefrom. No sooner could we effect a complete boycott of foreign cloth and the use of hand-spun and handwoven "khaddar" than Swaraj is in hand and in consequence whereof, the doors of the jail would be automatically laid open and my companions and myself would be able to be out. I anxiously await such an auspicious occasion.



Q.—What is your opinion in regard to the remarks made by Sir William Vincent against the Ali Brothers ?

A.—There is nothing new in it. The Brothers have given out in the clearest terms what they believed to be true. This is considered to be their greatest fault and I too am committing similar faults. For the same reason I regard them both as my real brothers.

MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION.

Q.—Will India suffer any harm in consequence of Mr. Montagu's resignation ?

A.—I certainly do not believe that there will be any harm. But Mr. Montagu certainly deserves credit for what he has done.

Q.—Is there any logical connection between the political conditions of England and India as present ?

A.—There certainly is such a connection. If the programme which I have laid down for India is carried through, it will produce a very salutary effect not only on the political situation of England but on that of the whole world.

Q.—What do you think of the coming Paris Conference ?

A.—At present, I have no high expectation from that, as it is my firm belief that as long as India does not show completely the miracle of "charkha" the problem of Khilafat will not be properly solved.

Q.—What are your instructions regarding the harmonious relations between the mill-hands and the capitalists of the place, in your absence ?

A.—Repose full confidence in Anusuya Bahen.

Q.—What message do you send to the people of Ahmedabad ?

A.—The people of Ahmedabad should take to "Khaddar", preserve perfect unity and support the current movement.



LETTER TO MOULANA ABDUL BARI.

[The following letter was written by Mr. Gandhi from the Ahmedabad jail soon after his arrest.]

Dear Maulana Sahib,

Just now I am enjoying myself in my house of freedom. Hakimji and other friends are here. I feel your absence, but that does not much worry me since we had ample discussion at Ajmer. I know that you will certainly, steadily stick to those principles that formed the subject of our talk. I will earnestly request you to avoid making any speeches in the public. Personally after deep thought I have come to the conclusion that if there is anything that can serve an effective and visible symbol of the Hindu-Muslim unity, it is the adoption of charka and pure khaddar dress prepared from hand-spun yarn by the rank and file of both the communities. Only universal acceptance of this cult can supply us with a common idea and afford a common basis of action.

The use of khaddar cannot become universal until both the communities take to it. The universal adoption of charka and khaddar therefore would awaken India. It will also be a proof of our capacity to satisfy all our needs. Ever since the commencement of our present struggle we have been feeling the necessity of boycotting foreign cloth. I venture to suggest that when khaddar comes universally in use, the boycott of foreign cloth will automatically follow. Speaking for myself, charka and khaddar have a special religious significance to me because they



are a symbol of kinship between the members of both the communities with the hunger and disease-stricken poor. It is by virtue of the fact that our movement can to-day be described as moral and economic as well as political. So long as we cannot achieve this little thing, I feel certain success is impossible. Again the khaddar movement can succeed only when we recognise non-violence as an essential condition for the attainment of Swaraj and Khilafat both. Therefore the khaddar programme is the only effective and successful programme that I can place before the country at present. I was so glad when you told me that you would begin to spin regularly when I be arrested. I can only say that every man, woman and child ought to spin as a religious duty till a complete and permanent boycott of foreign cloth is effected, the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs satisfactorily redressed and the Swaraj attained. May I entreat you to use all your influence for popularising Charkha among your Muslim brethren.

MESSAGE TO THE PARSIS.

[Mr. Gandhi addressed the following message to the Parsees from the Sabarmati Jail through Mr. B.F. Bharucha :—]

How can I forget to write to you ? Please tell my Parsee sisters and brothers never to lose faith in this movement. It is impossible for me to give up my confidence in them. There is no other programme before me than that of khadi and charkha, charkha and khadi. Hand-spun yarn must be as current among us as are small coins. To attain this object we can put on no other cloth than hand-spun and hand-woven khadi.



TRUTH OF THE SPINNING WHEEL 747

So long as India is not able to do this much Civil Disobedience will be futile, Swaraj cannot be attained, and Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are impossible to be righted. If this conviction is driven home to you, keep on turning out yarn and using khaddar. Be expert spinners.

Bande Mataram from Mohandas.

TRUTH OF THE SPINNING WHEEL.

[The following letter was addressed by Mr. Gandhi to a devoted friend.]

Sabarmati Jail, 17th March 1922.

My Dear Child,

Well, I hope you were all happy over the news of my arrest. It has given me great joy, because it came just when I had purified myself by the Bardoli penance and was merely concentrating upon no experiment, but the proud work of khaddar manufacture, i.e. hand-spinning. I would like you to see the truth of the spinning wheel. It and it alone is the visible outward expression of the inner feeling for humanity. If we feel for the starving masses of India, we must introduce the spinning-wheel into their homes. We must, therefore, become experts and in order to make them realise the necessity of it we must spin daily as a sacrament. If you have understood the secret of the spinning-wheel, if you realise what is a symbol of love of mankind, you will engage in no other outward activity. If many people do not follow you, you have more leisure for spinning, carding or weaving.

With love to you all. Bapu.



LETTER TO MR. ANDREWS.

[The following letter was addressed by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. C. F. Andrews from Sabarmati Jail, in answer to a letter expressing deep regret that on account of the railway strike, he was not able to leave his work and go to him before the trial was over :—]

Sabarmati Jail, March 17.

“ My dear Charlie, I have just got your letter. You were quite right in not leaving your work. You should certainly go to Gurudev, and be with him as long as he needs you. I would certainly like your going to the Ashram (Sabarmati), and staying there a while, when you are free. But I would not expect you to see me in jail ; I am as happy as a bird ! My ideal of a jail life—especially that of a civil resister,—is to be cut off entirely from all connection with the outside world. To be allowed a visitor is a privilege—a civil resister may neither seek, nor receive, a privilege. The religious value of jail discipline is enhanced by renouncing privileges. The forthcoming imprisonment will be to me more a religious than a political advantage. If it is a sacrifice, I want it to be the purest.

With love, Yours, Mohan.



THE GREAT TRIAL.

STATEMENT BEFORE THE COURT

[The trial of Mr. Gandhi and Shankarlal Banker took place at the Government circuit House Ahmedabad, on Saturday the 18th March 1922 before Mr. C. N. Broomsfield, I. C. S. District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad. The trial opened at 12 noon, the Honorable Sir J. T. Strangman, Advocate General, Bombay, conducting the prosecution. The accused were undefended.

The charges having been read out, the Judge called upon the accused to plead to the charge. He asked Mr. Gandhi whether he pleaded guilty or claimed to be tried.

Mr. Gandhi : "I plead guilty to all the charges. I observe that the King's name has been omitted from the charges and it has been properly omitted."

The Judge : Mr. Banker do you plead guilty or do you claim to be tried?"

Mr. Banker :—"I plead guilty."

The advocate general then began to urge the trial. His argument over, the Court asked Mr. Gandhi :

"Mr. Gandhi do you wish to make a statement on the question of sentence?"

Mr. Gandhi : "I would like to make a statement."

Court : "Could you give it to me in writing to put it on record?"

Mr. Gandhi : "I shall give it as soon as I finish reading it."]

ORAL STATEMENT.

[Before reading his written statement, Mr. Gandhi spoke a few words as introductory remarks to the whole statement. He said :]

Before I read this statement, I would like to state that I entirely endorse the learned Advocate-General's remarks in connection with my humble self. I think

that he was entirely fair to me in all the statements that he has made, because it is very true and I have no desire whatsoever to conceal from this Court the fact that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government has become almost a passion with me. And the learned Advocate-General is also entirely in the right when he says that my preaching of disaffection did not commence with my connection with "Young India" but that it commenced much earlier, and in the statement that I am about to read it will be my painful duty to admit before this Court that it commenced much earlier than the period stated by the Advocate-General. It is the most painful duty with me but I have to discharge that duty knowing the responsibility that rested upon my shoulders.

And I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, Madras occurrences and the Chouri Choura occurrences. Thinking over these things deeply, and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chouri Choura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I do not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say all what I said here just now. I wanted to avoid



violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my faith. But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered has done an irreparable harm to my country or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it; and I am, therefore here, to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, Mr. Judge, is, as I am just going to say in my statement, either to resign your post or inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and law you are assisting to administer are good for the people. I do not expect that kind of conversion. But by the time I have finished with my statement you will, perhaps, have a glimpse of what is raging within my breast to run this maddest risk which a sane man can run.

WRITTEN STATEMENT.

The following is the full text of the written statement which Mr. Gandhi made before the court.

I owe it perhaps to the Indian public and to the public in England to placate which this prosecution is mainly taken up that I should explain why from a staunch loyalist and co-operator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and Non-Co-operator. To the court too I should say why I plead guilty to the



charge of promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India.

My public life began in 1893 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with British authority in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that as a man and an Indian I had no rights. On the contrary I discovered that I had no rights as a man because I was an Indian.

But I was not baffled. I thought that this treatment of Indians was an excrescence upon a system that was intrinsically and mainly good. I gave the Government my voluntary and hearty co-operation, criticising it fully where I felt it was faulty but never wishing its destruction.

Consequently when the existence of the Empire was threatened in 1899 by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a volunteer ambulance corps and served at several actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly in 1906 at the time of the Zulu revolt I raised a stretcher-bearer party and served till the end of the 'rebellion'. On both these occasions I received medals and was even mentioned in despatches. For my work in South Africa I was given by Lord Hardinge a Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. When the war broke out in 1914 between England and Germany I raised a volunteer ambulance corps in London consisting of the then resident Indians in London, chiefly students. Its work was acknowledged by the authorities to be valuable. Lastly in India when a special appeal was made at the War Conference in Delhi in 1917 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled at the cost of my health to raise a corps in Kheda and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased and



orders were received that no more recruits were wanted. In all these efforts at service I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for my countrymen.

The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors beginning with the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and culminating in crawling orders, public floggings and other indescribable humiliations. I discovered too that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussulmans of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the holy places of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled. But in spite of the foreboding and the grave warnings of friends, at the Amritsar Congress in 1919, I fought for co-operation and working the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussulmans, that the Punjab wound would be healed and that the reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India.

But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was white-washed and most culprits went not only unpunished but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue, and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw too that not only did the reforms not mark a change of heart, but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude.

I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the



British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically. A disarmed India has no power of resistance against any aggressor if she wanted to engage in an armed conflict with him. So much is this the case that some of our best men consider that India must take generations before she can achieve the Dominion status. She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Before the British advent, India spun and wove in her millions of cottages just the supplement she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. The cottage industry, so vital for India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by English witnesses. Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of Indians are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realise that the Government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history. The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign expoliter. My unbiassed examination of the Punjab Martial Law cases has led me to believe that at least ninety-five per cent. of convictions were wholly bad. My



experience of political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every ten the condemned men were totally innocent. Their crime consisted in love of their country. In ninety-nine cases out of hundred, justice has been denied to Indians as against Europeans in the Courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases. In my opinion the administration of the law is thus prostituted consciously or unconsciously for the benefit of the exploiter.

The greatest misfortune is that Englishmen and their Indian associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. I am satisfied that many English and Indian officials honestly believe that they are administering one of the best systems devised in the world and that India is making steady though slow progress. They do not know that a subtle but effective system of terrorism and an organised display of force on the one hand and the deprivation of all powers of retaliation or self-defence on the other have emasculated the people and induced in them the habit of simulation. This awful habit has added to the ignorance and the self-deception of the administrators. Section 124-A under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or thing one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection so long as he does not contemplate, promote or incite to violence.



But the section under which Mr. Banker and I are charged is one under which mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some of the cases tried under it, and I know that some of the most loved of India's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privilege therefore, to be charged under it. I have endeavoured to give in their briefest outline the reasons for my disaffection. I have no personal ill-will against any single administrator, much less can I have any disaffection towards the King's person. But I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before. Holding such a belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system. And it has been a precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have in the various articles tendered in evidence against me.

In fact I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in Non-Co-operation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion, non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past, non-co-operation has been deliberately expressed in violence to the evildoer. I am endeavouring to show to my countrymen that violent non-co-operation only multiplies evil and that as evil can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is deliberate crime and what



appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the Judge and the Assessors, is either to resign your posts and thus dissociate yourselves from evil if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent, or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country and that my activity is therefore injurious to the public weal.

THE JUDGMENT.

[After Mr. Gandhi had made his statement Mr. Broomfield the Sessions Judge, pronounced the following judgment:]

Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy one way by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless, what remains namely, the determination of a just sentence is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge in this country could have to face. The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is not my duty and I do not presume to judge or criticise you in any other character. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law who has by his own admission broken the law and committed, what to an ordinary man must appear to be, grave offences against the State. I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence, it passes my capacity to understand. There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so. I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to me to be necessary in the interest of the public, and I propose in passing sentence to follow the precedent of a case in many respects similar to this case that was decided some twelve years ago. I mean the case against Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The



sentence that was passed upon him as it finally stood was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak. That is a sentence of two years' simple imprisonment on each count of the charge, six years in all which I feel it my duty to pass upon you ; and I should like to say in doing so that if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you no one will be better pleased than I.

MR. GANDHI'S REPLY.

[*After the Judge had pronounced sentence, Mr. Gandhi said:*] I would say one word since you have done me the honour of recalling the trial of the late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, I just want to say that I consider it to be the proudest privilege and honour to be associated with his name. So far as the sentence itself is concerned I certainly consider that it is as light as any judge would inflict on me and so far as the whole proceedings are concerned I must say that I could not have expected greater courtesy.

MESSAGE TO THE COUNTRY.

[*After sentence and before he left the court Mr. Gandhi asked the General Secretary of the Congress who was near him to convey to the country the following message:*]

"I am delighted that heavenly peace reigned supreme throughout the country during the last six days. If it continues to the end of the chapter, it is bound to be brief and illuminating."



JAIL LIFE IN INDIA.

THE MEANING OF THE IMPRISONMENTS.*

[We have in the early part of the book given Mr. Gandhi's jail experiences in South Africa. From time to time in the columns of *Young India* Mr. Gandhi referred to the treatment of prisoners in Indian jails and as non-co-operators sought imprisonment in their hundreds in the closing week of 1921, Mr. Gandhi had occasion to refer again and again to jail discipline and the way that non-co-operators should conduct themselves within the prison walls. The following articles and notes were written for the guidance of his followers and much interest centres on the essay on the "Model Prisoner" in view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi himself is undergoing his prison experience in India. It was characteristic of Mr. Gandhi too that when Devadas his youngest son and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari visited him in the Erravada jail he told them that his prison life should not be made the subject of discussion in the press. Having courted imprisonment he would not complain of the treatment, but quietly and cheerfully bear the sufferings in the true spirit of the Satyagrahi. It was in this spirit too that he wrote to his friend Mr. Andrews that his ideal of a prison life was to be completely cut off from the world during the period of incarceration.]

HUNGER STRIKE.

I cannot sufficiently warn non-co-operation prisoners against the danger of hastily embarking upon hunger strikes in their prisons. It cannot be justified as a means for removing irksome gaol restrictions. For a gaol is nothing if it does not impose upon us restrictions which we will not submit to in ordinary life. A hunger strike would be justified when inhumanity is practised, food issued which offends one's religious sense or which

* *Young India*, Nov. 3, 1921.



is unfit for human consumption. It would be rejected when it is offered in an insulting manner. In other words it should be rejected when acceptance would prove us to be slaves of hunger.

WHY SUFFER.

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



grounds which are not strictly moral but largely expedient. We thus avoid imprisonment, because first we think that the nation is not ready for complete civil revolt, secondly we think that the atmosphere of voluntary obedience and non-violence has not been firmly established, and thirdly we have not done any constructive corporate work to inspire self-confidence. We therefore refrain from offering civil disobedience amounting to peaceful rebellion, but court imprisonment merely in the ordinary pursuit of our programme and in defence of complete freedom of opinion and action short of revolt.

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

SOMETHING STRIKING.

But friends whisper into my ears, we must do something striking when the prince comes. Certainly not for the sake of impressing him, certainly not for the sake of demonstration. But I would use the occasion of his imposed visit for stimulating us into greater activity. That would constitute the most glorious



impression upon the Prince and the world, because we would have made an impression upon ourselves. The shortest way to Swaraj lies through self-impression, self-expression and self-reliance, both corporate and individual. I would certainly love the idea of filling the gaols before the Prince arrives, but I see no way to it except after very vigorous Swadeshi. There is great progress undoubtedly in that direction, but there is not revolutionary or lightning speed. Arithmetical progression will not answer, geometrical progression is absolutely necessary. It is not enough for us to be washed by the Swadeshi spirit, we must be flooded with it. Then thousands of us involuntarily, as if by a common impulse, will march forward to civil disobedience. To-day we are obliged very rightly to measure every step for want of confidence. Indeed I do not even feel sure that thousands of us are ready to suffer imprisonment, or that we have so far understood the message of non-violence as never to be ruffled or goaded into violence.

A REST CURE.

And prisons have lost their terror for the people. Hardly a non-co-operator save in one or two cases has betrayed the slightest hesitation to go to gaol. On the contrary the majority have regarded it as a rest cure. Given an atmosphere of non-violence, — a prime necessity, — disappearance of fear of gaol and greater activity by reasons of imprisonments, and we have an ideal state for the establishment of Swaraj.

THE LOGICAL RESULT.

The logical result of all this reasoning is that we must quickly organise ourselves for courting arrests wholesale, and that not rudely, roughly or blusteringly,



certainly never violently, but peacefully quietly, courteously, humbly, prayerfully, and courageously. By the end of December every worker must find himself in gaol unless he is specially required in the interest of the struggle not to make the attempt. Let it be remembered, that in civil disobedience we precipitate arrests and therefore may keep few outside the attempt.

REQUISITE CONDITIONS

Those only can take up civil disobedience, who believe in willing obedience even to irksome laws imposed by the state so long as they do not hurt their conscience or religion, and are prepared equally willingly to suffer the penalty of civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil has to be absolutely non-violent. The underlying principle being the winning over of the opponent by suffering, *i.e.*, love.

WORK IN GAOLS.*

An esteemed friend asked me whether now that the Government have provided an opportunity for hundreds to find themselves imprisoned and as thousands are responding, will it not be better for the prisoners to refuse to do any work in the gaols at all? I am afraid that suggestion comes from a misapprehension of the moral position. We are not out to abolish gaols as an institution. Even under Swaraj we would have our gaols. Our civil disobedience therefore must not be carried beyond the point of breaking the unmoral laws of the country. Breach of the laws to be civil assumes

* *Young India*, Dec. 15, 1921.



the strictest and willing obedience to the gaol discipline because disobedience of a particular rule assumes a willing acceptance of the sanction provided for its breach. And immediately a person quarrels both with the rule and the sanction for its breach, he ceases to be civil and lends himself to the precipitation of chaos and anarchy. A civil resister is, if one may be permitted such a claim for him, a philanthropist and a friend of the state. An anarchist is an enemy of the state and is therefore a misanthrope. I have permitted myself to use the language of war because the so called constitutional method has become so utterly ineffective. But I hold the opinion firmly that civil disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation. Of course it becomes degrading and despicable if its civil, *ie.*, non-violent character is a mere camouflage. If the honesty of non-violence be admitted, there is no warrant for condemnation even of the fiercest disobedience because of the likelihood of its leading to violence. No big or swift movement can be carried on without bold risks and life will not be worth living if it is not attended with large risks. Does not the history of the world show that there would have been no Romance in life if there had been no risks? It is the clearest proof of a degenerate atmosphere that one finds respectable people, leaders of society raising their hands in horror and indignation at the slightest approach of danger or upon an outbreak of any violent commotion. We do want to drive out the beast in man, but we do not want on that account to emasculate him. And in the process of finding his own status, the beast in him is bound now and again to put up his ugly appearance. As I have often stated in these pages what strikes me down is not



the sight of blood under every conceivable circumstance. It is blood spilt by the non-co-operator or his supporters in breach of his declared pledge, which paralyses me as I know it ought to paralyse every honest non-co-operator.

Therefore to revert to the original argument, as civil resisters we are bound to guard against universal indiscipline. Gaol discipline must be submitted to until gaol Government itself becomes or is felt to be corrupt and immoral. But deprivation of comfort, imposition of restriction and such other inconveniences do not make gaol Government corrupt. It becomes that when prisoners are humiliated or treated with inhumanity as when they are kept in filthy dens or are given food unfit for human consumption. Indeed, I hope that the conduct of non-co-operators in the gaol will be strictly correct, dignified and yet submissive. We must not regard gaolers and warders as our enemies but as fellow human beings not utterly devoid of the human touch. Our gentlemanly behaviour is bound to disarm all suspicion or bitterness. I know that this path of discipline on the one hand and fierce defiance on the other is a very difficult path, but there is no royal road to Swaraj. The country has deliberately chosen the narrow and the straight path. Like a straight line it is the shortest distance. But even as you require a steady and experienced hand to draw a straight line, so are steadiness of discipline and firmness of purpose absolutely necessary if we are to walk along the chosen path with an unerring step.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that it is not going to be a bed of roses for any of the civil resisters. And my head reels and the heart throbs when I recall



the lives of Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das in their palatial rooms surrounded by numerous willing attendants and by every comfort and convenience that money can buy and when I think of what is in store for them inside the cold unattractive prison walls where they will have to listen to the clanking of the prisoner's chains in the place of the sweet music of their drawing rooms. But I steel my heart with the thought that it is the sacrifice of just such heroes that will usher in Swaraj. The noblest of South Africans, Canadians Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans have had to undergo much greater sacrifices than we have mapped out for ourselves.

A MODEL PRISONER.*

Should non-co-operators shout *Bande Mataram* inside jail against jail discipline which may excite ordinary prisoners to violence, should non-co-operators go on hunger strike for the improvement of food or other conveniences, should they strike work inside jails on *hartal* days and other days? Are non-co-operators entitled to break rules of jail discipline unless they affect their conscience? Such is the text of a telegram I received from a non-co operator friend in Calcutta. From another part of India when a friend, again a non-co-operator, heard of the indiscipline of non-co-operator prisoners, he asked me to write on the necessity of observing jail discipline. As against this I know prisoners who are scrupulously observing in a becoming spirit all the discipline imposed upon them.

It is necessary, when thousands are going to jail, to understand exactly the position a non-co-operator

**Young India*, Dec. 29, 1921.



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

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

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



of evolving high discipline within a short time.

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

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

It is now manifest that shouts of *Bande Mataram* or any other in breach of jail discipline are unlawful for a non-co-operator to indulge in. It is equally unlawful for him to commit a stealthy breach of jail regulations. A non-co-operator will do nothing to demoralise his fellow prisoners. The only occasion when he can openly disobey jail regulations or hunger-strike is when an attempt is made to humiliate him or when the warders themselves break, as they often do, the rules for the comfort of prisoners or when food that is unfit for human consumption is issued as it often is. A case for civil disobedience also arises when there is interference with any obligatory religious practice.



Miscellaneous

A CONFESSION OF FAITH

[The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi to a friend in India in 1909 :—]

(1) There is no impassable barrier between East and West.

(2) There is no such thing as Western or European civilization, but there is a modern civilization which is purely material.

(3) The people of Europe, before they were touched by modern civilization, had much in common with the people of the East ; anyhow the people of India, and even to-day Europeans who are not touched by modern civilization, are far better able to mix with Indians than the offspring of that civilization.

(4) It is not the British people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraph, telephone, and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilization.

(5) Bombay, Calcutta, and the other chief cities of India are the real plague spots.

(6) If British rule were replaced to-morrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England ; but then India would only become a second or fifth nation of Europe or America.



(7) East and West can only really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when East has also adopted modern civilization, but that meeting would be an armed truce, even as it is between, say, Germany and England, both of which nations are living in the Hall of Death in order to avoid being devoured the one by the other.

(8) It is simply impertinence for any man or any body of men to begin or to contemplate reform of the whole world. To attempt to do so by means of highly artificial and speedy locomotion, is to attempt the impossible.

(9) Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth.

(10) Medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill.

(11) Hospitals are the instruments that the Devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery and degradation and real slavery. I was entirely off the track when I considered that I should receive a medical training. It would be sinful for me in any way whatsoever to take part in the abominations that go on in the hospitals. If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives, we should have less consumption, and less sexual vice amongst us.

(12) India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years. The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and such like have all to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live consciously and religiously and deliberately the



simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness.

(13) India should wear no machine-made clothing whether it comes out of European mills or Indian mills.

(14) England can help India to do this and then she will have justified her hold on India. There seems to be many in England to-day who think likewise.

(15) There was true wisdom in the sages of old having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people: the rude plough of perhaps five thousand years ago is the plough of the husbandman to-day. Therein lies salvation. People live long under such conditions, in comparative peace much greater than Europe has enjoyed after having taken up modern activity, and I feel that every enlightened man, certainly every Englishman, may, if he chooses, learn this truth and act according to it.

It is the true spirit of passive resistance that has brought me to the above almost definite conclusions. As a passive resister, I am unconcerned whether such a gigantic reformation, shall I call it, can be brought about among people who find their satisfaction from the present mad rush. If I realize the truth of it, I should rejoice in following it, and therefore I could not wait until the whole body of people had commenced. All of us who think likewise have to take the necessary step, and the rest, if we are in the right, must follow. The theory is there: our practice will have to approach it as much as possible. Living in the midst of the rush, we may not be able to shake ourselves free from all taint. Everytime I get into a railway car or use a motor-bus, I know that I am doing violence to my sense of what is right. I do not fear the logical result on that basis. The visiting of