THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XVIII (1920)

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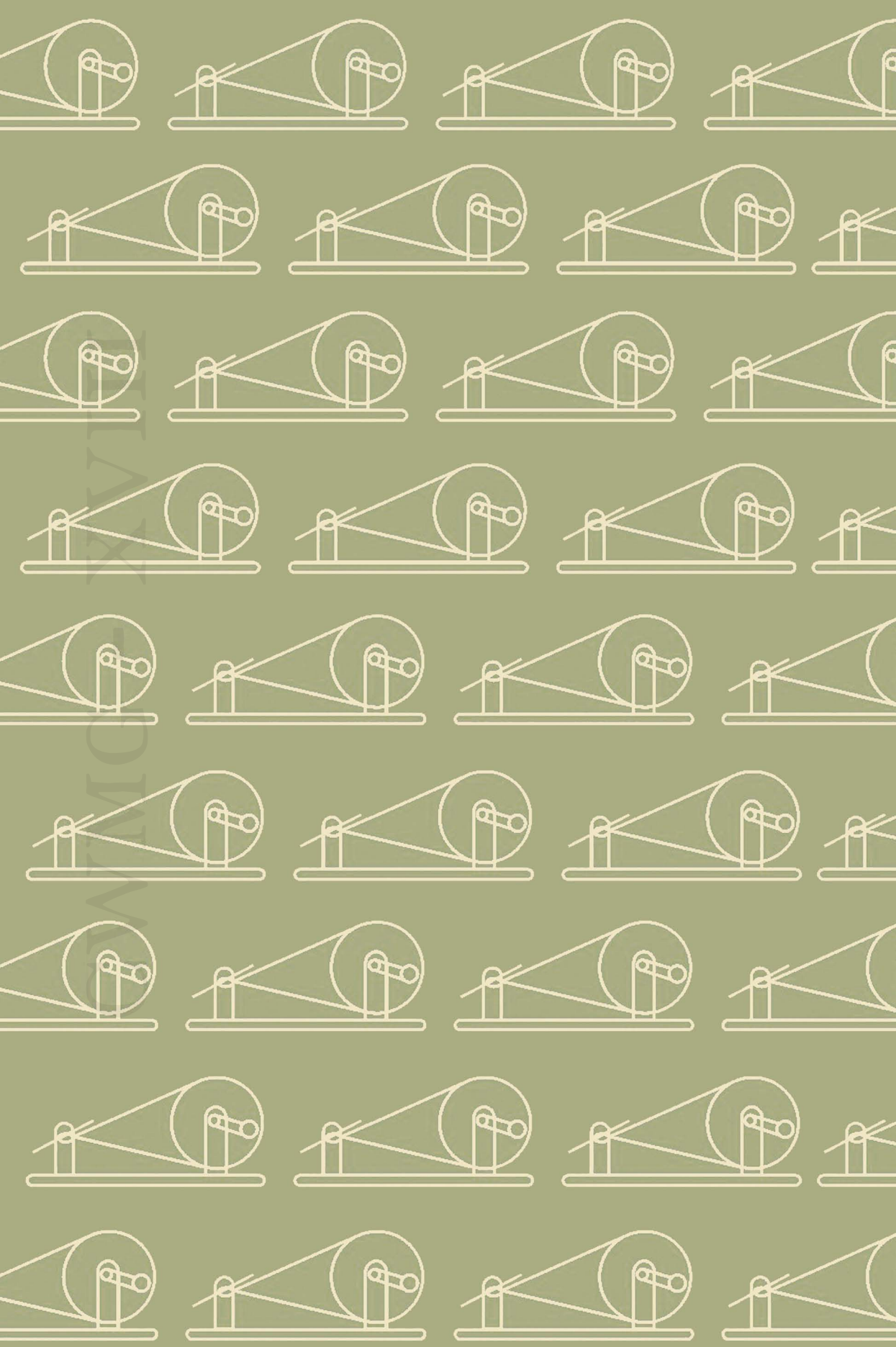


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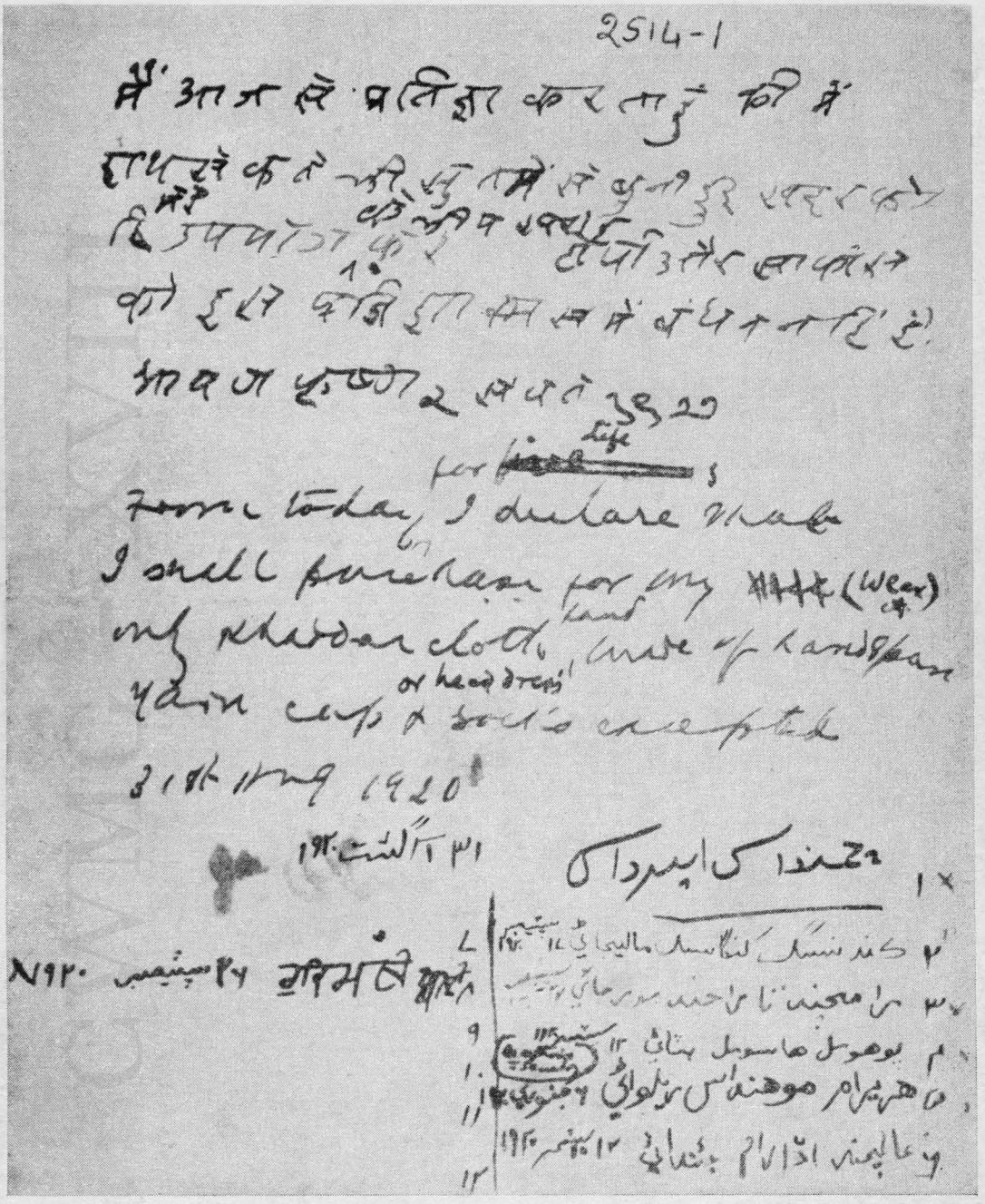


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XVIII

(July - November 1920)

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KHADI VOW (p. 215)

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PREFACE

This volume covers the four and a half months from July 1 to November 17, 1920. The chief interest of the period is Gandhiji's country-wide tour of mass education, in the course of which he launched a powerful attack on the British Empire and the Government of India, which he repeatedly described as *Ravanarajya*. The vehemence of the attack must have surprised his contemporaries; it certainly invited adverse comment as being inconsistent with his doctrine of non-violence. But Gandhiji had cherished his faith in the British Government for so long in the face of disturbing evidence that when the revulsion came it expressed itself in language which was unmistakably strong. He had declared war on the evil which the system of government in India represented and he wanted to arouse the people to the magnitude of this evil. He took pains, however, to emphasize that they were fighting the evil itself and not the British nation, and that the only way to do this was to re-order national life so as to purge it of centuries-old evils. Withdrawal of co-operation from the Government was only the first step in the process. He, therefore, never wearied of telling his audiences and his critics that non-co-operation as he had conceived it was a movement for self-purification.

It was no easy task simultaneously to make the people feel the wrongs of the British Government and the evils in society. The audiences differed in their outlook, their temperaments and their interests. The theoretical justification of civil disobedience and non-co-operation, which Gandhiji derived from Thoreau, was beyond the comprehension even of the English-educated class in the country. But Gandhiji had an unrivalled gift of identifying himself with his audiences and addressing his arguments to them in a language which they could understand. Whether he was speaking to English-educated audiences in the South or to Muslims in the North, whether to devout women in Gujarat or to university students and teachers in any part of the country, he instinctively adapted his point of view to theirs. He soon emerged as the national leader with the widest appeal both among the educated classes and the masses. Gandhiji used this position for transforming the Congress into an instrument of dynamic change. "In drafting the constitution," he said in a letter to N. C. Kelkar on July 2, 1920, "I have attempted to give the Congress a representative character such as would make its demands irresistible" (p. 3). This

aim may not have been realized to the full, but the revised constitution and the mass appeal which Gandhiji wielded soon changed the character of the Congress beyond recognition.

Gandhiji started his tour with the North. In speech after speech, at Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Karachi and Hyderabad (Sind), he appealed to the people for active participation in the non-co-operation movement. His non-co-operation programme included boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales, of schools, courts and councils, of titles, medals and honours; of foreign cloth, of Government loans and even of the army. It included adoption of khadi and swadeshi. It was not easy to win over Muslim audiences to his creed of non-violence. He dwelt, therefore, on the practical consequences of violence and on the heroism and courage of facing death unarmed. For instance, he said at Rawalpindi: "It seems to me that you will face defeat if you use your swords; not only that, but your swords will be turned against your people, men and women alike . . . (p. 64). Proclaim to the Government: 'You may hang us on the gallows, you may send us to prison, but you will get no co-operation from us. . .' " (p. 66).

To an audience in Madras, he spoke in a different accent, almost with the passion of a prophet: "As soon as India accepts the doctrine of the sword, my life as an Indian is finished. It is because I believe in a mission special to India, and it is because I believe that the ancients of India, after centuries of experience, have found out that the true thing for any human being on earth is not justice based on violence but justice based on sacrifice of self, justice based on *yajna* and *kurbani*—I cling to that doctrine and I shall cling to it for ever. . . I am not anti-English; I am not anti-British; I am not anti-any Government; but I am anti-un-truth—anti-humbug and anti-injustice. So long as the Government spells injustice, it may regard me as its enemy, implacable enemy. . . .Even if I should die in the attempt, it is worth dying for than that I should live and deny my own doctrine. . . . May God grant the people of India the right path, the true vision and the ability and the courage to follow this path, difficult and yet easy, of sacrifice" (pp. 146-54). He expounded this conviction in still more forceful and measured language in "The Doctrine of the Sword" in *Young India*: "Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. . . . I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For satyagraha and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. . . . Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole

might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration. . . . I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of a whole world. . . . India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself'' (pp. 133-4). In ''The Inwardness of Non-co-operation'', he described Western civilization as representing powers of darkness'' and ''the spirit of Satan'', in opposition to which the movement of non-co-operation represented ''the powers of light'' (p. 235).

Gandhiji adopted a different approach when writing in *Navajivan* or addressing audiences which shared his religious sentiments. He explained the war in the *Ramayana* as the war of good and evil, good as represented by Rama who had purified himself through self-denial and self-discipline, and evil as represented by Ravana who followed the ways of self-indulgence and self-will. He described the British Government as *Ravanarajya* and the ideal swaraj of his conception as *Ramarajya*. He appealed to the traditional sentiment of being defiled by association with evil and called upon the people to shun the British Government in India and its favours and benefits. Before women, he held up the example of Sita who, as Ravana's prisoner in Lanka, had refused to do the oppressor's will and despised his gifts. This traditional approach perhaps obscured the essentially progressive vision of Gandhiji and led to misunderstanding in some quarters.

The most controversial item in the non-co-operation programme was Gandhiji's call to students to leave schools and colleges. He not only wanted, in this way, the supply of clerks to the Government to be stopped, but sought to deliver the people from the fruits of what he described as an education for slavery. The educational system as it had been built up by the British had concentrated on intellectual training, to the exclusion of moral education. Moreover, the prevailing atmosphere in educational institutions discountenanced the growth of an independent and upright spirit and gave a pro-British slant to all liberal studies, especially history. Gandhiji often appealed to students over the heads of their parents, taking the stand that everyone above the age of 16 was entitled to choose his own course in life. He of course qualified his appeal by equal insistence on self-discipline and courtesy on the part of students who decided to leave their

institutions, but the general effect of his call was to make the young less submissive to authority, whether for good or ill. Simultaneously, Gandhiji sponsored constructive efforts in the educational field. A national university, Gujarat Vidyapith, was established in Ahmedabad. His speech at a students' meeting in Ahmedabad and his inaugural address on November 15 as chancellor of the Vidyapith provide a comprehensive statement of his position on the subject of education.

The non-co-operation movement was to start on August 1. Gandhiji himself inaugurated it on this day by his "Letter to Viceroy" (pp. 104-6), returning the Kaiser-i-Hind medal and the other medals granted to him for his humanitarian services during the Zulu rebellion and Boer War in South Africa. On this very day, Destiny removed Lokamanya Tilak from the national scene. Gandhiji's spontaneous admiration for Tilak's patriotism and service to the country inspired a glowing tribute from his pen to the departed leader (pp. 110-1). Tilak's death left Gandhiji undisputed leader of the nationalist forces. His programme of non-co-operation was accepted at a special session of the Congress in Calcutta in September. The volume closes with Gandhiji firmly declaring, in his reply to Government's *communique* on the non-co-operation movement, "Till . . . clear repentance comes, . . . so far as I can read the national mind, non-violent non-co-operation will and must remain the creed of the nation. . ." (p. 479).

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NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text have generally been spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with indent. Indirect reports of speeches and passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type.

While translating from the Gujarati or Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where translations were available, these have been used with minimum necessary changes to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is printed within square brackets giving reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication.

In the source-line, the symbol S. N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; N.A.I. indicates those preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi; C.W. denotes letters secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

References to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* cite only the Part and the Chapter in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are given at the end.

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1. "PATH OF TRUTH FOR THE BRAVE ALONE"[1]

July, 1920

"The path of truth is for the brave alone, never for a coward." I realize the significance of this poem[2] more and more as days pass. I also see that it is not for grown-ups only to put the idea of this verse into practice; children and students, too, can do so. If we try to know and follow the path of truth right from childhood, then alone, on growing up, shall we be saved from following the path of untruth. Just as a disease, if neglected, becomes chronic and incurable, so also untruth, if permitted to take root in us from childhood, will later grow into a serious disease and, becoming incurable, gradually ruin our health. It is for this reason that we find untruth increasing in us.

So the highest lesson to be learnt during one's student-life is that one should know truth and act on it.

This path has always been for the brave because a much greater effort is required to go up the steep slope of truth than to climb the Himalayas. If at all, therefore, we want to work in this direction and serve ourselves, we should give the first place to truth and march forward with unshakable faith in it. Truth is God.

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Madhpudo, I, ii

[1] This was Gandhiji's contribution to *Madhpudo*, the manuscript magazine of the Ashram School, Sabarmati.

[2] By Pritamdas (*c.* 1720-1798); a Gujarati poet and Vedantin

2. *LETTER TO THE PRESS ON REPATRIATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS*

July 1, 1920[1]

I have just read the interim report[2] of the South African Commission[3] published in *Indian Opinion* recently received. As it reads, the report seems to be harmless. Even the word "repatriation" does not occur in it. It is a cautiously-worded document. And as there seems to be no opposition to the recommendation from the resident Indian population, I am not inclined to oppose the proposal of the Commission. At the same time there is no mistaking its intention. Indeed they have not even attempted to conceal it, for, they ask His Excellency the Governor of South Africa "to appoint an official well acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods to act in a sympathetic manner and lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India". The case for the scheme is that the Indians are anxious to return and that the scheme satisfies that anxiety whereas the anxiety seems to be all on the part of the Commission and their return is to be stimulated by placing its advantages before our sorely tried countrymen. The working of the scheme will, however, require ceaseless watching. There should be no compulsion of any kind whatsoever and no forfeiture of rights of domicile. I was pleased to notice absence of any reference to such forfeiture in the interim report. One however never knows what undertaking may not be taken from the poor returning Indians against the grant of a free passage. If the scheme is benevolently intended to relieve the present distress the Union Government will simply facilitate the return of those who are unable to support themselves in South Africa, without bargaining for the forfeiture of domicile. To insist upon the loss

[1] Released on this date through the Associated Press of India; *vide The Bombay Chronicle*, 2-7-1920.

[2] It contained a scheme of voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa to be carried out under Section 6 of the Indians' Relief Act, 1914; *vide* "Uncanny", 14-7-1920.

[3] Appointed by the South African Government to enquire into the question of Asiatics trading and holding land in South Africa. The Commission was assisted by Sir Benjamin Robertson on behalf of the Government of India.

of that valuable right would be to take a mean advantage of the distressful condition of some of our countrymen in South Africa.

Young India, 7-7-1920

3. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR[1]

CONGRESS[2]

BOMBAY-7,
July 2 [*1920*][3]

DEAR MR. KELKAR[4],

I thank you for your very prompt rep[ly.]

I retur[n] . . . t . . . which you may keep . . .

I shall t . . . t an alternative of the cree[d in ter]ms of your suggestion. We ce[rtainly] ought to make it the broadest possible.

I agree that we need not fix the fees for membership for Congress committees. Perhaps you will agree to a minimum fee.

I accept [yo]ur suggestion as to the advisability of laying down the method of Taluka and District committees.

If you wish to avoid overlapping and want a fairly scientific constitution you will find that there is no room for affiliations. Those who want to be represented must join one of the series of groups.

Whether you accept the limit at 1,000 or will increase it, I think the membership ought to be limited to a manageable figure. Without that the Congress will remain an unwieldy body and we would not [be able] to carry the weight we othe[rwise cou]ld. In drafting the con[stitution I ha]ve attempted to give the [Congress] a representative character such as would make its demands irresis-[tible.] I would therefore ask you to [recon]sider your views about limiting the number.

I accept your figure for delegate's fee.

I agree that the other fees may not [be] fixed by the Congress.

The present rules for the election of the president may remain as they are. I wanted to say so but my letter had already gone. But I would erase the bombastic speeches that are made at the

[1] The office copy of the letter has been damaged in many places by termites.

[2] The word "Congress" in Gandhiji's hand indicates the file in which the letter was to go.

[3] The constitution referred to in this letter was passed in 1920. *Vide* also Vol. XVII, p. 487.

[4] 1872-1947; political leader of Maharashtra; author and journalist

time of the election. Two best speakers may in addition to the chairman of the R.C.[1] introduce the president in the briefest speeches.

I value your suggestion as to the treasurer, also as to the payment to British Congress Committee.

I have not understood the *raison d'etre* of your suggestion regarding elections to the All I.C.C[2].

Draft resolution[s and] suggestions quite sound.

Your time . . . is quite worthy of you and [reasonab]le.

The demonst[rative p]art I don't like. The wh[ole] Con[gress] must be deliberation and demonstration at the same time. If you divide the two, the demonstration will fall flat. The spectators pay to watch your actual d[eba]tes. We may here imitate the House of Commons. Call to mind the visitors' gallery. When we have limited the number of delegates we carefully rope them in and isolate them from the visitors. Today our *pandal*[3] is as unbusiness-like as our proceedings. Introduce business in your programme and you will evolve a *pandal* to suit your new needs, quite effective and much cheaper than at present.

I think I have now touched all your points. I wish the other two[4] would copy your prom[ptne]ss.

Pray excuse my w[retched h]andwriting. Mahadev Des[ai][5] is in Bijolia. My other aman[uensis] had a bereavement in his [fam]ily.[6]

M. K. GANDHI

From a pencil draft: S.N. 7420 R

4. *NON-CO-OPERATION*

Since there is no reason to hope that, before August 1, either the Khilafat issue will have been satisfactorily solved or a revision of the peace terms promised, we must get ready to start non-co-operation. The Committee is making preparations in this behalf. Meantime, the following can be done:

1. Not to subscribe to new loans.
2. Not to register one's name for recruitment in military or civil service.

[1] Reception Committee
[2] All-India Congress Committee
[3] Enclosure
[4] Iyengar and Sen; *Vide* Vol. XVII, p. 487.
[5] 1892-1942; Gandhiji's secretary for 25 years
[6] This paragraph is in Gandhiji's hand.

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The Government has no right to occupy Mesopotamia. Mandate is in fact nothing but occupation. Moreover, according to newspaper reports, the Arabs do not like even the sight of Indian soldiers there. Whether or not this is true, it is the duty of every Indian not to join such service. Those who go to Mesopotamia will be doing so merely for money. We must refuse to do this, if we do no more.

Not only can it never be our duty to rule by force over the Arabs, but we, who do not wish to remain in slavery, cannot wish to make others slaves.

Thus it behoves us not to subscribe to new loans and to refuse, from this very day, to offer ourselves as new recruits for service under the Government, especially for service which requires us to go to Mesopotamia.

In addition, it is hoped that the following things will be done from August 1 onwards :

1. Titles and honorary positions will be renounced.
2. Legislatures will be boycotted.
3. Parents will withdraw their children from Government schools.
4. Lawyers will give up practice and help people to settle their civil disputes among themselves.
5. Invitations to Government functions, parties, etc., will be politely refused, non-co-operation being given as the sole reason for doing so.

It is likely that this programme will be adopted from August 1, if the Khilafat question is not settled.

Lala Lajpat Rai[1] has announced non-co-operation in the form of boycott of legislatures if justice is not done in the matter of the Punjab. So we can now take it that the Punjab too has joined the Khilafat agitation. Just as on this issue Muslims should take the lead, in the matter of the Punjab the Punjabis themselves should take the lead. If they do not adopt non-co-operation, one may say that the other parts of India cannot do so either.

We shall hope that Lalaji will not stop with boycott of legislatures. Until we win, we shall have to go on extending the scope of non-co-operation, and be ready to take the four steps suggested earlier. I am convinced, however, that we would win if the whole nation joins in boycotting legislatures.

[1] 1865-1928; social reformer and journalist; president, Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, 1920; founder of Servants of the People Society

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Three different views on the question of [boycotting] legislatures have been expressed:

1. Not to start non-co-operation at all;
2. to adopt non-co-operation after election to legislatures;
3. to boycott legislatures from the very start.

The first position is entirely opposed to non-co-operation. The second alone needs to be examined. I am convinced that it will be a waste of effort to try to enter legislatures and then to refrain from attending their sessions. It is a waste of money and time alike. I do not at all see the point of doing this. What if unworthy people get elected because we do not come forward? If such people enter the legislatures, the Government will not be able to run the government of an awakened people and it will be laughed at. Moreover, if we join in the elections, we shall not be able to show what real boycott can be. Our duty is so to educate public opinion—opinion of the voters—that it will be impossible for anybody to get elected to legislatures as their representatives. So long as there is lack of understanding between the king and the subjects, to attend the king's council is to strengthen his hands. A king cannot govern at all if he is not able to carry any section of his subjects with him. It follows from this that the fewer the subjects who co-operate with him, the less will be his authority. Hence, for those who accept non-co-operation, the total boycott of legislatures is the only right course. And so I hope that those who are busy trying to get elected to legislatures will give up the attempt for the present and address themselves to the more important work, that of educating public opinion on the Khilafat and the Punjab issues, and so serve the people that, when the time for entering legislatures comes, they will be better qualified in virtue of their service.

Now remain the other two suggestions which are likely to be severely criticized. The lawyers should, for the time being, give up practice and intending litigants or those who find themselves dragged into litigation should boycott the courts and get their disputes settled through arbitration boards. It is my confirmed belief that every Government masks its brute force and maintains its control over the people through civil and criminal courts, for it is cheaper, simpler and more honourable, for a ruler that instead of his controlling the people through naked force, they themselves, lured into slavery through courts, etc., submit to him of their own accord. If people settle their civil disputes among themselves and the lawyers, unmindful of self-interest, boycott the courts in the interest of the people, the latter can advance in no time. I have believed

for many years that every State tries to perpetuate its power through lawyers. Hence, though fully aware that I will be criticized for making this suggestion, I have no hesitation in putting it forward.

What is true of lawyers is true of schools. Even without such momentous issues as those of the Khilafat and the Punjab, I would certainly, if I could, see to it that the present schools were completely abandoned and would provide the right kind of education for children on whom the future of India rests. But my purpose at present in calling for a boycott of the schools is different; I want to show the Government by rendering the schools idle that, so long as justice is not done in regard to the Punjab and the Khilafat, co-operation with it is distasteful. I know that this suggestion will be visited with a good deal of ridicule. But, with the passing of time, people will realize that if they refused to crowd the Government schools, it would be impossible to run the administration. Look where we will all over the world, we shall find that the education imparted to the children is intended to facilitate smooth running of the Government. Where the Government is concerned solely with public welfare, so is the educational system; where the Government is of a mixed kind—as in India—the educational system is also calculated to confuse the intellect and is positively harmful. While making this suggestion I do not wish that the youth should be left altogether unprovided with education. Not for a moment do I wish people's education to stop. But I believe that, even when the schools have been deserted, we can look after people's education all right. I know that the suggestions I have made are quite serious and I do not expect to be able to convince readers all at once. I shall take up these subjects time and again and place my arguments before the public.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1920

5. KHILAFAT AND SWADESHI

Pathan Alamkhan Jivakhan writes[1] from Damnagar[2].

This is really a heartening letter. It is plain that the Khilafat agitation will benefit the cause of swadeshi. But the resolve not to use articles made in Europe only so long as the Khilafat issue remained unsolved does not seem to me proper. Muslims ought not to use European goods even if they get full justice on the Khilafat question. It is, moreover, not enough to boycott European goods alone. No foreign goods, including Japanese goods, should be used. The swadeshi movement is intended as a permanent change. No matter how justly Europe deals with us, it is our duty to use only swadeshi goods so that India may ever get perfect justice. The country, thus, can prosper only through the spinning-wheel and the handloom. Lakhs of Muslims have given up spinning and lakhs of Muslim weavers have given up weaving. If Hindu and Muslim women again take to spinning and Hindu and Muslim weavers to weaving, within a short time the country will be able to produce all the cloth it needs. I wish, therefore, to draw the attention of all, specially of women, to the example that Damnagar has set. But what can women do about it, so long as men do not provide them with spinning-wheels and slivers of cotton by getting cotton carded by the local carders? I trust, therefore, that at least a few public-spirited men will come forward in every village, who, at a little trouble to themselves, will undertake to procure cotton, get it carded and turned into cotton rolls and supply them to women who may be prepared to spin. This is a business in which no loss is possible. Only last week we saw the instance of Dhasa[3] where men and women not only spin and weave but for the most part use cloth made in their own village and send out the surplus, if any, to other villages. There is no starvation, there cannot be any, in that village. With a little effort, things can be planned in a similar way in every village in India.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1920

[1] The letter is not given here. It said that, on the *Id* day, about 300 Muslims had resolved not to use foreign articles so long as the Khilafat question remained unsolved.

[2] A village in Saurashtra

[3] In Saurashtra. *Navajivan*, 27-6-1920, had published an account of D. B. Kalelkar and Narahari Parikh's visit to the village.

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6. *HOW "NAVAJIVAN" SHOULD BE RUN*

A correspondent, who does not give his name and address but describes himself as "one who regards *Navajivan* as his own", says :[1]

I have often pointed out that letters containing serious statements should never be anonymous. It seems to me that we, Indians, are more in the habit of writing such letters than foreigners. We seem afraid or ashamed of expressing our views openly. Why should one be afraid of expressing one's honest views? Or be ashamed of them? I repeat my advice to anonymous correspondents to give up this habit of anonymity. We have no right to express views or use language for which we are not prepared to accept responsibility.

This letter is reproduced almost literally. Had the writer signed it, perhaps he would not have made the language as bitter as he has. One who claims that he regards *Navajivan* "as his own" would put his views quite differently. A friend had placed before me the very same views, but there was sweetness and politeness in his way of complaining. I put it to "one who regards *Navajivan* as his own" that he could have used more polite language, if he had but cared to. It is our duty to speak out our views, if we think them right and conducive to public interest, but we are never free to dispense with politeness.

Lack of politeness is a sign of anger. The people are at present in an angry mood and boiling over, and therefore, pleased with nothing. They are labouring under a mistaken feeling of helplessness, that they are powerless to do anything which may end their suffering. And so they cling to anything that can make them forget their grief for a while, to anything which may provide them with an intoxicant in place of that of anger. That is why we see nowadays an excess of sensational writing in newspapers. Then, again, the craze for reading has increased and with that has grown the habit of reading long articles. All these are signs of a state of intoxication. Some people in Europe are so addicted to reading something or other that they cannot bear being without a book even for a while. It being impossible to go on reading instructive literature the whole day, the plague of "shilling shockers" is on the

[1] The letter which is not given here, complained that *Navajivan* had not fulfilled the hopes it had raised when it was started but, on the contrary, it had been deteriorating day by day.

increase. A "shilling shocker" is a hair-raising novel, costing 8 annas. Novels written in restrained language cannot be thrilling. So writers and publishers, whose sole object is to make money, tempt readers with impossible stories written in language which no decent man can stand. Reading "shilling shockers" has thus become a disease which has affected hundreds of thousands of men and women. Even we in India are now in danger of catching this disease.

It is *Navajivan's* effort, among other things, to protect the people against this danger. It will never lose sight of this aim and so the writer of this letter has but to have patience.

All the same, I must admit that there is some substance in the complaint of this correspondent. Our hope of being able to give better articles and getting them better printed has not been fully realized. Though we have the money for it, we have not yet been able to procure a printing machine which can print a large number of copies. Money cannot secure honesty. There has been difficulty in getting honest workers. The prices of paper have gone sky high while, when *Navajivan* was started, some people feared that they would fall. All these difficulties were unavoidable.

With all that, we do not feel any shame in presenting *Navajivan* to the public. Not one thoughtless statement appears in it. Anyone who keeps in mind the purpose which *Navajivan* exists to serve, will never desert it so long as the paper remains loyal to that aim. This aim has been to shed a new light on current affairs, to place before the people new ideas which have passed the test of experience, and to state whatever we think to be right, without fear of the Government or the public. From this pledge, *Navajivan* has not departed in the slightest degree and, therefore, it is certainly not "wallowing in the dust," nor is it "a helpless orphan".[1] There are, indeed, many obstacles in its path but it has always been, and will always be, struggling to surmount them.

The printing mistakes are to be regretted. Sometimes it happens that good articles intended for publication come too late and others of an inferior quality have to be put in. But from all this it cannot be argued that the aim with which *Navajivan* was started remains unfulfilled. One may also regret the reduction in the number of its pages,[2] but in these days of high cost of paper a man who claims to "regard *Navajivan* as his own" should excuse the reduction. There is no need, moreover, to jump to the conclu-

[1] As alleged in the letter under comment

[2] The size was reduced, first from 16 to 12 and then to 8 pages; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 70-2 & 346-7.

sion that, because the pages are fewer, the matter published is necessarily less than before. In fact, since the number of pages was reduced, an attempt is being made to make the articles more concise and there is absolutely no curtailment of the number of topics covered.

When all this is said, let it be understood that the letter above is published not for providing an occasion to defend *Navajivan*, but to invite those who see *Navajivan's* drawbacks to point them out and, at the same time, to advise intending critics not to give up politeness as also to gather sufficient courage to give their names. *Navajivan's* prestige cannot be kept up by defending it. It is obvious that *Navajivan* can survive only if, on the whole, it has intrinsic worth.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1920

7. CABLE TO MAHOMED ALI[1]

[Before *July 7, 1920*]

RESPECTFUL BUT FIRM MUSLIM REPRESENTATION[2] INFLUENTIALLY SIGNED[3] ANNOUNCING RESORT TO NON-CO-OPERATION FROM THE 1ST AUGUST IF PEACE TERMS BE NOT REVISED OR IF THE VICEROY DOES NOT HEAD KHILAFAT AGITATION NOW IN HIS EXCELLENCY'S HANDS. I HAVE SENT MY OWN SEPARATE REPRESENTATION[4] EXPLAINING MY CONNECTION WITH THE MOVEMENT AND ASSOCIATING MYSELF ENTIRELY WITH IT. IN MY OPINION THE VAST MAJORITY OF MUSLIM AND HINDU MASSES ARE BEHIND THIS GREAT AND JUST AGITATION FOR RESPECT OF MUSLIM RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT AND FOR ENSURING FULFILMENT OF MINISTERIAL PLEDGES. YOU MAY BE SURE OF EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BEING DONE ON THIS SIDE. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT IN THIS GREAT CAUSE GOD WILL HELP US IF WE WILL HELP OURSELVES.

Young India, 7-7-1920

[1] 1878-1931; orator, journalist and politician; led the Khilafat delegation to England in 1920; president of the Indian National Congress, 1923. This cable was sent to the addressee at London.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XVII, Appendix VI.

[3] Among the signatories were Yakub Hasan, Mazharul Haq, Maulana Abdul Bari, Hasrat Mohani, Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew.

[4] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 502-4.

8. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON NON-CO-OPERATION

[Before *July 7, 1920*]

Mr. Gandhi writes to the Press:

Needless to say that I am in entire accord with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of the boycott of the reformed councils. For me it is but one step in the campaign of non-co-operation and as I feel equally keenly on the Punjab question as on the khilafat, Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion is doubly welcome. I have seen the suggestion made in more quarters than one that non-co-operation on the reforms should commence after the process of election has been through. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election farce and the expense of it when we clearly do not intend to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative councils. Moreover, a great deal of educative work has to be done among the people. And if I could I would not have the best attention of the country frittered away in electioneering. The populace will not understand the beauty of non-co-operation if we seek election and then resign. But it would be a fine education for them if the electors are not to elect anybody and unanimously to tell whosoever may seek their suffrage that he would not represent them if he so sought election so long as the Punjab and Khilafat questions were not satisfactorily settled. I hope, however, that Lala Lajpat Rai does not mean to end with the boycott of the reformed councils. We must take if necessary every one of the four stages of non-co-operation if we are to be regarded as a self-respecting nation. The issue is clear. Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs show that Indian opinion counts for little in the councils of the Empire. It is a humiliating position, we shall make nothing of the reforms if we quietly swallow the humiliation. In my humble opinion therefore the first condition of real progress is the removal of these difficulties in our path. And unless some better course of action is devised *nolens volens* non-co-operation must hold the field.

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9. *STATEMENT BY NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE*

[Before *July 7, 1920*]

The following is a statement issued by the Non-co-operation Committee for public information and guidance:

Many questions have been asked of the Non-co-operation Committee as to its expectation and the methods to be adopted for beginning non-co-operation.

The Committee wish it to be understood that whilst they expect every one to respond to their recommendation to the full, they are desirous of carrying the weakest members also with them. The Committee want to enlist the passive sympathy, if not the active co-operation, of the whole of the country in the method of non-co-operation.

Those, therefore, who cannot undergo physical sacrifice will help by contributing funds or labour to the movement.

Should non-co-operation become necessary, the Committee has decided upon the following as part of the first stage:

1. Surrender of all titles of honour and honorary offices.

2. Non-participation in Government loans.

3. Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.

4. Boycott of Government schools by parents.

5. Boycott of the reformed councils.

6. Non-participation in Government parties, and such other functions.

7. Refusal to accept any civil or military post, in Mesopotamia, or to offer as Units for the army especially for service in the Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges.

Propagate Swadeshi

8. Vigorous prosecution of swadeshi inducing the people at the time of this national and religious awakening, to appreciate their primary duty to their country, by being satisfied with its own productions and manufactures.

Swadeshi must be pushed forward without waiting for the 1st of August, for it is an eternal rule of conduct not to be interrupted even when the settlement arrives.

In order not to commit themselves, people will refrain now from taking service either civil or military. They will also suspend taking Government loans, new or old.

For the rest, it should be remembered that non-co-operation does not commence before 1st August next.

Every effort is being, and will still be, made to avoid resort to such a serious breach with the Government by urging His Majesty's Ministers to secure the revision of a treaty which has been so universally condemned.

Those who realize their responsibility and gravity of the cause will not act independently, but in concert with the Committee. Success depends entirely upon disciplined and concerted non-co-operation and the latter is dependent upon strict obedience to instructions, calmness and absolute freedom from violence.

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10. NOTES

Pure Civil Disobedience[1]

All the readers of *Young India* may not know that Ahmedabad came under a heavy fine for the misdeeds of the April of last year. The fine was collected from the residents of Ahmedabad but some were exempted at the discretion of the collector. Among those who were called upon to pay the fines were income-tax payers. They had to pay a third of the tax paid by them. Mr. V. J. Patel[2], noted barrister, and Dr. Kanuga, a leading medical practitioner, were among those who were unable to pay. They had admittedly helped the authorities to quell the disturbance. No doubt they were satyagrahis but they had endeavoured to still the mob fury even at some risk to their own persons. But the authorities would not exempt them. It was a difficult thing for them to use discretion in individual cases. It was equally difficult for these two gentlemen to pay any fine when they were not to blame at all. They did not wish to embarrass the authorities and yet they were anxious to preserve their self-respect. They carried on no agitation but simply notified their inability to pay the fines in the circumstances set forth above. Therefore an attachment was issued. Dr. Kanuga is a very busy practitioner and his box is always full. The watch-

[1] This note is unsigned. But it is included in *Satyagraha*, pp. 138-9.

[2] Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950); Congress leader from Gujarat; first Deputy Prime Minister of free India

ful attaching official attached his cash box and extracted enough money to discharge the writ of execution. A lawyer's business cannot be conducted on these lines. Mr. Patel sported no cash box. A sofa of his sitting-room was therefore attached and advertised for sale and duly sold. Both these satyagrahis thus completely saved their consciences.

Wiseacres may laugh at the folly of allowing writs of attachment and paying for the collection of fines. Multiply such instances and imagine the consequence to the authorities of executing thousands of writs. Writs are possible when they are confined to a few recalcitrants. They are troublesome when they have to be executed against many high-souled persons who have done no wrong and who refuse payment to vindicate a principle. They may not attract much notice when isolated individuals resort to this method of protest. But clean examples have a curious method of multiplying themselves. They bear publicity and the sufferers instead of incurring odium receive congratulations. Men like Thoreau[1] brought about the abolition of slavery by their personal examples. Says Thoreau,

> I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name, —if ten *honest* men only— aye, if *one* honest man, in this State of Massachusetts *ceasing to hold slaves* were actually to withdraw from this co-partnership and be locked up in the country gaol therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be, what is once well done is done for ever.

Again he says,

> I have contemplated the imprisonment of the offender rather than seizure of his goods—though both will serve the same purpose, because they who assert the purest right and consequently are most dangerous to a corrupt State, commonly have not spent much time in accumulating property.

We, therefore, congratulate Mr. Patel and Dr. Kanuga on the excellent example set by them in an excellent spirit and in an excellent cause.

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[1] Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862); American recluse, naturalist and writer

11. CRITICISM OF MUSLIM MANIFESTO

The Khilafat representation[1] addressed to the Viceroy and my letter[2] on the same subject have been severely criticized by the Anglo-Indian Press. *The Times of India* which generally adopts an impartial attitude has taken strong exception[3] to certain statements made in the Muslim manifesto and has devoted a paragraph of its article to an adverse criticism of my suggestion that His Excellency should resign if the peace terms are not revised.

The Times of India excepts to the submission that the British Empire may not treat Turkey like a departed enemy. The signatories have, I think, supplied the best of reasons. They say:

> We respectfully submit that in the treatment of Turkey the British Government are bound to respect Indian Muslim sentiment in so far as it is neither unjust nor unreasonable.

If the seven crore Mussulmans are partners in the Empire, I submit that their wish must be held to be all sufficient for refraining from punishing Turkey. It is beside the point to quote what Turkey did during the war. It has suffered for it. *The Times* inquires wherein Turkey has been treated worse than the other Powers. I thought that the fact was self-evident. Neither Germany nor Austria and Hungary has been treated in the same way that Turkey has been. The whole of the Empire has been reduced to the retention of a portion of its capital, as it were to mock the Sultan and that too has been done under terms so humiliating that no self-respecting person, much less a reigning sovereign can possibly accept.

The Times has endeavoured to make capital out of the fact that the representation does not examine the reason for Turkey not joining the Allies. Well, there was no mystery about it. The fact of Russia being one of the Allies was enough to warn Turkey against joining them. With Russia knocking at the gate at the time of the war it was not an easy matter for Turkey to join the Allies. But Turkey had cause to suspect Great Britain herself. She knew that England had done no friendly turn to her during the Bulgarian War. She was hardly well served at the time of

[1] Of 22-6-1920; *vide* Vol. XVII, Appendix VI.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 502-4.
[3] In its issue of June 29, 1920

the war with Italy. It was still no doubt a bad choice. With the Mussulmans of India awakened and ready to support her, her statesmen might have relied upon Britain not being allowed to damage Turkey if she had remained with the Allies. But this is all wisdom after event. Turkey made a bad choice and she was punished for it. To humiliate her now is to ignore the Indian Mussulman sentiment. Britain may not do it and retain the loyalty of the awakened Mussulmans of India.

For *The Times* to say that the peace terms strictly follow the principle of self-determination is to throw dust in the eyes of its readers. Is it the principle of self-determination that has caused the cessation of Adrianople and Thrace to Greece? By what principle of self-determination has Smyrna been handed to Greece? Have the inhabitants of Thrace and Smyrna asked for Grecian tutelage?

I decline to believe that the Arabs like the disposition that has been made of them. Who is the King of Hedjaj and who is Emir Feisul? Have the Arabs elected these kings and chiefs? Do the Arabs like the Mandate being taken by England? By the time the whole thing is finished, the very name self-determination will stink in one's nostrils. Already signs are not wanting to show that the Arabs, the Thracians and the Smyrnans are resenting their disposal. They may not like Turkish rule but they like the present arrangements less. They could have made their own honourable terms with Turkey but these self-determining people will now be held down by the "matchless might" of the Allies, i.e., British forces. Britain had the straight course open to her of keeping the Turkish Empire intact and taking sufficient guarantees for good government. But her Prime Minister chose the crooked course of secret treaties, duplicity and hypocritical subterfuges.

There is still a way out. Let her treat India as a real partner. Let her call the true representatives of the Mussulmans. Let them go to Arabia and the other parts of the Turkish Empire and let her devise a scheme in concert with them—a scheme that would not humiliate Turkey, that would satisfy the just Muslim sentiments and that will secure honest self-determination for the races composing that Empire. If it was Canada, Australia or South Africa that had to be placated, Mr. Lloyd George[1] would not have dared to ignore them. They have the power to secede. India has not. Let him no more insult India by calling her a partner, if her feelings count for naught. I invite *The Times of India* to reconsider its position

[1] 1863-1945; British statesman; Prime Minister, 1916-22

and join an honourable agitation in which a high-souled people are seeking nothing but justice.

I do with all deference still suggest that the least that Lord Chelmsford can do is to resign if the sacred feelings of India's sons are not to be consulted and respected by the Ministers. *The Times* is overtaxing the constitution when it suggests that as a constitutional Viceroy it is not open to Lord Chelmsford to go against the decisions of His Majesty's Ministers. It is certainly not open to a Viceroy to retain office and oppose ministerial decisions. But the constitution does allow a Viceroy to resign his high office when he is called upon to carry out decisions that are immoral as the peace terms are or like these terms are calculated to stir to their very depths the feelings of those whose affairs he is administering for the time being.

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12. THE PRINCE

Mr. Baptista[1] has written to *The Bombay Chronicle* on the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and has combated views he imputes to me. Much as I should like for the present to observe silence on this delicate subject I cannot allow it to be said of me that I would "visit the sins of ministers on the Prince". I entirely agree with Mr. Baptista that the Prince has no voice in the Government and that he is not concerned with the acts of the ministers of the Crown much less with their blunders. I am just as keen as anyone could be to give a royal reception to the Prince and it is because I appreciate the constitution and its working that I would boycott the visit under present conditions. It is because I know that the Royalty is above politics that I would not allow the ministers or the Government of India, if I can help it, to use the Prince for their own political purposes. If I can do nothing else, at least I must not become a tool in the hands of the ministers and the Government of India and allow them, under cover of the Prince's visit, to make their hold of India tighter and to demonstrate to the world that under their benign administration the whole of India is happy and contented. For let there be no mistake that such will be the result if we remained silent and, under a mistaken sense of loyalty or of the constitution, gave any reception to the Prince. On the contrary, I hope that our loyalty requires us

[1] Joseph Baptista; Congress leader from Bombay

to make it clear to His Majesty's ministers that if they send the Prince to India, we shall be in no mood to join any receptions they might arrange. I would tell them in no veiled language that we are sick at heart over the Khilafat and the Punjab questions and that whilst we are fighting them for very life, we must not be expected to co-operate with them in giving receptions to His Royal Highness. We would be doing a wrong to the public, if we neglected our clear duty of educating them to a truer perception of the meaning of the proposed Royal visit. Let it be known that the Prince will arrive by and with the advice of the ministers, and consent and approval of the Government of India. The visit therefore will be not an act of the Prince but that of the ministers and in boycotting the visit at this juncture we would be visiting their sins upon themselves and not on the Prince. In other words we would not be playing into their hands. Supposing the ministers sent Sir Michael O'Dwyer[1] to replace Lord Chelmsford and he arranged the reception, would Mr. Baptista have us to fall into Sir Michael's trap! Suppose further that he insulted the Punjab under the Prince's nose by ignoring the Punjab leaders, should the Punjab pocket the insult and join the reception because Royalty is above politics! To say so would be to betray a woeful display of ignorance of the meaning of loyalty and politics.

I venture to suggest that if the Australian people were intensely dissatisfied with the acts, or the blunders of the ministers in the sense we are, they would boycott the visit without the slightest hesitation. The ministers want to make political capital out of the proposed visit. It is our duty to refuse to let them do so.

Mr. Baptista says and I agree that we are in mourning. He therefore hopes that the Prince would not be sent but if he is, Mr. Baptista says, we should give him a welcome in spite of the mourning. I want the Prince to come and therefore I would try to remove the cause of mourning and not take it as a settled fact. I would tell the ministers that as we want to give the Prince an enthusiastic welcome, they should remove the Khilafat and the Punjab grievances. I should further tell them that if they did not do so and still persisted in sending the Prince to India, they would be responsible for placing the people in the awkward position of having to boycott the visit or the reception.

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[1] Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1913-9

13. SWADESHI IN THE PUNJAB

The joint secretaries of the Bharat Stri Maha Mandal, Punjab Branch, send a report of the swadeshi activities of Shrimati Saraladevi Chaudhrani[1] ever since her return to Lahore from Bombay. Miss Roy and Mrs. Roshanlal, the secretaries, state that meetings of women were held respectively on the 23rd, 24th and 25th June at three different places in Lahore. All the meetings were attended by hundreds of women who were deeply interested in what Shrimati Saraladevi had to say. The burden of her discourses was India's deep poverty. She traced the causes and proved that our poverty was primarily due to the abandonment of swadeshi by the people. The remedy therefore lay in reverting to swadeshi.

Saraladevi herself writes to say that her khaddar sari impressed her audiences more than her speeches, and her songs came next, her speeches last. The good ladies of Lahore flocked round her and felt her coarse but beautifully white sari and admired it. Some took pity on her that she who only the other day was dressed in costly thin silk saris now decked herself in hand-woven swadeshi khaddar. Saraladevi wanted no pity and retorted that their thin foreign scarves lay heavier on their shoulders with the weight of their helpless dependence on foreign manufacture whereas her coarse khaddar lay light as a feather on her body with the joy of the knowledge that she was free because she wore garments in the manufacture of which her sisters and her brothers had laboured. This statement so pleased her audience that most of the women present resolved to discard foreign clothes. Saraladevi has now been charged by these ladies to open a shop where they could buy swadeshi goods. She has since addressed more audiences. She spoke at the District Conference at Sialkot and to a meeting exclusively devoted to ladies numbering over one thousand. I hope that the men of Punjab will help Saraladevi in her self-imposed mission. They may harness her talents and her willingness in founding Swadeshi Sabha and organizing swadeshi propaganda on a sound basis. Both men and money are needed to make the work a success.

[1] Wife of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhry and grand-niece of Rabindranath Tagore. She and her husband became followers of Gandhiji in 1919 and sent their son Dipak to be educated at Sabarmati.

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Swadeshi is more than reforms. There is much waste over reforms. There is none in swadeshi. Every yard of yarn spun is so much labour well spent and so much wealth added to the national treasury. Every drop counts. Swadeshi spells first production and then distribution. Distribution without production means the raising of prices without any corresponding benefit. For today demand exceeds the supply. If we will not manufacture more cloth, more foreign imports must continue a painful and sinful necessity.

Punjab has a great opportunity. Punjab grows splendid cotton. The art of spinning has not yet died out. Almost every Punjabi woman knows it. This sacred haunt of the *rishis*[1] of old has thousands of weavers. Only the leaders need to have faith in their women and themselves. When Saraladevi wrote to me that she might want goods from Bombay, I felt hurt. The Punjab has all the time and all the labour and the material necessary for producing her own cloth. She has brave merchants. She has more than enough capital. She has brains. Has she the will? She can organize her own swadeshi in less than a year, if the leaders will work at this great cause. It is playing with swadeshi for the Punjab to have to import cloth from Bombay.

The Punjab has to right herself by putting her swadeshi on a proper basis and by ridding herself of Messrs Bosworth Smith[2] and Company[3]. She will then be both economically and politically sound. Geographically she stands at the top. She led the way in the older times. Will she again do so? Her men are virile to look at. Have they virility enough to secure without a moment's delay purity of administration ? I have not strayed from swadeshi to politics. My swadeshi spirit makes me impatient of garments that denude India of her wealth and equally impatient of the Smiths, the O'Briens[4], the Shri Rams[5] and the Maliks[6] who denude her of her self-respect and insolently touch women's veils with their sticks, chain innocent men as if they were beasts, or shoot them from armoured cars or otherwise terrorize people into subjection.

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[1] Sages

[2] Deputy Commissioner, Ambala; one of the martial law officers, known for his tyranny; *vide* Vol. XVII, p. 251 ff.

[3] Other martial law officers

[4] The reference here is to Col. O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala.

[5] *Vide* Vol. XVII, p. 243 ff.

[6] *Vide* Vol. XVII, p. 254 ff.

14. *MADNESS IN JUNAGADH*

Junagadh is a Moslem State in Kathiawad so named for its having been once the land of brave *Kathis*[1]. It possesses a well-regulated college called after its founder the late Vazeer Bahauddin. The college had attracted a good many Sindhi scholars mostly Mohammedans. This college has the unique distinction of giving free tuition. Suddenly the new Nawab a few days ago issued a ukase expelling all non-Kathiawadi students within twenty-four hours. The poor bewildered students were forcibly entrained the same day and packed away to Sind. No one knows the crime committed by the students. Rumour has it that the Khilafat agitation is at the back of this mad order. The Hindu students have been thrown in to cover the shame of the deed.

Personally I welcome this expulsion. The barefaced injustice of it would show the people the true nature of the subtly hostile forces arraigned against the Khilafat agitation. These States are themselves subjects of the Imperial State and therefore when the latter errs violently they are really worse off than the subjects who possess no sovereign powers. Having much to lose—both power and riches—they become willing instruments of injustice, and the nakedness of the injustice of the Imperial State is better reflected in the acts of Native States than in its own direct act. The subjects of Native States and those who live under their temporary protection therefore often become double sufferers. But I do not wish to diagnose the condition of Native States under British suzerainty.

My purpose is to show an easy way out of the impasse. The Principal of the college is reported to have resigned by way of protest against the extraordinary order. He deserves the warmest congratulations of those who want to see justice and purity in the Empire. But have not the Kathiawadi students a duty by the State and their comrades? In my opinion they should leave the college in a body after lodging a respectful protest. They will buy their free education at too dear a price if they have not the manliness to show their sympathy to their fellow-students by leaving the college. The Nawab Saheb may not still come to his senses. That is a matter of no concern to them. They will have done their duty by withdrawing from the college.

[1] Members of a community of Saurashtra

To the expelled students, I would say : "Do not lose heart. You will not beg to be readmitted to a college whose owner has so insulted you. You may even return the little compensation-money and the travelling expenses the Nawab Saheb has given you. Accepting any such compensation would be compromising with the wrong. You can get all the education you need in Sindh itself, without having to go to any college. There is too much idolatry about the education received in our schools and colleges. We must learn to be men before we learn to read and write. Nature has endowed men with the ability to overcome all difficulties in way of their progress literary or otherwise.

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15. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

July 7, 1920

Mr. M. K. Gandhi asked the assembly to read the Congress Sub-committee's report[2] on the Punjab atrocities carefully. He dwelt upon some of the happenings revealed in that report, and said the women of Bombay might perhaps wonder and enquire what he was trying to talk about for they might argue that here in Bombay they could move about with perfect freedom but those who argued in that fashion lost sight of this, that things which had come to pass in the Punjab might happen in Bombay provided circumstances became identical. Besides their duty should not be confined merely to preservation of their own safety but taking a broader view of it, they should try to ensure the safety of others as well. They should feel the wrongs done to their sisters and brothers of the Punjab as if they themselves had been subjected to those wrongs, and it was their duty to protest with all the emphasis at their command, so that a repetition of the Punjab atrocities might be rendered impossible either in that Province or any other part of India. If they wished to maintain their pride in India's supreme civilization they would have to show to the world that the soul-power of India's womanhood was greater than the physical strength of those officials who had perpetrated the atrocities in the Punjab. They must stand by the side of their husbands, brothers and sons and insist on their getting the Punjab wrongs redressed.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-7-1920

[1] Under the presidentship of Mrs. Jaiji J. Petit, wife of Jehangir B. Petit of Bombay; *vide* "Duty of Women", 18-7-1920.

[2] Published on March 25, 1920; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

16. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

BOMBAY,
Thursday [*July 8, 1920*][1]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI[2],

Experience has convinced me that one cannot pay too much attention to students' handwriting. If I were to think merely of livelihood, [good] handwriting is valuable enough. For a student, it is an accomplishment.

Why does one fall ill? Everyone should find this out for himself. I keep thinking about it all the time. Merely from considerations of physical health, I find myself drawn at present to some techniques of *Hathayoga*[3]. I think some of them to be very important from this point of view. It was a *vaidya*[4] from Baroda who gave these ideas to me. Think this over with Vinoba[5]. With unhealthy bodies, we cannot give of our best in the service of India. I often feel that *pranayama*[6] and techniques like *neti*[7], *dhauti*[8], etc., must be of great help in maintaining the internal cleanliness of the body. My only point in saying all this is that you should make your body [as strong] as steel.

In order to be able to get up early, go to bed, if necessary, at eight sharp. I say this because I put the highest value on early rising.

Deepak has very little fat on him. His ribs are visible. I am not happy with this. I simply cannot bear the thought that even one boy should have his ribs visible.

If possible, find out more about Bhaskar's money. There is no doubt, of course, that we should credit the amount to his account. Could he himself have taken that money?

The reply Kaka[9] gave about students could have been given by him alone, by one who was filled with the true spirit of the

[1] On Thursday, July 8, 1920, Gandhiji was in Bombay and he went to Ahmedabad for a day (as stated in the last paragraph) on Monday, July 12.

[2] 1891-1957; member of Gandhiji's team of constructive workers in Sabarmati since 1917

[3] Psycho-physical control

[4] Physician practising *Ayurveda*, an indigenous system of medicine

[5] Acharya Vinoba Bhave (1895-); Gandhiji's greatest disciple; founder of Bhoodan and Gramdan movements; author of *Talks on the Gita*, etc.

[6], [7] & [8] Yogic exercises

[9] Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar (1885-); educationist, writer and constructive worker; was awarded Padma Vibhushan

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school. I am perfectly satisfied with it as far as it goes. But, to go further than that, I am sure a student from my school will be able, if he but wants, to earn more in the end. He will have a trained and sharp intellect. His brain will not have been crushed under the burden of a foreign language and of examinations. Even as things are today, the idea that those who have passed examinations earn more is just a myth. The rich in India are still men who have had no English education. They have English-educated men working under them. I leave out of account here barristers and doctors, especially the former, for they are the men who require a stamp. As for medicine, even our children can practise if they have the requisite knowledge. They may take up any service, except under Government, in which B.A.s are employed (if service is to be all their aim). If, having attained that level in their studies, any of them wants to go to England, he may take the matriculation there and may also become a barrister. That is, we leave an opening for him in case he repents. If the education we are giving is really up to our expectations, we can defend it against the entire world.

Forgetting for the moment all about *moksha*[1], we can certainly persuade every child to aspire to be good. While explaining who is a good man, quite a few things can be taught.

But all this when we meet. I shall go there on Monday and return the same day. It will be good if you can set apart one hour at one o'clock for us. There will be no one then and, if anyone turns up, we shall excuse ourselves.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 6415

[1] Deliverance from phenomenal existence, regarded as supreme end of life

17. MESSAGE TO RAJAKIYA MANDAL MEETING,[1] NADIAD

[Before *July 9, 1920*][2]

Mr. Yagnik[3] read out a Gujarati letter addressed to him by Mr. M. K. Gandhi for reading it at the meeting. The letter runs thus:

The Rajakiya Mandal meets at Nadiad. Please see the resolution[4] suggested by me in the [last issue of] *Navajivan*. I desire that the Mandal should fearlessly adopt a resolution advising non-co-operation in connection with both the Punjab and Khilafat questions. I take the boycott of councils as a first step in that direction. To adopt boycott after entering councils is to my mind sheer cowardice. How can we co-operate with those who do not deal justice to the Punjab and who betray us in the Khilafat question? I remember to have seen in my childhood players at dice not playing with those who cast their dice dishonestly. In the political game before us the honour of India is at stake. Players on one side appear to resemble Duryodhana[5]. How to play with them? God may help you to arrive at a correct and bold decision.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-7-1920

18. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

BOMBAY,
Friday [*July 9, 1920*]

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I shall go there on Monday and return the same day. Please see my letter[6] to Indulal for the line of action the Rajakiya

[1] The message was addressed to the Executive Committee of the Rajakiya Mandal (Political Conference) which was to meet on July 11. The Conference took place on August 27, 28 and 29; *vide* "Speech at Gujarat Political Conference, Ahmedabad".

[2] *Vide* the following item.

[3] Indulal Yagnik, an active political worker. Gandhiji took over *Navajivan* from him.

[4] *Vide* "Gujarat's Duty", 11-7-1920.

[5] Son of King Dhritarashtra and eldest of the Kaurava princes in the *Mahabharata*, who, at a game of dice, tricked Yudhishthira out of all his possessions.

[6] *Vide* the preceding item.

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Mandal should follow. I hope it will resolve for non-co-operation. Total boycott of the councils is the only thing which will help us.

Inform Mavlankar[1] and others.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI PATEL
BARRISTER
BHADRA
AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patelne

19. GUJARAT'S DUTY

Many difficult problems are now coming up for the whole of India. The future of the country will largely depend on how these are solved. If, at this juncture, we betray weakness, we shall invite a curse upon ourselves.

I have deliberately given to this article the heading "Gujarat's Duty". Not only is *Navajivan* addressed to Gujarati-speaking readers, but I have been developing before Gujaratis those ideas of which I am especially enamoured and translating them into practice to the limits of my capacity.

And so a special duty arises for Gujaratis. I come into close contact with large numbers of them. I discuss my ideas with them very freely and they can examine my life very minutely. From them I cannot and do not try to conceal my weaknesses.

I claim that the ideas which I place before the people are no product of an undeveloped brain but have taken shape on the anvil of thirty years of ever vigilant experience of life and are, therefore, fully mature. Even so, there may be errors in them. They may even be altogether wrong. There are many errors coming down for generations but, even after sufficient experience, we are unable to recognize them as such. It is possible that obtuseness prevents me from seeing my own errors.

Hence, all I wish is that my ideas should not be rejected before they have been tried out. It is the especial duty of Gujaratis to test them as, being nearer to me, it is easier for them to measure their worth.

[1] G. V. Mavlankar, (1888-1956); a political worker of Gujarat, the first Speaker of the Lok Sabha after independence

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It is a sign of cowardice to dismiss these ideas by saying that I have renounced the world, that I have turned a sadhu, that my ideas are good but impracticable. I do not accept the charge of being a sadhu and a man ignorant of the world. Comparing myself with my co-workers, I see my imperfections. I believe myself to be a man of the world. Personally, I think I am a practical man. I am happier, more contented and fearless than my neighbours but with no fewer concerns than they. My neighbours shudder when they see my worries. And yet I remain healthy enough to be able to carry on with my work. I too have a wife and children, like other people. I have not disowned my responsibilities towards them; on the contrary, I have thought carefully over them and have not renounced any of them. I do not live in a forest, but seem to be establishing ever new contacts. I fail to understand how anyone else can be more engrossed than I in this world. To dismiss me as a sadhu is to be unfair to me and to deprive Gujarat of my services.

The present Government is immoral, unjust and arrogant beyond description. It defends one lie with other lies. It does most things under a threat of force. If the people tolerate all these things and do nothing, they will never progress.

If a man, when hungry, merely keeps wailing about his hunger and makes no great effort to procure food, prepared even to die in the attempt, then we shall doubt whether he is at all hungry.

The Times of India commented a few days ago that, if our public men were right in all the adjectives they employed when speaking on the Punjab and other issues, with their feelings so excited the people would surely seek a remedy [for the wrongs]. There is a saying in English, "Necessity is the mother of invention." Memons have a saying among them, "With a crisis, the hero"; that is, a crisis produces the hero. A crisis means a moment of pressing difficulty. Such a moment shows a man the way out and so makes him a man indeed. If we really feel the pressure, if the adjectives we use truly describe our feelings, why should we not be able to find the remedy?

Countless times have we sung that the sufferings of the Punjab are intolerable. What does a man suffering unbearable pain do? One who is stung by a scorpion tries all manner of remedies and, if they fail to relieve the pain, he dies. We, on the contrary, have lost even the strength to die, though we say that our pain is unbearable. Why should *The Times*, then, not pour ridicule on us?

Shastras advise that the company of the evil should be shunned. We do not have enough courage even to turn our back on

the evil Mr. O'Brien, the evil Mr. Smith and the evil Mr. Shri Ram.

Withdrawing co-operation from a government which breaks its promises is a course followed from immemorial times. The history of our country provides instance after instance of subjects oppressed by a king leaving the kingdom. The subjects have a right to show that they are displeased.

In Europe, they kill a wicked king. In India, the subjects leave the territory of the king when they find things unbearable. The non-co-operation I have suggested is a mild way of boycotting. Total boycott is the ultimate stage in non-co-operation. We have even forgotten how to show that we are displeased.

If that is true, it betokens the depth of our degradation. When the slave forgets that he is a slave, there is no way left to help him win his freedom.

There can hardly be an injustice greater than the two which the Government is obstinately defending today. If we do not find them unbearable, then no blame will attach to the Government; on the contrary, it will be said, to use the language of the rustic, that we deserved all this.

It is the duty of the people of Gujarat, at this difficult time, to examine closely the forms of non-co-operation which I place before them. I hope that in this matter Gujarat will not follow others' example, but will take the lead and be an example for others to follow.

A little reflection will show that renouncing titles, boycotting legislatures, leaving Government schools and giving up practice are not very difficult tasks. For the present, however, we have to make up our mind to boycott legislatures. If there is not a single candidate for election to the legislatures, this will have no insignificant effect on both the Government and the people.

Let us consider what should be done for boycotting legislatures. Keeping away from them does not mean sitting quiet and doing nothing, but means educating the voters in that direction and making our meaning plain to the Government.

In every important town, therefore, resolutions should be passed advocating boycott of legislatures:

> The feelings of the people have been so deeply hurt by the injustice done to the Muslims on the Khilafat issue, by the Cabinet's endorsement of the Prime Minister's breach of promise and by the terrible and unendurable injustice in the Punjab, that it will not be in keeping with the nation's self-respect, so long as redress is denied in these two matters,

to enter legislatures and help the Government to function. This meeting, therefore, advises that no one should contest elections to the legislatures and appeals to the voters not merely not to vote for anyone who may stand as a candidate but also to write and inform him that they do not wish to elect anyone to represent them in the legislatures.

It is urgently necessary to hold meetings everywhere and pass resolutions to this effect.

We need not wait for the Congress to meet. The Congress is an organ of public opinion, and hardly an instrument of cultivating public opinion. Those to whom their path is clear need not at all wait till the Congress session is over; rather, they should put their decision into effect and, thereby, show to the Congress the direction and intensity of public opinion.

It is not likely that in a great venture like this all will be of one mind on the instant. We shall have patiently to educate those who differ from us. We shall not succeed in changing their views by showing our dislike of them or boycotting them; we shall have to win them over to our view with argument and gentle persuasion. This is the only way in which we can cultivate public opinion along right lines.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-7-1920

20. VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

Mr. Baptista has asked in *The* [*Bombay*] *Chronicle* whether, in our present suffering, we are in a position to accord a cordial reception to the eldest son of King-Emperor George V when he visits India. He has spoken of my views and, therefore, I think it my duty to state them.

I believe that we cannot drag the Prince or any other member of the Royal family into politics. If our differences with the Government are of an ordinary nature, we should welcome the Prince's visit and receive him with all respect. When, however, the people are in grief and their feelings have been deeply hurt, the Prince's visit will be ill-timed and the people have the right to express their displeasure at the action of the authorities, if the latter arrange the visit without ascertaining their feelings. The Prince is in no way insulted by such action. To deny this is to demonstrate ignorance of the British Constitution.

It should be remembered that the Prince is not coming of his own accord. If he did, he would be acting contrary to the Constitution. He can come only if the British Cabinet requests him to, after consulting the Indian Government. The Prince is not free to follow his own inclination in meeting Indians or making speeches. His visit, therefore, is not to be considered his own act but that of the Government.

Moreover, if the Government arranges a visit by the Prince to India, it will be to serve its own purpose. So long as there is no great difference dividing the Government and the people, it may be said that the interests of the one are those of the other. If there is such a difference, however, what is in the interest of the Government may be against that of the people. If the Prince comes at this time and if we receive him warmly, the Government will conclude that, in fact, the people have not been hurt and that all this talk of their having been hurt is only the work of a few disgruntled men. It would not be strange if it came to this conclusion.

If, therefore, the Government does arrange a visit by the Prince of Wales at this juncture, I would look upon the visit as a trap and it would be the duty of the people not to walk into it.

What is the position of the people today? The British Cabinet has gone back on the promise it gave to a section of the people and the Government of India has acquiesced in this. The latter has disregarded the religious sentiments of the Muslims. Not only does it show no evidence of regretting the atrocities committed by the officials on the people of the Punjab but, on the contrary, we find it brazen-facedly defending the officials. Many of the officers who were responsible for the atrocities are continued in service and they are still going on in the same old way. In these circumstances, if we welcome the Prince and thereby strengthen the power of the Government, we shall be tightening our chains with our own hands.

By refusing to welcome the Prince, we express our strong displeasure at the misdeeds of the Government. We have a right to do this. If we do not do it, we shall proclaim ourselves cowards. Our petitions and complaints will be proved to have been unfounded.

If the Government wishes to see the people full of joy and enthusiasm at the time of the Prince's visit and wants them to show respect to him, it is its duty to satisfy them. There is only one way of doing this—a just solution of the Khilafat issue and perfect justice in the Punjab. These two issues have created a gulf

between the Government and the people and plunged the latter in grief. The people should tell the Government in the clearest possible terms that, while our demands remain unsatisfied, we are unable to welcome the Prince.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-7-1920

21. PURE SWADESHI

A brief report of Shrimati Saraladevi's work in the Punjab appeared in *Navajivan* last week. From a telegram received later, it appears that even at the Khilafat Conference which she attended at Jhelum, she spoke on swadeshi. As Muslims are fast taking to swadeshi, it is easy to propagate swadeshi from a Khilafat platform.

At this juncture, it is very necessary to understand thoroughly some fundamental principles of swadeshi. Will it advance the cause of swadeshi if Muslims take the swadeshi vow in their hundreds of thousands? I think it will, provided that either there is an increase in the production of swadeshi goods to meet their needs or they and others reduce their requirements of cloth.

The cloth which our cotton mills produce is not enough for India's needs and the mills are not in a position to increase the production of cloth in the immediate future. Their weaving capacity is greater than their spinning capacity. If, therefore, we use mill-yarn for handloom cloth, it will mean that the mills will produce less correspondingly and not that there will be an increase in the total production of cloth. The result will be large imports, not of cloth, but of yarn. That will leave us just where we are. We need not believe that we shall be saving on weaving for yarn will cost more. This is not swadeshi.

The swadeshi of our conception safeguards both dharma and *artha*[1]. Not to be able to serve our own neighbours, our own kith and kin—to wrest a morsel from their mouths and put it into those of strangers, surely this would not be serving the higher end of life, this would not be compassion. That would only mean our deserting our own field of duty. We are, therefore, morally bound to encourage our sisters who spin and our weavers. In the process, we shall be sending 60 crores of rupees to the homes of our starving millions and this will safeguard *artha*. The swadeshi

[1] Material welfare

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dharma is thus the royal road for safeguarding both our dharma and *artha*.

We can follow this only if we take to hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The true and genuine swadeshi movement, therefore, consists in increasing the production of yarn, getting the yarn woven and then marketing the cloth thus produced. It is, therefore, my suggestion to all lovers of swadeshi and to all owners of swadeshi stores that they should get women to spin and should popularize the cloth woven out of the yarn they produce. I know that this work is difficult and heart-breaking. But no progress is ever possible without our venturing on a path beset with difficulties. The way to the Dhaulagiri peak[1] is strewn with the bones of countless travellers. The weak of heart lose their enthusiasm right at the foot; there is no way, though, except through hills and valleys. If, therefore, those who take up the swadeshi cause do so after fully understanding the basic principle of swadeshi, they will save themselves from disappointment. It does not matter if every worker does no more than spin and infects a few with his zeal; but there will be great harm, if the swadeshi movement does not make headway, in being satisfied with what goes under the name of swadeshi. No piece of brass, however shining, can serve for gold; nor a bit of glass for a diamond. Just as mistakenly accepting glass as diamond will only delay our getting the latter, in the same way we shall only retard the progress of swadeshi if we accept spurious swadeshi as genuine swadeshi. Some people may wonder why, if the idea is to produce yarn, some 10 or 20 new mills should not be set up instead of trying to persuade millions of women to spin. I have already answered this question in *Navajivan*.[2] New mills are not easily set up. Nor does anyone need especially to make the effort. The rich make the attempt on their own and keep adding to the number. But the setting up of new mills will mean being permanently dependent on foreigners for machinery. It is, besides, no remedy for the hunger of the millions, nor does it enable us to put 60 crores of rupees in circulation among them every year. India's population numbering millions and spread over a length of 1900 miles will never be saved from starvation till we introduce a subsidiary occupation into the homes of the millions living on agriculture. Such an occupation can only be hand-spinning and, to some extent, hand-weaving. This industry flourished in

[1] In the Himalayas

[2] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 338-42.

India a hundred and fifty years ago and at that time we were not as miserably poor as we are today.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-7-1920

22. *SHANTINIKETAN*

Mr. Andrews[1] writes saying that buildings are under construction in Shantiniketan and the need for money is pressing. The Poet[2] is not there at present and the burden falls mainly on Mr. Andrews.

I feel that Gujarat did not do its duty fully at the time of the Poet's visit[3]. To welcome a guest with cheers and garlands of flowers is but courtesy; it is the beginning of one's duty, not the end. If we regard the Poet as a man of exceptional gifts and if we intend really to appreciate his literary genius, it is our duty to help him in his work.

Before we help a man, it is not necessary to be in complete agreement with everything he does. It is quite possible that we see defects or imperfections in the actions of the great. None the less, if their motives are sincere it is our duty to help them.

We know hardly anything about the work of Pandita Ramabai[4]. Alone and single-handed, she carries it on with the help of American money. Because she is a Christian, we take no interest in her work. She does not approach us for help, and it is right that she does not. Her object is the propagation of Christianity, which appeals to the people of America. They do not care to look into all her activities, and perhaps would not approve of everything she does. The Pandita's object in her work is sufficient for their purpose and, therefore, some from among them meet the very large expenses of her big institution.

In the same way, if we honour the object the Poet has in mind, if we like the experiment of keeping the nation's education in its own hands and if we want our children to have something of the

[1] Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940); British missionary, co-worker of Tagore and Gandhiji; honoured as "Deenabandhu" (brother of the poor)

[2] Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941); awarded Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913; founder of Visva Bharati at Shantiniketan, now a university

[3] During the first week of April, 1920. For Gandhiji's appeal for contributions, *vide* Vol. XVII, p. 294.

[4] 1858-1922; Christian missionary, scholar of Sanskrit, social reformer and educationist

Poet's artistic sense, we should help to maintain the institution. The Poet himself has declared that Shantiniketan is his recreation, that it is for recreation that he gathers children around him. The children's faculties develop best in the environment there. Shantiniketan is the creation of his revered father, Maharshi Devendranath. To honour the Poet but refuse to help his institution is not a consistent attitude.

I appeal to Gujaratis to bear a part of the expenses of this institution, since we had invited the Poet to be our honoured guest. One of his reasons for accepting our invitation was that we might come to know his institution and help it. He gladly accepted help wherever it was offered with love. His tour of Kathiawar, one may say, failed in its purpose. Bhavnagar practically did nothing and the experience in Baroda was the same. Looking to its capacity, Ahmedabad's response was rather poor. I trust that, even now, we will make amends for this lapse on our part and complete our reception.

Shri Tulsidas Karani of Mangrol[1], taking the occasion of a marriage in his family, sent only a few days ago Rs. 1001. It is while acknowledging this gift that Mr. Andrews says that still more help is needed. As we make progress, voluntary taxes on us are bound to increase and we ought to pay what we can within our means. Those who wish to offer anything may send the amounts to the Ashram or to Mr. C.F. Andrews, Shantiniketan, Bolpur, East Indian Railway.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-7-1920

23. MADNESS IN JUNAGADH

The expulsion, by the Nawab Saheb, of Sindhi students from the Bahauddin College at Junagadh is old news now. To expel without cause a whole lot of 60 students from the college and pack them off in a train within 24 hours is nothing but a sign of insanity. Such insanity reminds us of the martial law in the Punjab.

The question immediately occurs whether the step was influenced by the British Government. The Nawab Saheb seems to have given no reason [for his action] and, therefore, nothing can be said definitely on this point.

[1] In Saurashtra

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If the Nawab Saheb has taken the step on his own, it is plain that the subjects of Native States are worse off than people under British rule.

Our princes are in a sorry plight. They are in the position of subjects themselves. Their power and their wealth depend entirely on the British Empire and are safeguarded by it. The people living in dependencies being subjects of subjects are doubly dependent and, often, suffer twice as much as others.

But this is no occasion to consider who is really responsible for the Nawab Saheb's action, what rights the subjects of Native States have and how to improve their lot. We do not have sufficient data for the purpose.

A big question, however, arises: What is now the duty of the students of Kathiawar towards their fellow-students? The people of Kathiawar have physical strength and are also reputed to be brave. Their capacity for suffering is admirable. Should these students take the insult of their Sindhi friends lying down? I for one feel that, if the Sindhi students are not re-admitted, it is the clear duty of the Kathiawar students to leave the college.

It will perhaps be argued that in that case the education of these students would suffer. I for one will assert rather, that in a situation like this true education for them lies in leaving the college. What use is that education which does not teach self-respect? When the occasion demands, one must uphold the honour of one's associates even at some cost to oneself. It is one's duty as a man to defend them against injustice.

The first thing to learn is to be men. Education in the letters is for human beings. What will you gain by educating those who have lost their humanity? Book-learning by itself does not make us men. College students, moreover, are not mere children. We cannot say that they are in no position to think for themselves. I trust, therefore, that every single Kathiawari student in the Bahauddin College will leave the college if justice is not done to their Sindhi friends.

"What next?"—some will ask. It is quite possible that no other college will admit them; and, if any college is prepared to do so, they will hardly have the money to pay the fees. But it is in facing these difficulties that the worth of their sacrifice in leaving the college lies. If colleges grew like mushrooms, they would have no value and the Sindhi students would never have been expelled.

Those who leave the college can, working hard, continue their studies at home. And arrangements can be made to pro-

vide free coaching to them. It is not difficult, in these days, to find public-spirited teachers who will not mind helping such students. If the students but do their elementary duty, they will know the way of fighting this injustice. Not to think of the future when doing the duty which has fallen to one's lot—this is *nishkama* karma[1] and this is dharma.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-7-1920

24. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SOUTH AFRICAN COURT'S JUDGMENT

[*July 11, 1920*][2]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to the Press:

I have received the following cablegram from Johannesburg:

In *Deudoo* versus *Krugersdorp Municipality* the legality of Asiatic companies owning fixed property appellate court upheld appeal. Justices Rose-Innes, Solomon, Maarsdorp, Juta and De Villiers composed the bench. Justice De Villiers only dissented.

This cablegram means much relief for our harassed countrymen in South Africa. It would be remembered that the High Court of the Transvaal had decided against Indian companies holding fixed properties as being fraudulent of law. The appellate court has evidently taken a different view and sustained the Indian contention that the transactions of the Asiatic companies were perfectly legal.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-7-1920

25. TELEGRAM TO KHWAJA, DELHI

BOMBAY,
[Before *July 12, 1920*][3]

NON-CO-OPERATION IMPOSSIBLE IN NATIVE STATES WITHOUT LOCAL GUIDANCE.

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1064

[1] Such action is the central teaching of the *Gita*.
[2] According to *Gujarati*, 18-7-1920, Gandhiji issued the letter on this date.
[3] This telegram was intercepted by the police on July 12, 1920.

26. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Monday [Before *July 12, 1920*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL[2],

I have today asked Anandanand to write to you and tell you that Mr. Kale of Dharwar will be leaving for Ahmedabad by mail and that you should receive him at the station. I have asked him to write to you in detail.

This letter I write for the sake of Ba. I observe that she is not quite happy. She has been ill and works beyond her strength. As Nirmala came away with me, I asked Devdas to stay behind. Consult Gokibehn[3] and Ba, with Devdas present, and do whatever is necessary. Perhaps it will do if you reduce the burden of work in regard to clothes and utensils. I do not understand why there should be any difficulty on account of *rotlis*[4]. If the work in the kitchen is too heavy and if it is possible to make any changes, make them. Are there at present 15 persons who take their meals? I shall return there most probably on Monday.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5787. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

27. SPEECH ON FIJI AFFAIRS, BOMBAY

July 13, 1920

Under the joint auspices of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the Indian Home Rule League, the All-India Home Rule League, the Bombay National Union and the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held at the Excelsior Theatre,

[1] The letter seems to have been written from Bombay, evidently before the announcement in *Navajivan*, 18-7-1920, that a spinning-wheel had been invented by Ganesh Bhaskar Kale, which would meet the requirements of the prize offered by Revashankar Mehta; *vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 217-8. Gandhiji arrived at Ahmedabad on July 12 which fell on a Monday.

[2] Son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin; manager of Phœnix Settlement and later of the Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati

[3] Raliatbehn, Gandhiji's sister; Gokibehn was her familiar name.

[4] Round thin cake of unleavened bread

Bombay, yesterday to consider the Indian situation in East Africa and Fiji. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar[1] presided and there was a very large attendance.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved the following resolution:

(a) That this meeting views with alarm and grave apprehensions the growing agitation in the East African Protectorate against the British Indian settlers residing in that Protectorate and hopes that, in view especially of the fact that the Imperial Government has directed control over the Protectorate and that the Indians emigrated to East Africa before the European advent, the Government of India will guard the Indians against any encroachment upon their rights whether by legislative or administrative measures and that the Government will secure complete equality of status for them by requiring the Protectorate to remove all legal and administrative inequality at present existing.

(b) This meeting emphatically protests against the undesirable authority placed in the hands of the administrator of the occupied territory empowering him to deport persons without trial, being power virtually aimed against Indians; and views with great concern the other grievances of Indians resident therein, such as want of police protection, artificial financial disabilities due to the invalidity of pre-war interim German currency notes, the exchange imbroglio, travelling restrictions, and the like. In the opinion of this meeting, these disabilities make the position of British Indian settlers worse than during the German regime, and this meeting trusts that the Government of India will secure early relief of the Indian situation from the grievances complained of.

Mr. Gandhi said the resolution was to have been moved by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who, however, was unable to be present on account of an operation having been performed on him. He moved the resolution on behalf of Mr. Andrews who had also asked him to read to them the speech he had prepared for the occasion.

Mr. Gandhi then read Mr. Andrews' speech. . . .[2]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved the following resolution:

This meeting requests the Government of India to publish all the correspondence between the Fiji Government and itself regarding the recent strike of Indians and the firing that took place in connection with it, and calls upon the Government of India, to provide early facilities for the transport of those Indians in Fiji, who are desirous of returning to India. This meeting protests against the order of the Government of Fiji, deporting

[1] Social reformer and judge of the Bombay High Court; presided over the Congress session at Lahore in 1900

[2] Not reproduced here

without trial, Mr. Manilal Doctor[1], who is a barrister of long standing in Fiji, and calls upon the Government to secure an early cancellation of the deportation against him.

Mr. Gandhi, in proposing the resolution, said that the resolution did not deal with the condition of the Indians in Fiji during the period of indenture, which was now happily abolished. Those who wanted to study the question should do so by getting hold of the late Mr. Gokhale's[2] speeches in the Imperial Legislative Council on the indenture question and the speeches of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya[3] on the same subject in the same place. Both considerably helped in the great effort to secure the abolition of indentured labour. The status of our countrymen outside India shamefully reminded us that they were pariahs on the Empire. The late Mr. Gokhale used to recall our own treatment of our own people, the pariahs, and used to say that in receiving the treatment that our countrymen did in British dominions, we were perhaps paying the penalty of our continued sin against a fifth of our own countrymen. The resolution before the meeting however dealt with the present conditions of Indians in Fiji, and called upon the Government of India to give an open and accurate account of what was done in Fiji during the Indian strike and during martial law that followed the strike. It also called upon the Government to provide facilities of transport for those Indians who wished to return from Fiji. A shipment had already arrived. The Hon. Pandit Malaviya was advised of it, and had deputed a representative to meet the unfortunate people who had come here and among whom were nearly 500 lepers. He had seen two of the returned Indians who had given a graphic account of the happenings during martial law. If what they said was true, it was a second edition of Amritsar. India had a right to know the position in Fiji accurately. It was necessary to know the Dyers[4] and the O'Briens and Bosworth Smiths of Fiji. When the full facts were before the country it might be their painful duty to call for proper justice to be meted out to the wrongdoers.

The resolution also asked for information about the deportation of Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Doctor. They were the leaders of Fiji. Why were they deported?

[1] Son-in-law of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, an old associate of Gandhiji. He went to Fiji in 1912 to take up public work there; *vide* Vol. XI, p. 160.

[2] Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); distinguished leader, educationist and politician; founder, Servants of India Society, Poona

[3] 1861-1946; founder of the Benares Hindu University; member, Imperial Legislative Council; twice president of the Indian National Congress

[4] The reference here is to Reginald Edward Harry Dyer (1864-1927); Officer Commanding, Amritsar Area, who ordered firing on a peaceful assembly of people gathered at the Jallianwala Bagh for a meeting; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

There was no trial. This deportation was more intolerable than the deportation of Lala Harkishan Lal[1] and his friends. For Pandit Motilal Nehru[2] and Pandit Malaviya were able to go to the Punjab as soon as possible and replace the Punjab leaders who were imprisoned. Who could replace Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Doctor? The country had a right to demand justice in the matter. Mr. Gandhi recalled the reply that late Sir John Gorst gave in connection with the Manipur expedition years ago. Sir John Gorst was a frank and blunt Under-Secretary of State, and he said in the House of Commons that it was the policy of the British Government in India to cut off tall poppies. Could it be that Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Doctor were tall poppies? It was the duty of India to see that the natural leaders of the people were not, unceremoniously and, without any trial whatsoever, snatched away calmly. In concluding his remarks Mr. Gandhi said that the audience need not consider that the question of South Africa had not been brought before them owing to any neglect on the part of the Imperial Citizenship Association, or that the question of South Africa was of any less importance. The Association was in close touch with the Government of India, and the question had not been brought up because the Asiatic Commission has not yet presented its final report. The country knew the Government of India were anxiously watching the events in South Africa. When the moment came, the Association will, the speaker had no doubt, move the country in the South African question as it had done in the East African and Fiji questions.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-7-1920

28. COUNCILS' BOYCOTT

Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhary[3] has ranged himself against Lala Lajpat Rai in the matter of the proposed boycott of the Councils. Madras is divided, most of the nationalist leaders seem disinclined to boycott the Councils. *The Mahratta* has pronounced against it in a well-reasoned article. The reasons for disapproval of boycott are mainly two: (1) If the nationalists refrain, the moderates will get all the seats; (2) since through the legislative councils we have made some progress we are likely to make greater progress by reason of larger powers having been granted to popular representatives.

[1] A big financier and business magnate of the Punjab

[2] 1861-1931; lawyer and politician; twice president of the Indian National Congress

[3] A leader of the Punjab and a poet, who along with his wife, Saraladevi Chaudhrani, took a leading part in the public affairs of the Punjab

Now the first reason hardly does credit to a great popular party. If it is harmful to enter the Councils, why should nationalists be jealous of the moderates entering the Councils? Must they participate in the harm because moderates will not refrain? Or, is it contended that the harm can be avoided only if all join the boycott? If the last is the contention it betrays ignorance of the principles of boycott. We boycott an institution because we do not like it or because we do not wish to co-operate with its conductors. In the matter of the Councils the latter is the deciding reason. And I submit that in a sense we co-operate by joining even though the object is obstruction. Most institutions, and a British legislative council most of all, thrive upon obstruction. The disciplined obstruction of the Irish members made practically no impression upon the House of Commons. The Irishmen have not got the Home Rule they wanted. *The Mahratta* argues that obstruction would be active and aggressive non-co-operation. I venture to deny it. In my opinion it shows want of faith in yourself, i.e., in your doctrine. You doubt and you perish. I do not believe that either the English or the moderate leaders can possibly contemplate with equanimity a nationalist boycott of the Councils. We are now face to face with the reality. Will a single moderate leader care to enter any council if more than half his electorate disapproved of his offering himself as a candidate at all? I hold that it would be unconstitutional for him to do so, because he will not represent his constituency. Boycott contemplated by me presupposes a most active discipline and watchful propaganda and it is based on the assumption that the electors themselves will prefer complete to an incomplete boycott in the form of obstruction. If it is assumed that the people themselves do not want a complete boycott it would be the duty of those who believe in it to educate the electorates to appreciate the superiority of boycott over obstruction. To enter the councils is to submit to the vote of the majority, i.e., to co-operate. If then we want to stop the machinery of Government, as we want to, until we get justice in the Khilafat and the Punjab matters, we must put our whole weight against the Government and refuse to accept the vote of the majority in the council, because it will neither represent the wish of the country nor our own which is more to the point on a matter of principle. A minister who refuses to serve is better than one who serves under protest. Service under protest shows that the situation is not intolerable. I contend that the situation created by the Government has become intolerable and therefore the only course left open to a self-respecting person is non-co-ope-

ration, i.e., complete abstention. General Botha[1] refused to enter Lord Milner's[2] Council, because he utterly disapproved of the principle that governed Lord Milner in dealing with the Boers. And General Botha succeeded because he had practically the whole of the Transvaal behind him. Politically considered, success depends upon the country accepting the boycott movement. Religiously considered success is there for the individual as soon as he has *acted* upon the principle he holds and his action has ensured national success because he has laid the foundation by showing the straightest way to it.

The other argument is that we shall succeed by entering the new Councils because we have after all not done quite so badly in having entered less popular bodies before. The answer to the objection is that the dividing line had not then been reached, we had not lost confidence in British honesty and justice or we had not confidence in ourselves then to carry boycott to the successful end or we had not thought of the method in the way we are doing today. Probably all the three reasons operate today. After all, manners and methods change with the times. We must grow with our years. What was good enough food for our babyhood cannot be good enough for manhood.

Young India, 14-7-1920

29. *THE LAW OF MAJORITIES*

Mrs. Besant[3] having read a report of my speech at the Punjab meeting organized by the Home Rule League and the National Union, Bombay, and having therein seen that I had moved the resolution asking for the prosecution of General Dyer and the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, asks how I could move a resolution whose terms I had not approved. Mr. Shastriar[4] has

[1] 1862-1919; Boer general and statesman; Prime Minister of the Transvaal, 1907, and of South Africa Union, 1910-19

[2] 1854-1925; Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1901-5; High Commissioner for South Africa, 1897-1905; Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1919-21

[3] Annie Besant (1847-1933); president of the Theosophical Society; founder of the Central Hindu College at Benares; president, Indian National Congress, 1917

[4] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); scholar and statesman; president, Servants of India Society, 1915-27

also felt uneasy about the same act. I have not seen any report of my speech. I am unable to say therefore whether I am correctly reported. My speech was in Gujarati and may have suffered at the hands of the translating reporter. I shall endeavour to explain my own position independently of the reports of my speech. And I do so gladly because I recognize that the principle raised by the two great leaders is very important.

I have often been charged with having an unyielding nature. I have been told that I would not bow to the decision of the majority. I have been accused of being autocratic. Now on the occasion of the Punjab meeting, I was pressed to move a resolution which did not commend itself to me. I undertook to do so reserving to myself the right to expressing emphatic opinion to the contrary. And I did so. I have never been able to subscribe to the charge of obstinacy or autocracy. On the contrary I pride myself on my yielding nature in non-vital matters. I detest autocracy. Valuing my freedom and independence I equally cherish them for others. I have no desire to carry a single soul with me, if I cannot appeal to his or her reason. My unconventionality I carry to the point of rejecting the divinity of the oldest Shastras if they cannot convince my reason. But I have found by experience that if I wish to live in society and still retain my independence, I must limit the points of utter independence to matters of first rate importance. In all others which do not involve a departure from one's personal religion or moral code, one must yield to the majority. In the case in question I had an opportunity of illustrating my position. Of my so-called unyielding nature the country had abundant illustration. It was happy to find a great occasion where I could safely yield. I believe still that the country is wrong in asking for General Dyer's prosecution and Sir Michael O'Dwyer's impeachment. That is purely the business of the British. My purpose is to secure the removal of the wrongdoers from any office under the Crown. Nothing I have seen since has altered my view. And I pressed it before the very meeting at which I moved the resolution in question. Yet I moved it because there is nothing immoral in asking for General Dyer's prosecution. The country has the right to demand it. The Congress Sub-committee has advised that waiver of that right can only do good to India. I thought therefore that I had my position quite clear, namely that I still opposed the idea of prosecution and yet I had no objection in moving the resolution that involved prosecution because it was not bad or harmful *per se*.

I admit however that during the crisis we are passing through, my moving the resolution was a dangerous experiment. For, whilst we are evolving new codes of public conduct and trying to instruct, influence or lead the masses, it is not safe to do anything that is likely to confuse the mass mind or to appear to be "truckling to the multitude". I believe that at the present moment it is better to be "dubbed" obstinate and autocratic than even to appear to be influenced by the multitude for the sake of its approbation. Those who claim to lead the masses must resolutely refuse to be led by them, if we want to avoid mob law and desire ordered progress for the country. I believe that mere protestation of one's opinion and surrender to the mass opinion is not only not enough but in matters of vital importance, leaders must *act* contrary to the mass of opinion if it does not commend itself to their reason.

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30. GENERAL DYER

The Army Council has found General Dyer guilty of error of judgment and advised that he should not receive any office under the Crown. Mr. Montagu[1] has been unsparing in his criticism of General Dyer's conduct. And yet somehow or other I cannot help feeling that General Dyer is by no means the worst offender. His brutality is unmistakable. His abject and unsoldier-like cowardice is apparent in every line of his amazing defence before the Army Council. He has called an unarmed crowd of men and children—mostly holiday-makers—"a rebel army". He believes himself to be the saviour of the Punjab in that he was able to shoot down like rabbits men who were penned in an enclosure. Such a man is unworthy of being considered a soldier. There was no bravery in his action. He ran no risk. He shot without the slightest opposition and without warning. This is not an "error of judgment". It is paralysis of it in the face of fancied danger. It is proof of criminal incapacity and heartlessness. But the fury that has been spent upon General Dyer is, I am sure, largely misdirected. No doubt the shooting was "frightful", the loss of innocent life deplorable. But the slow torture, degradation and emasculation that followed was much worse, more

[1] E. S. Montagu (1879-1924); Secretary of State for India, 1917-22; co-sponsor of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms

calculated, malicious and soul-killing, and the actors who performed the deeds deserve greater condemnation than General Dyer for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The latter merely destroyed a few bodies but the others tried to kill the soul of a nation. Who ever talks of Colonel Frank Johnson[1] who was by far the worst offender? He terrorized guiltless Lahore, and by his merciless orders set the tone to the whole of the martial law officers. But what I am concerned with is not even Colonel Johnson. The first business of the people of the Punjab and of India is to rid the service of Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Shri Ram and Mr. Malik Khan. They are still retained in the service. Their guilt is as much proved as that of General Dyer. We shall have failed in our duty if the condemnation pronounced upon General Dyer produces a sense of satisfaction and the obvious duty of purging the administration in the Punjab is neglected. That task will not be performed by platform rhetoric or resolutions merely. Stern action is required on our part if we are to make any headway with ourselves and make any impression upon the officials that they are not to consider themselves as masters of the people but as their trustees and servants who cannot hold office if they misbehave themselves and prove unworthy of the trust reposed in them.

Young India, 14-7-1920

31. UNCANNY

There is something uncanny about the repatriation scheme of South Africa.[2] I had never dreamt that the interim report had the slightest connection with the Indians' Relief Act of 1914[3]. I have now read the full text of that Act and had a discussion with Mr. Andrews also. Till the latter drew my attention to the fact, I had even forgotten that there was a section[4] in the Act itself regarding the granting of free passages against forfeiture of domicile. The Government *communique*[5] confirms Mr. Andrews' information.

[1] He was in command of the Lahore Martial Law Area during April-May, 1919; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Repatriation of South African Indians", 1-7-1920.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XII, Appendix XXV.

[4] Section 6

[5] Reproduced in *Young India*, 14-7-1920

What puzzles me is the fact that it has been found at all necessary to have an interim report in order to enforce the free passage section of the Relief Act. That section takes the place of the several sections of different Acts of the Natal legislation repealed by the Act. These sections provided for the grant of free passage to those who were under liability to pay the £3 tax, if the latter wanted to escape the payment of the tax or re-indenture. The section in question though designed to affect these people was made generally applicable. But the debate in the Assembly made perfectly clear the scope of the section. The contention at the time was that those who paid the £3 tax really did not become domiciled, and if after they ceased to pay the tax, they wanted to take advantage of the free passage section, they should forfeit the right of domicile which was at that time considered to be an equitable settlement of the very hotly debated question of the removal of a tax which had been in vogue for nearly twenty years. The interim report somewhat alters the scope of the section, but I am personally not afraid because the section requires a written application for a free passage which is a difficult thing to obtain from any Indian in Natal, and it can only happen in the case of those indentured Indians who having become free are at the present moment unable to support themselves. Not many Indians are likely to take advantage of the section and forfeit their domicile; at the same time I cannot help feeling that an illegitimate use is being attempted to be made of the section that was designed not to meet cases of poverty but to meet cases of doubtful domicile, i.e., cases in which it was open to the anti-Asiatic party to argue that domicile had not been acquired. Today six years after the repeal of the tax every Indian under liability to pay that tax has acquired statutory domicile. It is against my idea of right that a Government should take advantage of distress of men and seek to deprive them of a precious right. It would be better not to issue the scheme under unequal conditions. However I derive satisfaction from the fact that in spite of the machinery that is being set up not many Indians would take the doubtful advantage of the scheme.

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32. *A SUPERINTENDENT'S ORDER*[1]

Mr. Gandhi writes to the Press:

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

GUJRANWALA,
June 5, 1919

TO
THE SUB-INSPECTOR OF POLICE

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

All other cases whether under investigation or under trial before a Summary court will have to be dropped and can then only be tried under the ordinary law. This will mean greatly prolonging these cases as under the ordinary law cases will proceed slowly in court and there will be appeals, etc. It is therefore imperative that all cases now ready for trial in the Summary courts should be sent up for trial immediately and that all cases still under investigation which can be completed rapidly should be completed immediately and sent up for trial. In this district so far the police have sent up comparatively few cases for trial and so there must be many persons who are guilty and against whom there is proof available who should be sent up for trial without delay.

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

[1] This appeared as a letter to the Press in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 15-7-1920.

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Proper attention has not so far been paid to securing the arrests of absconders. This must now be done. Constables, *sufedposhes*[1], etc. should now be sent out immediately after absconders and every effort made to capture them at once. It is not sufficient merely to send a *ruqua*[2] to some police stations for their arrests.

I need not impress upon my officers the great necessity of completing their cases at once and of getting a sufficient number of accused dealt with before martial law is removed. This district in point of view of numbers sent up for trial is far behind other districts and this naturally arouses criticisms on the efficiency and energy shown by the police here. Something can still be done to improve matters and if all my officers put their hearts into the work there is no reason why the reputation of all the investigating staff here should suffer in comparison with those who have investigated in Lahore and Amritsar, but should the numbers sent up for trial continue so small, all concerned will undoubtedly not receive the *qadar*[3] and respect they are in some instances entitled to.

F. A. HERON
SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

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

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[1] Policemen in civilian dress
[2] Letter
[3] Consideration

33. SPEECH AT JULLUNDUR

July 15, 1920

In a short Hindustani speech he explained fully what non-co-operation meant.

As far as the Mussulmans were concerned . . . all my Mohammedan friends and brothers including Ulemas who command the respect of the whole of India assured me that no believing Muslim could give any help to a Government which had disregarded the religious obligations and occupied sacred places of Islam in spite of their earnest protestations. The Punjab affair is common to both Hindus and Muslims, and even if there were no Khilafat question this alone would have given sufficient ground for withholding co-operation from a Government which finally has refused to accept the very modest recommendations of the Congress Committee.

He appealed to all to accept the movement and work it for gaining complete freedom of faith and establishing the good name of the country. He requested the ladies present to take to spinning again as of yore and encourage the weavers to ply their old trade again.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21-7-1920

34. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, AMRITSAR[1]

July 16, 1920

Mr. Gandhi, who on rising was most enthusiastically cheered, stated, he found it impossible to express adequately the pain he felt for the Punjab wrong. He would only ask Punjab Hindus and Mussulmans never to forget that fateful day[2] of April 1919. Whilst he said he wanted to emphasize that the people were also in the wrong, even as the authorities had been, the difference being one of degree. Whilst they had committed a few pounds of wrong the authorities were guilty of tons of wrong. But as long as the least amount of wrong had been done by people they should be prepared for hundreds of Jallianwalas and he would not be satisfied by them until people had

[1] At Anjuman Park under the auspices of the local Khilafat Committee, Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew being the other speakers

[2] April 13, the day of firing at Jallianwala Bagh

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not the slightest share in violence. When however the wrong was fully Government's, conditions would soon be changed. He would then ask the whole people to stand free and have nothing to do with a Government that outrages their sense of self-respect and honour. Speaking of the Punjab, Mr. Gandhi said he could not but confess to a sense of feeling that, however noted the Punjabis were for their bravery, they had not played well their part in April last. They were terrified, their spirit was broken. He had not the slightest doubt about this. For how else could they consent to such inhumanities as crawling like reptiles rubbing their noses against the ground.[1] How, if they had any sense of self-respect, if they felt that they were men, could they thus consent to be pulled down from man's state. If they had a sense of their manhood, of their self-respect and honour they should have willingly faced death rather than tamely accept such dishonours. But he was not there to cavil at the Punjab. His mortal frame was made of the same stuff as that of Punjabis. He was not sure that his spirit would remain unbroken under similar circumstances. He would only pray that he should never submit to such indignities even if he was faced with death as the only alternative. They were looking forward to the Hunter Committee[2] to end the scandal of these indignities by meeting out proper punishment to the miscreants, but their hopes were in vain and the Punjab wrong was now added to the Khilafat wrong. He was sure that they could not get these wrongs righted by an appeal to passions. They could only get them righted by steps coolly and deliberately considered. One sovereign step was non-co-operation. He then explained to them the different stages of non-co-operation and said that if the first of August passed off as a peaceful day of general protest all over India they would be laying a sure foundation of success. In case of violence the movement would automatically come to a standstill. He would most earnestly appeal to them to act truthfully and bravely as the true soldier who prides himself on nobly laying down his life but not on ignobly taking another's life. It is possible, added Mr. Gandhi, many there assembled and many Mussulmans in India for that matter did not readily know what a grave affront had been put upon Islam by the Turkish peace terms. They would have to be shown that by a careful propaganda which was a matter of some time. But as to the scandal of the Punjab, as to the indignities offered by Mr. Bosworth Smith, by Col. O'Brien, by Shri Ram and Malik Khan there was no question of ignorance. They were common ground between all parties and per-

[1] The reference is to the "crawling" order issued by Gen. Dyer on April 20, 1919.

[2] Set up by the Government of India on October 14, 1919, to investigate the April disturbances in the provinces of Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab. The Committee presented its report on March 8 and it was published on May 28, 1920.

sonally known to most of them, and so long as these officers continued to be in the Punjab how could they call themselves men, how could they claim to have any sense of self-respect or honour? They may know nothing about the Khilafat question, but the Jallianwala Bagh was engraved ineffaceably in their hearts.

At this stage Mr. Gandhi asked the audience if Mr. Ghulam Jalani[1] was present there—Mr. Ghulam Jalani, the brutalities inflicted on whom no one could forget. The speaker was told that he had gone on *hijrat*[2]. Mr. Gandhi said he had honourably left the country, but he had also left his brethren responsible to God to vindicate his honour. Would, then, Punjab do nothing to vindicate that honour? The only remedy before them was non-co-operation. That was the most natural remedy. It was impossible to expect men to co-operate with Government by sitting in its councils and law-courts. How, he was often asked, would they be able to maintain themselves if they gave up service under Government, if they gave up their callings which were their only means of livelihood? The speaker was sure that so long as God had given them hands and feet they could surely trust the giver of those hands and feet to hold them. He was not prepared to believe that the whole of Muslim India was prepared for general *hijrat*, but he was confident that they could offer non-co-operation and that they must. They should for ever bear the fact in mind that without this co-operation the machinery of Government would not go on for a single day.

He explained to them the importance of the observance of the first of August and exhorted them to observe the day in a dignified and in a peaceful manner. He was not prepared to discuss the question of the boycott of councils, as, he said, he was not prepared to create a breach between the people and the leaders. He would leave the people to local leaders. As for himself he had not the slightest doubt that the boycott of councils was an essential step in non-co-operation and he would continue to preach it from his quarters in Bombay. In conclusion Mr. Gandhi emphasized what to his mind was the essence of swadeshi, viz, restricting oneself to the use of hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun Indian cotton. The bearing of swadeshi on Khilafat lay, said the speaker, in the people being able to convince thereby the Englishmen that a nation could do without them for so essential a commodity as cloth and could be independent to that extent. The moment they were so convinced they would be prepared to stand by India in winning the justice she demanded.

[1] Imam and a deed-writer who took part in organizing the *Ramnavami* festival. He was arrested on April 16, 1919, and was badly tortured; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 191 & 192.

[2] Self-imposed exile, from the Prophet's flight from Mecca to Medina, 622 A.D.

A little discussion of the question arising out of the recent Peshawar incident, especially, the one as to what should be done in future for the safe passage of the *muhajarin*[1] terminated the proceedings.

The Tribune, 27-7-1920

35. SPEECH ON KHILAFAT AND NON-CO-OPERATION, LAHORE

July 17, 1920

A public meeting of the citizens of Lahore was held outside Delhi Gate on Saturday the 17th July, 1920, under the presidentship of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt.

Mr. Gandhi, who on rising to address the meeting received a tremendous ovation, speaking in Hindi, said that he would say only a few words. They were all grieved to hear what M. Zafar Ali Khan[2] had told them about the Peshawar incident. There was nothing to shed tears about. He had heard some people weeping during the speech. If they wished to settle the Khilafat question, they should give up weeping. They were fighting not against one Empire but against Christendom. The Europeans were clever, skilful, shrewd and versed in the use of arms. They were also self-sacrificing. In the late War, every English family had given at least one man. He reminded them of the example of their Viceroy whose son was killed in the War, but who outwardly did not grieve even for a single day. In God's work, they ought to be self-sacrificing and they were not to weep. Even though there was bloodshed they should be patient. If they succeeded in killing a few Europeans they would gain nothing. People in Europe would laugh at him if he were to go there to preach non-co-operation. But physical power was not the only thing in the world. The Europeans were skilled in warfare. In the old days if a man had a sword in hand, he would not fight unless his adversary had a similar sword in his hands. Now they had bombs, aeroplanes and firearms.

It was not courageous to kill a few Europeans. If, on the other hand, some of them stood at a place and refused to move further at any cost, that was real courage. They were to give blood but not to take it. In this way alone would the Khilafat question be settled. The speaker had consulted the Ulemas. If his hearers too believed that non-co-operation was a form of jehad they should follow it. They should give up councillorships and even posts like those of cooks, etc. The Khilafat was a religious question and if they really grieved over it, they should be self-sacrificing. Regarding *hijrat*, the speaker advised

[1] Emigrants

[2] Editor and proprietor of *Zamindar* of Lahore; *vide* "Repression in the Punjab", 29-9-1920.

them to stay in the country and bear and face all the trial. Would they die for councillorships and titles or for God?

In the Punjab, there was first the calamity which befell them the previous year and secondly, worse men than Dyer and O'Dwyer, men like O'Brien, Bosworth Smith, Shri Ram and Malik Sahib Khan were still in office. Were the people prepared to go to the councils and send their children to the schools under such circumstances?

Only the deserving got justice from God. They were made to crawl because they deserved it. In Europe even a boy would refuse to do it. Could it be possible that a man who had no ticket should be shot dead? That was so because they had no power. But what kind of power? If they had the strength to suffer, all their difficulties would be solved soon.

After referring to Mr. Montagu's statement about himself and the remarks of M. Shaukat Ali[1] and Pandit Rambhuj Dutt, Mr. Gandhi said that by resorting to violence they would spoil the settlement of the Khilafat question. Thousands of Jallianwala Baghs might happen but they were not to be excited. Even if it came to hanging although he did not believe Government would do so, they ought to be ready for the gallows. The speaker was not in the Punjab to render them less courageous. That man who was ready to suffer was more courageous than mere soldiers.

On the first of August they were to have total hartal and prayer but it was to be purely voluntary. A resolution was to be passed. But there were to be no processions nor meetings if the latter were prohibited. They were to obey all orders of police and Government. The speaker then detailed the four stages of non-co-operation as announced by the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay. In the Punjab, continued Mr. Gandhi, there were more than 50 per cent Muslims and the Hindus would do their duty by the Muslims if they felt for them. Even if Hindus and Sikhs separated from them, the Muslims should remember their duty to the God within. There were crores of Muslims in the Punjab. What was that which they could not do if they had courage and self-sacrifice? They could shake the whole of India. To the Hindus, the speaker said that he supported the Muslims and went about with them because they wished to protect the Hindus themselves. If the Hindus wished to live peacefully with the Muslims, the former should help the latter. Several people had told him that the Muslim would desert the Hindus after the Khilafat question was decided. From his twenty years' experience, during which period he had been closely associated with the Muslims, he could say it was false.

He wished to protect the cows by appealing to and increasing love between Hindus and Muslims, and not as a return for support of the Khilafat.

[1] 1873-1938; nationalist Muslim politician who along with his brother, Maulana Mahomed Ali, took a leading part in the Khilafat movement

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi referred to the necessity of learning discipline. That morning he had noticed the luggage of a passenger at the railway station being trampled under foot. That had grieved him. They should learn the value of discipline and their volunteers should maintain order on all such occasions. They ought to remain outside the railway station instead of crowding inside. He hoped on the 1st August there would be nothing like noise or disorder. They should work under the directions of their sectional leaders. In that way they would find that the Punjab and the Khilafat questions are solved within six months.

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew[1] in a brief speech thanked on behalf of the Punjab, Maulana Shaukat Ali and their Guru, Mahatma Gandhi for all that they were doing for them.

It was 12.45 a.m. when the meeting dispersed.

The Tribune, 20-7-1920

36. BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

Steadily and surely non-co-operation is taking shape. The most important programme facing the country now is the boycott of councils. I trust that the people will stand firm and carry it out fully.

Can we ever gain anything from one whose intent is evil, who wants deliberately to do us injustice and who, we are convinced, holds the people in contempt?

I see the whole administration today as a poison-tree. How can we ever expect the *kadvi* creeper to bear sweet fruit? The important question is: Should we take our seats in the councils to offer constant opposition or boycott the elections altogether? No good fighter is ever beaten by the method of obstruction, and the British are born fighters. And what is this programme of "obstruction", after all? Making long and stinging speeches, calling the Government names even, and refusing our vote when needed. Those who imagine that the Government can be tired out through such methods have not studied the Constitution. It can, indeed, through such harassment, be made to grant small favours but nothing substantial.

Through all our victories till now, we have hardly achieved anything really worthwhile. The drain on India's wealth continues. The dread of the military has not lessened a bit. Discrimination between whites and non-whites remains the same as

[1] A Congress leader of the Punjab

ever. Duplicity has increased, rather than otherwise. Government policy shows no change for the better. Who will say that the relations between the Government and the people are growing healthier day by day?

That being so, what does it avail us if a few Indians have become judges, a few have been taken up on the executive councils, some have become members of legislatures and one Indian has been raised to the peerage? To me, all these things are mere baits. They are opium pills for keeping us slumbering. So long as justice is not done, any honour conferred by the British is, in fact, an insult. Why do we not see this very simple thing?

I am hoping for great things from the whole of India but, I believe, I have a right to expect even greater things from Gujarat. I do hope that Gujarat will make a leading contribution in this programme.

The people of Gujarat are known to be clear-headed. They are shrewd calculators. The calculations I have placed before them are simple enough. How can we walk in mud and not be defiled? While the administration remains tainted with injustice, I look upon legislatures as so much mud.

Ireland gained absolutely nothing through the policy of harassment and obstruction; and, remember, it had an able leader like Parnell to fight for it. In despair, it has now taken to the method of violence. This also, I believe, is a mistake. I have cited the instance of Ireland only to show that obstruction leads nowhere. General Botha in South Africa had to choose one of the two courses: either to enter the legislature and agitate for justice there or to boycott it completely. He chose the latter course and won. He got the constitution of his choice and became the Prime Minister of a free people.

Boycott of councils will advance the country. The people will get a good lesson in discipline and the burden of carrying on the administration will fall entirely on the Government. I am convinced that, if only the educated people resist the bait [of the councils] and refuse, as a matter of duty, the seeming benefits the Government may offer, the latter cannot run its administration for a moment. A government always functions through the implicit consent of the people. It simply cannot function when the people oppose it outright. A government generally rules its subjects not by fear but by cajolery. The sanction of fear is there, of course, but to be used in the last resort. There is some justice, but only enough to maintain the Government in being. We get a measure of justice because justice is the best policy. We, on the

other hand, demand that justice, and nothing but justice, be done though the heavens fall.

And it is to get this principle accepted that we talk of bringing about a change of heart on the part of the officials. To succeed in this we have to prove to them that we are their equals. A man can attain equality with another through physical or moral force. Equality attained by means of physical force is of the lower kind, it is the way of the beast; for the Hindu, especially, it is a policy ever to be shunned. For thousands of years past, our training has been in a different direction altogether. It is my firm belief that the British can be won over by moral force. I have, indeed, written strongly and bitterly against the injustices perpetrated by British officers but I believe, all the same, that no European nation is more amenable to the pressure of moral force than the British; and a purposeful sacrifice by way of boycott of councils is but the application of a token moral force. It is a sacrifice which is easy to make and yet very effective, since it is to be made by men who will be fit to be people's representatives.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-7-1920

37. DUTY OF WOMEN

At a meeting held under the presidentship of that good lady Mrs. Jaiji Jehangir Petit, the women of Bombay have given expression to their view on the atrocities committed in the Punjab. The meeting has served two purposes. In the first place, the women have joined the country in her suffering and understood what that suffering is. Women ought not to remain unconcerned in the face of such atrocities. They cannot afford to keep silent when events happen which deprive women of their womanhood and men of their manhood. It is not men alone who have been humiliated in the Punjab. Women, too, have been humiliated. That arrogant officer, Mr. Bosworth Smith, left nothing undone in disgracing women in Manianwala in the Punjab. In holding the meeting, therefore, the women of Bombay have done nothing more than their duty. I hope the women of Gujarat, too, will hold similar meetings in the principal cities of the province and pass appropriate resolutions.

Women cannot disown such duties thinking that they are but weak creatures. The soul can never be described as weak; it is the

body which may be so described. Even a little girl who has, and knows that she has, a soul of shining purity can stand up to an overbearing Englishman, six-and-a-half foot tall. A woman conscious of her dignity as woman sheds lustre on her womanhood through soul-force. The woman who, knowing that she is weak in body, becomes weak [in mind] cannot do this. Our shastras tell us how Sita[1], Draupadi[2] and other women filled the wicked with awe. Just as the strength of an elephant's body is unavailing before the power of human intelligence, so also a man's intellectual and physical strength is quite helpless before the soul-force either of a man or a woman.

I, therefore, want the women of India not to believe themselves weak and give up their right and privilege of protecting their progeny. It is sheer ignorance to call woman weak, woman who has been the mother of mighty heroes like Hanuman[3]. Maybe she has been so called simply in order to impress upon the male his duty towards her, to tell him that, being physically the stronger, he must not be a monster and, in his pride, oppress woman who is weak, but that, on the contrary, he must do her service by protecting her and providing her with the means through which she may cultivate strength of soul.

Victims of the illusion that this is an age of sheer physical power, we feel perplexed and puzzled and wonder what the weak and miserable people of India can do. Thinking thus, even our menfolk feel themselves quite as helpless as women. If only the country realized that this is not true at all! The day the people of India come to have self-respect, they will be strong and no General Dyer will then remain in the country.

How may we acquire such strength? No elaborate training is necessary. We have only to put our trust in God and stop being afraid of anybody's physical strength. The physically strong have at the most, the power of destroying our body. When we shed all fear for the safety of our body, we become lions among men. Real power, therefore, consists not in having the physical strength of a giant but in strength of mind, knowledge of the Self and freedom from the fear of death.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-7-1920

[1] Of the *Ramayana*, held in reverence as the ideal wife

[2] Of the *Mahabharata*, admired for her dauntless spirit

[3] A prominent character in the *Ramayana*; lieutenant of Rama and God of strength

38. SWADESHI

I request readers to reflect over what I wrote about pure swadeshi.[1] The news[2] about the spinning-wheel published in today's *Navajivan* will not fail to fill every lover of swadeshi with enthusiasm.

I want to give here some more information which the women of Gujarat, especially, should ponder over.

The Hon'ble Panditji[3], giving the information, in the course of an appeal for donations for the Hindu University, that it had been decided to work there for promoting the cause of swadeshi and to install looms, said that even some ranis in Indian States had agreed to learn spinning. He declared, amidst cheers, that his mind would not be at peace till the ruling princes in the country started weaving.

Why did Panditji say this? He knows that India's economic freedom depends on the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom, and that, without economic freedom, the very hope of freedom of any other kind is futile or, in the alternative, we should follow England in her round-about methods in order to achieve such freedom.

This same thought has induced Dr. Manekbai Bahadurji to learn spinning and she does a little of it every day. Dr. Manekbai is the wife of a former Advocate-General of Bombay, and daughter of the late renowned Dr. Atmaram Sagun. She has been keeping indifferent health for the past few years. Even at present she is weak. She has decided [all the same] to spin every day during her spare time.

And now Atia Begum[4] and the Begum of Janjira have undertaken to learn spinning.

In the Punjab, Shrimati Saraladevi has been devoting all her time to swadeshi. She says in her latest letter that she had been to Amritsar and set the wives of Shri Ratanchand and Bugga Chau-

[1] *Vide* "Pure Swadeshi," 11-7-1920.

[2] About the invention of a new spinning-wheel by Kale; *vide* footnote 1, "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", before July 12, 1921. It was, however, stated later, in *Navajivan*, 10-10-1920, that the model was found unsatisfactory in some ways.

[3] Madan Mohan Malaviya

[4] Atia Begum Rahman, sister of the Begum of Janjira

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dhri, who are in jail, on this work, as also Ratandevi, who had cried the whole night over her husband's dead body in her lap. She has formed a committee there and opened a class to teach spinning to women. In Ludhiana, too, she called a meeting of the women and started this work. We do not know how long this work will go on, but experience teaches us that, while there remains one true worker, any work once begun never stops.

Just now people are increasingly taking to wearing cloth made from hand-spun yarn. It is necessary, at this time, that the women of Gujarat start working. They have ability enough but lack the will. To work for clothing the naked is no ignoble occupation. The scarcity of cloth in India cannot be fully overcome until women start spinning.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-7-1920

39. LETTER FROM A READER[1]

I gladly publish this letter[2]. I have heard many such objections but I have my reply to them. Who are we to point out its duty to Bengal? It will realize its duty in course of time. But may it not be that each province has its distinctive sphere of service? If Bengal has not contributed in money, it has done so in learning. What Gujarat has done does not seem surprising. Gujarat has much; it knows how to give liberally and does so. Bengal does not know giving and does not give. But is not the very fact that the Poet is in need of money sufficient to show that Bengal has not recognized his worth fully? Should we, on that account, refuse to help him? It is true that our appreciation of the Poet cannot be expressed in terms of money, but this does not mean, either, that we have no obligation to help him. It means, rather, that we cannot give him enough. It is my emphatic view that, after having specially invited the Poet, what Gujarat gave him was too little. The reference to a "taunt", therefore, is irrelevant. It is just because, in the past, Gujarat has often done its duty that a beggar like myself expects it to do it again on other appropriate occasions. It is not the Poet who stands

[1] Kanchanlal M. Khandwala

[2] Not given here. Referring to Gandhiji's comments in "Shantiniketan", 11-7-1920, it said that the criticism of Gujarat was undeserved and that Bengal never contributed to public causes outside the province.

begging. It is I who drew Gujarat's attention to its duty in view of the condition of Shantiniketan and after reading the account given by Mr. Andrews. As I write this reply, I learn that from Bombay Rs. 10,000 have been received for Shantiniketan. The amount was collected soon after the Poet's visit there and so the immediate need has been met. All the same, those who see reason in my appeal should not drop the idea of sending their contributions.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-7-1920

40. SPEECH ON BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS, LAHORE

July 18, 1920

A prolonged informal conference was held on July 18, 1920, when the question of the boycott of reformed councils as a protest against the Punjab martial law atrocities and Khilafat settlement was discussed.

Mr. Gandhi said with Indians, non-participation in the councils was a matter of national honour and self-respect and no self-respecting Indian could participate until martial law delinquents were punished. He said the English people were a high-souled race but unfortunately they had been weaned away from the teaching of Jesus Christ by the theories of Bentham, Darwin and other materialistic writers. If Indians wanted to be partners with Englishmen, they had got to cultivate virtues of self-respect and honour, qualities which alone appealed to Englishmen and they should not be subservient weaklings.

Incidentally, Mr. Gandhi said knowing as he did the agriculturists of his country and their love and attachment to home and homestead lands, he thought the consequences of non-payment of taxes might bring them into collision with the authorities. He did not therefore advise them to have recourse to non-payment of taxes which was the last stage in his programme.

The Hindu, 20-7-1920

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41. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI[1]

[After *July 18, 1920*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am simply in love with the spinning-wheel and with Kale. You, too, should keep thinking about this, and this alone, all the time. You may now entrust the making of the block of the spinning-wheel and of Kale's photograph to Anandanand. Get to know him personally, too. Collect some facts about Kale's life. What have been his studies? Take out the patent of the spinning-wheel on your name. If Kale agrees, name the spinning-wheel "Gangabai Spinning-wheel". He wants it to be named after himself. If that is still his wish, name it accordingly. Inscribe the name and other particulars on the spinning-wheel in Devnagari and Urdu scripts. Do not delay the application for the patent. The Trust has not gone out of my mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5793. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

42. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Thursday [After *July 18, 1920*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

The more I think about the spinning-wheel, the more I fall in love with Kale's handiwork. Take care of his health, and also get from him [designs for] machines to prepare slivers, etc.

Inform Chhotalal that Vitthaldas will soon ask for all the khadi to be sent to him. Keep back the samples in which the warp and the woof are both of hand-spun yarn.

Attend to Ramjibhai. He is a fine man. Keep these 18 rupees with you and credit the sum to his account. Send him yarn against it and ask him to weave pieces of greater width. He will do so. We should now have khadi of such width, in which both the warp

[1] This and the letter which follows were probably written some time after the announcement about the spinning-wheel in *Navajivan*, 18-7-1920; *vide* footnote 2, "Swadeshi", 18-7-1920.

and the woof are of hand-spun yarn. If you do not get spinning done in Ahmedabad, the expenses on the carder will be wasted. Be quick about this.

The Trust is in my mind. I don't keep idle for a single minute, but I find myself helpless. This whole day I have been writing for *Young India*. I am now tired. I will finish what remains, though. Look after Ba.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5794. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

43. SPEECH AT RAWALPINDI[1]

July 19, 1920

If the Hindus understand that the seven crore Muslims are their fellow-countrymen and that they will not be able to live at enmity with them, they will see that it is their greatest duty to live with the Muslims and die with them. I do not want clapping of hands, I do not want big gatherings, I ask for action. If the Hindus, forgetting their duty, do not join in making sacrifices, I shall tell them that some day even their religion will be in peril just as Islam is today. Ministers of the Allied nations in Europe think that they can drive away the Muslims from Europe; likewise, they may want to enslave the Hindus. It behoves us, for the freedom of India, to stand by our Muslim friends so long as, loyal to their faith and religion, they are ready to make sacrifices. . . .

I have known Muslims for the last 30 years. I honour my Muslim friends who are capable of acting with courage, of being brave. I have also observed, however, that they have often done mighty deeds in the heat of anger, and that, when the anger subsides, their strength vanishes. If we are to make sacrifices in this struggle, we must match the efficiency of the Empire which we are fighting. The soldiers forget their anger and fight with discipline, with intelligence and courage. If you want to stand against them, you should be intelligent and cultivate courage and discipline. You will not succeed if, in anger, you fail to obey the orders of your leader. Anger has come in the way of securing justice in many a cause. God dispenses justice only to those who

[1] This and similar items which follow are extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour.

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possess resourcefulness, courage and the ability to work in the right way and are free from anger. In Rawalpindi, Hindus and Muslims are very strong. They have the strength, too, for quarrels [among themselves]. I request them to acquire the strength to make sacrifices. The sacrifice, I repeat, is not of the kind involved in drawing the sword. Muslims are brave at it. I compliment them on this, but I should like to make them see that, if they would have the strength to employ the sword, they must also have the strength to give up their life. The Punjabis know how to draw the sword, but I call their sword mercenary. One cannot intimidate anybody with such a sword. Your sword is unavailing against anyone who can employ his more skilfully than you, and the moment you lose your grip over the sword you stand helpless. I have found a way by which you can fight while keeping your swords sheathed. It seems to me that you will face defeat if you use your swords; not only that, but your swords will be turned against your people, men and women alike. If you want to understand the beauty of non-co-operation, follow my advice. I do not claim to know the holy Koran, but your own Ulemas say that non-co-operation is a strong form of jehad. One may have to die whether drawing the sword or employing non-co-operation. Why, then, should you not sacrifice yourselves by adopting non-co-operation which does not involve the taking of another's life?

I have heard that in Peshawar, people have got excited, are boiling over, because of the outrage on the *muhajarin*. I think the latter were not at fault; it is the British soldiers who were to blame. But even in the face of such misdeeds, we shall have to have patience, bow our heads. If you resolve that rivers of blood may flow but you will not forsake manliness, will not be provoked and will continue courageously, making sacrifices, your success is assured. . . .

Real non-co-operation will be possible if you understand the principle that it consists in breaking off our ties with the Government. . . .

If such persons [title-holders] do not have the requisite strength and sincerity, I shall leave aside highly-placed officials and tell others, even the butlers, that to cook for Government servants is tantamount to helping this tyrannical Government in its tyranny. . . .

I shall ask the soldiers to leave the army but not to turn their arms subsequently against the enemy. I ask them, rather, to become soldiers without swords, like me. I have nothing by way of physical strength; but nobody, I think, can make me do anything

against my will. By and by I will also ask the peasants not to pay revenue, but I tell both the soldiers and the peasants to take no step without instructions. The beauty of our struggle lies in the discipline it requires, and so I shall ask our unarmed, swordless army not to take up their weapons without orders. They will get their orders at the opportune moment. But so long as we are not sure that we can carry the whole of India with us, we will not ask the soldiers or the peasants to do anything. . . .

Why do these people join the army? For money. The money which robs us of our humanity is so much dust. Have you forgotten the black deeds of Bosworth Smith, Johnson, Shri Ram and others? Have you forgotten the crawling on your stomach? I entreat you not to allow yourselves to yield to the temptation of enlisting in the army. Earn your bread by toil, and tell them plainly that you can supply no recruits. Just think of the tremendous effect that will be produced if the Punjab declares this. Which other part has supplied as many recruits as the Punjab has? If the Punjab now refuses to supply any more, let us see who can get them from elsewhere. . . .

I have also been a soldier of the Government, but the time has now come for me to tell it that the kingdom of God is a thousand times dearer to us than its Empire. In that kingdom, we shall be able to preserve our religion, whereas the Empire is founded on injustice and maintains itself by disobeying God. We cannot be loyal to it.

The Punjab was humiliated under martial law, it lost its honour. To be even with the Government for that, tell it that you want to remain its loyal subjects, but that you can do so only if it mends its ways and does justice to the province. Tell it that, till then, you will have no love for it, will have nothing to do with it. . . .

Montagu has said that I have served the country in the past but that now I have lost my head and may have to be arrested, if necessary. I ask you not to lose your balance of mind if they arrest me. You went mad for the sake of Kitchlew. For Satyapal[1], too, you lost your head, set fire to houses, and killed innocent people. If you love me, you should keep your patience, should they arrest both of us, even if they hang us on the gallows. I know, my heart tells me, that if I were a Prime Minister and were opposed by any person whom I believed to be a mad Gandhi, I would certainly

[1] Medical practitioner and Congress leader of the Punjab; deported on April 10, 1919

send such a Gandhi to the Andamans. Montagu thinks I am mad; if he believes this honestly and arrests me, where is the cause for anger? If you do not consider me mad, listen to what I say, do what I have asked you to do and go to jail. Where a tyrant reigns, a prison is a palace and a palace a prison. If you have learnt this equation of prison and palace, do as I tell you. If you believe that what I am telling you is only what God tells me through my inner voice, then give me the assurance, I beg you, that you will restrain your passion and will not boil over even if they sentence me. Proclaim to the Government : "You may hang us on the gallows, you may send us to prison, but you will get no co-operation from us. You will get it in jail or on the gallows, but not in the regiments of the army. You will not get it in legislatures or any departments of Government service." . . .

No bodily strength or learning is required for this training, nor is it necessary to have a body like that of Shaukat Ali. What is required is just the understanding of one principle, and patience. I pray to God that He may fill you with inspiration, grant you strength, so that India may take up this work, forgetting all else. If they succeed in this, Hindus and Muslims will become one another's slaves and will be able to command the world to desist from treachery and injustice.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-8-1920

44. *SPEECH AT MUNICIPAL GARDENS, GUJARKHAN*[1]

July 20, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi rose amidst loud cheers and spoke on unity amongst Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs on the Khilafat question, which he said, was the only way of regaining the sacred places of the Mussulmans from the hands of the non-Muslims. To attain this object sacrifices would have to be made. The Kacha Garhi incident[2] was an example. He enjoined on the audience not to use any sort of violence towards any Englishman. This was not the way to success, nor were they able to oppose the Government in that manner. Their only weapon lay in the unity of Hindus and Mohammedans. If they possessed genuine unity and had firmness of mind, they should tell the Government that as long as the Khilafat question was not decided to the satisfaction of the Muslims

[1] At a public meeting

[2] *Vide* "*Hijrat* and Its Meaning", 21-7-1920.

they would keep aloof from the Government. The speaker went on to say that, as already announced by him, the 1st of August should be observed as a day of fasting and hartal, and prayers should be offered in all mosques and temples. The speaker expressed his determination to sympathize with the Muhammadans until such time as the Khilafat question was decided in their favour. The Muhammadans were sometimes found to give way to anger and to the use of their swords. This was not needed at the present juncture and was likely to do more harm than good. He next dwelt on non-co-operation with Government, which, he said, should begin on the 1st of August. Government should be definitely told on the 1st of August that since the Khilafat question had not been decided in their favour they were no longer prepared to remain faithful. Titles and honorary posts should be given up. Pleaders should cease to practise, as it was better to live on manual labour than to practise in the courts of this Government. *Khansamans*[1], too, should give up their employment, as one who serves oppressors partakes in the oppression exercised by them. The councils should also be avoided. If this failed, the speaker would go to the soldiers and tell them that they should not serve a Government regardless of their religious sentiments. If this too failed, he would go to the peasants and ask them not to pay any land revenue to Government. This, however, would be resorted to only when he was satisfied of the unity between them.

Mr. Gandhi went on to say that Mr. Montagu was of opinion that the speaker had done his duty, but his Deputy was of opinion that Gandhi had gone mad. The speaker said that he was firm and resolute in his determination and was not afraid of being hanged or deported. He asked the audience not to create any disturbance if he, Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew were hanged or deported, as they had done on the occasion of the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal last year. He was always ready to help his brethren, whether in jail or outside it. Jail was after all better than freedom under the oppressors. They should regard their own houses as jails and jails as palaces. All that was wanted was firmness of the mind. He set no store by cheering and the holding of large meetings. It was time for practical work. Mahatma Gandhi delivered his lecture while sitting and, as he was somewhat indisposed, he asked leave of the audience when his speech was finished. On this, four Campbellpore men stood up and said they had come to take him to Campbellpore. The Mahatma asked them to come to the place where he was staying.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1195

[1] Waiters, attendants at table

45. AT THE CALL OF THE COUNTRY

Dr. Sapru[1] delivered before the Khilafat Conference at Allahabad an impassioned address sympathizing with the Mussulmans in their trouble but dissuaded them from embarking on non-co-operation. He was frankly unable to suggest a substitute but was emphatically of opinion that whether there was a substitute or not, non-co-operation was a remedy worse than the disease. He said further that Mussulmans will be taking upon their shoulders a serious responsibility, if whilst they appealed to the ignorant masses to join them, they could not appeal to the Indian judges to resign and if they did, they would not succeed.

I acknowledge the force of Dr. Sapru's last argument. At the back of Dr. Sapru's mind is the fear that non-co-operation by the ignorant people would lead to distress and chaos and would do no good. In my opinion any non-co-operation is bound to do some good. Even the Viceregal door-keeper saying, "Please Sir, I can serve the Government no longer because it has hurt my national honour," and resigning is a step mightier and more effective than the mightiest speech declaiming against the Government for its injustice.

Nevertheless it would be wrong to appeal to the door-keeper until one has appealed to the highest in the land. And as I propose, if the necessity arose, to ask the door-keepers of the Government to dissociate themselves from an unjust Government, I propose now to address an appeal to the judges and the executive councillors to join the protest that is rising from all over India against the double wrong done to India, on the Khilafat and the Punjab questions. In both, national honour is involved.

I take it that these gentlemen have entered upon their high offices not for the sake of emolument, nor I hope for the sake of fame, but for the sake of serving their country. It was not for money, for, they were earning more than they do now. It must not be for fame, for, they cannot buy fame at the cost of national honour. The only consideration that can at the present moment keep them in office must be service of the country.

When the people have faith in the Government, when it represents the popular will, the judges and the executive officials

[1] Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875-1949); statesman and lawyer

possibly serve the country. But when that Government does not represent the will of the people, when it supports dishonesty and terrorism, the judges and the executive officials by retaining office become instruments of dishonesty and terrorism. And the least therefore that these holders of high offices can do is to cease to become agents of a dishonest and terrorizing Government.

For the judges the objection will be raised that they are above politics, and so they are and should be. But the doctrine is true only in so far as the Government is on the whole for the benefit of the people and at least represents the will of the majority. Not to take part in politics means not to take sides. But when a whole country has one mind, one will, when a whole country has been denied justice, it is no longer a question of party politics, it is a matter of life and death. It then becomes the duty of every citizen to refuse to serve a Government which misbehaves and flouts national wish. The judges are at that moment bound to follow the nation if they are ultimately its servants.

There remains another argument to be examined. It applies to both the judges and the members of the executive. It will be urged that my appeal could only be meant for the Indians and what good can it do by Indians renouncing offices which have been won for the nation by hard struggle. I wish that I could make an effective appeal to the English as well as the Indians. But I confess that I have written with the mental reservation that the appeal is addressed only to the Indians. I must therefore examine the argument just stated. Whilst it is true that these offices have been secured after a prolonged struggle, they are of use not because of the struggle but because they are intended to serve the nation. The moment they cease to possess that quality, they become useless and as in the present case, harmful, no matter how hard earned and therefore valuable they may have been at the outset.

I would submit too to our distinguished countrymen who occupy high offices that their giving up their offices will bring the struggle to a speedy end and would probably obviate the danger attendant upon the masses being called upon to signify their disapproval by withdrawing co-operation. If the title-holders gave up their titles, if the holders of honorary offices gave up their appointments and if the high officials gave up their posts and the would-be councillors boycotted the councils, the Government would quickly come to its senses and give effect to the people's will. For the alternative before the Government then would be nothing but despotic rule pure and simple. That would probably mean

military dictatorship. The world's opinion had advanced so far that Britain dare not contemplate such dictatorship with equanimity. The taking of the steps suggested by me will constitute the peacefullest revolution the world has ever seen. Once the infallibility of non-co-operation is realized, there is an end to all bloodshed and violence in any shape or form.

Undoubtedly a cause must be grave to warrant the drastic method of national non-co-operation. I do say that the affront such as has been put upon Islam cannot be repeated for a century. Islam must rise now or "be fallen" if not for ever, certainly for a century. And I cannot imagine a graver wrong than the massacre of Jallianwala and the barbarity that followed it, the whitewash by the Hunter Committee, the dispatch[1] of the Government of India. Mr. Montagu's letter[2] upholding the Viceroy and the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the refusal to remove officials who made of the lives of the Punjabis "a hell" during the martial law period. These acts constitute a complete series of continuing wrongs against India which if India has any sense of honour, she must right at the sacrifice of all the material wealth she possesses. If she does not, she will have bartered her soul for a "mess of pottage".

Young India, 21-7-1920

46. THE MUSIC OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL

Slowly but surely the music of perhaps the most ancient machine of India is once more permeating society. Pandit Malaviyaji has stated that he is not going to be satisfied until the ranis and the maharanis of India spin yarn for the nation, and the ranas and the maharanas sit behind the handlooms and weave cloth for the nation. They have the example of Aurangzeb[3] who made his own caps. A greater emperor—Kabir[4]—was himself a weaver and has immortalized the art in his poems. The queens of Europe before Europe was caught in Satan's trap, spun yarn and considered it a noble calling. The very words, spinster and wife, prove the ancient dignity of the art of spinning and weaving. "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman" also reminds one of the same fact. Well may Panditji hope to persuade the royalty of

[1] *Vide*, Vol. XVII, Appendix IV.
[2] *Vide*, Vol. XVII, Appendix V.
[3] 1618-1707; Mogul Emperor of India; noted for his austerity
[4] Mystic-poet and saint of medieval India; disciple of Ramananda

India to return to the ancient calling of this sacred land of ours. Not on the clatter of arms depends the revival of her prosperity and true independence. It depends most largely upon reintroduction, in every home, of the music of the spinning-wheel. It gives sweeter music and is more profitable than the execrable harmonium, concertina and the accordion.

Whilst Panditji is endeavouring in his inimitably suave manner to persuade the Indian royalty to take up the spinning-wheel, Shrimati Saraladevi Chaudhrani, who is herself a member of the Indian nobility, has learnt the art and has thrown herself heart and soul into the movement. From all the accounts received from her and others, swadeshi has become a passion with her. She says she feels uncomfortable in her muslin saris and is content to wear her khaddar saris even in the hot weather. Her khaddar saris continue to preach true swadeshi more eloquently than her tongue. She had spoken to audiences in Amritsar, Ludhiana and elsewhere and has succeeded in enlisting the services, for her spinning committee at Amritsar, of Mrs. Ratanchand and Bugga Chaudhri and the famous Ratandevi who during the frightful night of the 13th April despite the curfew order of General Dyer sat, all alone in the midst of the hundreds of the dead and dying, with her dead husband's cold head in her lap. I venture to tender my congratulations to these ladies. May they find solace in the music of the spinning-wheel and in the thought that they are doing national work. I hope that the other ladies of Amritsar will help Saraladevi in her efforts and that the men of Amritsar will realize their own duty in the matter.

In Bombay the readers are aware that ladies of noted families have already taken up spinning. Their ranks have been joined by Dr. Mrs. Manekbai Bahadurji who has already learnt the art and who is now trying to introduce it in the Sevasadan[1]. Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Janjira and her sister Mrs. Atia Begum Rahman have also undertaken to learn the art. I trust that these good ladies will, having learnt spinning, religiously contribute to the nation their daily quota of yarn.

I know that there are friends who laugh at this attempt to revive this great art. They remind me that in these days of mills, sewing machines or typewriters, only a lunatic can hope to succeed in reviving the rusticated spinning-wheel. These friends forget that the needle has not yet given place to the sewing machine nor has

[1] A social service institution, founded by Dayaram Gidumal (1857-1939) to provide training and work for women

the hand lost its cunning in spite of the typewriter. There is not the slightest reason why the spinning-wheel may not coexist with the spinning mills even as the domestic kitchen coexists with the hotels. Indeed typewriters and sewing machines may go, but the needle and the reed pen will survive. The mills may suffer destruction. The spinning-wheel is a national necessity. I would ask sceptics to go to the many poor homes where the spinning-wheel is again supplementing their slender resources and ask the inmates whether the spinning-wheel has not brought joy to their homes.

Thank God, the reward issued by Mr. Revashanker Jagjiwan bids fare to bear fruit. In a short time India will possess a renovated spinning-wheel —a wonderful invention of a patient Deccan artisan. It is made out of simple materials. There is no great complication about it. It will be cheap and capable of being easily mended. It will give more yarn than the ordinary wheel and is capable of being worked by a five-year old boy or girl. But whether the new machine proves what it claims to be or it does not, I feel convinced that the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the largest contribution to the economic and the moral regeneration of India. The millions must have a simple industry to supplement agriculture. Spinning was the cottage industry years ago and if the millions are to be saved from starvation, they must be enabled to reintroduce spinning in their homes, and every village must repossess its own weaver.

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47. MR. ANDREWS' DIFFICULTY

Mr. Andrews whose love for India is equalled only by his love for England and whose mission in life is to serve God, i.e., humanity through India, has contributed remarkable articles to *The Bombay Chronicle* on the Khilafat movement. He has not spared England, France or Italy. He has shown how Turkey has been most unjustly dealt with and how the Prime Minister's pledge has been broken. He has devoted the last article to an examination of Mr. Mahomed Ali's letter to the Sultan and has come to the conclusion that Mr. Mahomed Ali's statement of claim is at variance with the claim set forth in the latest Khilafat representation to the Viceroy which he wholly approves.

Mr. Andrews and I have discussed the question as fully as it was possible. He has asked me publicly to define my own position

more fully than I have done. His sole object in inviting discussion is to give strength to a cause which he holds as intrinsically just, and to gather round it the best opinion of Europe so that the allied powers and especially England may for very shame be obliged to revise the terms.

I gladly respond to Mr. Andrews' invitation. I should clear the ground by stating that I reject any religious doctrine that does not appeal to reason and is in conflict with morality. I tolerate unreasonable religious sentiment when it is not immoral. I hold the Khilafat claim to be both just and reasonable and therefore it derives greater force because it has behind it the religious sentiment of the Mussulman world.

In my opinion Mr. Mahomed Ali's statement is unexceptionable. It is no doubt clothed in diplomatic language. But I am not prepared to quarrel with the language so long as it is sound in substance.

Mr. Andrews considers that Mr. Mahomed Ali's language goes to show that he would resist Armenian independence against the Armenians and the Arabian against the Arabs. I attach no such meaning to it. What he, the whole [*sic*] Mussulmans and therefore I think also the Hindus resist is the shameless attempt of England and the other powers under cover of self-determination to emasculate and dismember Turkey. If I understand the spirit of Islam properly, it is essentially republican in the truest sense of the term. Therefore if Armenia or Arabia desired independence of Turkey they should have it. In the case of Arabia, complete Arabian independence would mean transference of the Khilafat to an Arab chieftain. Arabia in that sense is a Mussulman trust, not purely Arabian. And the Arabs without ceasing to be Mussulman, could not hold Arabia against Muslim opinion. The khalifa must be the custodian of the holy places and therefore also the routes to them. He must be able to defend them against the whole world. And if an Arab chief arose who could better satisfy that test than the Sultan of Turkey, I have no doubt that he would be recognized as the khalifa.

I have thus discussed the question academically. The fact is that neither the Mussulmans nor the Hindus believe in the English ministerial word. They do not believe that the Arabs or the Armenians want complete independence of Turkey. That they want self-government is beyond doubt. Nobody disputes that claim. But nobody has ever ascertained that either the Arabs or the Armenians desire to do away with all connection, even nominal, with Turkey.

The solution of the question lies not in our academic discussion of the ideal position, it lies in an honest appointment of a mixed commission of absolutely independent Indian Mussulmans and Hindus and independent Europeans to investigate the real wish of the Armenians and the Arabs and then to come to a *modus vivendi* whereby the claims of the nationality and those of Islam may be adjusted and satisfied.

It is common knowledge that Smyrna and Thrace including Adrianople have been dishonestly taken away from Turkey and that mandates have been unscrupulously established in Syria and Mesopotamia and a British nominee has been set up in Hedjaj under the protection of British guns. This is a position that is intolerable and unjust. Apart therefore from the questions of Armenia and Arabia, the dishonesty and hypocrisy that pollute the peace terms require to be instantaneously removed. It paves the way to an equitable solution of the question of Armenian and Arabian independence which in theory no one denies and which in practice may be easily guaranteed if only the wishes of the people concerned could with any degree of certainty be ascertained.

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48. INDIANS OVERSEAS

The meeting[1] held at the Excelsior Theatre in Bombay to pass resolutions regarding East Africa and Fiji and presided over by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was an impressive gathering. The Theatre was filled to overflowing. Mr. Andrews' speech made clear what is needed. Both the political and civil rights of Indians of East Africa are at stake. Mr. Anantani, himself an East African settler, showed in a forceful speech that the Indians were the pioneer settlers. An Indian sailor named Kane directed the celebrated Vasco da Gama to India. He added amid applause that Stanley's expedition for the search and relief of Dr. Livingstone was also fitted out by Indians. Indian workmen had built the Uganda Railway at much peril to their lives. An Indian contractor had taken the contract. Indian artisans had supplied the skill. And now their countrymen were in danger of being debarred from its use.

The uplands of East Africa have been declared a Colony and the lowlands a Protectorate. There is a sinister significance attached to

[1] *Vide* "Speech on Fiji Affairs, Bombay", 13-7-1920.

the declaration. The Colonial system gives the Europeans larger powers. It will tax all the resources of the Government of India to prevent the healthy uplands from becoming a whiteman's preserve and the Indians from being relegated to the swampy lowlands.

The question of franchise will soon become a burning one. It will be suicidal to divide the electorate or to appoint Indians by nomination. There must be one general electoral roll applying the same qualifications to all the voters. This principle, as Mr. Andrews reminded the meeting, had worked well at the Cape.

The second part of the East African resolution shows the condition of our countrymen in the late German East Africa. Indian soldiers fought there and now the position of Indians is worse than under German rule. H. H. the Aga Khan suggested that German East Africa should be administered from India. Sir Theodore Morison would have cooped up all Indians in German East Africa. The result was that both the proposals went by the board and the expected had happened. The greed of the English speculator has prevailed and he is trying to squeeze out the Indian. What will the Government of India protect? Has it the will to do so? Is not India itself being exploited? Mr. Jehangir Petit recalled the late Mr. Gokhale's views that we were not to expect a full satisfaction regarding the status of our countrymen across the seas until we had put our own house in order. Helots in our own country, how could we do better outside? Mr. Petit wants systematic and severe retaliation. In my opinion, retaliation is a double-edged weapon. It does not fail to hurt the user if it also hurts the party against whom it is used. And who is to give effect to retaliation? It is too much to expect an English Government to adopt effective retaliation against their own people. They will expostulate, they will remonstrate, but they will not go to war with their own Colonies. For the logical outcome of retaliation must mean war, if retaliation will not answer.

Let us face the facts frankly. The problem is difficult alike for Englishmen and for us. The Englishmen and Indians do not agree in the Colonies. The Englishmen do not want us where they can live. Their civilization is different from ours. The two cannot coalesce until there is mutual respect. The Englishman considers himself to belong to the ruling race. The Indian struggles to think that he does not belong to the subject race and in the very act of thinking admits his subjection. We must then attain equality at home before we can make any real impression abroad.

This is not to say that we must not strive to do better abroad whilst we are ill at ease in our own home. We must preserve, we

must help our countrymen who have settled outside India. Only if we recognize the true situation, we and our countrymen abroad will learn to be patient and know that our chief energy must be concentrated on a betterment of our position at home. If we can raise our status here to that of equal partners not in name but in reality so that every Indian might feel it, all else must follow as a matter of course.

The question of Fiji is a different proposition, though it too is affected by the same considerations. There it is no longer a question of status. We simply want to know why there was martial law, why there was shooting, why were Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Doctor deported without trial and without even being heard in their defence. The Government have kept us too long waiting. We must insist on full justice being done and we must bring back as speedily as possible all those who wish to return to the motherland.

Young India, 21-7-1920

49. "HIJRAT" AND ITS MEANING

India is a continent. Its articulate thousands know what its inarticulate millions are doing or thinking. The Government and the educated Indians may think that the Khilafat movement is merely a passing phase. The millions of Mussulmans think otherwise. The flight of the Mussulmans is growing apace. The newspapers contain paragraphs in out-of-the-way corners informing the readers that a special train containing a barrister with sixty women, forty children including twenty sucklings, all told 765, have left for Afghanistan. They are cheered *en route*. They were presented with cash, edibles and other things, and were joined by more *muhajarin* on the way. No fanatical preaching by a Shaukat Ali can make people break up and leave their homes for an unknown land. There must be an abiding faith in them. That it is better for them to leave a State which has no regard for their religious sentiment and face a beggar's life than to remain in it even though it may be in a princely manner. Nothing but pride of power can blind the Government of India to the scene that is being enacted before it.

But there is yet another side to the movement. Here are the facts as stated in the following Government *communique* dated 10th instant:

> An unfortunate affair in connection with the *muhajarin* occurred on the 8th instant at Kacha Garhi between Peshawar and Jamrud. The

following are the facts as at present reported. Two members of a party of the *muhajarin* proceeding by train to Jamrud were detected by the British military police travelling without tickets. Altercation ensued at Islamia College station, but the train proceeded to Kacha Garhi. An attempt was made to evict these *muhajarin*, whereupon the military police were attacked by a crowd of some forty *muhajarin* and the British officer who intervened was seriously wounded with a spade. A detachment of Indian troops at Kacha Garhi thereupon fired two or three shots at the *muhajarin* for making murderous assault on the British officer. One *muhajarin* was killed and one wounded and three arrested. Both the military and the police were injured. The body of the *muhajarin* was despatched to Peshawar and buried on the morning of the 9th. This incident has caused considerable excitement in Peshawar city, and the Khilafat *Hijrat* Committee are exercising restraining influence. Shops were closed on the morning of the 9th. A full enquiry has been instituted.

Now, Peshawar to Jamrud is a matter of a few miles. It was clearly the duty of the military not to attempt to pull out the ticketless *muhajarin* for the sake of a few annas. But they actually attempted force. Intervention by the rest of the party was a foregone conclusion. An altercation ensued. A British officer was attacked with a spade. Firing and a death of a *muhajarin* was the result. Has British prestige been enhanced by the episode? Why have not the Government put tactful officers in charge at the frontier, whilst a great religious emigration is in progress? The action of the military will pass from tongue to tongue throughout India and the Mussulman world around, will no doubt be unconsciously and even consciously exaggerated in the passage and the feeling bitter as it already is will grow in bitterness. The *communique* says that the Government are making further inquiry. Let us hope that it will be full and that better arrangements will be made to prevent a repetition of what appears to have been a thoughtless act on the part of the military.

And may I draw the attention of those who are opposing non-co-operation that unless they find out a substitute they should either join the non-co-operation movement or prepare to face a disorganized subterranean upheaval whose effect no one can foresee and whose spread it would be impossible to check or regulate?

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50. HARTAL ON FIRST AUGUST

The Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, has issued the following instructions:

Although every effort is being made to secure revision of the Peace Terms, it appears to be almost certain that it will not come before the first of August next. The Committee desires to mark the sacred character of the forthcoming demonstration of non-co-operation in a fitting manner. It also wishes to gauge the public feeling in the matter. The Committee, therefore, seeks the co-operation of Hindus and other non-Muslim communities in making the inauguration a complete success:

1. The Committee advises full hartal on the first of August. Mill-hands, however, are requested not to abstain from work, unless they receive permission from their employers, nor should all those abstain who are required for absolutely necessary day-to-day work, viz, hospital men, sanitary men and dock labourers.

2. The day should be devoted to prayer. All those, who can, should fast for the day.

3. Meetings should be held all over the country not excluding the smallest village at which the following resolution should be adopted with or without speeches:

The Resolution

"This meeting held at . . . of the inhabitants records its full sympathy with the movement of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to secure revision of the Turkish Peace Terms, consistently with Muslim sentiment and Islamic law and approves of non-co-operation adopted by the Central Khilafat Committee to be continued till the Peace Terms are revised. This meeting respectfully urges the Imperial Government in the interest of the Empire which they are supposed to represent to secure a just revision of the Terms which have been universally condemned as unjust and manifestly in breach of ministerial declarations." The resolution should be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy with a covering letter requesting him to forward the same to the Imperial Government. The Central Khilafat Committee should be advised of the passing of the resolution and of its despatch.

Movement Not Civil Disobedience

N.B. There should be no processions. Speeches should be restrained. It is expected that meetings everywhere will be very

largely attended. All police and other Governmental instructions or regulations should be strictly and scrupulously obeyed. No meetings should be held where there is any written prohibition. It cannot be too often urged that the whole success of the movement depends upon perfect peace being observed by the community and complete obedience being rendered to police instructions in connection with the movement. It should be clearly understood that this is not a movement of civil disobedience. What should be done when unreasonable orders are issued interfering with the liberty of the subject will be considered on the merits by the Committee.

Renounce Titles

It is expected that all title-holders, Honorary Magistrates, Justices of Peace, Members of the Legislative Councils, who feel about this important question affecting the well being of millions of Muslims, and who are in sympathy with the movement, will surrender their titles or honorary posts on this day.

[M. K. Gandhi
Abul Kalam Azad[1]
Shaukat Ali
Ahmed Haji Siddick Khatri
Saifuddin Kitchlew
Fazul-ul-Hassan Hasrat Mohani[2]
Mahomed Ali
Members,
Non-co-operation Committee,
Mount Road,
Mazagon, Bombay][3]

Young India, 21-7-1920

[1] 1889-1958; Congress leader and scholar of Koranic theology; twice elected president of the Indian National Congress; Education Minister, Government of India

[2] A leader of the Khilafat movement who insisted on the boycott of British goods and was Gandhiji's chief opponent at the Khilafat Conference held on November 24, 1919

[3] As in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 22-7-1920

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51. SPEECH AT IDGAH, KARACHI

July 22, 1920

The caliphate meeting at Karachi was held on the 22nd July at the Idgah, with Professor Vaswani[1] as president. The following spoke: Professor Vaswani, Gandhi, Dr. Kitchlew, Shaukat Ali and Lokamal Chellaram Seth of Karachi. Vaswani opened the proceedings and was followed by Gandhi, who, feeling unwell, spoke sitting down.

Before coming to the reasons of my visit to Karachi, I wish to refer to the scene at the railway station. We were to arrive this morning, but owing to an unfortunate railway accident and subsequent blocking of the line, we did not arrive till 9 p.m. The Karachi City station was overcrowded; many were in the sheds and many were whistling. What impression did I get from this? I realized your affection for me, but affection does not mean obstructing the platform and preventing me, the one you love, getting out. This is the result of lack of education and knowledge. What is the use of volunteers if they are unable to control crowds and do not obey the orders of their officers? Work cannot proceed under these circumstances. The railway station incident being finished, I bring to your notice the fact that our Muhammadan brothers are suffering for the caliphate. The British Parliament and the Viceroy have forgotten their pledges. I ask all Hindus to help Muhammadans in this time of trouble. If this is not done then the Hindus must bear in mind that slavery will be at the door of not only seven crores of Muhammadans but at the door of twenty-two crores of Hindus also. We have held meetings, delivered speeches, passed resolutions, and sent deputations to request that the feelings of Muhammadans be respected. Nothing has resulted from this. Turkey has been forced to face difficulties and hardships. To obtain a decision on the caliphate question, you will have to give your own blood. What do you understand by giving blood? It does not mean that you should kill the British in whose hands the caliphate decision is, but that you should be ready silently to sacrifice your own lives. To attain this, manly power is necessary. What is manly power? The power full of spiritual strength. What is spiritual strength? To become a *khatri*. What is a *khatri?* A

[1] T. L. Vaswani (1879-); sage from Sind; author and founder of Mira educational institutions, Poona

sepoy. We do not want to become Vaswanis or professors, but soldiers with spiritual power; soldiers who stand their ground and do not run away. I want you all to be soldiers with such force of will that you will stand in your place and never retire. All pressure should be firmly but silently opposed. The killing of others, burning of Government buildings, is not bravery. Government buildings are as your own houses. The shedding of your own blood is true bravery. My brother, Shaukat Ali, says that he comes of a martial family. His father and grandfather and he himself is [*sic*] a soldier, but I am ready to pit my soldiers against theirs. One lakh of British govern 30 crores of Indians. If you prove this manly power, you can free the motherland. This is necessary to obtain (1) freedom for the motherland, (2) justice for the oppression of the Punjab and (3) revision of the caliphate decisions. If you have no spirit then you are weaker than women. If you have it, make use of it and you will be able to secure these three things; otherwise it means slavery for ever. By shedding English blood, the caliphate agitation will never succeed. We cannot oppose them. They have arms, aeroplanes and machine-guns. If you have the spirit then non-co-operation can be properly carried out. Hindus should not think that Mussulmans will afterwards oppose them. Islam is a pure religion and will never mislead Hindus. Non-co-operation is a weapon above all others. The only way of meeting the unjust terms of such a Government is by non-co-operation. Non-co-operation begins from the 1st of August, and it is the duty of every Indian, man, woman and child, to make it successful. Shops should be closed, prayers offered in the mosques and temples and every man should fast. Huge meetings should be organized; not meetings like this. No force should be used.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1107

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52. TELEGRAM TO GHULAM RASOOL[1]

HYDERABAD (SIND),
[*July 23, 1920*][2]

GHULAM RASOOL
KHILAFAT
MULTAN

FIND IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO ATTEND ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY GO AHMEDABAD IMMEDIATELY HOPE VISIT MULTAN LATER PRAY FORGIVE SHAUKAT ALI, KITCHLEW LEAVING TONIGHT REACHING THERE TOMORROW FIVE EVENING.

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1135

53. TELEGRAM TO SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI

HYDERABAD (SIND),
[*July 23, 1920*][3]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM
SABARMATI

CANCEL PRECEDING WIRE ACCOMPANYING PANDITJI SARALADEVI REACHING THERE MONDAY NIGHT.

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1135

[1] An identical telegram was sent to Kewal Kishin, secretary, Congress, Multan.

[2] & [3] Intercepted by the censor on this date

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54. TELEGRAM TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

HYDERABAD (SIND),
[*July 23, 1920*][1]

SHANKERLAL BANKER[2]
CHAUPATI
BOMBAY

LEAVING TOMORROW FOR AHMEDABAD WITH JAWAHARLAL[3] WIRING MOTILAL NEHRU PUNJAB WILL LIKELY ACCEPT NON-CO-OPERATION.

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1135

55. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, HYDERABAD (SIND)

July 23, 1920

Gandhi advised 23 crores of Hindus to help 7 crores of Muslims as the latter's religion was in danger. Union between them should exist. No physical assistance or power would help but soul-power. They would live faithful to a Government only when religion is not endangered. Government had more physical power and a heavier sword. They must not assist a tyrannical Government.

He advocated non-co-operation and explained it. He knew Moslems would be violent and use the sword; but General Dyer had proved he could be more violent and use a heavier sword. He advocated unconditional sacrifice, when Government with guns and aeroplanes would be helpless. The Secretary of State had said that he, Gandhi, had become a great fool and would not have the freedom he had last year but he did not feel free. The Khilafat and Punjab disturbances made him feel in prison. He preferred to die for Mussulmans, and if he was sent to the gallows, they should congratulate him. Use no violence, do not resist, follow non-co-operation which was to begin on August 1st. If too weak to follow non-co-operation, do *hijrat*.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1128

[1] Intercepted by the censor on this date

[2] Social worker and labour leader of Ahmedabad; was also associated with *The Bombay Chronicle* and Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay

[3] Nehru (1889-1964); statesman and writer; India's first Prime Minister, 1947-64

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56. TELEGRAM TO AMRITLAL THAKKAR

HYDERABAD (SIND),
July 24, 1920

AMRITLAL THAKKAR[1]
FAMINE RELIEF
PURI

YOU MAY NOT LEAVE YOUR GREAT WORK THERE IN JEOPARDY YOU CAN THEREFORE ONLY GO BRITISH GUIANA AFTER FINISHING FAMINE WORK.

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1131

57. SPEECH AT SIND NATIONAL COLLEGE

July 24, 1920

The Sind National College received a visit from Mahatma Gandhi early this morning (Saturday, 24th). He was received at the gate by the staff and the students, and was shown round the various departments. Returning to the hall in company with Shrimati Saraladevi Chaudhrani he was presented with an address in Hindi. The Mahatma replied in Hindi. He said he was gratified to receive the Hindi address, as Hindi was one of the things that he had at heart and which he had been preaching from the platform and the Press. The best way of showing respect to a man, he said, was to do as he tells one to do, not to clap and cheer him. It filled his heart with great pain when he thought over the system of education that was in vogue in the country. Those who had been brought up under that system could not see its many defects and the great harm that it had done to the spirit of nationality. He himself had received his fair share of it and recognized that it had done some good, but nothing filled him with greater pain than to see his countrymen ridden by that veneer of English polish. He had lived in England long enough, and knew that no Englishman ever talked to another Englishman except in their common mother tongue. It gave him immense pain when he heard Indians talking with their brother Indians in a foreign tongue.

[1] A member of the Servants of India Society and a leading worker in the cause of depressed classes and aboriginal tribes. He was at that time the secretary of the People's Famine Relief Committee, Puri.

He quoted Prof. Jadunath Sarkar[1] and Mr. Sidgwick[2] as saying that the burden of English over the head of the Indian student was so heavy as to crush out all original thinking. For the Sindhi student, he would advise the study of Sindhi first and that of Hindi after it. Hindi was to be the language of the whole of India, and therefore its study was incumbent on the other provinces, so that all might come together on a common platform. For these among other reasons in which he could not enter then, he was gratified to find that Hindi was being encouraged in the Sind National College.

He then passed on to the other subject that he had equally at heart viz, swadeshi. The mainstay of the people of India was agriculture. But they wanted also a subsidiary occupation to fall back upon in times of difficulty and drought. That occupation must be weaving. Indian fabrics were once the glory of the land and were sought all over the world for their fineness. That brought the wealth of the world to India and made her sons happy and contented. At the present hour this and other similar industries had fallen on evil days. It was the duty of the young men imbued with a spirit of patriotism to help in the revival of weaving. This they could do by using swadeshi cloth in preference to foreign cloth and goods, however attractive in appearance. That will give work to thousands of women. It will bring bread to an immense number of their countrymen who now could hardly make the two ends meet, and get two square meals a day. He was glad to see that carpet-weaving was being taught in the Sind National College along with agriculture. He hoped that when he happened to visit Hyderabad next, he would find cloth-weaving being taught, too.

In conclusion, Mahatmaji expressed great pleasure at being able to see the students and the staff of the College, and his gratitude for the hearty reception that they had given him.

He was sorry that the time at his disposal was short, he could not speak as long as he would have wished. He wished the College all prosperity, and hoped that it would be largely patronized by those for whose good it was intended.

The party then left amidst shouts of "*Vandemataram*" and "*Mahatma ki jai*".

The Tribune, 29-7-1920

[1] 1870-1958; historian; author of *A Short History of Aurangzeb* and *Fall of the Mughal Empire*

[2] Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900); English moral and social philosopher

58. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, HYDERABAD (SIND)

July 24, 1920

Resolution 5 moved by Haji Abdulla Haroon:

This conference accepts the non-co-operation policy of Gandhi and is prepared to follow the instructions of the Central Khilafat Committee in regard to it.

Gandhi supported it in strong terms. He explained the four stages of non-co-operation in all its aspects, enjoined on all khilafatists to put into practice all the commandments of the first stage on the 1st of August 1920. He advised hartal, fasting and convening of a meeting on that day. He enjoined union between the Hindus and Mussulmans. He explained that *hijrat* was the last stage of non-co-operation, and that those who were prepared to leave the country could also non-co-operate or else their *hijrat* was a sham, an expression of weakness.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1141

59. TELEGRAM TO CALIPHATE WORKERS' LEAGUE, DELHI[1]

HYDERABAD (SIND),
[On or before *July 25, 1920*][2]

YOU SHOULD NOT BREAK LAW BREACH HARMFUL.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1106

60. SPEECH AT CITIZENS' MEETING, HYDERABAD (SIND)

July 25, 1920

On the 25th July in a public lecture at the Citizens' Association, Hyderabad, Mahatma Gandhi recommended swadeshism as a weapon for the protection of the caliphate, as thereby the Lancashire mills will sustain great losses and consequently these influential mill-owners will enquire into the cause of the boycott of their manufactures. When they learn the true facts of the unrest,

[1] Regarding the extension of the application of Seditious Meetings Act

[2] This telegram was intercepted on July 27 but Gandhiji was in Hyderabad (Sind) on July 23, 24 and 25.

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in the interest of their trade they will take steps in England towards the satisfactory settlement of the caliphate and Jallianwala affairs.

He went even to the extent of recommending the boycott of Indian mill textiles as they were hampering his cottage spinning industries, for the welfare of which he was so anxious. He said that all women should sit in their cottages with their spinning-wheels to earn a respectable living, and those women who resorted to mills should not be married [*sic*] as they, in many cases, lose their chastity under the influence of immoral overseers. He complained of his wife for using cloth manufactured in mills instead of entirely sticking to home-spun materials.

He said that he was taking Saraladevi all over India with him as she had better understood his swadeshi principles than his wife, though he complained that she too did not practise the use of swadeshi cloth to his entire satisfaction.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1143

61. POSTER ON KHILAFAT

[Bombay City,
July 26, 1920][1]

God Is Great

In the name of God the merciful and compassionate.

One who becomes the friend of the enemy of Islam he may be considered as one of them.

Third day of Khilafat has come.

Come along, the field of work is before us. Give the testimony of our strength of faith.

The work of non-co-operation is open and this is the first stage of test. Keep regard and reputation of Islam, God and His Prophet and never do any such work by which your weakness of faith might come to light and thereby the enemies of Islam will be overpowered.

1st August, 1920 is the beginning day of the non-co-operation movement. On that day offer prayer to God, observe fast, stop business, hold committees and promise to God that you will suffer every sort of trouble for the sake of righteousness. Renounce the titles and honorary posts. Remember this also, that disturbances and breach of peace are not in any way profitable to you. Be aside from disturbances; but stick to the right path.

[1] As given in the source

Detailed instructions are being published separately. Obtain further information from your district or provincial Khilafat Committee; but remember that if you step ahead don't retreat. This is the only secret of success in your life.

Publishers :
M. K. GANDHI

ABUL KALAM AZAD	SHAUKAT ALI
AHMED HAJI SIDDICK KHATRI	SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW
FAZUL-UL-HASSAN HASRAT MOHANI	MAHOMED ALI

MEMBERS OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE,
MOUNT ROAD, MAZAGON, BOMBAY

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1118; also N.A.I.:Home: Political: July, 1920: No. 106 Deposit

62. MR. MONTAGU ON THE KHILAFAT AGITATION

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

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

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

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

When at Amritsar last year I pleaded[1] with all the earnestness I could command for co-operation with the Government and for response to the wishes expressed in the Royal Proclamation, I did so because I honestly believed that a new era was about to begin, and that the old spirit of fear, distrust and consequent terrorism was about to give place to the new spirit of respect, trust and goodwill. I sincerely believed that the Mussulman sentiment would be placated and that the officers that had misbehaved during the martial law regime in the Punjab would be at least dismissed and the people would be otherwise made to feel that a Government that had always been found quick (and rightly) to punish popular excesses would not fail to punish its agents' misdeeds. But to my amazement and dismay, I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no real regard for the wishes of the people of India and they count Indian honour as of little consequence.

I can no longer retain affection for a Government so evilly manned as it is now-a-days. And for me, it is humiliating to retain my freedom and be witness to the continuing wrong. Mr. Montagu however is certainly right in threatening me with deprivation of my liberty if I persist in endangering the existence of the

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 363-7.

Government. For that must be the result if my activity bears fruit. My only regret is that inasmuch as Mr. Montagu admits my past services, he might have perceived that there must be something exceptionally bad in the Government if a well-wisher like me could no longer give his affection to it. It was simpler to insist on justice being done to the Mussulmans and to the Punjab than to threaten me with punishment so that the injustice might be perpetuated. Indeed I fully expect it will be found that even in promoting disaffection towards an unjust Government I had rendered greater services to the Empire than I am already credited with.

At the present moment, however, the duty of those who approve of my activity is clear. They ought on no account to resent the deprivation of my liberty, should the Government of India deem it to be their duty to take it away. A citizen has no right to resist such restriction imposed in accordance with the laws of the State to which he belongs. Much less have those who sympathize with him. In my case there can be no question of sympathy. For I deliberately oppose the Government to the extent of trying to put its very existence in jeopardy. For my supporters, therefore, it must be a moment of joy when I am imprisoned. It means the beginning of success if only the supporters continue the policy for which I stand. If the Government arrest me, they would do so in order to stop the progress of non-co-operation which I preach. It follows that if non-co-operation continues with unabated vigour, even after my arrest, the Government must imprison others or grant the people's wish in order to gain their co-operation. Any eruption of violence on the part of the people even under provocation would end in disaster. Whether therefore it is I or anyone else who is arrested during the campaign, the first condition of success is that there must be no resentment shown against it. We cannot imperil the very existence of a Government and quarrel with its attempt to save itself by punishing those who place it in danger.

Young India, 28-7-1920

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63. *A NOTED RESIGNATION*

During the eventful tour of the Khilafat party in the Punjab, I was given a copy of a letter of resignation by a sub-divisional officer[1] over the Khilafat question. It is printed elsewhere in this issue. The letter shows clearly how different classes of Mussulmans are being affected by the Turkish Peace Terms. It is an unforgettable wrong that England has been primarily responsible for doing to the Mussulman world. And as time passes, the movement for compelling its undoing will gain instead of losing strength. When an official of twenty years' standing and considered to be almost indispensable decides to leave a Government in respect of a great wrong to which it has been a party, it is time for it to review the act that has prompted a resignation such as Mr. Mohamed Azam has felt called upon to tender.

But my purpose in publishing the resignation is not so much to draw the Government's attention to it (for they have it already) but to congratulate Mr. Mohamed Azam and to present the public with an example worthy of copying. Mr. Mohamed Azam from a purely worldly standpoint has sacrificed a position which many would covet. From the standpoint of religion or honour, he has gained by his resignation. What are position and money at the sacrifice of one's conscience? His superior officers, be it said to their credit, have recommended it for acceptance because it has been tendered for conscience' sake. If the higher branches of the Government service were to copy Mr. Mohamed Azam's brave example, the movement might attain the goal without the lowest ranks having to give up their employment.

Mr. Mohamed Azam's is an instance of positive courage. It is always difficult to find positive courage. But I hope there is enough negative courage in India to ensure that nobody applies for the post vacated by Mr. Mohamed Azam. It is almost certain that no Mohammedan will. But I hope that Hindus will be equally staunch and testify to their Mussulman brethren that they are fully alive to the difficulty in which they find themselves and that they will not be behind in giving them their active support.

The critics may say, it will be unnecessary for any Indian to apply because it is a post which any Englishman will be glad to fill. I do not doubt it for a moment. Only the condition is somewhat

[1] Of Abbotabad

different from the ordinary when a post is voluntarily relinquished by way of protest and when no one belonging to the protestant class applies for it. The only thing needful is to cease to make of Government employment a fetish. There are many other avenues open to an honest man of ability to earn a decent livelihood. After all Government servants represent a microscopic minority of the population.

Young India, 28-7-1920

64. THE FIRST OF AUGUST

It is hardly likely that before the 1st August there will be on the part of His Majesty's ministers promise of a revision of the Peace Terms and the consequent suspension of the inauguration of non-co-operation. The first of August next will be as important an event in the history of India as was the 6th of April last year. The sixth of April marked the beginning of the end of the Rowlatt Act. No one can consider, the Rowlatt Act can possibly live in the face of the agitation that has only been suspended—never given up. It must be clear to anyone that the power that wrests justice from an unwilling Government in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat will be the power that will secure repeal of the Rowlatt Act. And that power is the power of satyagraha whether it is known by the name of civil disobedience or non-co-operation.

Many people dread the advent of non-co-operation, because of the events of last year. They fear madness from the mob and consequent repetition of last year's reprisals almost unsurpassed in their ferocity in the history of modern times. Personally I do not mind Governmental fury as I mind mob fury. The latter is a sign of national distemper and therefore more difficult to deal with than the former which is confined to a small corporation. It is easier to oust a Government that has rendered itself unfit to govern than it is to cure unknown people in a mob of their madness. But great movements cannot be stopped altogether because a Government or a people or both go wrong. We learn to profit through our mistakes and failures. No general worth the name gives up a battle because he has suffered reverses, or which is the same thing, made mistakes. And so we must approach non-co-operation with confidence and hope. As in the past, the commencement is to be marked by fasting and prayer—a sign of the religious character of the demonstration. There should also be on that day suspension of business, and meetings to pass resolutions praying for revision of the Peace Terms and

justice for the Punjab and inculcating non-co-operation until justice has been done.

The giving up of titles and honorary posts should also commence from the first of August. Doubt has been expressed as to the sufficiency of notice regarding surrender of titles and honorary posts. It is however quickly dispelled by bearing in mind that the first of August marks the commencement of the surrender of titles. It is not the only day on which surrender has to take place. Indeed I do not expect a very large response on the first day. A vigorous propaganda will have to be carried on and the message delivered to every title- or post-holder and the argument presented to him proving the duty of such surrender.

But the greatest thing in this campaign of non-co-operation is to evolve order, discipline, co-operation among the people, co-ordination among the workers. Effective non-co-operation depends upon complete organization. Thousands of men who have filled meetings throughout the Punjab have convinced me that the people want to withdraw co-operation from the Government but they must know how. Most people do not understand the complicated machinery of the Government. They do not realize that every citizen silently but nonetheless certainly sustains the Government of the day in ways of which he has no knowledge. Every citizen therefore renders himself responsible for every act of his Government. And it is quite proper to support it so long as the actions of the Government are bearable. But when they hurt him and his nation, it becomes his duty to withdraw his support.

But as I have said, every citizen does not know how to do so in an orderly manner. Disorderliness comes from anger, orderliness out of intelligent resistance. The first condition therefore of real success is to ensure entire absence of violence. Violence done to persons representing the Government or to persons who do not join our ranks, i.e., the supporters of the Government, means in every case retrogression in our case, cessation of non-co-operation and useless waste of innocent lives. Those therefore who wish to make non-co-operation a success in the quickest possible time will consider it their first duty to see that in their neighbourhood complete order is kept.

Young India, 28-7-1920

65. MORE ABOUT THE BULLETTED "MUHAJARIN"

Last week I dealt[1] with the *muhajarin* who was shot. During the Khilafat party's tour in the Punjab I was handed a signed statement giving particulars about the incident on which the Government have issued a *communique*. As the statement purports to come from responsible parties and as it contains a version at variance with that of the *communique*, I deem it to be my duty to place it before the public and invite the Government's attention to it. If the facts set forth in the statement are true, they reflect the greatest discredit on the so-called soldiers who took wanton delight in killing a man who was endeavouring to protect the honour of women.

I understand that the N.W. Frontier Administration are holding a judicial inquiry into the matter. But the public has become so suspicious even about inquiries described as judicial, that unless it is a really independent and honest inquiry, no weight will be attached to its findings. If therefore the Government do not wish to lay themselves open to the charge of having hushed up an unmanly act on the part of the British soldiers they will not dread publicity and they will invite the most trusted men to investigate the matter. No local men merely can possibly be considered sufficient to ensure impartiality.

The incident is of no small importance. General Dyer unfortunately talked of the lives and honour of English women being held sacred in India. I hope that India holds the honour and life of *every* woman dear and sacred. There is therefore the question of woman's honour involved in the incident. Then again there is the question of the Indian soldiers—having refused to fire. If it is a fact and if the refusal was due to the causes narrated in the statement, it reflects the highest credit on them. The affair again derives importance from the fact that the tragedy has occurred in connection with an emigration of a sacred character. I assure the Government that the matter is being warmly talked about among thousands of men throughout the Punjab. Fullest and swiftest inquiry is essential if they do not intend that an unverified version should be current among the masses.

I wish that the narrative reproduced by me was free from passion and rhetoric. A narrative of events gains by being free from adjectives and expression of the narrator's opinion. But perhaps it is

[1] *Vide* "*Hijrat* and Its Meaning", 21-7-1920.

too much to expect perfect narrations from inexperienced men especially when they are taken down in English by people who are indifferent translators and are often eager to interpolate their own opinions. In any case I would advise the readers to suspend judgment till they have had the Government version before them.

This incident moreover shows the necessity of the Government laying down their policy about *hijrat*. If they do not wish to prevent this peaceful and religious protest they should say so. The petty officers not knowing the Government policy may act foolishly and rashly and precipitate events in a manner not desired by the Government. A movement, which is attaining the dimensions that this bids fair to do, cannot be left to itself. An open declaration of the Government policy is most desirable for the sake of every interest.

Young India, 28-7-1920

66. TELEGRAM ON THIRD KHILAFAT DAY[1]

BOMBAY,
July 29, 1920

WE HOPE THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY WILL RESPOND FULLY ON THE 1ST OF AUGUST BY OBSERVING COMPLETE PEACE AND ORDER, COMPLETE HARTAL, OFFERING HEARTFELT PRAYER, BY ORDERLY BUT LARGE MEETINGS AND SURRENDER OF TITLES BY AS MANY AS POSSIBLE. ALL GOVERNMENT ORDERS SHOULD BE STRICTLY CARRIED OUT. IN FIRM WITHDRAWAL OF CO-OPERATION AND OBEDIENCE TO ORDERS LIES THE SOLUTION TO THE KHILAFAT QUESTION, CONSERVATION OF NATIONAL HONOUR AND PROMOTION OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

The Hindu, 30-7-1920

[1] This was sent by Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali as a message to Madras Presidency.

67. SPEECH AT BOMBAY

July 29, 1920

Before a crowded meeting of Mussulmans in Muzaffarabad at Bombay held on the 29th July, speaking on the impending non-co-operation which commenced on the 1st of August, Mr. Gandhi said the time for speeches on non-co-operation was past and the time for practise had arrived. But two things were needful for complete success, an environment free from any violence on the part of the people and a spirit of self-sacrifice. Non-co-operation, as the speaker had conceived it, was an impossibility in an atmosphere surcharged with the spirit of violence. Violence was an exhibition of anger and any such exhibition was dissipation of valuable energy. Subduing of one's anger was a storing up of national energy, which, when set free in an ordered manner, would produce astounding results. His conception of non-co-operation did not involve rapine, plunder, incendiarism and all the concomitants of mass madness. His scheme presupposed ability on their part to control all the forces of evil. If, therefore, any disorderliness was found on the part of the people which they could not control, he for one would certainly help the Government to control them. In the presence of disorder it would be for him a choice of evil, and evil though he considered the present Government to be, he would not hesitate for the time being to help the Government to control disorder. But he had faith in the people. He believed that they knew that the cause could only be won by non-violent methods. To put it at the lowest the people had not the power, even if they had the will, to resist with brute strength the unjust Governments of Europe who had, in the intoxication of their success disregarding every canon of justice dealt so cruelly by the only Islamic Power in Europe.

Matchless Weapon

In non-co-operation they had a matchless and powerful weapon. It was a sign of religious atrophy to sustain an unjust Government that supported an injustice by resorting to untruth and camouflage. So long therefore as the Government did not purge itself of the canker of injustice and untruth, it was their duty to withdraw all help from it consistently with their ability to preserve order in the social structure. The first stage of non-co-operation was, therefore, arranged so as to involve minimum of danger to public peace and minimum of sacrifice on the part of those who participated in the movement. And if they might not help an evil Government nor receive any favours from it, it followed that they must give up all titles of honour which were no longer a proud possession. Lawyers who were in reality honorary officers

of the court, should cease to support courts that upheld the prestige of an unjust Government and the people must be able to settle their disputes and quarrels by private arbitration. Similarly parents should withdraw their children from the public schools and they must evolve a system of national education or private education totally independent of the Government. An insolent Government conscious of its brute strength, might laugh at such withdrawals by the people especially as the law-courts and schools were supposed to help the people, but he had not a shadow of doubt that the moral effect of such a step could not possibly be lost even upon a Government whose conscience had become stifled by the intoxication of power.

Swadeshi

He had hesitation in accepting swadeshi as a plank in non-co-operation. To him swadeshi was as dear as life itself. But he had no desire to smuggle in swadeshi through the Khilafat movement, if it could not legitimately help that movement. But conceived as non-co-operation was in a spirit of self-sacrifice, swadeshi had a legitimate place in the movement. Pure swadeshi meant sacrifice of their liking for fineries. He asked the nation to sacrifice its liking for the fineries of Europe and Japan and be satisfied with the coarse but beautiful fabrics woven on their handlooms out of yarn spun by millions of their sisters. If the nation had become really awakened to a sense of the danger to its religions and its self-respect, it could not but perceive the absolute and immediate necessity of the adoption of swadeshi in its intense form and if the people of India adopted swadeshi with the religious zeal he begged to assure them that its adoption would arm them with a new power and would produce an unmistakable impression throughout the whole world. He, therefore, expected the Mussulmans to give the lead by giving up all the fineries they were so fond of and adopt the simple cloth that could be produced by the manual labour of their sisters and brethren in their own cottages. And he hoped that the Hindus would follow suit. It was a sacrifice in which the whole nation, every man, woman and child could take part.

Young India, 4-8-1920

68. TELEGRAM ON THIRD KHILAFAT DAY[1]

BOMBAY,
July 31, 1920

THE NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE HAS ISSUED THE FOLLOWING DIRECTIONS REGARDING THE THIRD KHILAFAT DAY : "THE FIRST OF AUGUST IS ON US WITH ITS GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY AND IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCCESS FOR OUR JUST CAUSE IS CERTAIN IF WE EXERCISE GREATEST SELF-RESTRAINT AND SHOW AMPLE MEASURE OF SELF-SACRIFICE. IF WE CEASE TO HELP GOVERNMENT AND CEASE TO TAKE HELP FROM IT WE MUST BE CAPABLE OF PRESERVING ORDER IN THE COUNTRY. WE SHOULD THEREFORE AVOID COLLISION WITH AUTHORITY AND THUS ALSO OCCASION FOR SUDDEN RESENTMENT, OBEY ALL ORDERS AND GOVERNMENT NOTICES. WE HOPE THERE WILL BE COMPLETE HARTAL ON SUNDAY. NO PRESSURE SHOULD BE USED AGAINST ANYONE REFUSING TO CLOSE SHOP. THE COMMITTEE ATTACHES GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO PRAYER AND FASTING FOR INWARD STRENGTH AND PURIFICATION. WE HOPE TOO THAT LARGEST MEETINGS EVER HELD WILL BE CONVENED ON SUNDAY BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO PROCESSIONS. SPECIAL EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE AND CONTINUED TO SECURE SURRENDER OF TITLES AND HONORARY POSTS AND PARENTS ARE REQUESTED TO WITHDRAW THEIR CHILDREN FROM SCHOOLS RECOGNIZED BY OR UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL. LAWYERS ARE REQUESTED TO SUSPEND PRACTICE. WE HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE MORAL EFFECT OF THESE STEPS. WE HOPE ALSO THAT FULL SWADESHI WILL BE INAUGURATED ON SUNDAY. IT ENABLES EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD TO EXHIBIT IN THEIR OWN PERSONS THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE. IT WILL BE AT ONCE AN EARNEST OF OUR DESIRE FOR SACRIFICE FOR THE SAKE OF OUR RELIGION AND HONOUR AND A PREPARATION FOR FURTHER SACRIFICE. AGITATION FOR SECURING COMPLETE BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS SHOULD BE CONTINUED UNABATED. FINALLY THE COMMITTEE EXPECTS MUSLIMS TO LEAD AS WELL IN PRESERVING PEACE AND ORDER AS IN SACRIFICE AND WE FEEL SURE THAT OUR

[1] From Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali

HINDU BRETHREN WILL NOT FAIL TO RESPOND AND JOIN THE MUSLIMS."

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1-8-1920; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 31-7-1920

69. OUR DUTY

August 1 is already upon us. All manner of objections are being raised against non-co-operation, the most important being that it is bound to lead to violent disturbances.

It is quite easy to save ourselves from this possible danger. There should be no difficulty at all in preserving peace if there are even a few persons at every place working towards that end. The very first requirement of non-co-operation is to preserve peace. If we do not know how to do this, we have no right to start non-co-operation.

Some people cite the example of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland and say that non-co-operation and assassinations go on simultaneously there. This is quite true, but Ireland will not get Home Rule that way. There is, moreover, an important difference between us and Ireland. We can very easily gain our object by non-violent non-co-operation and, if violence breaks out, non-co-operation will stop that very moment. Through the method of violence and bloodshed, the people can get nothing in a big country like India; likewise, no power in the world can rule over such a vast country as ours if there is peaceful non-co-operation.

That is why our best success lies in preventing the outbreak of violence. If violence does break out, we ourselves would, and we ought to, rush immediately to the help of the Government to stop it. Breaking out of riots can only mean that we have failed to acquire control over our own people. The second objection to non-co-operation is that the people are not at all ready for it. This really means that the people have no capacity for self-sacrifice.

If we regard it as an honour to be honoured by a Government that has gone to the last limits of injustice, if we receive education in its schools and continue to practise as lawyers in its courts, how can we demonstrate that we have felt hurt by its actions?

Some others ask me what effect can be produced on the Government if a few men renounce their titles, a few others withdraw their children from schools and a handful of lawyers stop practising in law-courts. This objection is not valid. If we think it a sin to help an unjust Government or to receive any favour from

it, then, whether we be few or many, it becomes our duty to give up helping it or receiving favours from it, and this is also the only straightforward way of making others in larger numbers do likewise.

No reform anywhere in the world has ever been immediately accepted by all the people. It is always a few who make a beginning and, when others see the firmness of those few, they follow in the footsteps of the latter. Often reforms make no progress because people take up the attitude that they will adopt them when others do likewise. This attitude always results in delay and does much harm sometimes. Moreover, waiting for all the others or a majority of them bespeaks our want of faith in our duty. I trust, therefore, that those who are convinced that it is their duty to stop helping the Government will begin non-co-operation forthwith, no matter whether they are few or many.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-8-1920

70. MR. MONTAGU'S THREAT

There is no need at all to get excited over the threat[1] which Mr. Montagu held out while replying to a question about the Khilafat. Regarding the ultimate aim, there is no difference between the views of Mr. Montagu and of others in authority. It is the usual way of these, when they want to do something in opposition to public opinion, to leave nothing undone in putting down the people. How can we expect Mr. Montagu to be free from this mentality? The people are raising their heads against the injustices in the Punjab and about the Khilafat. If they are allowed to follow their way, authority will have to yield. This they do not want to do. So it is left with no alternative but to go all out to bend the people.

If, in this situation, the people are behind me and follow my advice, what else can the Government do but arrest me?

The Government can have one of three aims in arresting me :

1. To frighten me into changing my views.

2. To separate me from the people and thus weaken public opinion.

[1] Montagu had declared in the House of Commons that "if Mr. Gandhi persisted in 'non-co-operation', it would be absolutely impossible to take the same view of his action as was taken last year".

3. By removing me from their midst, to test the people and see whether they are really agitated over the injustices.

I suppose that it cannot be their object to frighten me. The Government will certainly want to weaken public opinion, but it is more reasonable to believe that it wants to test the people. It has a right to do so. If the people, however, stand the test and show their mettle, that very day they will win. We cannot complain against being tested in this way.

What, then, should the people do if I am arrested? The very nature of our fight requires us to be always ready for jail. My imprisonment, therefore, should be welcome to the people. At any rate, it should not make them angry. If I do things which invite imprisonment and then run away from it, or if the people feel aggrieved over my arrest, then the fault lies not with the Government but with us. In an oppressive and unjust State, a prison is the only place where a subject is really free.

I, therefore, hope that, if I am arrested, the people will go ahead with non-co-operation with still greater vigour.

Perhaps the Government would welcome the people losing their self-control. That would give it a chance to use force. Even if the Government does not want this, the result would be the same, namely, that it would subject the people to repression.

If, therefore, the people have understood the meaning of non-co-operation, they should not abandon it, even if I or any others should be arrested but show to the Government that it cannot rule the people without their consent.

But the question will naturally be asked why Mr. Montagu should be doubly guilty by taking the wrong road of repression over people. He has already one crime to his credit, of being a party to the injustice [done to India]. Repression of the people in order to perpetuate that injustice would now be the second crime. The right course would be, seeing that the people are ready to go to the length of adopting non-co-operation, to bow to public opinion and, by undoing the injustice, remove the root-cause of non-co-operation.

Mr. Montagu admits that, through my activities till now, I have rendered nothing but service to the Empire. That service naturally includes the satyagraha campaigns which I have launched on different occasions. As a matter of fact, my chief services to the Empire lie in securing redress of grievances by means of satyagraha. I am sure that what I am doing at present is my greatest service. Even this time, all I am doing is to offer satyagraha. Non-co-operation is but a branch of the big tree of satyagraha. The regret

is that, regardless of this, Mr. Montagu thinks me mistaken in my present activity. When a friend of the Empire like myself takes up the extreme weapon of non-co-operation, Mr. Montagu should have realized that the people must have been seriously aggrieved and ought to have striven hard to secure justice for us. If, then, his efforts had failed, he could have resigned. But he has chosen the wrong course. I now hope that the public will answer Mr. Montagu's threat by remaining peaceful and carrying out the non-co-operation programme.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-8-1920

71. VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

The view which I have expressed, that in our present state of feelings we cannot join in welcoming the Prince of Wales, should he pay a visit, is considered by Mr. Montagu to be a disloyal suggestion.

This is a sign of changed times. Not only do I not see any disloyalty in refusing to welcome the Prince but I consider it disloyalty towards the people to act otherwise in this difficult predicament.

The Prime Minister says that the Prince of Wales will be coming as the representative of the Crown. We know that his visit will be to demonstrate the might and glory of the Empire. To associate ourselves in the welcome will be to honour all officials, from the Viceroy downwards, including the officers of the Punjab who have brought disgrace to their administration.

A people, whose feelings have been hurt, whose wounds still remain unhealed, and whom the House of Lords, in its utter ignorance and arrogance, has hurt still more painfully by whitewashing the crime of General Dyer, how can they associate themselves in the welcome to the Prince of Wales? To do so would be to give a certificate to the bureaucracy. The latter wants the unrest among the people to be taken as peace. Even if the people have courage for nothing else and are not prepared to make any other sacrifice, everybody would at least expect them to give expression to their hurt feelings by keeping away from functions arranged to welcome the Prince.

We are certainly not insulting anybody by not taking part in the welcome. There is no insult to the Prince of Wales at all, and there can be no such intention either. If anybody is insulted, it can

only be the bureaucracy, but we shall not be insulting even the bureaucracy. We merely refuse to obey it, and it is our clear duty to do this. I hope, therefore, that despite anything Mr. Montagu may say, we will not join, it is our duty not to join, in the welcome.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-8-1920

72. *NOTES*

Lokamanya's[1] Illness

The hearts of hundreds of thousands of Indians flutter with anxiety at the sad news that the Lokamanya's illness has taken a serious turn. His contribution to the national awakening, his fearless spirit of independence and his sacrifices have made him the idol of the people. To millions, his word is law. Swaraj for this country is the mission of his life. At this critical time, the people are in no condition to bear the pain of separation from him. They are, themselves, afflicted at present with a serious disease. In the diagnosis and treatment of their disease, the Lokamanya has taken a leading part. Today the people are looking up to all their leaders to have their service and guidance. Among these, the Lokamanya belongs to the first rank. So great is his optimism that he has hoped for swaraj during his own life-time. May God help him to recover, grant him a long life and make him a witness to the attainment of swaraj!

Famine in Orissa

The latest letter from Shri Amritlal Thakkar is heart-rending. I quote the following sentences from it.[2]

In another letter he writes:

> Rs. 40,000 in all have been received from Gujarat. But worse months still are ahead. Money will be needed in plenty. I earnestly request you to issue one more appeal. Not less than one-and-a-half lakhs will be required. Including contributions from all other parts, a total of Rs. 80,000 has been received till now.

[1] Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); patriot, politician and scholar. This note was obviously written before his death.

[2] Not given here. The part quoted by Gandhiji described the near starvation conditions prevailing among the residents of Piplithana.

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There is nothing I need add to this letter. The rains have been good, but we see that Orissa's suffering will not end soon. The more closely Shri Amritlal examines the situation, the more misery he finds. In this unhappy province, the suffering people have lost even the strength to cry for help in their suffering. I trust that everyone will join in the holy effort of sharing in the suffering of Orissa.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-8-1920

73. LETTER TO VICEROY[1]

[*August 1, 1920*][2]

SIR,

It is not without a pang that I return the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, granted[3] to me by your predecessor[4] for my humanitarian work in South Africa, the Zulu War medal granted in South Africa for my war services as officer in charge of the Indian Volunteers Service Corps in 1906 and the Boer War medal for my services as Assistant Superintendent of the Indian Volunteer Stretcher-Bearer Corps during the Boer War of 1899. I venture to return these medals in pursuance of the scheme of non-co-operation, inaugurated today in connection with the Khilafat movement. Valuable as these honours have been to me, I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Mussulman countrymen have to labour under a wrong done to their religious sentiments. Events, which have happened during the past month, have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a Government. The attitude of the Imperial and Your Excellency's Governments on the Punjab question has given me an additional sense for grave dissatisfaction. I had the honour as Your Excellency is aware as one of the Congress Commissioners to investigate the cause of disorder in the Punjab during April of 1919 and

[1] This also appeared in *Young India*, 4-8-1920, under the caption "Renunciation of Medals".

[2] From the reference to the inauguration of non-co-operation in connection with the Khilafat movement on this date

[3] In 1915; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 170, 173 & 368.

[4] Lord Hardinge

it is my deliberate conviction that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was totally unfit to hold the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and that his policy was primarily responsible for infuriating the mob at Amritsar. No doubt the mob excesses were unpardonable. Incendiarism, the murder of the five innocent Englishmen and the cowardly assault on Miss Sherwood[1] were most deplorable and uncalled for but the punitive measures taken by General Dyer, Col. Frank Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Shri Ram Sud, Mr. Malik Khan and other officers were out of all proportion to the crime of the people and amounted to a wanton cruelty and inhumanity, almost unparalleled in modern times.

Your Excellency's light-hearted treatment of the official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's dispatch and above all the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and the callous disregard of the feelings of the Indians betrayed by the House of Lords, have filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government and have disabled me from tendering as I have hitherto whole-heartedly tendered my loyal co-operation. In my humble opinion, the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputation and the like, is no remedy for moving to repentance a Government, so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved to be.

In European countries, the condonation of such grievous wrongs as the Khilafat and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted at all cost the national emasculation such as the said wrongs imply. But one half of India is too weak to offer a violent resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have therefore ventured to suggest a remedy of non-co-operation, which enables those who wish to dissociate themselves from the Government and which, if it is unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed. But whilst I pursue the policy of non-co-operation in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I therefore respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a conference of recognized leaders of the

[1] An English woman who served in the Mission School, Amritsar. She was brutally attacked on April 10, 1919, while cycling and was rescued by an Indian.

people and in consultation with them find a way that would placate the Mussulman and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab.

I remain,
Sir,
Your faithful servant,
M. K. GANDHI

NOTE

I understand that P.S.V.[1] will send us the K.I.H. medal for storage. No other action is needed.

JOHN WOOD[2]

N.A.I.: Foreign: Political; File No. 100: 1921

74. LETTER TO DAYALJI

August 1, 1920

BHAISHRI DAYALJI,

I have your letter. I don't at all like the idea of a three-day hartal.[3] I can understand a hartal for one day. If we would really show our veneration, my preference is for some constructive work. We should, therefore, reflect over his good qualities and try to cultivate them in ourselves. He was a man of extreme simplicity; so in memory of him we should take a vow of simplicity. We should all give up, in his name, something we hold dear. He loved courage; we should, therefore, give up every kind of fear and try to become courageous. He wanted the people to be physically strong. We should all cherish his memory and try to be so. The country was dear to him as his very life; we, too, thinking of him, should give up love of self and cultivate, day by day, in increasing measure, pure love for the country. He was devoted to learning and had a wonderful command over his mother tongue and Sanskrit; we, too, if we do not love or know our mother tongue well enough, should love and know it better. We should improve our proficiency in the mother tongue and in Sanskrit. There are a good many other gifts of his which we can note. Let us cultivate as many of them as appeal to us and immortalize him. Finally, those

[1] Private Secretary to the Viceroy
[2] Political Secretary
[3] *Vide* "Passing away of the Lokamanya", 8-8-1920.

who can do nothing else may spend anything from a pice onwards on national work.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

75. SPEECH ON KHILAFAT DAY, BOMBAY[1]

August 1, 1920

Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved the following resolution:

This meeting records its full sympathy with the movement of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to secure revision of the Turkish Peace Terms consistently with Muslim sentiment and Islamic Law, and approves of non-co-operation adopted by the Central Khilafat Committee to be continued till the Peace Terms are revised. This meeting respectfully urges the Imperial Government, in the interest of the Empire which they are supposed to represent, to secure a just revision of the Terms which have been universally condemned as unjust and manifestly in breach of ministerial declaration.

Mr. Gandhi said he read in newspapers Government and others telling him that India was not at one with him in this question of non-co-operation and that the movement of non-co-operation would end in the country's ruin. Now those who joined in the non-co-operation movement could best refute those assertions not by merely attending such meetings and passing such resolutions but by actually practising non-co-operation. The first thing they could do in this connection was to renounce all titles, medals and honorary posts. He would like to inquire how many of them that attended the meeting had done so. Perhaps very few of those that were present there were possessors of such titles and posts. But this did not mean that those who possessed no titles or medals themselves had no duty to perform in this connection. For it should be their duty to ask with due respect those, who did hold the titles and honorary posts, to give them up. First of all they should ask Honorary Magistrates to resign their posts; secondly, they should ask their friends to withdraw their children from Government schools and ask teachers to resign their posts. This would have the effect of showing Government that the people were determined to do without their educational institutions. The parents could send their children to schools conducted by non-official agencies and even if they

[1] At Mastanshah Tank, under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee; Mia Mohmed Chotani presided.

went without the sort of education that they were having at school he did not see how it could harm them so much if they did not go to school for a year or so. Thirdly, he would ask men of the legal profession to give up their practice. He entirely repudiated the suggestion that legal practitioners would be doing a public service by continuing to practise in courts of law. For he believed they would be doing a greater service to their country if they did the Khilafat and other work for the public good instead. Some people had expressed a doubt if they could do altogether without going to courts of law for having their cases decided. He thought they could do without having recourse to the courts if they instituted their own *panchas*, where they could hope to get much speedier and cheaper justice. Then he would ask them not to accept any civil post in Mesopotamia for they would be acting against the interests of the Khilafat if they accepted such posts under a Government which wanted to rule over a country which formed part of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, which was sacred to Islam.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said this was the first thing they had to do to achieve their object. The second was a vigorous prosecution of swadeshi. This, as he had said at the Muzaffarabad Hall meeting[1], was one of the two things essential to the success of their movement. He had said then and would repeat now, that the two conditions which should be rigorously adhered to in their prosecution of non-co-operation were non-violence and swadeshi. Any violence on their part would defeat non-co-operation, and he asked them all to refrain from violence. They should refrain from anger. Then, they should be prepared to make sacrifice if they wanted their movement to succeed. They could make sacrifice by giving up among other things their predilection for fine clothes. Mr. Hasrat Mohani told him when he advocated swadeshi, that the people of northern India could not possibly do without thin clothes made out of fine-spun cotton. Now he (the speaker) could not understand this inability on the part of the people mentioned by Mr. Hasrat Mohani. Twenty-five years ago the people of India could do very well with the home-spun, coarse cloth, but Manchester cloth had changed their taste and ideas. At the present stage of the industry in India, the cotton mills were not in a position to produce fine cloth and the people must be content with the coarser quality of it. The remedy for the present lay in a revival of the handloom industry. If they had handlooms in every Indian home they could spin a sufficient quantity of cotton for the indigenous weavers to weave into cloth and when these found that their countrymen were prepared to give up foreign clothes and pay good prices for good, thin cloth they would take to producing that quality of cloth. If they practised swadeshi with vigour and enthusiasm they would save crores of rupees to India. The practice of swadeshi undoubtedly involved a sacrifice on their part but they ought to be prepared to make that sacrifice. It

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Bombay", 29-7-1920.

would show to the world that they were prepared to undergo all inconveniences and suffer so long as the Khilafat question was not satisfactorily settled.

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi said the chief things essential to the success of the non-co-operation movement were, as he had pointed out, non-violence, renouncing of titles and honorary posts, and a vigorous prosecution of swadeshi. If they did this and prayed to God, their cause, being just, was bound to succeed.

Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Shaukat Ali and others supported the resolution, which was carried.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-8-1920

76. TRIBUTE TO TILAK

[*August 2, 1920*][1]

Love of India was the breath of life with Mr. Tilak and in it he has left to us a treasure which can only increase by use. The endless procession of yesterday shows the hold the great patriot had on the masses.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-8-1920

77. SPEECH AT RECEPTION TO KHILAFAT DELEGATION, BOMBAY

August 2, 1920

To welcome Maulana Mahomed Ali and his colleagues of the Indian Khilafat delegation who arrived in Bombay on Monday, a public meeting was held that night at the Mastanshah Tank. Mahatma Gandhi was voted to the chair in the absence of Mr. Chotani who was indisposed.

The proceedings began with the recitation of a hymn from the Quran. Afterwards the chairman, addressing the audience, said that he was sorry Mr. Chotani could not take part in the meeting but he hoped Mr. Chotani would soon get better and begin the work of the Khilafat Committee in right earnest as before. Continuing he said that that was a very happy day for him and them all as their brother Mahomed Ali and his collea-

[1] From the reference to "the endless procession of yesterday", this appears to have been written on August 2.

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gues, after arduous work in connection with the Khilafat question, returned to their motherland safe and sound.

He could not express what affection he harboured towards Maulana Mahomed Ali. Since he had met the Ali Brothers in Delhi in the year 1915 and later in Aligarh, he was much impressed, and thought that one day the two Brothers would be among the Mahomedans what Mr. Gokhale was among the Hindus, and he was glad that what he had then surmised, has come true now.

Mahatma Gandhi then requested Maulana Mahomed Ali to lay, before the audience, the account of his work in Europe, in connection with the Khilafat question.

All about the Khilafat, pp. 319-23

78. LOKAMANYA[1]

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is no more. It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our times had the hold on the masses that Mr. Tilak had. The devotion that he commanded from thousands of his countrymen was extraordinary. He was unquestionably the idol of his people. His word was law among thousands. A giant among men has fallen. The voice of the lion is hushed.

What was the reason for his hold upon his countrymen? I think the answer is simple. His patriotism was a passion with him. He knew no religion but love of his country. He was a born democrat. He believed in the rule of majority with an intensity that fairly frightened me. But that gave him his hold. He had an iron will which he used for his country. His life was an open book. His tastes were simple. His private life was spotlessly clean. He had dedicated his wonderful talents to his country. No man preached the gospel of swaraj with the consistency and the insistence of Lokamanya. His countrymen therefore implicitly believed in him. His courage never failed him. His optimism was irrepressible. He had hoped to see swaraj fully established during his life time. If he failed, it was not his fault. He certainly brought it nearer by many a year. It is for us, who remain behind, to put forth redoubled effort to make it a reality in the shortest possible time.

Lokamanya was an implacable foe of the bureaucracy, but this is not to say that he was a hater of Englishmen or English

[1] This obituary appeared on the first page of *Young India*.

rule. I warn Englishmen against making the mistake of thinking that he was their enemy.

I had the privilege of listening to an impromptu, learned discourse by him, at the time of the last Calcutta Congress, on Hindi being the national language. He had just returned from the Congress *pandal*. It was a treat to listen to his calm discourse on Hindi. In the course of his address he paid a glowing tribute to the English for their care of the vernaculars. His English visit, in spite of his sad experience of English juries, made him a staunch believer in British democracy and he even seriously made the amazing suggestion that India should instruct it on the Punjab through the cinematograph. I relate this incident not because I share his belief (for I do not), but in order to show that he entertained no hatred for Englishmen. But he could not and would not put up with an inferior status for India in the Empire.[1] He wanted immediate equality which he believed was his country's birthright. And in his struggle for India's freedom he did not spare the Government. In the battle for freedom he gave no quarter and asked for none. I hope that Englishmen will recognize the worth of the man whom India has adored.

For us, he will go down to the generations yet unborn as a maker of modern India. They will revere his memory as of a man who lived for them and died for them. It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever. Let us erect for the only Lokamanya of India an imperishable monument by weaving into our own lives his bravery, his simplicity, his wonderful industry and his love of his country. May God grant his soul peace.

Young India, 4-8-1920

[1] The source here has: "of India and the Empire".

79. *THE CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION*

The Hon'ble Pundit Malaviyaji, for whom I entertain the highest regard and whom I have so often described as *dharmatma*[1], has appealed to me both publicly and privately to suspend non-co-operation till the Congress has pronounced upon it. *The Mahratta* has also done likewise. These appeals have made me pause and think, but I regret to say that I have not been able to respond to them. I would do much and give much to please Punditji. I am anxious to receive his approbation and blessing for all my actions. But a higher duty requires me not to turn from the course mapped out by the Non-co-operation Committee. There are moments in your life when you must act, even though you cannot carry your best friends with you. The "still small voice" within you must always be the final arbiter when there is a conflict of duty.

The reason for asking me to suspend action is that the Congress will presently meet and consider the whole question of non-co-operation and give its verdict. It would therefore be better (says Punditji) to await the Congress decision. In my humble opinion it is no Congressman's duty to consult the Congress before taking an action in a matter in which he has no doubts. To do otherwise may mean stagnation.

The Congress is after all the mouthpiece of the nation. And when one has a policy or a programme which one would like to see adopted, but on which one wants to cultivate public opinion, one naturally asks the Congress to discuss it and form an opinion. But when one has an unshakable faith in a particular policy or action, it would be folly to wait for the Congress pronouncement. On the contrary one must act and demonstrate its efficacy so as to command acceptance by the nation.

My loyalty to the Congress requires me to carry out its policy when it is not contrary to my conscience. If I am in a minority I may not pursue my policy in the name of the Congress. The decision of the Congress on any given question therefore does not mean that it prevents a Congressman from any action to the contrary, but if he acts, he does so at his own risk and with the knowledge that the Congress is not with him.

[1] The very soul of dharma

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We request such of our subscribers as have their subscriptions in arrears to remit them to our office as early as possible. We regret to note that some of the V. P's. sent in response to orders or to old subscribers in arrears, have been refused and returned to us. These friends must remember that this entails farther loss and trouble to us which we can hardly bear. We would request those who want to cease to be on our list to kindly intimate to the Manager accordingly.—Ed. Y. I.

LOKAMANYA.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is no more. It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our times had the hold on the masses that Mr. Tilak had. The devotion that he commanded from thousands of his countrymen was extraordinary. He was unquestionably the idol of his people. His word was law among thousands. A giant among men has fallen. The voice of the lion is hushed.

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We very much regret we are not able to give a block photo of Lokamanya as we intended to do—Ed. Y. I.

To every Englishwoman
in India (large States)

dear Sister

I wish that every
Englishwoman would see
this appeal and give
thoughtful attention to it
for we unfortunate
people are in
great need of
sympathy

For my innocent
share in the unfortunate
misunderstanding between
the British Government
and India I have for six months
past been undergoing
penal servitude in
Jail. Since my release
on bail I have been
living in Calcutta
under restraint
and as a result of the
ordeal I have undergone
my health has
completely broken down
and I am suffering
from a painful
internal disease
which the doctors
say is incurable
and which will
probably end
fatally in a few
months. I am
therefore anxious
to see my children
before I die and
to settle my affairs
but I am not
allowed to leave
Calcutta. I am
also not allowed
to receive any
visitors except
my husband
and children
and I am not
allowed to
write letters
to anyone
except my
husband
and children
and my
solicitor
and my
doctor
and my
nurse
and my
cook
and my
ayah
and my
bearer
and my
khansamah
and my
dhobi
and my
sweeper
and my
gardener
and my
syce
and my
coachman
and my
groom
and my
stable boy
and my
cowherd
and my
goatherd
and my
shepherd
and my
fisherman
and my
boatman
and my
ferryman
and my
toll collector
and my
tax collector
and my
revenue officer
and my
magistrate
and my
judge
and my
jury
and my
witnesses
and my
lawyer
and my
barrister

Every Congressman, every public body has the right, it is sometimes their duty, to express their own opinion, act upon it even and thus anticipate the verdict of the Congress. Indeed it is the best way of serving the nation. By initiating well-thought-out policies, we furnish data for a great deliberative body like the Congress to enable it to form a well-informed opinion. The Congress cannot express national opinion with any definiteness, unless at least some of us have already firm views about a particular course of conduct. If all suspended their opinion, the Congress must necessarily suspend its own.

There are always three classes of people in an institution: Those who have favourable views on a given policy, those who have fixed but unfavourable views on it and those who hold no fixed views. The Congress decides for this third and large group. I hold fixed views on non-co-operation. I believe that if we are to make anything of the reforms we will have to create a pure, clean and elevating atmosphere instead of the present foetid, unclean and debasing atmosphere to work them in. I believe that our first duty is to compel justice from the Imperial Government in regard to the Khilafat and the Punjab. In both these matters injustice is being sustained by untruth and insolence. I therefore consider it to be the duty of the nation to purge the Government of the uncleanliness before they can co-operate with each other. Even opposition or obstruction is possible where there is mutual respect and confidence. At the present moment the governing authority has no respect for us or our feelings. We have no faith in it. In these circumstances co-operation is a crime. Holding these strong views I can serve the Congress and the country only by reducing them to practice and thus affording to the Congress material for forming an opinion.

For me to suspend non-co-operation would be to prove untrue to the Mussulman brethren. They have their own religious duty to perform. Their religious sentiment has been deeply hurt by a total disregard of laws of justice and their own promises by British ministers. The Mussulmans must take action now. They cannot await the Congress decision. They can only expect the Congress to ratify their action and share their sorrows and their burdens. Their action cannot be delayed till the Congress has decided on a policy nor can their course be altered by an adverse decision of the Congress unless their action is otherwise found to be an error. The Khilafat is a matter of conscience with them. And in matters of conscience the Law of Majority has no place.

Young India, 4-8-1920

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80. WHO IS DISLOYAL?

Mr. Montagu has discovered a new definition of disloyalty. He considers my suggestion to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales to be disloyal and some newspapers taking the cue from him have called persons who have made the suggestion "unmannerly". They have even attributed to these "unmannerly" persons the suggestion of "boycotting the Prince". I draw a sharp and fundamental distinction between boycotting the Prince and boycotting any welcome arranged for him. Personally I would extend the heartiest welcome to His Royal Highness if he came or could come without official patronage and the protecting wings of the Government of the day. Being the heir to a constitutional monarch, the Prince's movements are regulated and dictated by the ministers, no matter how much the dictation may be concealed beneath diplomatically polite language. In suggesting the boycott therefore the promoters have suggested boycott of an insolent bureaucracy and dishonest ministers of His Majesty.

You cannot have it both ways. It is true that under a constitutional monarchy, the Royalty is above politics. But you cannot send the Prince on a political visit for the purpose of making political capital out of him, and then complain that those, who will not play your game and, in order to checkmate you, proclaim a boycott of the Royal visit, do not know constitutional usage. For the Prince's visit is not for pleasure. His Royal Highness is to come in Mr. Lloyd George's words, as the "Ambassador of the British Nation", in other words, his own ambassador in order to issue a certificate of merit to him and possibly to give the ministers a new lease of life. The wish is designed to consolidate and strengthen a power that spells mischief for India. Even as it is, Mr. Montagu has foreseen that the welcome will probably be excelled by any hitherto extended to Royalty, meaning that the people are not really and deeply affected and stirred by the official atrocities in the Punjab and the manifestly dishonest breach of official declarations on the Khilafat. With the knowledge that India was bleeding at heart, the Government of India should have told His Majesty's ministers that the moment was inopportune for sending the Prince. I venture to submit that it is adding insult to injury to bring the Prince and through his visit to steal honours and further prestige for a Government that deserves to be dismissed with disgrace. I claim that I prove my loyalty by saying

that India is in no mood, is too deeply in mourning, to take part in any welcome to His Royal Highness, and that the ministers and the Indian Government show their disloyalty by making the Prince a cat's paw of their deep political game. If they persist, it is the clear duty of India to have nothing to do with the visit.

Young India, 4-8-1920

81. CRUSADE AGAINST NON-CO-OPERATION

I have most carefully read the manifesto[1] addressed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others dissuading the people from joining the non-co-operation movement. I had expected to find some solid argument against non-co-operation, but to my great regret I have found in it nothing but distortion (no doubt unconscious) of the great religions and history. The manifesto says that "non-co-operation is deprecated by the religious tenets and traditions of our motherland, nay, of all the religions that have saved and elevated the human race." I venture to submit that the *Bhagavad Gita* is a gospel of non-co-operation between forces of darkness and those of light. If it is to be literally interpreted, Arjuna representing a just cause was enjoined to engage in bloody warfare with the unjust Kauravas[2]. Tulsidas[3] advises the *Sant* (the good) to shun the *Asant* (the evil-doers). The Zend-Avesta represents a perpetual duel between Ormuzd and Ahriman, between whom there is no compromise. To say of the Bible that it taboos non-co-operation is not to know Jesus, a prince among passive resisters, who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees and for the sake of truth did not hesitate to divide sons from their parents. And what did the Prophet of Islam do? He non-co-operated in Mecca in a most active manner so long as his life was not in danger and wiped the dust of Mecca off his feet when he found that he and his followers might have uselessly to perish, and fled to Medina and returned when he was strong enough to give battle to his opponents. The duty of non-co-operation with unjust men and kings is as strictly enjoined by all the religions as is

[1] Signed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Gokuldas K. Parekh, Phiroze Sethna, C. V. Mehta, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, K. Natarajan, H. P. Mody, Uttumlal K. Trivedi, B. C. Dalvi, Mawji Govindji, N. M. Joshi, Kanji Dwarkadas and others and published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 30-7-1920

[2] Sons of King Dhritarashtra and cousins of the Pandavas

[3] The great Hindi poet; author of *Ramacharitamanasa*, a Hindi version of the *Ramayana*

the duty of co-operation with just men and kings. Indeed most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond non-co-operation and prefer violence to effeminate submission to a wrong. The Hindu religious tradition, of which the manifesto speaks, clearly proves the duty of non-co-operation. Prahlad[1] dissociated himself from his father, Meerabai[2] from her husband, Bibhishan[3] from his brutal brother.

The manifesto speaking of the secular aspect says, "The history of nations affords no instance to show that it (meaning non-co-operation) has, when employed, succeeded and done good." One most recent instance of brilliant success of non-co-operation is that of General Botha who boycotted Lord Milner's reformed councils and thereby procured a perfect constitution for his country. The Dukhobours[4] of Russia offered non-co-operation, and a handful though they were, their grievances so deeply moved the civilized world that Canada offered them a home where they form a prosperous community. In India instances can be given by the dozen, in which in little principalities the *raiyats*[5] when deeply grieved by their chiefs have cut off all connection with them and bent them to their will. I know of no instance in history where well managed non-co-operation has failed.

Hitherto I have given historical instances of bloodless non-co-operation. I will not insult the intelligence of the reader by citing historical instances of non-co-operation combined with violence, but I am free to confess that there are on record as many successes as failures in violent non-co-operation. And it is because I know this fact that I have placed before the country a non-violent scheme in which, if at all worked satisfactorily, success is a certainty and in which non-response means no harm. For if even one man non-co-operates, say, by resigning some office, he has gained, not lost. That is its ethical or religious aspect. For its political result naturally it requires polymerous support. I fear therefore no disastrous result from non-co-operation save for an outbreak of vio-

[1] Devotee of Vishnu, was persecuted by his disbelieving father, the demon king Hiranyakashipu. Gandhiji often spoke of him as the ideal satyagrahi.

[2] A medieval saint-poetess of Rajasthan; queen of Mewar, she spent her days in devotions to Krishna incurring her husband's displeasure.

[3] The virtuous brother of Ravana. He tried long and hard to convert Ravana but, failing in his attempts, went over to Rama before the great battle began.

[4] "Spirit-wrestlers"; a non-conformist Russian sect which emigrated to Canada in 1898

[5] Tenants

lence on the part of the people whether under provocation or otherwise. I would risk violence a thousand times than risk the emasculation of a whole race.

Young India, 4-8-1920

82. COW PROTECTION

Cow protection is an article of faith in Hinduism. Apart from its religious sanctity, it is an ennobling creed. But we, Hindus, have today little regard for the cow and her progeny. In no country in the world are cattle so ill-fed and ill-kept as in India. In beef-eating England it would be difficult to find cattle with bones sticking out of their flesh. Most of our *pinjrapoles*[1] are ill-managed and ill-kept. Instead of being a real blessing to the animal world, they are perhaps simply receiving-depots for dying animals. We say nothing to the English in India for whose sake hundreds of cows are slaughtered daily. Our rajas do not hesitate to provide beef for their English guests. Our protection of the cow, therefore, extends to rescuing her from Mussulman hands. This reverse method of cow protection has led to endless feuds and bad blood between Hindus and Mussulmans. It has probably caused greater slaughter of cows than otherwise would have been the case if we had begun the propaganda in the right order. We should have commenced, as we ought now to commence, with ourselves and cover the land with useful propaganda leading to kindness in the treatment of cattle and scientific knowledge in the management of cattle farms, dairies and *pinjrapoles*. We should devote our attention to propaganda among Englishmen in the shape of inducing them voluntarily to abandon beef, or, if they will not do so, at least be satisfied with imported beef. We should secure prohibition of export of cattle from India and we should adopt means of increasing and purifying our milk supply. I have not a shadow of doubt that if we proceed along these sane lines, we would secure voluntary Mussulman support, and when we have ceased to compel them to stop killing cows on their festival days, we would find that they have no occasion for insisting on killing them. Any show of force on our part must lead to retaliation and exacerbation of feeling. We may not make Mussulmans or anybody respect our feelings religious or otherwise by force. We can really do so only by exciting their fellow-feeling.

[1] Institutions for care of disabled cattle

Hence it is that I have declined, and I am sure quite wisely, to enter into any bargain on the Khilafat question. I consider myself to be among the staunchest of Hindus. I am as eager to save the cow from the Mussulman's knife as any Hindu. But on that very account I refuse to make my support of the Mussulman claim on the Khilafat conditional upon his saving the cow. The Mussulman is my neighbour. He is in distress. His grievance is legitimate and it is my bounden duty to help him to secure redress by every legitimate means in my power even to the extent of losing my life and property. That is the way I can win permanent friendship with Mussulmans. I refuse to suspect human nature. It will, is bound to, respond to any noble and friendly action. The nobility of the help will be rendered nugatory if it was rendered conditionally. That the result will be the saving of the cow is a certainty. But should it turn out to be otherwise, my view will not be affected in any manner whatsoever. The test of friendship is a spirit of love and sacrifice independent of expectation of any return.

But one observes a spirit of impatience on the part of the Hindus. In our eagerness to protect the cow we seek to legislate through municipalities and get the resolutions passed by Mussulman meetings. I would urge my Hindu countrymen to be patient. Our Mussulman countrymen are themselves doing most handsomely in the matter. I remind the readers of Maulana Abdul Bari's[1] declaration that he would not take any proferred aid unless he, a devout Mussulman, could see his way clear to asking his followers to protect the cow. He has been as good as his word. He has been unremittingly attempting to create a favourable atmosphere for receiving the doctrine of cow protection on humanitarian and utilitarian grounds. Hakimjee Ajmalkhan[2] as President of the Muslim League last year carried his resolution of abstention from cow-killing on festival days in the teeth of opposition members. The Ali Brothers have stopped beef-eating in their household. We must feel deeply grateful to those noble-hearted Mussulmans for their unsolicited response. We must let them solve the difficult problem in their own way. My advice to my Hindu brethren is, "simply help the Mussulmans in their sorrow in a generous and self-sacrificing spirit without counting the cost and you will automatically save the cow". Islam is a noble faith. Trust it and its followers.

[1] Nationalist Muslim divine of Lucknow who took part in the Khilafat movement and urged his followers to refrain from cow-slaughter

[2] 1865-1927; Muslim physician and politician who took leading part in the Khilafat movement; president, Indian National Congress, 1921

We must hold it a crime for any Hindu to talk to them about cow protection or any other help in our religious matters whilst the Khilafat struggle is going on.

Young India, 4-8-1920

83. TELEGRAM TO ABDUL JABBAR

BOMBAY,
[Before *August 5, 1920*][1]

ABDUL JABBAR
PRESIDENT
CALIPHATE
HYDERABAD (SIND)

YOUR TELEGRAM BEG PIR SAHEB PREACH FORTITUDE PATIENCE BRAVE FOLLOWERS ALL CHEERFULLY GO JAIL SCRUPULOUSLY AVOIDING VIOLENCE WIRE URGENT IF WE STILL WANTED CAN START TOMORROW.

GANDHI
SHAUKAT ALI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1184

84. LETTER TO MOHANLAL

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 7, 1920

BHAI MOHANLAL,

I do not approve of deception anywhere. The question whether corruption will increase or decrease day by day has nothing to do with the removal of untouchability. Dharma lies in removing it. I believe the national school in Wadhwan can look after the education of small children. The only way for removing unemployment among the middle classes is to teach them vocations which will require them to use their hands and feet. I have had no contact with Shri Arvind Babu.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 234

[1] Reported on August 5

85. TELEGRAM TO ABDUL JABBAR

AHMEDABAD,
[Before *August 8, 1920*][1]

ABDUL JABBAR
HYDERABAD (SIND)

SHAUKAT ALI SELF WERE ON WAY HYDERABAD RECEIVED COUNTERMAND WIRE HERE THANK YOU NOW RETURNING BOMBAY PROPOSE GOING MADRAS WIRE SITUATION BOMBAY ADVISE WHETHER WE MAY PROCEED MADRAS HOPE PIR SAHIB TAKING FOOD.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1185

86. PASSING AWAY OF THE LOKAMANYA

The Lokamanya was in a class by himself. The country has proved that the title which the people gave to Tilak Maharaj was a hundred thousand times more precious than any that could be conferred by a king. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole of Bombay turned out on that Sunday to give him a final farewell.

The scenes I witnessed during his last days on earth are unforgettable. People's profound love for him was beyond description.

In France it is the practice to say: "The King is dead; long live the King." That idea spread to Britain and other countries and, whenever a king dies, they proclaim: "The King is dead; long live the the King." It means much in substance that the King never dies and the State machine never stops even for a second.

In quite the same way, the mammoth meeting in Bombay has shown that Tilak Maharaj can never die, is not dead, that he is living and will live for ever. His relatives, indeed, may have been stricken with grief and their eyes may have dropped pearls, but the villagers from the Ghats who went out with their musical instruments did by no means go weeping and lamenting. They had gathered to celebrate a festival. Their musical instruments and their *bhajans*[2] reminded the people that Tilak Maharaj was not dead. The place resounded with loud cries of "*Tilak Maharaj*

[1] Intercepted on August 8
[2] Devotional songs

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ki jai"[1] and the very idea that his body was to be cremated was quite forgotten. The people thus came to the right conclusion and proved that the doctors' bulletins were wrong.

I had felt some uneasiness on Saturday night when I heard the news but, on hearing the cry of *jai* the feeling disappeared and I, too, felt that Tilak Maharaj was still alive. The transient body has perished, but his immortal soul is enthroned for ever in the hearts of millions.

An English writer has said that even two bosom-friends, while they live, are separated in body. They may even feel that they are different from each other. If they are real friends, the one who dies first breaks down the barriers. He lives in the body of the friend who survives and is not dead to him. In the same way, Tilak Maharaj lives today in the bodies of millions. On Saturday, in particular, he was alive in his own body.

No leader of the people has had such a glorious death in modern times. Dadabhai[2] passed away and so did Gokhale and Pherozeshah[3]. Thousands had followed them on their last journey but, with Tilak, the very limit was reached. He was followed by a whole people. On Sunday, Bombay was not itself.

What miracle, this! There is nothing like a miracle in this world, or, better still, the world itself is a great miracle. The rule that there is no effect without a cause has no exception. The Lokamanya's love for India knew no bounds and, therefore, the people's love for him was equally boundless. No one else has chanted the *mantra*[4] of swaraj as continually as he did. While others sincerely believed that India would presently be fit for swaraj, he believed equally sincerely that India was already fit and ready for it. This conviction won him the love of the people. But he was not satisfied merely with believing this; he spent his whole life acting on this conviction and that fired the people with a new spirit. He infected them with his impatience for swaraj and, as the infection was caught, more and more people were drawn towards him.

He never gave up chanting this *mantra* of swaraj through all the dangers he had to face and all the suffering he had to bear. He thus emerged successful from this difficult test as well and as a

[1] Literally, "Victory to Tilak Maharaj"

[2] Naoroji (1825-1917); statesman and patriot called "the Grand Old Man of India"; presided over Congress sessions in 1886, 1893 and 1906

[3] 1845-1915; one of the founders of the Indian National Congress; twice elected its president, in 1890 and 1909

[4] Phrase with magical efficacy, accompanying rituals; here, an inspiring slogan

result, the people put all the greater trust in him and his word became a law to them.

Such a great life never ends with the passing away of the body. It really begins then.

A friend has written to me saying that something special ought to be done for Tilak Maharaj and asking for my advice in the matter. He wonders if a three-day hartal would not be the right thing. I elaborate here the suggestion I have made in my reply to him.[1]

The right way of expressing our veneration for a man is to emulate his good qualities. I would, therefore, prefer some constructive work to a hartal. It is certainly necessary to observe a hartal, keep a fast and do similar things on that day, but the "specialness" lies in emulating his virtues. He was a man of extreme simplicity; so in memory of him we should take to simplicity ourselves and give up using certain things to the point of being put to discomfort. He was a man of courage; let us be brave likewise, and do only that which our conscience approves and never swerve from our aim. He was a thoughtful man; we, too, must learn to think before we speak or act. He was a learned man and had a wonderful command over his mother tongue and Sanskrit; let us take pains to be scholars like him. Let us give up using a foreign language in the conduct of our affairs, be proficient in our mother tongues and learn to express all our thoughts in them. Let us study Sanskrit and discover the beauties of spiritual wisdom which lie hidden in our Shastras. He was a lover of swadeshi; we also should understand the meaning of swadeshi and adopt swadeshi in practice. He had unbounded love for the country; let us, too, cultivate the same love for it in our hearts and, to the best of our ability, be daily more devoted to national service. This is the right way to venerate him. Those who cannot do even these things may contribute anything, from a pice onwards, for perpetuating his memory, and the money so donated may be used for founding national schools, for giving scholarships to deserving students to enable them to receive the right kind of education and for such other public purposes.

The Lokamanya was certainly a bitter enemy of the present administrative set-up, but the belief some persons entertain that he disliked the British is mistaken. I have often heard praises of the British from his own lips. He was not opposed to the British connection in all circumstances, but he wanted himself and his

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dayalji", 1-8-1920.

people to be recognized as equals of the British. He hated to be subject to the British or to any other power.

He had so much faith in the common people of Britain that he once made the rather unusual suggestion that we should use the medium of the cinema to tell them of the Punjab atrocities.

We are mourning the passing away of such a veteran among patriots. There is no denying that it would have been all to our gain if he had continued to live in the body in which we knew him. But a man such as he was continues to serve the country and lead it, whether or not he lives in the body. A man, who had thought out his plan of action and followed it for forty-five years, who wore out his body in the service of the nation, is never forgotten after his death, he never dies. Let us, then, tell ourselves that the Lokamanya, even in his death, has taught us the secret of living.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-8-1920

87. POSITION OF THE CONGRESS

I have always entertained the highest regard for the Honourable Pandit Malaviya and know him to be the very soul of dharma. He has advised me to suspend non-co-operation till after the special session of the Congress is over. The editor of *The Mahratta* and others have also given this advice. It is painful for me not to listen to the advice of Panditji. I would normally honour his advice at any cost to myself. When, however, the still small voice within me suggests otherwise, I become helpless and cannot meekly submit even to his advice. Just such an occasion has arisen for me now.

My suspending non-co-operation means that the Muslims also should do likewise. For them, after the announcement of the Khilafat terms non-co-operation has become a religious duty. How can they co-operate with those who have insulted their religion and endangered its existence? How can they accept any gift from them? Moreover, how can I suspend non-co-operation without some strong reasons after having, with full deliberation, advised the nation to follow a particular course of action? It has become my inescapable dharma to continue non-co-operation on the Khilafat issue.

I must say this having regard to the present situation. But let us examine the position of the Congress. In my humble opinion,

the Congress takes stock annually of people's feelings and thoughts. Generally, it does not show a new path to the people. That is not its function. The prestige the Congress enjoys results from its being the organ of public opinion. Hence, it is not our duty, before taking up a new programme, to wait for the Congress to meet. If we so wait, the Congress can make no progress. If everybody suspends non-co-operation till after the opinion of the Congress is known, it will remain suspended for ever. If all people do not have an opinion of their own, the Congress is not something entirely apart from the people so that one might supplicate it for the gift of opinions. The Congress cannot pronounce an opinion unless a majority view has been formed on a particular question. This only means that those in the minority should carry on their work despite this handicap. The Congress does not, cannot wish to, and has no right to, come in their way. Hence anyone who likes a certain reform, who has faith in his capacity and who is a supporter of the Congress owes it to the latter to place his idea before the people so that the Congress may act upon it, can have the material on which to form an opinion. All reforms which have come about have done so in this manner. Nobody waited for the opinion of the Congress when opposing the Rowlatt Act.

The advice which Panditji has given me with much love only means that he has not formed a final opinion regarding non-co-operation. That I cannot accept this advice means that I have come to a firm decision. It is my sincere belief that we are committing a sin in delaying non-co-operation. So long as I had even a little faith in the Government's sense of justice, I co-operated with it and advised the people to do likewise. At the Amritsar Congress, I had very emphatically advised co-operation with the Government because I sincerely believed that the Punjab and the Muslims would get justice. When my belief proved to have been wrong, I turned to non-co-operation. For me, the Government's favours and its reforms are as much to be shunned as poisoned milk. Hence, even if I am in a minority of one, I shall keep proclaiming that we must not enter its legislatures.

Delegates to the Congress are of three types: Those who are positively in favour of a given policy, those who are positively opposed to it and those who hold no fixed views. It is the duty of those belonging to the first category to try to influence those who belong to the last, and what else can have a greater impact than action? My own judgment, therefore, tells me that it is the duty of those who see India's good in non-co-operation, who see a possibility of getting justice in regard to the Khilafat and the Punjab only through non-

co-operation, to go ahead with it and advise others to do likewise and create public opinion in this way. That is the way to honour the Congress and help it to go forward. No reformer waits for anybody else before implementing his ideas. The eternal law is that one should not delay virtuous action by waiting for advice and should not commit a wrong even if advised to do so. In the present circumstances, I look upon non-co-operation as virtuous action.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-8-1920

88. WHAT THE SCRIPTURES SAY

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and other friends have written an article in which they have condemned non-co-operation in strong terms and said that the scriptures and history are against it. The signatories have stated that the *Gita*, the Koran, the Bible and the Zend-Avesta of the Parsis, all hold non-co-operation to be wrong. They have cited no texts.

I think I too have been a student of the *Gita* in my own way. I have seen in it the principle of non-co-operation. The *Gita* speaks of the war between the divine and the demoniac. It makes it quite clear that good and evil can never be reconciled. If we interpret its teaching literally, we see that when Arjuna refused to fight the wicked Kauravas, Shri Krishna urged him to do so. Thus, literally interpreted, the *Gita* teaches us not only to refuse co-operation with the tyrant but even to punish him. Though the spirit of the *Gita* certainly does not teach this latter course, every line of it speaks of the war between good and evil.

Just as light and darkness are ever opposed to each other, just as cold and heat can never exist together, so also justice and injustice are incompatible. This is the reason for the age-old practice among us of a person leaving another when hurt. When the subjects can bear a tyrant-king no longer, they keep aloof from him to express their displeasure. When things become unbearable, the subjects even used to leave the king's territory. Such instances have been quite frequent. Even today, the thing is happening in two countries. Prahlad non-co-operated with his wicked father, Mirabai with her husband and Narasinh Mehta[1] with fellow-mem-

[1] 1414-1479; saint-poet of Gujarat and devotee of Krishna; freely mixed with the so-called untouchables in devotional gatherings

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bers of his community. Today we revere all three. Tulsidas described the difference between the good man and the evil and showed the impossibility of association between the two. Hinduism, thus, teaches that the association of good with evil is ever undesirable. In the Zend-Avesta, Ormuzd and Ahriman are ever at war and, in the Bible, God and Satan. Ormuzd—God—is the perfection of goodness, Ahriman—Satan—is an embodiment of evil. Jesus Christ was nothing if not a heroic satyagrahi. He employed non-co-operation against the hypocrites, the liars and men drunk with pride. He did not hesitate to introduce divisions in families for the sake of moral principles and he himself opposed, all alone, the mighty Roman Empire. What remains is Koran-e-Sharif. People have written about Islam as if they were ignorant of the life of the Prophet. While he lived in Mecca, he followed the way of non-co-operation with the evil-doers. When the Muslims themselves cite support for non-co-operation in their religion, how very strange it is to tell them that their religion is against it!

The evidence of history, too, endorses non-co-operation. By and large, history is a story of war, and war is merely an extreme example of non-co-operation. One side breaking off ties with another is but a form of non-co-operation. War is an example of demoniac non-co-operation. I do not think I am being guilty of presumption in claiming that the non-co-operation I am placing before the country is of the divine type. Non-co-operation which involves violence may succeed or fail, but that non-co-operation which requires nothing but self-sacrifice can end only in success. It simply passes my understanding how anyone can oppose such non-co-operation, for the man who resorts to non-co-operation of the divine type will not resume co-operation till he gets justice. The Germans employed the non-co-operation of armed conflict and so, when defeated, they surrendered. The Dukhobours, in Russia employed unarmed non-co-operation and, therefore, met with no defeat. When it became impossible for them to continue to live in Russia, they left the country rather than submit to its oppressive rulers. Today, they live as a highly respected community in Canada. When an individual employs non-co-operation, the individual wins; when a community employs it, the community wins. Thus, in non-co-operation of the divine type, effort is never fruitless nor is there any question of moral taint. Its practice even to a limited extent is beneficial and saves the man who resorts to it from great danger. By renouncing the title conferred by a tyrant, the man who practises this renunciation ensures, through such non-co-operation, his happiness. By renouncing his courts, the man

wins his own satisfaction to that extent. If a majority of the people perform this act of renunciation, society as a whole will have given up co-operation with injustice, washed itself clean and, to that extent, grown healthier.

Co-operation and non-co-operation have been accepted policies in use since times immemorial—co-operation, always, with the just and non-co-operation with the unjust. Both the Government of India and the Imperial Government have been doing, recently, one injustice after another. The former has been trying to cover up its original injustice with numberless wrongs. Co-operation with it is a sin, non-co-operation a duty.

> Separation from the one [the good] kills, while a chance meeting with the other [the wicked] causes the severest pain.[1]

That is why the Shastras enjoin the rule of non-co-operation with the wicked. It cannot be invalidated by any number of manifestos.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-8-1920

89. COW PROTECTION

The cause of cow protection is very dear to me. If someone were to ask me what the most important outward manifestation of Hinduism was, I would suggest that it was the idea of cow protection. It has been clear to me for many years past that we have forsaken this duty. I have seen no country in the world where the progeny of the cow is so ill-fed and ill-cared for as in India. We do not find anywhere else such large numbers of cattle with bones sticking out of their flesh as we do in India. In England the people actually eat beef, but I did not see in that country cattle which were ill-fed and ill-kept.

We are as weak as our cattle are. It is not surprising to find three crores dying of hunger where the cattle are in similar plight.

Look at the condition of our *pinjrapoles*. I have respect for the kindness of the managers, but I have very little respect for their capacity for managing things. I do not believe that the *pinjrapoles* protect cows and their progeny. They should not be places where

[1] From *Ramacharitamanasa* of Tulsidas

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ill-fed and ill-kept cattle may be looked after and allowed to die peacefully. I would expect to see in them ideal cows and bulls. *Pinjrapoles* should be located, not in the heart of cities but in big fields and they should bring, instead of consuming, plenty of money.

How do the Hindus look after the cattle in the country? Are they not Hindus who goad them with sharpened nails on sticks, who put unbearable loads on them, keep them without enough fodder and make them work more than they can?

It is my firm conviction that the Hindus' first duty is to put their own house in order. I would, if I could and had the necessary time at my disposal, engage the various cow protection bodies in reforming the *pinjrapoles*, in imparting to the people scientific knowledge of cattle-breeding, in teaching cruel Hindus to have compassion for their cattle and in making available pure milk to the poorest child and to the sick. And I would first ask the Hindus to take charge of the gigantic task of organizing such bodies.

And then I would request the Englishmen to give up beef-eating. The princes forget, when entertaining English guests, the duty [of cow protection] which is especially theirs and do not hesitate to order beef for them; I would request them to save themselves from this violation of their dharma, I would shame them into doing so.

Only after I have done this may I be entitled to ask my Muslim friends to stop cow-slaughter. Our duty, thus, is clear enough, but we have taken up the last thing first. We seem to think that all we need to do by way of cow protection is to save cows from the hands of Muslims, either with their goodwill or with force. As a result, the hostility between Hindus and Muslims has increased, a cause for discord has been created and the effort [to save cows in this manner] has led to their slaughter in increased numbers, for the thing became a point of honour with the Muslims. Our supreme duty is to lay down our lives for saving the cow.

Today, however, we have an invaluable opportunity and I have embraced it. Every Hindu can do the same thing and easily ensure the protection of cows. A great misfortune has befallen the Muslims, their religion has been slighted. At such a time, we should help them unconditionally, without asking for anything in return. It is our duty as neighbours to do this. The man who does his duty gets his reward, whether he hopes for it or not. By doing our duty to the Muslims, we challenge their nobility.

Friendship which asks for a reward is no friendship; it is bargaining. If, at this juncture, we give up all thought of bargaining and help the Muslims, we shall ensure [cow] protection of their own free will.

Some persons argue that in this matter Muslims cannot be trusted. I, for one, believe in human nature; I have faith in Islam. It is a divine law that nobility will be answered by nobility. It is only when our motives are mixed that we see contrary results. Even today, Muslims on their own have been doing much. Maulana Abdul Bari accepted my help only when he could find in his religion sanction for refraining from killing cows. Hakim Ajmal Khan is working hard for their protection. The Ali Brothers have banished beef from their homes altogether.

Let us not, by our suspicions or our impatience, endanger the change which is taking place.

I observe at some places a movement for legislation to ban cow-slaughter. Everywhere I hear people suggesting that we make conditions with the Muslims. In both these, I see nothing but harm. Orthodox Hindus have only one thing to do at present and that is, to discharge, quietly, the duty, which is morally theirs, of helping Muslims. That is the way to ensure complete protection of the religion and honour of either.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-8-1920

90. LETTER TO H. KALLENBACH[1]

August 10, 1920

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

After how long a time have I the good fortune to write to you? After the greatest search, I have now got your address. Never has a day passed but I have thought of you. The first information imparted to me about you was by a lady in Johannesburg. Miss Winterbottom[2] and Polak[3] could tell me nothing.

[1] A German architect; devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji in South Africa

[2] Florence Winterbottom, secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies, London; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 157.

[3] H. S. L. Polak, friend and co-worker of Gandhiji; editor of *Indian Opinion*; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 48.

P. K. Naidu[1] could tell me nothing. Dr. Mehta[2] sent me a cable to give me your address. I have also a letter from Jamnadas[3] whom I have asked to see you in Berlin if you could at all be seen. Jamnadas tells me either he or Dr. Mehta will try to see you. How I wish I could go over to see you and hug you. For me you have risen from the dead. I had taken it for granted that you were dead. I could not believe that you would keep me without a letter for so long. The alternative was that you had written but your letters were not delivered to me at all. I wrote to your camp and there was no reply. I still think that you have written but your letter has not been delivered to me. I am cabling to Dr. Mehta to see you. What shall I say of me? I shall forbear for the time being. Devdas[4] is with me, ever growing in every way and every direction. I am just now travelling with Devdas and another faithful companion on whom you would dote. I have come in closest touch with a lady[5] who often travels with me. Our relationship is indefinable. I call her my spiritual wife. A friend has called it an intellectual wedding. I want you to see her. It was under her roof that I passed several months at Lahore in the Punjab. Mrs. Gandhi[6] is at Ashram. She has aged considerably but she is as brave as ever. She is the same woman you know her with her faults and virtues. Manilal[7] and Ramdas[8] are in Phœnix looking after *Indian Opinion*. Harilal[9] is in Calcutta doing his business.

He has lost his wife. And Mrs. G. is looking after his children. Chhaganlal[10] and Maganlal are with me. Medh[11] and Pragji[12]

[1] P. K. Naidu, secretary to the British Indian Association, Transvaal

[2] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, M.D., Bar-at-Law and jeweller; his association with Gandhiji began when he received Gandhiji on his arrival in England for the first time as a student. He rendered financial help to Gandhiji in his activities from the days of the Phœnix Settlement till his death in 1933.

[3] Youngest son of Khushalchand Gandhi, cousin of Gandhiji

[4] 1900-1956; youngest son of Gandhiji

[5] Saraladevi Chaudhrani

[6] Kasturba Gandhi (1869-1942)

[7] Gandhiji's second son

[8] Gandhiji's third son

[9] Gandhiji's eldest son

[10] Eldest son of Khushalchand Gandhi

[11] Surendrarai Medh, a satyagrahi

[12] Pragji Khandubhai Desai, a satyagrahi in the South African campaign; he often contributed to *Indian Opinion* in Gujarati.

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are in India. Pragji remains in touch with me, not Medh so much. Maganbhai is not with me. You now know something about most members of the family that you know. Oh! I must not omit Imamsaheb[1]. He and his are with me, his loyalty is wonderful. I gave away Fatima[2] in marriage the other day. And this has made him happy. Andrews I see often. He lives in Bengal. Anandlal[3] too is with me. I am editing two weeklies. Both are doing well. I am engaged in a fierce struggle with the Government. No one can foretell the issue.

And now I shall stop. I was two years ago in death's grip. If you are free I want you to resume correspondence. My life is simpler than ever. My food is not fruit and nuts. I am living on goat's milk and bread and raisins. I am under a vow not to take more than five things. Cow's milk I would not like because of the vows I took in London. Salt I do not abjure because I find that we take inorganic salt in water and inhale it from the sea.

With love and expectation of seeing your own writing soon.

Yours ever,

UPPER HOUSE

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

91. THE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

In this age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for anyone to believe that anyone else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force. And so I receive anonymous letters advising me that I must not interfere with the progress of non-co-operation even though popular violence may break out. Others come to me and assuming that secretly I must be plotting violence, inquire when the happy moment for declaring open violence will arrive. They assure me that the English will never yield to anything but violence secret or open. Yet others, I am informed, believe that I am the most rascally person living in India because I never give out my real intention and that

[1] Abdul Kadir Bawazeer; Muslim priest; chairman, Hamidia Islamic Society; courted jail in 1910 as a satyagrahi in South Africa; succeeded Mahadev Desai in 1930 on the latter's arrest during Salt Satyagraha

[2] Abdul Kadir Bawazeer's daughter whose marriage was celebrated in the Ashram; *vide* Vol. XVII.

[3] Son of Amritlal Gandhi, a cousin of Gandhiji

they have not a shadow of a doubt that I believe in violence just as much as most people do.

Such being the hold that the doctrine of the sword has on the majority of mankind, and as success of non-co-operation depends principally on absence of violence during its pendency and as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to state them as clearly as possible.

I do believe that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence. Thus when my eldest son asked me what he should have done, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1908,[1] whether he should have run away and seen me killed or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use, and defended me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu rebellion and the late War. Hence also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

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

Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. An average Zulu is any way more than a match for an average Englishman in bodily capacity. But he flees from an English boy, because he fears the boy's revolver or those who will use it for him. He fears death and is nerveless in spite of his burly figure. We in India may in a moment realize that one hundred thousand Englishmen need not frighten three hundred million human beings. A definite forgiveness would therefore mean a definite recognition of our strength. With enlightened forgiveness must come a

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 251.

mighty wave of strength in us, which would make it impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to heap affront upon India's devoted head. It matters little to me that for the moment I do not drive my point home. We feel too downtrodden not to be angry and revengeful. But I must not refrain from saying that India can gain more by waiving the right of punishment. We have better work to do, a better mission to deliver to the world.

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

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For satyagraha and its off-shoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The *rishis*, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

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

And so I am not pleading for India to practise non-violence because it is weak. I want her to practise non-violence being conscious of her strength and power. No training in arms is required for realization of her strength. We seem to need it because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of a whole world. What is the meaning of Rama, a mere human being, with his host of monkeys, pitting himself against the insolent strength of ten-headed Ravana surrounded in supposed safety by the raging waters on all sides of Lanka? Does it not mean the conquest of physical might by spiritual strength? However, being a practical man, I do not wait till India recognizes the

practicability of the spiritual life in the political world. India considers herself to be powerless and paralysed before the machine-guns, the tanks and the aeroplanes of the English. And she takes up non-co-operation out of her weakness. It must still serve the same purpose, namely, bring her delivery from the crushing weight of British injustice if a sufficient number of people practise it.

I isolate this non-co-operation from Sinn Feinism, for, it is so conceived as to be incapable of being offered side by side with violence. But I invite even the school of violence to give this peaceful non-co-operation a trial. It will not fail through its inherent weakness. It may fail because of poverty of response. Then will be the time for real danger. The high-souled men, who are unable to suffer national humiliation any longer, will want to vent their wrath. They will take to violence. So far as I know, they must perish without delivering themselves or their country from the wrong. If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart. I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly. India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism.

Meanwhile I urge those who distrust me, not to disturb the even working of the struggle that has just commenced, by inciting to violence in the belief that I want violence. I detest secrecy as a sin. Let them give non-violent non-co-operation a trial and they will find that I had no mental reservation whatsoever.

Young India, 11-8-1920

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92. *COURTS AND SCHOOLS*

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[1]. 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

[1] In 1909; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-7.

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the Government may resent fierce criticism of their manners and methods by lawyers, but in the face of fierce action they would be loath to part with a single lawyer's support through his practice in the courts.

Moreover, in my scheme, suspension does not mean stagnation. The lawyers are not to suspend practice and enjoy rest. They will be expected to induce their clients to boycott courts. They will improvise arbitration boards in order to settle disputes. A nation, that is bent on forcing justice from an unwilling Government, has little time for engaging in mutual quarrels. This truth the lawyers will be expected to bring home to their clients. The readers may not know that many of the most noted lawyers of England suspended their work during the late war. The lawyers, then, upon temporarily leaving their profession, became whole-time workers instead of being workers only during their recreation hours. Real politics are not a game. The late Mr. Gokhale used to deplore that we had not gone beyond treating politics as a pastime. We have no notion as to how much the country has lost by reason of amateurs having managed its battles with the serious-minded, trained and wholetime-working bureaucracy.

The critics then argue that the lawyers will starve, if they leave their profession. This cannot be said of the Sinhas of the profession. They do at times suspend work for visiting Europe or otherwise. Of those who live from hand to mouth, if they are honest men, each local Khilafat Committee can pay them an honorarium against full-time service.

Lastly, for Mohammedan lawyers, it has been suggested that if they stop their practice, Hindus will take it up. I am hoping Hindus will at least show the negative courage of not touching their Muslim brethren's clients, even if they do not suspend their own practice. But I am sure no religiously minded Mussulman will be found to say that they can carry on the fight only if the Hindus stand side by side with them in sacrifice. If the Hindus do as they must, it will be to their honour and for the common good of both. But the Mussulmans must go forward whether the Hindus join them or not. If it is a matter of life and death with them, they must not count the cost. No cost is too heavy for the preservation of one's honour, especially religious honour. Only they will sacrifice who cannot abstain. Forced sacrifice is no sacrifice. It will not last. A movement lacks sincerity when it is supported by unwilling workers under pressure. The Khilafat movement will become an irresistible force when every Mussulman treats the Peace Terms as an individual wrong. No one waits for others' help

or sacrifice in matters of private personal wrong. He seeks help no doubt, but his battle against the wrong goes on whether he gains help or not. If he has justice on his side, the divine law is that he does get help. God is the help of the helpless. When the Pandava brothers[1] were unable to help Draupadi, God came to the rescue and saved her honour. The Prophet was helped by God when he seemed to be forsaken by men.

Now for the Schools

I feel that if we have not the courage to suspend the education of our children, we do not deserve to win the battle.

The first stage includes renunciation of honours or favours. As a matter of fact no government bestows favours without taking more than the favours are worth. It would be a bad and extravagant government which threw away its favours. In a government broad-based upon a people's will, we give our lives to secure a trinket which is a symbol of service. Under an unjust government which defies a people's will, rich jaighrs become a sign of servitude and dishonour. Thus considered, the schools must be given up without a moment's thought.

For me the whole scheme of non-co-operation is among other things a test of the intensity and extent of our feeling. Are we genuine? Are we prepared to suffer? It has been said that we may not expect much response from title-holders, for they have never taken part in national affairs and have bought their honours at too great a price easily to sacrifice them. I make a present of the argument to the objectors, and ask, what about the parents of school children and the grown-up college students? They have no such intimate connection with the Government as the title-holders. Do they or do they not feel enough to enable them to sacrifice the schooling?

But I contend that there is no sacrifice involved in emptying the schools. We must be specially unfit for non-co-operation if we are so helpless as to be unable to manage our own education in total independence of the Government. Every village should manage the education of its own children. I would not depend upon Government aid. If there is a real awakening the schooling need not be interrupted for a single day. The very schoolmasters who are now conducting Government schools, if they are good enough to resign their office, could take charge of national schools and teach our children the things they need, and not make of the majority

[1] The five sons of Pandu and heroes of the *Mahabharata*

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of them indifferent clerks. I do look to the Aligarh College to give the lead in this matter. The moral effect created by the emptying of our *madrasahs* will be tremendous. I doubt not that the Hindu parents and scholars would not fail to copy their Mussulman brethren.

Indeed what could be grander education than that the parents and scholars should put religious sentiment before a knowledge of letters? If therefore no arrangement could be immediately made for the literary instruction of youths who might be withdrawn, it would be most profitable training for them to be able to work as volunteers for the cause which may necessitate their withdrawal from Government schools. For as in the case of the lawyers, so in the case of boys, my notion of withdrawal does not mean an indolent life. The withdrawing boys will, each according to his worth, be expected to take their share in the agitation.

Young India, 11-8-1920

93. INTERVIEW TO "THE MADRAS MAIL" ON NON-CO-OPERATION[1]

August 12, 1920

A representative of this journal[2] called on Mr. M. K. Gandhi yesterday. . . . Mr. Gandhi, who has come to Madras on a tour to some of the principal Muslim centres in Southern India, was busy with a number of workers discussing his programme; but he expressed his readiness to answer questions on the chief topic which is agitating Muslims and Hindus.

[REPRESENTATIVE:] After your experience of the satyagraha agitation last year, Mr. Gandhi, are you still hopeful and convinced of the wisdom of advising non-co-operation?

[GANDHIJI:] Certainly.

How do you consider conditions have altered since the satyagraha movement of last year?

I consider that people are better disciplined now than they were before. In this I include even the masses whom I have had opportunities of seeing in large numbers in various parts of the country.

[1] This appeared in *The Madras Mail*, 13-8-1920, under the captions: "A Talk with Mr. Gandhi/Non-co-operation Explained"; and, along with these and the introductory paragraph, was reproduced in *Young India*.

[2] *The Madras Mail*

And you are satisfied that the masses understand the spirit of satyagraha?

Yes.

And that is why you are pressing on with the programme of non-co-operation?

Yes. Moreover, the danger that attended the civil disobedience part of satyagraha does not apply to non-co-operation, because in non-co-operation we are not taking up civil disobedience of laws as a mass movement. The result hitherto has been most encouraging. For instance, people in Sind and Delhi, in spite of the irritating restrictions upon their liberty by the authorities, have carried out the Committee's instructions in regard to the Seditious Meetings Proclamation and to the prohibition of posting placards on the walls which we hold to be inoffensive but which the authorities consider to be offensive.

What is the pressure which you expect to bring to bear on the authorities if co-operation is withdrawn?

I believe, and everybody must grant, that no Government can exist for a single moment without the co-operation of the people, willing or forced, and if people suddenly withdraw their co-operation in every detail, the Government will come to a standstill.

But is there not a big "if" in it?

Certainly, there is.

And how do you propose to succeed against the big "if"?

In my plan of campaign, expediency has no room. If the Khilafat movement has really permeated the masses and the classes, there must be adequate response from the people.

But are you not begging the question?

I am not begging the question, because so far as data before me go, I believe that the Muslims keenly feel the Khilafat grievance. It remains to be seen whether their feeling is intense enough to evoke in them the measure of sacrifice adequate for successful non-co-operation.

That is, your survey of the conditions, you think, justifies your advising non-co-operation in the full conviction that you have behind you the support of the vast masses of the Mussulman population?

Yes.

This non-co-operation, you are satisfied, will extend to complete severance of co-operation with the Government?

No; nor is it at the present moment my desire that it should. I am simply practising non-co-operation to the extent that is

necessary to make the Government realize the depth of popular feeling in the matter and the dissatisfaction with the Government that all that could be done has not been done either by the Government of India or by the Imperial Government whether on the Khilafat question or on the Punjab question.

Do you, Mr. Gandhi, realize that even amongst Mohammedans there are sections of people who are not enthusiastic over non-co-operation however much they may feel the wrong that has been done to their community?

Yes. But their number is smaller than those who are prepared to adopt non-co-operation.

And yet does not the fact that there has not been an adequate response to your appeal for resignation of titles and offices and for boycott of elections of the councils indicate that you may be placing more faith in their strength of conviction than is warranted?

I think not; for the reason that the stage has only just come into operation and our people are always most cautious and slow to move. Moreover, the first stage largely affects the uppermost strata of society, who represent a microscopic minority though they are undoubtedly an influential body of people.

This upper class, you think, has sufficiently responded to your appeal?

I am unable to say either one way or the other at present. I shall be able to give a definite answer at the end of this month. . . .

Do you think that without one's loyalty to the King and the royal family being questioned, one can advocate non-co-operation in connection with the royal visit?

Most decidedly; for the simple reason that if there is any disloyalty about the proposed boycott of the Prince's visit, it is disloyalty to the Government of the day and not to the person of His Royal Highness.

What do you think is to be gained by promoting this boycott in connection with the royal visit?

Because I want to show that the people of India are not in sympathy with the Government of the day and that they strongly disapprove of the policy of the Government in regard to the Punjab and Khilafat, and even in respect of other important administrative measures. I consider that the visit of the Prince of Wales is a singularly good opportunity to the people to show their disapproval of the present Government. After all, the visit is calculated to have tremendous political results. It is not to be a non-

political event, and seeing that the Government of India and the Imperial Government want to make the visit a political event of first-class importance, namely, for the purpose of strengthening their hold upon India, I for one, consider that it is the bounden duty of the people to boycott the visit which is being engineered by the two Governments in their own interest which at the present moment is totally antagonistic to the people.

Do you mean that you want this boycott promoted because you feel that the strengthening of the hold upon India is not desirable in the best interests of the country?

Yes. The strengthening of the hold of a Government so wicked as the present one is not desirable for the best interests of the people. Not that I want the bond between England and India to become loosened for the sake of loosening it but I want that bond to become strengthened only in so far as it adds to the welfare of India.

Do you think that non-co-operation and the non-boycott of the legislative councils [are] consistent?

No; because a person who takes up the programme of non-co-operation cannot consistently stand for councils.

Is non-co-operation, in your opinion, an end in itself or a means to an end, and if so, what is the end?

It is a means to an end, the end being to make the present Government just, whereas it has become mostly unjust. Co-operation with a just government is a duty; non-co-operation with an unjust government is equally a duty.

Will you look with favour upon the proposal to enter the councils and to carry on either obstructive tactics or to decline to take the oath of allegiance as consistent with your non-co-operation?

No; as an accurate student of non-co-operation, I consider that such a proposal is inconsistent with the true spirit of non-co-operation. I have often said that a Government really thrives on obstruction, and so far as the proposal not to take the oath of allegiance is concerned, I can really see no meaning in it; it amounts to a useless waste of valuable time and money.

In other words, obstruction is no stage in non-co-operation?

No. . . .

Are you satisfied that all efforts at constitutional agitation have been exhausted and that, non-co-operation is the only course left us?

I do not consider non-co-operation to be unconstitutional, but I do believe that of all the constitutional remedies now left open to us, non-co-operation is the only one left for us.

Do you consider it constitutional to adopt it with a view merely to paralyse Government?

Certainly, it is not unconstitutional, but a prudent man will not take all the steps that are constitutional if they are otherwise undesirable, nor do I advise that course. I am resorting to non-co-operation in progressive stages because I want to evolve true order out of untrue order. I am not going to take a single step in non-co-operation unless I am satisfied that the country is ready for that step, namely, non-co-operation will not be followed by anarchy or disorder.

How will you satisfy yourself that anarchy will not follow?

For instance, if I advise the police to lay down their arms, I shall have satisfied myself that we are able by voluntary assistance to protect ourselves against thieves and robbers. That was precisely what was done in Lahore and Amritsar last year by the citizens by means of volunteers when the military and the police had withdrawn. Even where Government had not taken such measures in a place, for want of adequate force, I know people have successfully protected themselves.

You have advised lawyers to non-co-operate by suspending their practice. What is your experience? Has the lawyers' response to your appeal encouraged you to hope that you will be able to carry through all stages of non-co-operation with the help of such people?

I cannot say that a large number has yet responded to my appeal. It is too early to say how many will respond. But I may say that I do not rely merely upon the lawyer class or highly educated men to enable the Committee to carry out all the stages of non-co-operation. My hope lies more with the masses so far as the later stages of non-co-operation are concerned.

Young India, 18-8-1920

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94. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, MADRAS[1]

August 12, 1920

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

Like last year, I have to ask your forgiveness that I should have to speak being seated. Whilst my voice has become stronger than it was last year, my body is still weak; and if I were to attempt to speak to you standing, I could not hold on for very many minutes before the whole frame would shake. I hope, therefore, that you will grant me permission to speak seated. I have sat here to address you on a most important question, probably a question whose importance we have not measured up to now.

But before I approach that question on this dear old beach of Madras, you will expect me—you will want me to offer my tribute to the great departed, Lokamanya Tilak Maharaj. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I would ask this great assembly to listen to me in silence. I have come to make an appeal to your heart and to your reason and I could not do so unless you were prepared to listen to whatever I have to say in absolute silence. I wish to offer my tribute to the departed patriot and I think that I cannot do better than say that his death, as his life, has poured new vigour into the country. If you were present as I was present at that great funeral procession, you would realize with me the meaning of my words. Mr. Tilak lived for his country. The inspiration of his life was freedom for his country which he called swaraj; the inspiration of his deathbed was also freedom for his country. And it was that which gave him such marvellous hold upon his countrymen; it was that which commanded the adoration not of a few chosen Indians belonging to the upper strata of society but of millions of his countrymen. His life was one long sustained piece of self-sacrifice. He began that life of discipline and self-sacrifice in 1879 and he continued that life up to the end of his day, and that was the secret of his hold upon his country. He not only knew what he wanted for his country but also how to live for his country and how to die for his country. I hope then that whatever I say this evening to this vast mass of people, will bear fruit in that same sacrifice for which the life of Lokamanya Tilak Maharaj stands. His life, if it teaches us anything whatsoever, teaches one

[1] At a public meeting, on the beach opposite the Presidency College

supreme lesson; that if we want to do anything whatsoever for our country, we can do so not by speeches, however grand, eloquent and convincing they may be, but only by sacrifice at the back of every word and at the back of every act of our life. I have come to ask everyone of you whether you are ready and willing to give sufficiently for your country's sake, for your country's honour and for religion. I have boundless faith in you, the citizens of Madras, and the people of this great presidency, a faith which I began to cultivate in the year 1893 when I first made acquaintance with the Tamil labourers in South Africa; and I hope that, in these hours of our trial, this province will not be second to any other in India, and that it will lead in this spirit of self-sacrifice and will translate every word into action.[1]

Need for Non-co-operation

What is this non-co-operation about which you have heard much, and why do we want to offer this non-co-operation? I wish to go for the time being into the why. There are two things before this country. The first and the foremost is the Khilafat question. On this the heart of the Mussulmans of India has become lacerated. British pledges, given after the greatest deliberation by the Prime Minister of England in the name of the English nation, have been dragged into the mire. The promises given to Moslem India, on the strength of which the consideration that was accepted by the British nation was exacted, have been broken and the great religion of Islam has been placed in danger. The Mussulmans hold—and I venture to think they rightly hold—that so long as British promises remain unfulfilled so long is it impossible for them to tender whole-hearted fealty and loyalty to the British connection; and if it is to be a choice for a devout Mussulman between loyalty to the British connection and loyalty to his Code and Prophet, he will not require a second to make his choice and he has declared his choice. The Mussulmans say frankly, openly and honourably to the whole world that if the British ministers and the British nation do not fulfil the pledges given to them and do not wish to regard with respect the sentiments of 70 millions of the inhabitants of India who profess the faith of Islam, it will be impossible for them to retain Islamic loyalty. It is a question, then, for the rest of the Indian population to consider whether they want to perform a neighbourly duty by their Mussulman countrymen and if they do, they have an opportunity

[1] Up to this, the report is from *The Hindu*.

of a lifetime which will not occur for another hundred years, to show their goodwill, fellowship and friendship and to prove what they have been saying for all these long years that the Mussulman is the brother of the Hindu. If the Hindu regards that before the connection with the British nation comes his natural connection with his Moslem brother, then I say to you that if you find that the Moslem claim is just, that it is based upon real sentiment, and that at its background is this great religious feeling, you cannot do otherwise than help the Mussulmans through and through so long as their cause remains just and the means for attaining the end remains equally just, honourable and free from harm to India. These are the plain conditions which the Indian Mussulmans have accepted and it was when they saw that they could accept the proferred aid of the Hindus, that they could always justify the cause and the means before the whole world, that they decided to accept the proferred hand of fellowship. It is then for Hindus and Mussulmans to offer a united front to the whole of the Christian powers of Europe and tell them that weak as India is, India has still got the capacity of preserving her self-respect, she still knows how to die for her religion and for her self-respect.

That is the Khilafat in a nutshell; but you have also got the Punjab. The Punjab has wounded the heart of India as no other question has for the past century. I do not exclude from my calculation the Mutiny of 1857. Whatever hardships India had to suffer during the Mutiny, the insult that was attempted to be offered to her during the passage of the Rowlatt legislation, and that which was offered after its passage, were unparalleled in Indian history. It is because you want justice from the British nation in connection with the Punjab atrocities, you have to devise ways and means as to how you can get this justice. The House of Commons, the House of Lords, Mr. Montagu, the Viceroy of India, everyone of them knows what the feeling of India is on this Khilafat question and on that of the Punjab; the debates in both the Houses of Parliament, the action of Mr. Montagu and that of the Viceroy have demonstrated to you completely that they are not willing to give the justice which is India's due and which she demands. I suggest that our leaders have got to find a way out of this great difficulty and unless we have made ourselves even with the British rulers in India, and unless we have gained a measure of self-respect at the hands of the British rulers in India, no connection and no friendly intercourse is possible between them and ourselves. I, therefore, venture to suggest this beautiful unanswerable method of non-co-operation.

Is It Unconstitutional?

I have been told that non-co-operation is unconstitutional. I venture to deny that it is unconstitutional. On the contrary, I hold that non-co-operation is a just and religious doctrine; it is the inherent right of every human being and it is perfectly constitutional. A great lover of the British Empire has said that under the British Constitution, even a successful rebellion is perfectly constitutional and he quotes historical instances which I cannot deny in support of his claim. I do not claim any constitutionality for a rebellion successful or otherwise so long as that rebellion means in the ordinary sense of the term what it does mean, namely, wresting justice by violent means. On the contrary, I have said it repeatedly to my countrymen that violence, whatever end it may serve in Europe, will never serve us in India. My brother and friend Shaukat Ali believes in methods of violence; and if it was in his power to draw the sword against the British Empire, I know that he has got the courage of a man and he has got also the wisdom to see that he should offer that battle to the British Empire. But because he recognizes as a true soldier that means of violence are not open to India, he sides with me accepting my humble assistance and pledges his word that so long as I am with him and so long as he believes in the doctrine so long will he not harbour even the idea of violence against any single Englishman or any single man on earth. I am here to tell you that he has been as true as his word and has kept it religiously. I am here to bear witness that he has been following out this plan of non-violent non-co-operation to the very letter and I am asking India to follow this non-violent non-co-operation. I tell you that there is not a better soldier living in our ranks in British India than Shaukat Ali. When the time for the drawing of the sword comes, if it ever comes, you will find him drawing that sword and you will find me retiring to the jungle of Hindustan. As soon as India accepts the doctrine of the sword, my life as an Indian is finished. It is because I believe in a mission special to India, and it is because I believe that the ancients of India, after centuries of experience, have found out that the true thing for any human being on earth is not justice based on violence but justice based on sacrifice of self, justice based on *yajna*[1] and *kurbani*[2]—I cling to that doctrine and I shall cling to it for ever—it is for that reason I tell you that whilst my friend believes also in the doctrine of violence and has adopted the doctrine of non-violence as a weapon

[1] & [2] Sacrifice

of the weak, I believe in the doctrine of non-violence as a weapon of the strongest. I believe that a man is the strongest soldier for daring to die unarmed with his breast bare before the enemy. So much for the non-violent part of non-co-operation. I, therefore, venture to suggest to my learned countrymen that so long as the doctrine of non-co-operation remains non-violent so long there is nothing unconstitutional in the doctrine.

I ask further, is it unconstitutional for me to say to the British Government, "I refuse to serve you"? Is it unconstitutional for our worthy chairman to return with every respect all the titles that he has ever held from the Government? Is it unconstitutional for any parent to withdraw his children from a Government or aided school? Is it unconstitutional for a lawyer to say, "I shall no longer support the arm of the law so long as that arm of law is used not to raise me but to debase me"? Is it unconstitutional for a civil servant or for a judge to say, "I refuse to serve a Government which does not wish to respect the wishes of the whole people"? I ask, is it unconstitutional for a policeman or for a soldier to tender his resignation when he knows that he is called to serve a Government which traduces its own countrymen? Is it unconstitutional for me to go to the "krishak", to the agriculturist, and say to him, "It is not wise for you to pay any taxes, if these taxes are used by the Government not to raise you but to weaken you"? I hold and I venture to submit that there is nothing unconstitutional in it. What is more, I have done everyone of these things in my life and nobody has questioned the constitutional character of it. I was in Kaira working in the midst of seven lakhs of agriculturists. They had all suspended the payment of taxes and the whole of India was at one with me. Nobody considered that it was unconstitutional. I submit that in the whole plan of non-co-operation there is nothing unconstitutional. But I do venture to suggest that it will be highly unconstitutional in the midst of this unconstitutional Government—in the midst of a nation which has built up its magnificent constitution—for the people of India to become weak and to crawl on their belly—it will be highly unconstitutional for the people of India to pocket every insult that is offered to them; it is highly unconstitutional for the 70 millions of Mohammedans of India to submit to a violent wrong done to their religion; it is highly unconstitutional for the whole of India to sit still and co-operate with an unjust Government which has trodden under its feet the honour of the Punjab; I say to my countrymen: "So long as you have a sense of honour and so long as you wish to remain the descendants and defenders of the

noble traditions that have been handed to you for generations after generations, it is unconstitutional for you not to non-co-operate and unconstitutional for you to co-operate with a Government which has become so unjust as our Government has become. I am not anti-English; I am not anti-British; I am not anti-any government; but I am anti-untruth—anti-humbug and anti-injustice. So long as the Government spells injustice, it may regard me as its enemy, implacable enemy. I had hoped at the Congress at Amritsar—I am speaking God's truth before you—when I pleaded on knees before some of you for co-operation with the Government, I had full hope that the British ministers, who are wise as a rule, would placate the Mussulman sentiment, that they would do full justice in the matter of the Punjab atrocities, and, therefore, I said : Let us return goodwill to the hand of fellowship that has been extended to us, which, I then believed, was extended to us through the Royal Proclamation. It was on that account that I pleaded for co-operation. But today that faith having gone and [been] obliterated by the acts of the British ministers, I am here to plead not for futile obstruction in the legislative council but for real substantial non-co-operation which would paralyse the mightiest government on earth. That is what I stand for today. Until we have wrung justice and until we have wrung our self-respect from unwilling hands and from unwilling pens, there can be no co-operation. Our Shastras say and I say so with the greatest deference to all the greatest religious preceptors of India but without fear of contradiction that our Shastras teach us that there shall be no co-operation between injustice and justice, between an unjust man and a justice-loving man, between truth and untruth. Co-operation is a duty only so long as Government protects your honour, and non-co-operation is an equal duty when the Government, instead of protecting robs you of your honour. That is the doctrine of non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation and the Special Congress

I have been told that I should have waited for the declaration of the special Congress which is the mouthpiece of the whole nation. I know that it is the mouthpiece of the whole nation. If it was for me, individual Gandhi, to wait, I would have waited for eternity. But I had in my hands a sacred trust. I was advising my Mussulman countrymen and for the time being I hold their honour in my hands. I dare not ask them to wait for any verdict but the verdict of their own conscience. Do you suppose that Mussulmans can eat their own words, can withdraw from the honourable position they have taken

up? If perchance—and God forbid that it should happen—the special Congress decides against them, I would still advise my countrymen, the Mussulmans, to stand single-handed and fight rather than yield to the attempted dishonour to their religion. It is, therefore, given to the Mussulmans to go to the Congress on bended knees and plead for support. But support or no support, it was not possible for them to wait for the Congress to give them the lead. They had to choose between futile violence, drawing of the naked sword and peaceful non-violent but effective non-co-operation, and they have made their choice. I venture further to say to you that if there is any body of men who feel as I do, the sacred character of non-co-operation, it is for you and me not to wait for the Congress but to act and to make it impossible for the Congress to give any other verdict. After all what is the Congress? The Congress is the collected voice of individuals who form it, and if the individuals go to the Congress with a united voice, that will be the verdict you will gain from the Congress. But if we go to the Congress with no opinion because we have none or because we are afraid to express it, then naturally we await the verdict of the Congress. To those who are unable to make up their mind, I say, by all means wait. But for those who have seen the clear light as they see the lights in front of them, for them to wait is a sin. The Congress does not expect you to wait but it expects you to act so that the Congress can gauge properly the national feeling. So much for the Congress.

Boycott of the Councils

Among the details of non-co-operation I have placed in the foremost rank the boycott of the councils. Friends have quarrelled with me for the use of the word boycott, because I have disapproved —as I disapprove even now—boycott of British goods or any goods for that matter. But there, boycott has its own meaning and here boycott has its own meaning. I not only do not disapprove but approve of the boycott of the councils that are going to be formed next year. And why do I do it? The people—the masses—require from us, the leaders, a clear lead. They do not want any equivocation from us. The suggestion that we should seek election and then refuse to take the oath of allegiance would only make the nation distrust the leaders. It is not a clear lead to the nation. So I say to you, my countrymen, not to fall into this trap. We shall sell our country by adopting the methods of seeking election and then not taking the oath of allegiance. We may find it difficult and I frankly confess to you that I have not that trust in so

many Indians making that declaration and standing by it. Today I suggest to those who honestly hold the view viz, that we should seek election and then refuse to take the oath of allegiance—I suggest to them that they will fall into a trap which they are preparing for themselves and for the nation. That is my view. I hold that if we want to give the nation the clearest possible lead and if we want not to play with this great nation, we must make it clear to this nation that we cannot take any favours, no matter how great they may be, so long as those favours are accompanied by an injustice, a double wrong done to India not yet redressed. The first indispensable thing before we can receive any favours from them is, that they should redress this double wrong. There is a Greek proverb which used to say: "Beware of the Greeks but especially beware of them when they bring gifts to you". Today from those ministers who are bent upon perpetuating the wrong to Islam and to the Punjab, I say we cannot accept gifts but we should be doubly careful lest we may not fall into the trap that they may have devised. I therefore suggest that we must not coquet with the councils and must not have anything whatsoever to do with them. I am told that if we, who represent the national sentiment, do not seek election, the Moderates who do not represent that sentiment will. I do not agree. I do not know what the Moderates represent and I do not know what the Nationalists represent. I know that there are good sheep and black sheep among the Moderates. I know that there are good sheep and black sheep amongst the Nationalists. I know that many Moderates hold honestly the view that it is a sin to resort to non-co-operation. I respectfully agree to differ from them. I do say to them also that they will fall into a trap which they will have devised if they seek election. But that does not affect my situation. If I feel in my heart of hearts that I ought not to go to the councils, I ought at least to abide by this decision and it does not matter if ninety-nine other countrymen seek election. That is the only way in which public work can be done and public opinion can be built. That is the only way in which reforms can be achieved and religion can be conserved. If it is a question of religious honour, whether I am one or among many, I must stand upon my doctrine. Even if I should die in the attempt, it is worth dying for than that I should live and deny my own doctrine. I suggest that it will be wrong on the part of anyone to seek election to these councils. If once we feel that we cannot co-operate with this Government, we have to commence from the top. We are the natural leaders of the people and we

have acquired the right and the power to go to the nation and speak to it with the voice of non-co-operation. I, therefore, do suggest that it is inconsistent with non-co-operation to seek election to the councils on any terms whatsoever.

Lawyers and Non-co-operation

I have suggested another difficult matter, viz, that the lawyers should suspend their practice. How should I do otherwise knowing so well how the Government had always been able to retain this power through the instrumentality of lawyers? It is perfectly true that it is the lawyers of today who are leading us, who are fighting the country's battles, but when it comes to a matter of action against the Government, when it comes to a matter of paralysing the activity of the Government, I know that the Government always looks to the lawyers, however fine fighters they may have been, to preserve their dignity and their self-respect. I, therefore, suggest to my lawyer friends that it is their duty to suspend their practice and to show to the Government that they will no longer retain their offices, because lawyers are considered to be honorary officers of the courts and, therefore, subject to their disciplinary jurisdiction. They must no longer retain these honorary offices if they want to withdraw co-operation from Government. But what will happen to law and order? We shall evolve law and order through the instrumentality of these very lawyers. We shall promote arbitration courts and dispense justice, pure, simple, home-made justice, swadeshi justice to our countrymen. That is what suspension of practice means.

Parents and Non-co-operation

I have suggested yet another difficulty—to withdraw our children from the Government schools and to ask collegiate students to withdraw from the college and to empty Government-aided schools. How could I do otherwise? I want to gauge the national sentiment. I want to know whether the Mohammedans feel deeply. If they feel deeply, they will understand in the twinkling of an eye that it is not right for them to receive schooling from a Government in which they have lost all faith; and which they do not trust at all. How can I, if I do not want to help this Government, receive any help from that Government? I think that the schools and colleges are factories for making clerks and Government servants. I would not help this great factory for manufacturing clerks and servants if I want to withdraw co-operation from that Government. Look at it from any point of view

you like. It is not possible for you to send your children to the schools and still believe in the doctrine of non-co-operation.

The Duty of Title-holders

I have gone further. I have suggested that our title-holders should give up their titles. How can they hold on to the titles and honours bestowed by this Government? They were at one time badges of honour when we believed that national honour was safe in their hands. But now they are no longer badges of honour but badges of dishonour and disgrace when we really believe that we cannot get justice from this Government. Every title-holder holds his title and honours as trustee for the nation and in this first step in the withdrawal of co-operation from the Government, they should surrender their titles without a moment's consideration. I suggest to my Mohammedan countrymen that, if they fail in this primary duty, they will certainly fail in non-co-operation unless the masses themselves reject the classes and take up non-co-operation in their own hands and are able to fight that battle even as the men of the French Revolution were able to take the reins of Government in their own hands leaving aside the leaders and marched to the banner of victory. I want no revolution. I want ordered progress. I want no disordered order. I want no chaos. I want real order to be evolved out of this chaos which is misrepresented to me as order. If it is order established by a tyrant in order to get hold of the tyrannical reins of Government I say that it is no order for me but it is disorder. I want to evolve justice out of this injustice. Therefore, I suggest to you the passive non-co-operation. If we would only realize the secret of this peaceful and infallible doctrine, you will know and you will find that you will not want to use even an angry word when they lift the sword at you and you will not want even to lift your little finger, let alone a stick or a sword.

A Service to the Empire

You may consider that I have spoken these words in anger because I have considered the ways of this Government immoral, unjust, debasing and untruthful. I use these adjectives with the greatest deliberation. I have used them for my own true brother with whom I was engaged in a battle of non-co-operation for full 13 years and although the ashes cover the remains of my brother, I tell you that I used to tell him that he was unjust when his plans were based upon immoral foundation. I used to tell him that he did not stand for truth. There was no anger in me. I told him

this home truth because I loved him. In the same manner I tell the British people that I love them and that I want their association but I want that association on conditions well defined. I want my self-respect and I want my absolute equality with them. If I cannot gain that equality from the British people, I do not want the British connection. If I have to let the British people go and import temporary disorder and dislocation of national business, I will rather favour that disorder and dislocation than that I should have injustice from the hands of a great nation such as the British nation. You will find that by the time the whole chapter is closed that the successors of Mr. Montagu will give me the credit for having rendered the most distinguished service that I have yet rendered to the Empire, in having offered this non-co-operation and in having suggested the boycott, not of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, but of boycott of a visit engineered by the Government in order to tighten its hold on the national neck. I will not allow it even if I stand alone, if I cannot persuade this nation not to welcome that visit, but will boycott that visit with all the power at my command. It is for that reason I stand before you and implore you to offer this religious battle, but it is not a battle offered to you by a visionary or a saint. I deny being a visionary. I do not accept the claim of saintliness. I am of the earth, earthly, a common gardener man as much as anyone of you, probably much more than you are. I am prone to as many weaknesses as you are. But I have seen the world. I have lived in the world with my eyes open. I have gone through the most fiery ordeals that have fallen to the lot of man. I have gone through this discipline. I have understood the secret of my own sacred Hinduism. I have learnt the lesson that non-co-operation is the duty not merely of the saint but it is the duty of every ordinary citizen, who not knowing much, not caring to know much, but wants to perform his ordinary household functions. The people of Europe teach even their masses, the poor people, the doctrine of the sword. But the *rishis* of India, those who have held the traditions of India, have preached to the masses of India the doctrine, not of the sword, not of violence but of suffering, of self-suffering. And unless you and I are prepared to go through the primary lesson, we are not ready even to offer the sword and that is the lesson my brother Shaukat Ali has imbibed to teach and that is why he today accepts my advice tendered to him in all prayerfulness and in all humility and says: "Long live non-co-operation". Please remember that even in England the little children were withdrawn from the schools; and colleges in Cambridge and Oxford

were closed. Lawyers had left their desks and were fighting in the trenches. I do not present to you the trenches but I do ask you to go through the sacrifice that the men, women and the brave lads of England went through. Remember that you are offering battle to a nation which is saturated with the spirit of sacrifice whenever the occasion arises. Remember that the little band of Boers offered stubborn resistance to a mighty nation. But their lawyers had left their desks. Their mothers had withdrawn their children from the schools and colleges and the children had become the volunteers of the nation. I have seen them with these naked eyes of mine. I am asking my countrymen in India to follow no other gospel than the gospel of self-sacrifice which precedes every battle. Whether you belong to the school of violence or non-violence, you will still have to go through the fire of sacrifice and of discipline. May God grant you, may God grant our leaders the wisdom, the courage and the true knowledge to lead the nation to its cherished goal! May God grant the people of India the right path, the true vision and the ability and the courage to follow this path, difficult and yet easy, of sacrifice.

The Hindu, 13-8-1920; also *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* (3rd ed.), pp. 524-41

95. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, MADRAS[1]

August 13, 1920

While discussing titles, Gandhi wished the chairman, Hakeem Abdul Aziz, would give up his.

He explained the second step in non-co-operation, i.e., resigning Government appointments.

Then he went to the third and fourth steps—withdrawal from military service and refusal to pay taxes respectively.

He said that by the time they got to the third stage they will be practically the rulers of India; but unless the title-holders give up their titles and the Honorary Magistrates give up their posts, and lawyers their practices and children are withdrawn from Government and aided institutions, councils boycotted and swadeshism practically encouraged, and the leaders go to the people like fakirs in hand-made clothes and walking bare-footed after giving up their motor cars, they cannot request Government servants and sepoys to resign their posts or the ryot to refuse to pay taxes. They should not think that if they give up their appointments they will become helpless. The Khilafat Com-

[1] At Juma Mosque, Triplicane

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mittee would come to their aid. . . . If non-co-operation is successfully worked up, it will be impossible for Government to carry on its administration.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1277

96. DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

I have no dearth of advisers. They send me letters, signed and unsigned, and some visit me to proffer their advice in person. Some write to me to say that I am a coward, afraid of the sword, and, therefore, I shall achieve nothing in this world; that it is my fear which makes me prate about non-violence without knowing what it means. Some others tell me that I have violence enough in my heart, that I approve of killing, but that I am such a "shrewd fellow" and so "cunning" that I do not let people know what I think and, though talking about non-violence, at heart want to instigate violence. Besides these, there is another class of men who think that I am not a rogue but am only waiting for my opportunity and, when it comes, I shall advise people to use the sword. These people think that the time for this is ripe and that now I should wait no longer.

Ordinarily, it should not be necessary for me to occupy myself with answering the points these advisers make. Where is the harm, or what is there to be exercised about, if some people think me cunning? What right, besides, have I to take up the time of *Navajivan*'s readers with a defence of my saintliness or a rebuttal of the charge of being "cunning"? Certainly, I ought not to enter into any discussion of this matter with a view to defending myself, but I know that, my present position being what it is, the common people are eager to know my views and I know, further, that my actions proceed from my views. I think it necessary, for the sake of these, to clarify my position and so I take the liberty to place once again before readers my views on brute force.

Sword-force is brute force. Killing people requires no intelligence. We may, indeed, by misdirecting our intelligence employ it in the service of brute force but, though aided by intelligence, brute force remains brute force and the law of the sword remains the law of the beast. In the latter, the self is in a state of nescience and can have no knowledge of itself. That is why we know the animal world as enveloped in darkness. The activities of eating, drinking, sleeping, feeling afraid, etc., are common to man and beast. But man has the power of distinguishing between

good and evil and can also know the self. One animal subdues another simply by its physical might. Its world is ruled by that law, but not so the human world. The law which is most in harmony with human nature is that of winning over others by the power of love—by soul-force. When, therefore, a man wins over an enemy through love, he simply follows the law of his nature. He has not become a god in doing so. Gods have no physical body. They behave sometimes like beasts and sometimes like men. There are white gods as also black gods. Man is, at times, seen acting like an animal. He is endowed with brute force as well, and, so long as he has not developed awareness of his spiritual nature he remains an intelligent animal. Though human in body, instead of obeying the law of his kind he follows the law of the animal. This, however, should not be regarded as his true nature. I believe, therefore, that if we wake up to the consciousness of our true nature, we would, that very moment, renounce the law of the jungle.

But the sages saw that the passions of the beast had not died out in most persons, though they possessed human bodies. They recognized, therefore, that there was scope for the use of brute force even by human beings and showed under what circumstances it could be employed.

When a man submits to another through fear, he does not follow his nature but yields to brute force. He who has no desire to dominate others by brute force will not himself submit to such force either. Recognizing, therefore, that a man who fears brute force has not attained self-knowledge at all, our Shastras allowed him the use of brute force while he remains in this state.

A Pathan made a murderous attack on me in 1908. My eldest son[1] was not present then. He possessed fairly good physical strength. I did not have the Pathan prosecuted since I held the same views then as I do now. I was educating my sons too in the ideas of forgiveness and love, and so at our very first meeting [after the assault], my son said to me: "I want to know what my duty would have been if I had been with you at the time. You have taught us that we may not strike back nor tamely submit to the other man. I understand this principle but I have not the strength to act upon it. I could not remain a silent spectator while you were being beaten to death. I would consider it my duty to protect you if you should be assaulted, but I could not do this by laying down my own life [instead of striking back]. I must,

[1] Harilal Gandhi

therefore, either protect you by attacking the man who would strike you, or be a passive witness to the attack on you, or run away." I told him: "It would be a sign of cowardice if you ran away or did nothing to protect me. If you could not protect me by taking the danger upon yourself, you should undoubtedly do so by attacking the other man. It is any day better to use brute force than to betray cowardice." I hold this view even now. It is better that India should arm itself and take the risk than that it should refuse to take up arms out of fear. It was for this reason that I had joined the Boer War and did my bit in helping the Government during the Zulu rebellion. It was for this same reason that, during the last War, I gave my help in England and in India, too. I engaged myself in recruiting work.

Forgiveness is the virtue of the brave. He alone who is strong to avenge a wrong knows how to love [and forgive]. He alone who is capable of enjoying pleasures can qualify to be a *brahmachari*[1] by restraining his desires. There is no question of the mouse forgiving the cat. It will be evidence of India's soul-force only if it refuses to fight when it has the strength to do so.

It is necessary to understand what the phrase, "strength to fight" means in this context. It does not mean only physical strength. Everyone who has courage in him can have the strength to fight, and everyone who has given up fear of death has such strength. I have seen sturdy Negroes cowering before white boys, because they were afraid of the white man's revolver. I have also seen weaklings holding out against robust persons. Thus, the day India gives up fear we shall be able to say that she has the strength to fight. It is not at all true to say that, to be able to fight, it is essential to acquire the ability to use arms; the moment, therefore, a man wakes up to the power of the soul, that very moment he comes to know the strength he has for fighting. That is why I believe that he is the true warrior who does not die killing but who has mastered the *mantra* of living by dying.

The sages who discovered the never-failing law of non-violence were themselves great warriors. When they discovered the ignoble nature of armed strength and realized the true nature of man, they discerned the law of non-violence pervading this world all full of violence. They then taught us that the *atman*[2] can

[1] One who observes *brahmacharya*. Literally, *brahmacharya* means living in the *Brahman*, the Absolute. In ordinary usage, the term has come to signify celibacy, which is considered essential for attainment of that state; *vide* also "In Confidence", 13-10-1920.

[2] The self

conquer the whole world, that the greatest danger to the *atman* comes from itself and that conquest over it brings us the strength to conquer the entire world.

But they did not think, nor have they affirmed or taught anywhere, that because they had discovered that law they alone could live according to it. On the contrary, they declared that even for a child the law is the same, and that it can act upon it too. It is not true that only sannyasis abide by it; all of us do so more or less, and a law which can be followed partially can be followed perfectly.

I have been striving to live according to this law. For many years past, I have been consciously trying to do so and have been exhorting India to do the same.

I believe myself to be an idealist and also a practical man. I do not think that a man can be said to have lived in accordance with this law only if he does so consciously and purposefully. Therefore, like a *vaid* [his medicine], I place it before all, whether or no they have faith in it. To prove that it is not necessary to have the higher knowledge to be able to recognize the importance of this law, I have joined hands with those who hold views contrary to mine. My friend Shaukat Ali seems to attach prime importance to violence, to believe that it is man's dharma to kill his enemy. Consequently, he follows the law of non-violence with hatred in his heart. He thinks non-co-operation is a weapon of the weak, and, therefore, inferior to resistance by force. Even so, he has joined me because he has seen that, except non-co-operation, there is no other effective method of upholding the honour of his faith.

I appeal even to those who have no faith in me to follow my friend Shaukat Ali. They need not believe in the purity of my motives, but must clearly recognize that there can be no violence simultaneously with non-co-operation. The greatest obstacle to the launching of all-out non-co-operation is the fear of violence breaking out. Those who are ready with arms or are eager to be so should also put them by while non-co-operation is going on.

To me, on the day when brute force gains ascendancy in India, all distinctions of East and West, of ancient and modern, will have disappeared. That day will be the day of my test. I take pride in looking upon India as my country because I believe that she has it in her to demonstrate to the world the supremacy of soul-force. When India accepts the supremacy of brute force, I should no longer be happy to call her my motherland. It is my belief that my dharma recognizes no limits of spheres of

duty or of geographical boundaries. I pray to God that I may then be able to prove that my dharma takes no thought of my person or is not restricted to a particular field.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-8-1920

97. COURTS AND SCHOOLS

The Khilafat Non-co-operation Committee has, under my advice, called upon lawyers to give up practice, parents to withdraw their children from schools and college students to leave their colleges. I know that some people will think me mad for giving such advice. It is possible, though, that my work in South Africa and elsewhere is saving me from public ridicule. Nevertheless, I see wisdom in my madness. I seriously believe that at present it is the duty of lawyers to give up practice and of the people to withdraw their wards from Government schools. If lawyers leave courts and Government colleges and schools are abandoned, the effect will be very powerful.

Let us first consider the case of lawyers. The power of a government depends on its courts. Through courts it punishes the guilty and it is through them that civil disputes are settled and in this way the Government acquires control over the people. Since the courts cannot run without lawyers, the latter, too, are deemed officials of the courts. When the Government rules justly, the courts and lawyers are perhaps of some service but, when the Government resorts to injustice, helping its courts to run is to further the injustice. It is almost impossible to run courts without the co-operation of lawyers. When I call upon the lawyers to give up practice, my intention is not that they should sit idle at home; it is rather that they should start working whole time for the cause of the Khilafat or the Punjab, and also that they influence their clients and prevail upon them not to go to the courts. These lawyers should set up *panchas*[1] and help their clients to settle their disputes among themselves. In this way, the courts will be left without work and the people will learn to become independent of the State.

Some argue that the Government will be only too pleased if the lawyers give up practice. This is a delusion. It is true that generally lawyers are found to be most severe critics of the

[1] Literally, "the five"; here a board of arbitrators

Government but, when there is a movement for bringing the machinery of Government to a halt, the Government seeks the help of lawyers and the latter, believing that their livelihood depends on that machinery, go to the help of the Government. At such times, therefore, the lawyers too are put to a test.

Some people raise the question what the lawyers would do for their livelihood if they gave up practice. One reply is that no such question can arise for eminent lawyers. For small lawyers, the Khilafat Committee can afford to pay them enough for a living and engage their full-time services for the Khilafat movement, or appoint them to plead before *panchas* set up by the people and pay them. Moreover, lawyers are not the people to sit idle after giving up practice. They are, ought to be, capable of earning their livelihood honestly in some other way. During the last War, many lawyers in England gave up practice and joined the army.

Finally, the suggestion is not that the lawyers should surrender their registration but only stop practising for the duration of the movement.

The late Shri Gokhale used to say that the work of fighting an intelligent, determined and united bureaucracy, that is political work, is ill-done because it is taken up as spare-time hobby by the people. The way out of this evil, too, is for lawyers to stop practice and take up public work as their main work rather than as a hobby. They certainly cannot attend to public work in this way unless they give up practice. If the lawyers themselves are not prepared to make sacrifices, how can they ask the people to do so? It is no easy thing to secure justice on the Khilafat and the Punjab issues. Thus, from every point of view, lawyers who really feel concerned about the Khilafat or the Punjab cannot continue to practise.

Let us now turn to schools and colleges.

The Government uses our schools and colleges to produce servants. If we stop this important help to the Government, it will have no negligible effect. So long as we believe that the Government is a beneficent one, we need have no shame in helping its schools and preparing qualified men for Government service. When, however, the Government has set itself against the people, to let the schools remain under its control is to tighten its stranglehold.

Even if we consider schools to be a favour granted by the Government, we may not accept even a favour from an unjust Government.

There is no reason to fear that, as a result of the closing down of schools, our children will have to go without education. If a school closes down completely, it can then be run by the people. If people lack even this capacity, it will only mean that they do not have the strength to fight the Government. If all or most parents withdraw their children, the teachers will resign of their own accord and, in that case, we shall be able to run the schools with the help of the very same teachers. If the expenditure is somewhat in excess of the fees [collected], the local Committee should find the balance. Parents should bear this increased burden.

Moreover, what is the harm if education is interrupted for some time? I rather maintain that, far from their education being interrupted, it is real education for children to be withdrawn from schools and for college students to leave their colleges. When we withdraw our children from schools or, being grown up, they leave schools and colleges on their own, for the sake of dharma or justice, the understanding of these which they acquire is no mean education. I would myself look upon that as the right education. It will be a further advantage, besides, that the pupils who have thus left schools and colleges may enrol as volunteers.

Our Muslim brethren say that they have been deeply hurt over the Khilafat issue. This is really a matter of religious sentiment. This question of [leaving] schools and colleges will test the religious sentiment of Muslim parents and the Hindus' brotherly feelings for Muslims. The test, though easy to pass, will have a powerful effect. If millions of pupils leave schools and colleges, what conclusion will the Government draw? What a fine means for measuring public feeling will this provide? And what degree of popular awakening does it betoken that the people should take their education in their own hands in order to protect themselves?

During the last War, a number of schools had closed down in England. During the Boer War, all Boer schools were closed down.

For these reasons, I believe that it is the duty of Hindus and Muslims to withdraw their children from every Government school and of college students to leave their colleges. What needs to be done is worth doing even if there is only one person to do it. A good deed done by one person will bear fruit for that person at any rate. If all the people do it, all will reap the fruit.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-8-1920

98. *FORTHCOMING GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE*

It is a momentous Conference which will be meeting at the end of this month. It will decide on the great question of non-co-operation. The aim behind calling the Conference hurriedly is to educate public opinion and place Gujarat's view before the Congress session. Non-co-operation with a mighty empire requires great firmness, courage, sagacity, capacity for self-sacrifice, unity, discipline, etc. The present policy of the British Government is so wicked that to me it becomes clearer every moment that it is a sin to co-operate with it so long as that policy continues. It is no easy thing, however, to get it changed. Non-co-operation, therefore, is not likely to be an easy affair. Hence I do not wish to secure Gujarat's vote in favour of non-co-operation anyhow, keeping people in the dark, but I want that the delegates should weigh the pros and cons carefully and give their considered opinion.

I hope that those who are opposed to non-co-operation will attend it in full strength and argue their case with firmness. I also take it, likewise, that the supporters of non-co-operation will come well-prepared. It is the duty of both sides to see that the audience listens to the arguments of either with courtesy and restraint and without making any noise. This is an essential condition if we are to obtain a clear verdict at such conferences. The irresponsible behaviour, bad manners and rowdyism in the House of Commons need not be copied by us. To go to a conference with settled views and get excited at the arguments of the opposite side is certainly not the way to arrive at a well-considered decision. It will, therefore, be profitable and facilitate the proceedings of the Conference if the organizers issue circulars for this purpose and make the necessary suggestions to the delegates in advance.

If it is necessary that order be maintained, it is likewise the people's duty to elect intelligent delegates. It is desirable that they attend the Conference in sufficient strength.

It is necessary that the Conference should be attended by delegates representing all occupations and all classes of society. It will be more in keeping with the dignity of the country if the distinction between the educated and the uneducated is replaced by other suitable distinctions such as those based on occupations, etc. We do not find in the world that the educated have a monopoly of intelligence and wisdom. An illiterate farmer can represent the difficulties of the agricultural classes much better than an Indian

learned but without experience in that particular field. I wish, therefore, to see an ever-increasing number of delegates from among farmers, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoe-makers and other such groups. I, for one, think that no substantial progress in the country is possible so long as patriotic farmers do not attend our political and social conferences in numbers proportionate to their numerical strength. The understanding of farmers' conditions which, through direct experience, I acquired in a few months in Champaran[1] and Kheda[2] cannot be had from any number of books.

If, again, we really welcome the presence of delegates from among farmers and others, chairs and other ostentations have no place in our conferences. In our climate, chairs, curtains, etc., are so much of a nuisance. I am quite sure that we can go through the business of the Conference far more efficiently and at much less expense with carpets spread on clean ground. I believe that, as long as three crores of men in India starve for want of food and a larger number than that have little to cover their bodies with, as long as a frightful number of living human beings in Orissa look like mere skeletons, with ribs sticking out, when there is no compelling reason why this should be so, we have no right to erect gaudy *pandals* and be comfortable in chairs. Our people do not usually sit in chairs. I would, therefore, request the organizers to provide only as many chairs, if any, as are absolutely necessary and to make seating arrangements on the ground for all others. This will save public money and accommodate a large number in a small space. I have just returned from the Khilafat Conference held at Hyderabad. Thousands of Muslims, including *Pirs*, lawyers and barristers, landlords and others simply squatted on the ground and presented a very impressive scene. Temporary clay platforms were improvised and the leaders and dignitaries sat cross-legged on them. The chairman, too, sat on a similar platform. It was made with rough poles and these were sufficiently long. The chairman sat towards the back, and therefore, remained in full view of the audience. The speakers delivered their speeches, standing on one side of the dais. This *pandal* accommodating thousands of men had been erected in one day.

Volunteers should be trained beforehand in organizing things well so that there may be no noise or crowding anywhere in the

[1] During 1917
[2] During 1918

Conference. Order can be maintained if all of them do not crowd together and keep standing at one place but keep to their appointed spots. They ought to be taught signalling with flags and fingers to communicate with one another from a distance when they cannot make themselves heard.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 15-8-1920

99. SPEECH ON RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF LABOUR, MADRAS[1]

August 15, 1920

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I hope that you will excuse me for not standing whilst speaking. Though my voice has become stronger than it was over a year ago, my body has not become as strong as I should like to be so as to enable me to stand up and speak. It gives me very great pleasure to renew your acquaintance a second time. I think I told you last year, when I had the privilege of addressing some of you that I considered myself a fellow-labourer with you. Perhaps you are labourers not by choice, but somewhat by compulsion. But I entertain such high regard for labour. I entertain such great respect for the dignity of labour that I have thrown in my lot with the labourers. And for many many years now, I have lived in their midst like them labouring with my hands and with my feet. I believe that it is the lot of life for every sentient being that before he or she eats, he or she must use hands and feet. In labouring therefore with your bodies you are simply following the law of your being and there is not the slightest reason for you to feel dissatisfied with your lot. On the contrary I would ask to regard yourselves as trustees for the nation for which you are labouring. A nation may do without its millionaires, without its capitalists, but a nation can never do without its labour. There is one fundamental distinction between your labour and my labour. You are labouring for someone else. In a natural state perhaps we would expect everyone to be his own master, viz, to be his own labourer. You are not your own labourer. I consider that I am labouring for myself, i.e., I am my own master. In a natural state, we should all find ourselves our own masters. But such a state of things, cannot

[1] At a meeting at Madras Beach under the auspices of the Central Labour Board, B. P. Wadia presiding

be reached in a day. It therefore becomes a very serious question for you to consider how you are to conduct yourselves as labourers serving for others. Just as there is no shame in being a labourer, so also there is no shame in labouring for others. It becomes necessary to find the true relation between master and servant. What are your duties? What are your responsibilities? And what are your rights? It is simple enough to understand that your right is to receive the hire for your labour and it is equally simple to know that your duty is to work to the best of your ability for the wages you receive. And it is my universal experience that as a rule labour discharges its obligations more effectively and more conscientiously. The masters have corresponding duties towards the labourers. It therefore becomes necessary for labour to find out how far labour can impose its will upon the masters. If we find that we are not adequately paid, or adequately housed, how are we to claim and receive enough wages and good accommodation? Who is to determine the standard of wages and the standard of comfort required by the labourers? The best way, no doubt, is that you labourers understand your own rights, understand the method of enforcing those rights and enforce them. For that you require a little previous training and education. You have been brought to a central point from various parts of the country, and find yourselves duly congregated together and it was in the stress of circumstances perhaps you did not earn enough on your fields, or in your previous occupation, that you found yourselves in the hands of a particular master. But later you find that you are not getting enough and that you are not properly housed. But you do not know how to go about your work. I therefore venture to suggest to Mr. Wadia and those who are leading you and advising you that their first business is to guide you, not by giving you a knowledge of letters, but a knowledge of human affairs and human relations. I make this suggestion respectfully and in all humility, because my survey of labour in India, in so far as I have been able to undertake it, and my long experience of conditions of labour in South Africa led me to the conclusion that in a large majority of cases, leaders consider that they have to give labour a knowledge of the three R's. That undoubtedly is a necessity of the case. But it is to be preceded by a proper knowledge of your own rights and a way of enforcing them. In conducting many a strike I have found that it is possible to give this fundamental education to the labourers within a day. That brings me to the subject of strikes.

Strikes are in the air today throughout the world. On the slightest pretext, the labourer goes in for strikes. My own experience

of the last six months is that many strikes have done harm to labour rather than good. I have studied in so far as I could the strike in Bombay, the strike at the Tata Iron Works, the strike in Gorakhpur twice, and the celebrated strike of the Railway labourers in the Punjab. In all these four strikes I was more or less in connection with the labourers and what I am about to tell is derived from the labourers themselves. There was partial failure in all these strikes. Labour was not able to make good its points to the fullest extent. What was the reason? Labour was badly led. I want you to distinguish between two classes of leaders, you have leaders derived from yourselves and they are in their turn advised and led by those who are not themselves labourers, but who are in sympathy or expected to be in sympathy with labour. You do not require me to tell you that unless there is correspondence between yourselves, your own leaders, and those who are above you, unless there is perfect correspondence between these three there is bound to be failure. Now in all these four strikes, that perfect correspondence was lacking. There is another substantial reason which I discovered. The labourers looked at pecuniary support from their unions for the maintenance. No labour can prolong a strike indefinitely so long as labour depends upon the resources of its union. No strike can absolutely succeed which cannot be indefinitely prolonged. In all the strikes that I have ever conducted, I have laid down one indispensable rule, that labourers must find their own support. Therein lies the secret of success. And therein consists your education. You should be able to perceive that if you are able to serve one master and command a particular wage your labour must be worth and must be fit to receive that wage anywhere else. Strikers therefore cannot be expected to be idlers and to succeed. Your demands must be just and there should be no pressure exerted upon those whom you call blacklegs, any force of this kind exerted against your own fellow-labourers is bound to react upon yourselves. I think your advisers will tell you that these three conditions being fulfilled no strike need ever fail. That at once demonstrates to you the necessity of thinking a hundred times, before undertaking a strike. So much for your rights and the method of enforcing it.

But as labour becomes organized, strikes must become few and far between and as your mental development progresses further you will find immediately that the principle of arbitration replaces the principle of strikes. Time has now arrived when we should reach this stage. I will not detain you on this point any further.

I would now venture to say a few words in connection with your national responsibilities. Just as you have to understand obligations amongst yourselves with reference to your own masters, so also it is necessary to understand your obligations to the nation to which you belong. Then your primary education is complete. If you sufficiently realize the dignity of labour, you will realize that you have a duty to discharge by your country. You must therefore find out the affairs of our country in the best manner you can. You must find it out without having to wade through a cartful of books, who are your governors, what are your duties in relation to them, what they can do to you and what you can do to them. I do not propose to go into the existing conditions. I have not come here to give you a long address. It is impossible for me to interest you in the intricate questions that are now agitating the country. It is enough for me to tell you that it is your bounden duty to understand your responsibilities and your duties as citizens of this great land. In my humble opinion it is not possible for you to live up to your religion fully until you undertake to understand these things. My task this evening is finished, if I have stimulated your desire after a knowledge of the affairs of your country and I hope that you will not rest content until you have found out through your advisers and leaders—the principal affairs of this country. I thank the controllers of labour here for extending this invitation to me and I thank you all for having come and given me patient hearing. I wish to give you my assurance that whenever you find that, you need any advice from me, it is yours. It therefore grieves me very much that when you invited me at one time to come to Madras, I was unable, because I was preoccupied, to respond to your invitation to come to Madras. But you will accept my assurance that it was not due to want of will, it was due to want of ability. I wish you all the prosperity that you may deserve and I hope that you will discharge yourselves as good citizens of this country.

The Hindu, 16-8-1920; also *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* (3rd ed.), pp. 784-8

100. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, KUMBAKONAM

August 16, 1920

Messrs Gandhi and Shaukat Ali spoke in English and Urdu respectively, their speeches being rendered into Tamil sentence by sentence. Acknowledging address of welcome presented at Kumbakonam and addressing a huge mass meeting, Mahatma Gandhi while regretting his insufficient knowledge of Tamil exhorted the people to learn the national lingua franca, Hindi or Urdu, as an essential condition of national progress and wished some of the addresses had been presented in Tamil instead of English. He next asked the country to remember that the Khilafat cause cannot thrive without large funds and though money in itself was neither of high importance nor of as much consequence as self-sacrifice, appealed to people to contribute their mite to the Khilafat Fund, especially those who could not actively take part in non-co-operation. He emphasized the time for speeches and mere deliberations or demonstrations had gone and the time had now come for organized, continuous and sustained work. Action must be the watchword of the people. It had become the imperative duty of the people, obligatory on everyone of them to withdraw co-operation from the wicked, immoral and unjust Government, as Khilafat and the Punjab questions had proved the present Government to be. If the Turkish Terms really affronted Islam it was a religious duty of Muslims to take up non-co-operation in all its stages. Hindus considered Muslims to be their brethren as sons of Mother India and they wish to be true to their religion and preserve their self-respect and honour. They must also resort to non-violent non-co-operation as laid down by him. Ordinary methods of agitating as memorializing, etc., have failed. The principle of non-co-operation was the only course open to them and whosoever approved of it in principle must also recognize that surrender of titles, boycott of councils, withdrawal of boys from schools, suspension of practice by lawyers, boycott of proposed visit of Prince of Wales and vigorous prosecution of swadeshi, were the chief essentials of any effective programme of non-co-operation. All Government-managed, aided or recognized educational institutions must be emptied as they were mainly manufacturing clerks and servants for the Government. As regards councils the policy of co-operating to the extent of securing seats in councils, with a view to obstruct Government might be half non-co-operation but not a full one. In the present situation where they wanted to offer non-co-operation to an insolent and strong Government which was able to protect itself well against popular will and persist in its unjust policy, no half measures will suffice. Candidates must refuse to stand for election and constituencies to send any representatives. Mr. Gandhi next explained why lawyers must suspend their

practice and the Prince's visit must be boycotted and said several steps which he had enumerated and which formed the first stage in Central Khilafat Committee's non-co-operation programme were so arranged as to enable men in higher rungs of society to lead in the matter by practising self-sacrifice on their own part. The last stage would give opportunity to the masses for practice of non-co-operation. Holders of titles must unhesitatingly renounce them now that they have become badges of dishonour. Concluding with impassioned appeal to the audience Mr. Gandhi said the Jain Sabha in their welcome address have wrongly described him as a Jain. He was a Vaishnavite and Prahlad who non-co-operated with his own father was the prince of non-co-operators showing by his conduct the paramount duty of man if he believed God to be greater than all men to non-co-operate with even one's own father. All Vaishnavites cannot at this critical juncture fail to non-co-operate without failing to act up to their religion. As Thoreau has said, loss of liberty, wealth and intense suffering were the only course of honourable conduct under unjust government. Mr. Shaukat Ali was whole-heartedly co-operating with him in non-violent non-co-operation because he thought India was weak to offer armed resistance but it was his (Mr. Gandhi's) firm conviction that it required greater strength to offer non-violent resistance as the proposed non-co-operation.

Mr. Shaukat Ali next addressing the meeting . . . appealed for Hindus' support and pointed to the Muslim choice of Gandhiji as their leader as the greatest triumph of Hindu-Muslim unity. For Muslims, if it was good to kill in the cause of Islam, it was equally good to be killed and to invite self-suffering.

The Hindu, 18-8-1920

101. SPEECH AT NAGORE

August 16, 1920

At the mass meeting at Nagore the special feature was the very large number of Muslim ladies. Mr. Shaukat Ali said he took courage from their presence . . .

Mr. Gandhi said the presence of so many Muslim ladies was a sign of the intensity of Muslim feeling on the Khilafat question and it showed how the movement had appealed to the core of their heart. He emphasized the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity and in his opinion it was of more vital importance than the British connection.

The Hindu, 18-8-1920

102. SPEECH AT TRICHINOPOLY

August 17, 1920[1]

I thank you on behalf of my brother Shaukat Ali and myself for the magnificent reception that the citizens of Trichinopoly have given to us. I thank you also for the many addresses that you have been good enough to present to us, but I must come to business.

It is a great pleasure to me to renew your acquaintance for reasons that I need not give you. I expect great things from Trichinopoly, Madura and [a] few places I could name. I take it that you have read my address on the Madras Beach on non-co-operation. Without taking up your time in this great assembly, I wish to deal with one or two matters that arise out of Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar's[2] speech. He says in effect that I should have waited for the Congress mandate on non-co-operation. That was impossible, because the Mussulmans had and still have a duty, irrespective of the Hindus, to perform in reference to their own religion. It was impossible for them to wait for any mandate, says the mandate of their own religion, in a matter that vitally concerned the honour of Islam. It is therefore possible for them only to go to the Congress on bended knees with a clear-cut programme of their own and ask the Congress to pronounce its blessing upon that programme and if they are not so fortunate as to secure the blessings of the national assembly, without meaning any disrespect to that assembly, it is their bounden duty to go on with their programme, and so it is the duty of every Hindu, who considers his Mussulman brother as a brother who has a just cause which he wishes to vindicate, to throw in his lot with his Mussulman brother. Our leader does not quarrel with the principle of non-co-operation by itself, but he objects to the three principal details of non-co-operation.

He considers that it is our duty to seek election to the councils and fight our battle on the floor of the council hall. I do not deny the possibility of a fight and a royal fight on the council floor. We have done it for the last 35 years, but I venture to suggest to you

[1] The source has August 18 but Gandhiji visited Trichinopoly the previous day; *vide* "Madras Tour", 29-8-1920.

[2] Editor, *The Hindu*, Madras

and to him, with all due respect, that it is not non-co-operation and it is not half as successful as non-co-operation can be. You cannot go to a class of people with a view to convince them by any fight—call it even obstruction—who have got a settled conviction and a settled policy to follow. It is in medical language an incompatible mixture out of which you can gain nothing, but if you totally boycott the council, you create a public opinion in the country with reference to the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong, which feeling will become totally irresistible. The first advantage of going to the councils must be goodwill on the part of the rulers. It is absolutely lacking. In the place of goodwill, you have got nothing but injustice, but I must move on.

I come now to the second objection of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar with reference to the suspension by lawyers of their practice. Milk is good in itself, but it becomes absolutely poisonous immediately a little bit of arsenic is added to it. Law-courts are similarly good when justice is distilled through them on behalf of a sovereign power, which wants to do justice to its people. Law-courts are one of the greatest symbols of power and in the battle of non-co-operation, you may not leave law-courts untouched and claim to offer non-co-operation, but if you will read that objection carefully, you will find in that objection the great fear that the lawyers will not respond to the call that the country makes upon them, and it is just there that the beauty of non-co-operation comes in. If one lawyer alone suspends practice, it is so much to the good of the country and so if we are sure to deprive the Government of the power that it possesses through its law-courts, whether one lawyer takes it up or many, we must adopt that step.

He objects also to the plan of boycotting Government schools. I can only say what I have said with reference to lawyers that if we mean non-co-operation, we may not receive any favours from the Government, no matter how advantageous by themselves they may be. In a great struggle like this, it is not open to us to count how many schools will respond and how many parents will respond and just as a geometrical problem is difficult, because it does not admit of easy proof, so also because a certain stage in national evolution is difficult, you may not avoid that step without making the whole of that evolution a farce.

At this stage there was some disturbance in one part of the assembly and after a few minutes pause the Mahatma continued.

We have had a great lesson in non-co-operation and co-operation. (Laughter.) We had a lesson in non-co-operation when

some young men began to fight there, and it is a dangerous weapon. I have not the slightest doubt about it. One man with a determined will to non-co-operate can disturb a whole meeting (Laughter.) and we had a physical demonstration of it to-night (Renewed laughter.) but ours is non-violent non-co-operation in which there can be no mistake whatsoever if the fundamental conditions are observed. If non-co-operation fails, it will not be for want of any inherent strength in it, but it will fail because there is no response to it, or because people have not sufficiently grasped its simple principles. You had also a practical demonstration of co-operation just now. (Laughter.) That heavy chair went over the heads of so many people, because all wanted to lift their little hand to move that chair away from them and so was that heavier dome also removed from our sight by the co-operation of man, woman and child. Everybody believes and knows that this Government of ours exists only by the co-operation of the people and not by the force of arms it can wield ("Hear, hear!") and every man with a sense of logic will tell you that the converse of that also is equally true (Laughter.) that Government cannot stand if this co-operation on which it exists is withdrawn. Difficulties undoubtedly there are, we have hitherto learned how to sacrifice our voice and make speeches. We must also learn to sacrifice ease, money, comfort and that we may learn from the Englishmen themselves. Everyone who has studied English history knows that we are now engaged in a battle with a nation which is capable of great sacrifice and the three hundred millions of India cannot make their mark upon the world, or gain their self-respect without any adequate measure of sacrifice.

Our friend has suggested the boycott of British or foreign goods. Boycott of all foreign goods is another name for swadeshi. He thinks that there will be a greater response in the boycott of all foreign goods. With the experience of years behind me and with an intimate knowledge of the mercantile classes, I venture to tell you that boycott of foreign goods, or boycott of merely British goods is more impracticable than any of the steps I have suggested, whereas in all the steps that I have ventured to suggest there is practically no sacrifice of money involved. In the boycott of British or foreign goods you are inviting your merchant princes to sacrifice their millions. It has got to be done, but it is an exceedingly slow process. The same may be said of the steps that I have ventured to suggest, I know, but boycott of goods is conceived as a punishment and a punishment is only effective when it is inflicted. What I have ventured to suggest is not a punish-

ment, but the performance of a sacred duty, a measure of self-denial from ourselves, and therefore it is effective from its very inception when it is undertaken even by one man and a substantial duty performed even by one single man lays the foundation of a nation's liberty.

I am most anxious for my nation, for my Mussulman brethren also to understand that if they want to vindicate national honour, or the honour of Islam, it will be vindicated without a shadow of doubt, not by conceiving a punishment or a series of punishments, but by an adequate measure of self-sacrifice. I wish to speak of all our leaders in terms of the greatest respect, but whatever respect we wish to pay to them may not stop or arrest the progress of the country, and I am most anxious that the country at this very critical period of its history should make its choice. The choice clearly does not lie before you and me in wresting by force of arms the sceptre from the British nation, but the choice lies in suffering this double wrong of the Khilafat and the Punjab, in pocketing humiliation and in accepting national emasculation or vindication of India's honour by sacrifice today by every man, woman and child and those who feel convinced that this is the only choice left open to us may not wait for the verdict of the Congress, or for any other verdict save the verdict of their own conscience. You and I may not wait till the nation itself has made the choice, but if we are convinced of the rightness of things, we should make that choice to-night. So, citizens of Trichinopoly, you may not wait for the whole of India but you can enforce the first step of non-co-operation and begin your operations even from tomorrow, if you have not done so already. You can surrender all your titles tomorrow; (Cheers.) all the lawyers may surrender their practice tomorrow; those who cannot sustain body and soul by any other means can be easily supported by the Khilafat Committee, if they will give their whole time and attention to the work of that Committee, and if the lawyers will kindly do that, you will find that there is no difficulty in settling your disputes by private arbitration. You can nationalize your schools from tomorrow if you have got the will and the determination. It is difficult, I know, when only a few of you think these things. It is as easy as we are sitting here when the whole of this vast audience is of one mind and as it was easy for you to carry that chair, so is it easy for you to enforce this programme from tomorrow if you have one will, one determination and love for your country, love for the honour of your country and religion. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The Hindu, 19-8-1920

103. MORE OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

Swadeshamitran is one of the most influential Tamil dailies of Madras. It is widely read. Everything appearing in its columns is entitled to respect. The editor has suggested some practical difficulties in the way of non-co-operation. I would therefore like, to the best of my ability, to deal with them.

I do not know where the information has been derived from that I have given up the last two stages of non-co-operation. What I have said is that they are a distant goal. I abide by it. I admit that all the stages are fraught with some danger, but the last two are fraught with the greatest—the last most of all. The stages have been fixed with a view to running the least possible risk. The last two stages will not be taken up unless the Committee has attained sufficient control over the people to warrant the beliefs that the laying down of arms or suspension of taxes will, humanly speaking, be free from an outbreak of violence on the part of the people. I do entertain the belief that it is possible for the people to attain the discipline necessary for taking the two steps. When once they realize that violence is totally unnecessary to bend an unwilling Government to their will and that the results can be obtained with certainty by dignified non-co-operation, they will cease to think of violence even by way of retaliation. The fact is that hitherto we have not attempted to take concerted and disciplined action from the masses. Some day, if we are to become truly a self-governing nation, that attempt has to be made. The present, in my opinion, is a propitious movement. Every Indian feels the insult to the Punjab as a personal wrong, every Mussulman resents the wrong done to the Khilafat. There is therefore a favourable atmosphere for expecting cohesive and restrained movement on the part of the masses.

So far as response is concerned, I agree with the editor that the quickest and the largest response is to be expected in the matter of suspension of payment of taxes, but as I have said, so long as the masses are not educated to appreciate the value of non-violence even whilst their holdings are being sold, so long must it be difficult to take up the last stage into any appreciable extent.

I agree too that a sudden withdrawal of the military and the police will be a disaster if we have not acquired the ability to protect ourselves against robbers and thieves. But I suggest that

when we are ready to call out the military and the police on an extensive scale, we would find ourselves in a position to defend ourselves. If the police and the military resign from patriotic motives, I would certainly expect them to perform the same duty as national volunteers, not as hirelings but as willing protectors of the life and liberty of their countrymen. The movement of non-co-operation is one of automatic adjustment. If the Government schools are emptied, I would certainly expect national schools to come into being. If the lawyers as a whole suspended practice, they would devise arbitration courts and the nation will have expeditious and cheaper method of settling private disputes and awarding punishment to the wrongdoer. I may add that the Khilafat Committee is fully alive to the difficulty of the task and is taking all the necessary steps to meet the contingencies as they arise.

Regarding the leaving of civil employment, no danger is feared, because no one will leave his employment, unless he is in a position to find support for himself and family either through friends or otherwise.

Disapproval of the proposed withdrawal of students betrays, in my humble opinion, lack of appreciation of the true nature of non-co-operation. It is true enough that we pay the money wherewith our children are educated. But when the agency imparting the education has become corrupt, we may not employ it without partaking of the agent's corruption. When students leave schools or colleges I hardly imagine that the teachers will fail to perceive the advisability of themselves resigning. But even if they do not, money can hardly be allowed to count where honour or religion are at stake.

As to the boycott of the councils, it is not the entry of the Moderates or any other persons that matters so much as the entry of those who believe in non-co-operation. You may not co-operate at the top and non-co-operate at the bottom. A councillor cannot remain in the council and ask the *gumasta* who cleans the council table to resign.

Young India, 18-8-1920

104. SWADESHI

In criticizing my article entitled "The Music of the Spinning-Wheel"[1], the *Leader* the other day attributed to me the ideas that I have never entertained. And it is necessary for the purpose of understanding the true value of swadeshi, to correct some of the current fallacies. The *Leader* considers that I am putting back the hands of the clock of progress by attempting to replace mill-made cloth and mill-spun yarn by hand-woven and hand-spun yarn. Now, I am making no such attempt at all. I have no quarrel with the mills. My views are incredibly simple. India requires nearly 13 yards of cloth per head per year. She produces, I believe, less than half the amount. India grows all the cotton she needs. She exports several million bales of cotton to Japan and Lancashire and receives much of it back in manufactured calico although she is capable of producing all the cloth and all the yarn necessary for supplying her wants by hand-weaving and hand-spinning. India needs to supplement her main occupation, agriculture, with some other employment. Hand-spinning is the only such employment for millions. It was the national employment a century ago. It is not true to say that economic pressure and modern machinery destroyed hand-spinning and hand-weaving. This great industry was destroyed or almost destroyed by extraordinary and immoral means adopted by the East India Company. This national industry is capable of being revived by exertion and a change in the national taste without damaging the mill industry. Increase of mills is no present remedy for supplying the deficiency. The deficiency can be easily supplied only by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. If this employment were revived, it would prevent sixty million rupees from being annually drained from the country and distribute the amount among lakhs of poor women in their own cottages. I therefore consider swadeshi as an automatic, though partial, solution of the problem of India's grinding poverty. It also constitutes a ready-made insurance policy in times of scarcity of rain.

But two things are needful to bring about the needed revival—to create a taste for khaddar and to provide an organization for the distribution of carded cotton and collection of yarn against payment.

[1] Of July 21, 1920

In one year, by the silent labour of a few men, several thousand rupees have been distributed in Gujarat among several thousand poor women who are glad enough to earn a few pice per day to buy milk for their children, etc.

The argument does not apply to the sugar industry as the *Leader* has attempted. There is not sufficient cane grown in India to supply India's wants. Sugar was never a national and supplementary industry. Foreign sugar has not supplanted Indian sugar. India's wants of sugar have grown and she therefore imports more sugar. But this importation does not institute a drain in the sense in which importation of foreign cloth does. Production of more sugar means more scientific agriculture, more and better machinery for crushing and refining. The sugar industry therefore stands on a different platform. Swadeshi in sugar is desirable, swadeshi in cloth is an urgent necessity.

Young India, 18-8-1920

105. SPEECH AT CALICUT

August 18, 1920

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

On behalf of my brother Shaukat Ali and myself I wish to thank you most sincerely for the warm welcome you have extended to us. Before I begin to explain the purpose of our mission I have to give you the information that Pir Mahboob Shah who was being tried in Sind for sedition has been sentenced to two years' simple imprisonment. I do not know exactly what the offence was with which the Pir was charged. I do not know whether the words attributed to him were ever spoken by him. But I do know that the Pir Saheb declined to offer any defence and with perfect resignation he has accepted his penalty. For me it is a matter of sincere pleasure that the Pir Saheb who exercises great influence over his followers has understood the spirit of the struggle upon which we have embarked. It is not by resisting the authority of Government that we expect to succeed in the great task before us. But I do expect that we shall succeed if we understand the spirit of non-co-operation. The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma himself has told us that the British retain their hold on India not by the force of arms but by the force of co-operation of the people. Thus he has given us the remedy for any wrong that the Government may do to the people, whether knowingly or

unknowingly. And so long as we co-operate with the Government, so long as we support that Government we become to that extent sharers in the wrong. I admit that in ordinary circumstances a wise subject will tolerate the wrongs of a Government, but a wise subject never tolerates a wrong that a Government imposes on the declared will of a people. And I venture to submit to this great meeting that the Government of India and the Imperial Government have done a double wrong to India, and if we are a nation of self-respecting people conscious of its dignity, conscious of its right, it is not just and proper that we should stand the double humiliation that the Government has heaped upon us. By shaping and by becoming a predominant partner in the Peace Terms imposed on the helpless Sultan of Turkey, the Imperial Government have intentionally flouted the cherished sentiment of the Mussulman subjects of the Empire. The present Prime Minister gave a deliberate pledge after consultation with his colleagues when it was necessary for him to conciliate the Mussulmans of India. I claim to have studied this Khilafat question in a special manner. I claim to understand the Mussulman feeling on the Khilafat question and I am here to declare for the tenth time that on the Khilafat matter the Government has wounded the Mussulman sentiment as they had never done before. And I say without fear of contradiction that if the Mussulmans of India had not exercised great self-restraint and if there was not the gospel of non-co-operation preached to them and if they had not accepted it, there would have been bloodshed in India by this time. I am free to confess that spilling of blood would not have availed their cause. But a man who is in a state of rage whose heart has become lacerated does not count the cost of his action. So much for the Khilafat wrong.

I propose to take you for a minute to the Punjab, the northern end of India. And what have both Governments done for the Punjab? I am free to confess again that the crowds in Amritsar went mad for a moment. They were goaded to madness by a wicked administration. But no madness on the part of a people can justify the shedding of innocent blood, and what have they paid for it? I venture to submit that no civilized Government could ever have made the people pay the penalty and retribution that they have paid. Innocent men were tried through mock-tribunals and imprisoned for life. Amnesty granted to them after; I count of no consequence. Innocent, unarmed men, who knew nothing of what was to happen, were butchered in cold blood without the slightest notice. Modesty of women in Manianwala,

women who had done no wrong to any individual, was outraged by insolent officers. I want you to understand what I mean by outrage of their modesty. Their veils were opened with his stick by an officer. Men who were declared to be utterly innocent by the Hunter Committee were made to crawl on their bellies. And all these wrongs totally undeserved remain unavenged. If it was the duty of the Government of India to punish those who were guilty of incendiarism and murder, as I hold it was their duty, it was doubly their duty to punish officers who insulted and oppressed innocent people. But in the face of these official wrongs we have the debate in the House of Lords supporting official terrorism. It is this double wrong, the affront to Islam and the injury to the manhood of the Punjab, that we feel bound to wipe out by non-co-operation. We have prayed, petitioned, agitated, we have passed resolutions. Mr. Mahomed Ali supported by his friends is now waiting on the British public. He has pleaded the cause of Islam in a most manful manner, but his pleading has fallen on deaf ears and we have his word for it that whilst France and Italy have shown great sympathy for the cause of Islam, it is the British ministers who have shown no sympathy. This shows which way the British ministers and the present holders of office in India mean to deal by the people. There is no goodwill, there is no desire to placate the people of India. The people of India must therefore have a remedy to redress the double wrong. The method of the West is violence. Wherever the people of the West have felt a wrong either justly or unjustly, they have rebelled and shed blood. As I have said in my letter to the Viceroy of India, half of India does not believe in the remedy of violence. The other half is too weak to offer it. But the whole of India is deeply hurt and stirred by this wrong, and it is for that reason that I have suggested to the people of India the remedy of non-co-operation, I consider it perfectly harmless, absolutely constitutional and yet perfectly efficacious. It is a remedy in which, if it is properly adopted, victory is certain, and it is the age-old remedy of self-sacrifice. Are the Mussulmans of India who feel the great wrong done to Islam ready to make an adequate self-sacrifice ? All the scriptures of the world teach us that there can be no compromise between justice and injustice. Co-operation on the part of a justice-loving man with an unjust man is a crime. And if we desire to compel this great Government to the will of the people, as we must, we must adopt this great remedy of non-co-operation. And if the Mussulmans of India offer non-co-operation to Government in order to secure justice in the Khilafat matter, I believe it is the duty of the Hindus

to help them so long as their means are just. I consider the eternal friendship between the Hindus and Mussulmans is more important than the British connection. I would prefer any day anarchy and chaos in India to an armed peace brought about by the bayonet between the Hindus and Mussulmans. I have therefore ventured to suggest to my Hindu brethren that if they wanted to live at peace with Mussulmans, there is an opportunity which is not going to recur for the next hundred years. And I venture to assure you that if the Government of India and the Imperial Government come to know that there is a determination on the part of the people to redress this double wrong they would not hesitate to do what is needed. But the Mussulmans of India will have to take the lead in the matter. You will have to commence the first stage of non-co-operation in right earnest. And if you may not help this Government, you may not receive help from it. Titles which were the other day titles of honour are today in my opinion badges of our disgrace. We must therefore surrender all titles of honour, all honorary offices. It will constitute an emphatic demonstration of the disapproval by the leaders of the people of the acts of the Government. Lawyers must suspend their practice and must resist the power of the Government which has chosen to flout public opinion. Nor may we receive instruction from schools controlled by Government and aided by it. Emptying of the schools will constitute a demonstration of the will of the middle class of India. It is far better for the nation even to neglect the literary instruction of the children than to co-operate with a Government that has striven to maintain an injustice and untruth on the Khilafat and Punjab matters. Similarly have I ventured to suggest a complete boycott of reformed councils. That will be an emphatic declaration on the part of the representatives of the people that they do not desire to associate with the Government so long as the two wrongs continue. We must equally decline to offer ourselves as recruits for the police or the military. It is impossible for us to go to Mesopotamia or to offer to police that country or to offer military assistance and to help the Government in that blood-guiltiness. The last plank in the first stage is swadeshi. Swadeshi is intended not so much to bring pressure upon the Government as to demonstrate the capacity for sacrifice on the part of the men and women of India. When one-fourth of India has its religion at stake and when the whole of India has its honour at stake, we can be in no mood to bedeck ourselves with French calico or silks from Japan. We must resolve to be satisfied with cloth woven by the humble weavers of India in their own cottages out of yarn spun by

their sisters in their own homes. When a hundred years ago our tastes were not debased and we were not lured by all the fineries from the foreign countries, we were satisfied with the cloth produced by the men and women in India, and if I could but in a moment revolutionize the tastes of India and make it return to its original simplicity, I assure you that the Gods would descend to rejoice at the great act of renunciation. That is the first stage in non-co-operation. I hope it is as easy for you as it is easy for me to see that if India is capable of taking the first step in anything like a full measure that step will bring the redress we want. I therefore do not intend to take you to the other stages of non-co-operation. I would like you to rivet your attention upon the plans in the first stage. You will have noticed that but two things are necessary in going through the first stage: (1) Perfect spirit of non-violence is indispensable for non-co-operation, (2) only a little self-sacrifice. I pray to God that He will give the people of India sufficient courage and wisdom and patience to go through this experiment of non-co-operation. I thank you for the great reception that you have given us. And I also thank you for the great patience and exemplary silence with which you have listened to my remarks.

Freedom's Battle, pp. 237-45

106. SPEECH AT MANGALORE

August 19, 1920

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

To my brother Shaukat Ali and me it was a pleasure to go to this beautiful garden of India. The great reception that you gave us this afternoon, and this great assembly are most welcome to us, if they are a demonstration of your sympathy with the cause which you have the honour to represent. I assure you that we have not undertaken this incessant travelling in order to have receptions and addresses, no matter how cordial they may be. But we have undertaken this travelling throughout the length and breadth of this dear motherland to place before you the position that faces us today. It is our privilege, as it is our duty, to place that position before the country and let her make the choice.

Throughout our tour we have received many addresses, but in my humble opinion no address was more truly worded than the address that was presented to us at Kasargod. It addressed both

of us as "dear revered brothers". I am unable to accept the second adjective "revered". The word "dear" is dear to me I must confess. But dearer than that is the expression "brothers". The signatories to that address recognized the true significance of this travel. No blood-brothers can possibly be more intimately related, can possibly be more united in one purpose, one aim than my brother Shaukat Ali and I. And I considered it a proud privilege and honour to be addressed as blood-brother to Shaukat Ali. The contents of that address were as equally significant. It stated that in our united work was represented the essence of the unity between the Mussulmans and Hindus in India. If we two cannot represent that very desirable unity, if we two cannot cement the relation between the two communities, I do not know who can. Then without any rhetoric and without any flowery language the address went on to describe the inwardness of the Punjab and the Khilafat struggle; and then in simple and beautiful language it described the spiritual significance of satyagraha and non-co-operation. This was followed by a frank and simple promise. Although the signatories to the address realized the momentous nature of the struggle on which we have embarked, and although they sympathize with the struggle with their whole heart, they wound up by saying that even if they could not follow non-co-operation in all its details, they would do as much as they could to help the struggle. And lastly, in eloquent, and true language, they said, "if we cannot rise equal to the occasion it will not be due to want of effort but to want of ability". I can desire no better address, no better promise, and if you, the citizens of Mangalore, can come up to the level of the signatories, and give us just the assurance that you consider the struggle to be right and that it commands your entire approval, I am certain you will make all sacrifice that lies in your power. For we are face to face with a peril greater than plagues, greater than influenza, greater than earthquakes and mighty floods, which sometimes overwhelm this land. These physical calamities can rob us of so many Indian bodies. But the calamity that has at the present moment overtaken India touches the religious honour of a fourth of her children and the self-respect of the whole nation. The Khilafat wrong affects the Mussulmans of India, and the Punjab calamity very nearly overwhelms the manhood of India. Shall we in the face of this danger be weak or rise to our full height? The remedy for both the wrongs is the spiritual solvent of non-co-operation. I call it a spiritual weapon, because it demands discipline and sacrifice from us. It demands sacrifice from every individual irrespective of the

rest. And the promise that is behind this performance of duty, the promise given by every religion that I have studied, is sure and certain. It is that there is no spotless sacrifice that has been yet offered on earth, which has not carried with it its absolute adequate reward. It is a spiritual weapon, because it waits for no mandate from anybody except one's own conscience. It is a spiritual weapon because it brings out the best in the nation and it absolutely satisfies individual honour if a single individual takes it, and it will satisfy national honour if the whole nation takes it up. And therefore it is that I have called non-co-operation—in opposition to the opinion of many of my distinguished countrymen and leaders—a weapon that is infallible and absolutely practicable. It is infallible and practicable, because it satisfies the demands of individual conscience. God above cannot, will not expect Maulana Shaukat Ali to do more than he has been doing, for he has surrendered and placed at the disposal of God whom he believes to be the Almighty ruler of everyone, he has delivered all in the service of God. And we stand before the citizens of Mangalore and ask them to make their choice either to accept this precious gift that we lay at their feet or to reject it. And after having listened to my message if you come to the conclusion that you have no other remedy than non-co-operation for the conservation of Islam and the honour of India, you will accept that remedy. I ask you not to be confused by so many bewildering issues that are placed before you, not to be shaken from your purpose because you see divided counsels amongst your leaders. This is one of the necessary limitations of any spiritual or any other struggle that has ever been fought on this earth. It is because it comes so suddenly that it confuses the mind if the heart is not tuned properly. And we would be perfect human beings on this earth if in all of us was found absolutely perfect correspondence between the mind and the heart. But those of you who have been following the newspaper controversy, will find that no matter what division of opinion exists amongst our journals and leaders there is unanimity that the remedy is efficacious if it can be kept free from violence, and if it is adopted on a large scale. I admit the difficulty, the virtue however lies in surmounting it. We cannot possibly combine violence with a spiritual weapon like non-co-operation. We do not offer spotless sacrifice if we take the lives of others in offering our own. Absolute freedom from violence is therefore a condition precedent to non-co-operation. But I have faith in my country to know that when it has assimilated the principle of the doctrine to the fullest extent, it will respond to it. And in no case will India make any headway what-

soever until she has learnt the lesson of self-sacrifice. Even if this country were to take up the doctrine of the sword, which God forbid, it will have to learn the lesson of self-sacrifice. The second difficulty suggested is the want of solidarity of the nation. I accept it too. But that difficulty I have already answered by saying that it is a remedy that can be taken up by individuals for individual and by the nation for national satisfaction; and therefore even if the whole nation does not take up non-co-operation, the individual successes, which may be obtained by individuals taking up non-co-operation, will stand to their own credit as of the nation to which they belong.

The first stage in my humble opinion is incredibly easy inasmuch as it does not involve any very great sacrifice. If your Khan Bahadurs and other title-holders were to renounce their titles I venture to submit that whilst the renunciation will stand to the credit and honour of the nation it will involve a little or no sacrifice. On the contrary, they will not only have surrendered no earthly riches, but they will have gained the applause of the nation. Let us see what it means, this first step. The able editor of *The Hindu*, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, and almost every journalist in the country are agreed that the renunciation of titles is a necessary and a desirable step. And if these chosen people of the Government were without exception to surrender their titles to Government giving notice that the heart of India is doubly wounded in that the honour of India and of Muslim religion is at stake and that therefore they can no longer retain their titles I venture to suggest that this their step which costs not a single penny either to them or to the nation will be an effective demonstration of the national will.

Take the second step or the second item of non-co-operation. I know there is strong opposition to the boycott of councils. The opposition when you begin to analyse it means not that the step is faulty or that it is not likely to succeed, but it is due to the belief that the whole country will not respond to it and that the Moderates will steal into the councils. I ask the citizens of Mangalore to dispel that fear from your hearts. United, the voters of Mangalore can make it impossible for either a Moderate or an Extremist or any other form of leader to enter the councils as your representative. This step involves no sacrifice of money, no sacrifice of honour but the gaining of prestige for the whole nation. And I venture to suggest to you that this one step alone if it is taken with any degree of unanimity even by the Extremists can bring about the desired relief, but if all do not respond the individual need not be

afraid. He at least will have laid the foundation for true set progress, let him have the comfort that he at least has washed his hands clean of the guilt of the Government.

Then I come to the members of the profession which one time I used to carry on. I have ventured to ask the lawyers of India to suspend their practice and withdraw their support from a Government which no longer stands for justice, pure and unadulterated, for the nation. And the step is good for the individual lawyer who takes it and is good for the nation if all the lawyers take it.

And so for the Government and the Government-aided schools, I must confess that I cannot reconcile my conscience to my children going to Government schools and to the programme of non-co-operation which is intended to withdraw all support from the Government and to decline all help from it.

I will not tax your patience by taking you through the other items of non-co-operation important as they are. But I have ventured to place before you four very important and forcible steps any one of which if fully taken up contains in it possibilities of success. Swadeshi is preached as an item of non-co-operation, as a demonstration of the spirit of sacrifice and it is an item which every man, woman and child can take up.

Freedom's Battle, pp. 245-53

107. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, BANGALORE[1]

August 21, 1920

Mahatmaji spoke in Urdu and at first apologized for his inability to stand. Mr. Gandhi after reiterating the two national grievances and explaining at length various items in the first stage of non-co-operation declared that should India elect to remain for ever to be the slave of this Government machinery, should her people continue to frequent law-courts for justice, should they continue to fill Government schools with their children and continue to go to councils, he would no longer be in a position, conscientiously to accept flowers and garlands from them. Until the wrongs remain unredressed the help given to the Government in any shape or form would serve to tighten the chains that bind India at present. He could not consistently utter verses from holy Koran and help the Government at the same time while they were convinced that the Government had imperilled Islam. Muslims consider it their religious duty to draw sword to save the Khilafat. He has always been against the doctrine of the sword and Maulana Abdul Bari assured him that non-co-operation

[1] At Idgah

had been practised by the great Prophet. He (the speaker) was convinced that the country was not strong enough to draw the sword. Hence it shrank to the simple item of the first stage of non-co-operation. He felt that Mr. Shaukat Ali had understood that it was a fact that there was sacrifice in lifting the sword but it was also a fact that sacrifice demanded in non-co-operation was greater and yet a child could adopt it. He warned the Mussulmans to deter against such weakness as shown by Pir Mahboob Shah.[1] Indians by their own habits had spoiled *Pirs* and *Pujaris*[2]. He therefore did not expect *Pirs* to perform an amount of sacrifice that he wanted from the people. In his South African struggle one of his *first* fellow-workers was a *Pujari,* but the success came through masses.

The Hindu, 27-8-1920

108. ADDRESS TO STUDENTS OF LAW COLLEGE, MADRAS

August 21, 1920

Mr. Gandhi began by saying that he wanted to occupy the students in a heart-to-heart conversation, that he would explain to them how a pair, composed of Maulana Shaukat Ali and himself, living at opposite poles about some fundamentals of life—particularly in one fundamental of life, inasmuch as to the speaker non-violence was the final arbiter and to Shaukat Ali the sword was the final arbiter—how such a pair could engage hand in hand in the struggle in question. He could do no better than read to them a letter he had received that very morning from a Christian lady who said among other things that she was convinced by the speaker's Madras speech of the necessity of non-co-operation and that though she had no particular sympathy with Turkey she could not help feeling that in a struggle carried on solely for the honour and prestige of Islam, not only the Hindus but the Christians also should render full assistance to the Mussulmans, and that in a matter of conscience, as the one in question, no nation should be called upon to hang its decision on the mandate of its Congress. She also expressed her hearty approval of the boycott of councils and of Government and Government-aided schools as also other steps in the first stage of non-co-operation. The speaker read out the letter to the audience and said that it was a magnificent letter, and that he read it not to produce a certificate of non-co-operation or about his Madras address, but as the testimony of an impartial Christian observer who was convinced of the spirituality of the struggle, and who thought it was therefore a struggle in which Hindus and Christians ought to have their share no less than the Mussulmans.

[1] *Vide* "Our Duty", 29-8-1920.
[2] Priests

Mr. Gandhi next went on to offer his remarks on the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the legislative council. He said that the paragraph on non-co-operation demonstrated the triumph of non-co-operation, it involved a confession that the authorities had learnt a lesson, viz, the wisdom of not precipitating violence and to allow a movement to die out by simply ridiculing it. That was, said the speaker, the chosen method of Government in its own home, and it was for the people of India to convert that ridicule into approval. Lord Chelmsford had said that he was a lawyer, and that as such he was offering advice to the members of the bar, but that took them no step further. At the one end was the Viceroy asking the lawyers to hold on to the courts like grim death, at the other end was the speaker, also a lawyer, who had seen several years' active practice and given it up, who was born of the people and for the people, asking them to shun the law-courts, and it was for the legal profession to make their choice. Throughout the world, went on the speaker, the Government had their hold on the necks of the people through the agency of the law-courts. These law-courts, in times other than the present, a lesser evil inasmuch as they preserved so-called order as opposed to anarchy. In times as the present, they were an unmitigated evil, and he had no doubt that if the lawyers boycotted law-courts they would paralyse the arm of Government which means force. If the lawyers leading public movements in the country were not willing to respond to the call of sacrifice, he, the speaker, would not have the gumption to go and advise the country. If the lawyers were not prepared for acts of sacrifice their appeals would fall flat on the masses, indeed they would have to go asking the people not to engage in a struggle of the present nature, in which case they would have to eat their own words and say that the injustice of which they were talking till now was not so glaring or rankling in their breast as to ask them to go beyond the orthodox methods of agitation. There may be, said the speaker, governments as diabolical, even more diabolical than the British Government, but for Indians it was the most diabolical. It was going downhill. What a shocking document was the Viceregal pronouncement! The Viceroy said that the Punjab chapter was closed. From a Government who could thus add insult on injury, no gifts, however valuable they may be, could be accepted so long as they do not repent for what they had done. Khilafat, the Government might say, would kill itself, but it would not kill itself so long as the Indians had not killed themselves. It would close only over their ashes.

The speaker then carried the audience through some of the episodes in his life which revealed how he, a staunch Hindu, who had imbibed the best of Hinduism from his Shastras, from his fore-fathers and his studies, how he was brought together with a man like Shaukat Ali, than whom he knew no more deeply religious man. It was the common feeling that the salvation of India lay in the union of hearts between the Hindus and the Mussulmans that brought them together. The Mussulmans were not too arrogant, too haughty to do with-

out the help of the Hindus and others, and there was no alternative before Shaukat Ali to accept the aid offered by the speaker, as a Hindu who had represented the best of what he had assimilated of Hinduism and for no other motive but that of showing the nobility of his faith. To illustrate the spirit in which his assistance was accepted the speaker harked back to a meeting that took place between him and Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb, narrating in vivid detail the talk between the Maulana and him. The gist of the story was that whilst Mr. Gandhi insisted that he was not going to render aid in any bargaining spirit, the Maulana insisted that it would be the denial of Islam if the Mussulmans accepted the aid without any thought of reciprocating it. Thus were two staunch faithful ones, viz, the speaker and Mr. Shaukat Ali, united more than a brother to brother on a mission to save the honour of Islam and India.

The speaker proceeded to say that the lawyers with their trained minds ought to be able to see the core of the question. It meant, in spiritual terms, not a battle between races, but a battle between the forces of light and darkness, between the forces of devil and God. The devil was today incarnate in the wretched Western civilization. Having given years of study to the Western civilization the speaker had come to the deliberate conclusion that it represented evil clothed in the robes of Satan and that the Indians had to be engaged in fighting the powers of that evil. The forces that were moulding the masses of Europe were devilry incarnate and Christianity had to grapple with those forces more and more as the evil ever darkened and thickened. The speaker would not hesitate to say that God (Truth) was represented by the Indians, by the non-co-operationists because they approached God in the humblest spirit, they were asking God not to give them arms but a spirit of self-sacrifice. The British people, said the speaker, whilst they bragged, blustered, whilst they used in turn honeyed phrases and bitter ones, deep down in them was the spirit to appreciate courage. But the Viceroy today was coquetting with them. He saw that there was an atmosphere of sycophancy and he wanted to avail himself of it. He presented to show that he could tolerate opposition. It was good enough this cajoling, but it was wicked because behind it were not just motives as the Viceroy represented today a double wrong, as he had heaped insult on insult. The Khilafat wrong he laid at the door of Europe. Well, the Indians were offering non-co-operation to all the powers, not only to the British powers, they were non-co-operating with the evil regarding the Khilafat and the Punjab in each and every corner of the world wherever it was represented.

Mr. Gandhi appealed to the audience to leave law-courts, emphasizing that nobody served the country and did not serve himself. He for one could say that by giving up law he had to sacrifice none of the comforts that he used to enjoy, because they came multiplied a hundred-fold out of the kindness of the people who repaid their services in more than a full measure. But they must be prepared to say that they were all for the country, every hour of their

time, even their recreation hours, were to be for the country. If they wanted to pit themselves against the mighty corporation, i.e., the Government, who had got all the arts and crafts of Government, all the powers of sweet speech, all the powers of bribery and even of sacrifice, they must be prepared for greater powers of sacrifice. He wanted them to realize that in going to the law-courts they were strengthening the arm of Government which represented evil.

Incidentally, the speaker said that the reluctance to cast in their lot with Mussulmans was engendered by the craven fear that India would be deluged by the Mussulmans and that the Hindus would be terrorized over by them, in case the latter were victorious. This fear, said the speaker was degrading to Hinduism, whose land was dotted, as Col. Tod said, with a thousand Thermopaelies. The death of a martyr is far more preferable to the death of a coward. Immediately a sword fell upon an innocent neck that religion was disgraced, and the speaker had no doubt that Islam was not a religion of disgrace. The nobility of Hinduism consisted in unconditionally going to the aid of the Mussulmans, when they were in peril. He would assure them that God would send a fresh command to Islam that Hindus should be regarded as the partners of the Mussulmans and that they might never quarrel with them. The speaker was prepared to give the same aid to Christendom in its peril; he would give the same aid to Gen. Dyer if he was in danger; but not if he was going on a similar errand as the Jallianwala Bagh. He asked them to go out to Islam, trusting not the followers of Islam but trusting goodness, and asking the heavens to witness. Every Mussulman would then be their protector, and there would be an imperishable union between the two. The Hindu would then offer his prayers with more impunity than he did today. Today he did not offer his prayers with impunity as he had to do so with the fear of Satan hanging on him in the guise of a saint.

Mr. Gandhi went on to say that the attempt to revise the Peace Terms was an attempt to revive Islam. The Mussulmans adored no Caliph, and none who had a rotten character; they adored Islam and they adored the Caliph as representing the essence of Islam. They were not fighting for a Sultan who has signed the Peace Terms; they were fighting for an ideal, pure and simple, and the Hindus had the choice ready before them, of defending their hearths and homes, and it would be the eternal disgrace of Hinduism if they could not prepare themselves to stand by Islam. The speaker emphasized with the force and humility he could command that in trying to die for Islam, they were trying to die for their own faith, and for their own hearths and homes.

From a photostat: S.N. 7223

109. TALK AT LAW COLLEGE, MADRAS

August 22, 1920

Mr. Gandhi in the course of an informal talk with the students of the Law College, referring to the non-Brahmin movement of this Presidency said as follows:

I am prepared to say that it is the duty of the Brahmins to surrender at every stage of the fight to the demands of the non-Brahmins and grant them all the seats if demanded, and if it is in my power, I will give them some more. This demand of the non-Brahmins is the result of their distrust towards the Brahmins. The Brahmins have for long contributed their best, but in their arrogance, the distinction they have drawn between themselves and the other castes is most diabolical and is as diabolical as the distinction we are fighting against, i.e., the distinction the European races have drawn between themselves and the darker races.

The Hindu, 23-8-1920

110. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

BEZWADA,
August 23, 1920

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I complete today my exhausting tour in the Madras Presi-[dency]. It has been incessant travelling. My experience has confirmed me in the rightness of the struggle and in my belief in the greatness and goodness of Shaukat Ali. He is really one of the most sincere of men I have met. He is generous, frank, brave and gentle. He believes in his mission and in himself. Having an implicit faith in God, he is refreshingly optimistic. The response of the common people is wonderful. The non-violence part of the programme is making great headway. There was a dense crowd in Bangalore covering a vast area as far as the eye could reach. There was a solitary Englishman and an Englishwoman amongst it. But the crowd did not so much as jostle them. From everywhere I get testimony regarding non-violent behaviour of the crowds. You must have noticed the *reluctant testimony* of the Government regarding the trying circumstances of the *Muhajarins*. All

this is, in my opinion good. On the other hand, I see poor response from the leading class. They do not want to sacrifice anything at all. They expect to gain everything by speeches and resolutions. They [are] keeping back a nation which is ready for sacrifice.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

111. LETTER TO SARALADEVI CHAUDHRANI

BEZWADA,
August 23, 1920

Either the night or the day has been passed each day in the train. The nights have been always disturbed by crowds. Thank God we have nearly finished this exhausting tour. Considering everything I have kept remarkably fit and strong.

Your letters have your usual self. Some of them decidedly despondent and sceptical and suspicious.

You still do not understand Mathuradas[1]. He and the others who surround me are superior to us, if you will allow me to include you. They are certainly superior to me. And it is as it should be. It is my claim that I have selected as my companions my superiors in character, superiors, that is to say, in their possibility. My progress can only be little. Theirs is still illimitable. They are jealous of their ideal which is my character. I and (if you are mine in the purest sense of the term) you must give everything to retain or deserve their love and affection. There can be no yielding only on principle. For that we must forsake all and everything. But I would surrender all the world to deserve love so pure and unselfish. Their love uplifts me and keeps me on the square. They are my sheet-anchor as I am theirs. You should be proud of their jealousy and watchfulness. They want to run no risks and they are right. You and I are in duty bound to satisfy every lawful requirement. And we shall have well met.

Yes, if you remain at your post in Lahore it would be quite all right. You can gain little by coming to Calcutta during the week of turmoil and stress. The pilgrimage to your mother may take place in quieter time and after you have perfected your spinning-wheel and Hindi and put our Lahore work on a sound

[1] Mathuradas Trikumji (1894-1951); grandson of Gandhiji's sister, occasionally his secretary; secretary, Bombay Congress Committee, 1922-3; Mayor, Bombay Municipal Corporation

footing. You see I say Lahore in preference to the Punjab. I want you to lay the surest foundation and therefore I want intensity rather than extent.

You ask for a reward of your great surrender. Well, it is its own reward.

With deep love,

Yours,
L. G.[1]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

112. SPEECH AT BEZWADA

August 23, 1920

Proceedings of the meeting held in connection with the visit of Messrs M. K. Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali, on the evening of 23rd August 1920 at Bezwada in the compound of the Municipal Travellers' Bungalow:

India will commit suicide if we do not appreciate and understand the forces that are arrayed against us. We have got a mighty Government, with all the power, with all the forces of arms arrayed against us. It is composed of men who are able, courageous, willing and capable of making sacrifices. It is a Government which does not scruple to use means fair or foul in order to gain its ends. (Cries of "shame!") No craft is above that Government. It resorts to frightfulness, terrorism. It resorts to bribery in the shape of titles, honours and high offices. (Cries of "shame!") It administers opiates in the form of reforms. In any sense it is autocracy doubly distilled, appearing in the guise of democracy for the greatest gifts of a crafty, cunning man are worthless so long as cunning resides in his heart. It is a Government which represents a civilization which is purely material and godless. (Cries of "shame!") I have given to you these qualities of this Government not in order to excite your angry passions but in order that you may appreciate fully the forces that are matched against you. Anger will serve no purpose. But we shall have to meet the godlessness by godliness. We shall have to meet their untruth by truth. We shall have to meet their cunning and the craft by openness and simplicity. We shall have to meet their terrorism, their frightfulness by bravery, and it is an unbending bravery which is, today, demanded from every man, woman and child. . . .

[1] Law-giver

And I ask you, the citizens of Bezwada, to consider well before you set your eyes upon the loaves and fishes that are ready for you in Government employment, set them in one scale and set your religious and national honours in the other and make your choice. . . .

It passes my comprehension how we, who have known this Government, who have read the Viceregal pronouncement, who have understood the determination of this Government not to grant justice either in the matter of the Punjab or in the matter of the Khilafat; it passes my comprehension how can we expect any real blessing, any real freedom for India from any association, constructive or obstructive, with this Government. . . .

Moderates believe in the possibility of justice being obtained at the hands of this Government. Nationalists with firmness, on the other hand, have wrung with denunciation unadulterated of this Government and of its measures. How can a Nationalist ever hope to gain anything by entering into these councils holding people that they do. But if they really represent popular will and if they want to retain their hold on the popular mind, I venture to suggest to them that it is their business to remain out of the councils, consolidate public opinion and wring justice from unwilling hands.

N.A.I.: Home: Political: December, 1920: Nos. 210-16A

113. LETTER TO SARALADEVI CHAUDHRANI

ON THE WAY TO MANMAD FOR BOMBAY,
August 24, 1920

MY DEAREST S.,

Your letters have caused me distress. You do not like my sermons. And yet so long as you remain a school girl, what should I do except giving you sermons? If my love is true it must express itself in sermons so long as you do not realize the ideal accepted by you as worthy. I do not at all like your doubting the necessity of the life adopted by you or the life you are trying to adopt. What can be the reward of always speaking and doing Truth even at the peril of one's life? What can be the reward of dying for one's country? What is the reward of your having given years to acquiring perfection in piano-playing? You give all for the cause you represent because you cannot do otherwise. Your satisfaction must depend upon complete surrender. A surrender

that gives not satisfaction is compulsory surrender, unworthy of a self-respecting person. And if your association with me does not teach you this simple truth, I must be unworthy of your love. For, if my life has not taught you this much, I am a worthless being. There is no worth in me except the capacity for unlimited self-surrender and truthfulness. All have noticed these two qualities in me and there must be something wrong in me if you who have penetrated my life so deeply have failed to notice them. And what can I give you to share except my richest possessions? And so, you must not resent my giving you sermons but receive them in the same loving manner in which they are delivered. If I am your Law-giver and if I do not always lay down the law, surely I must at least reason with you on things of eternity or supreme importance for the country for which we live and which we love so well.

But this does not mean that you must not write nasty things if you think them. My plea is that you must cease to think nasty thoughts.

With love,

Yours,
L. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

114. RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY FOR NON-CO-OPERATION

It is not without the greatest reluctance that I engage in a controversy with so learned a leader like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. But in view of the fact that I am the author of the movement of non-co-operation, it becomes my painful duty to state my views even though they are opposed to those of the leaders whom I look upon with respect. I have just read during my travels in Malabar Sir Narayan's rejoinder to my answer to the Bombay Manifesto against non-co-operation. I regret to have to say that the rejoinder leaves me unconvinced. He and I seem to read the teachings of the Bible, the *Gita* and the Koran from different standpoints or we put different interpretations on them. We seem to understand the words ahimsa, politics and religion differently. I shall try my best to make clear my meaning of the common terms and my reading of the different religions.

At the outset let me assure Sir Narayan that I have not changed my views on ahimsa. I still believe that man not having been

given the power of creation does not possess the right of destroying the meanest creature that lives. The prerogative of destruction belongs solely to the Creator of all that lives. I accept the interpretation of ahimsa, namely, that it is not merely a negative state of harmlessness but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer. But it does not mean helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence—on the contrary, love, the active state of ahimsa, requires you to resist the wrong-doer by dissociating yourself from him even though it may offend him or injure him physically. Thus if my son lives a life of shame, I may not help him to do so by continuing to support him; on the contrary, my love for him requires me to withdraw all support from him although it may mean even his death. And the same love imposes on me the obligation of welcoming him to my bosom when he repents. But I may not by physical force compel my son to become good—that in my opinion is the moral of the story of the Prodigal Son.

Non-co-operation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state—more active than physical resistance or violence. Passive resistance is a misnomer. Non-co-operation in the sense used by me must be non-violent and therefore neither punitive nor vindictive nor based on malice, ill will or hatred. It follows therefore that it would be sin for me to serve General Dyer and co-operate with him to shoot innocent men. But it will be an exercise of forgiveness or love for me to nurse him back to life, if he was suffering from a physical malady. I cannot use in this context the word co-operation as Sir Narayan would perhaps use it. I would co-operate a thousand times with this Government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment co-operate with it to continue that career. And I would be guilty of wrongdoing if I retained a title from it or "as service under it or supported its law-courts or schools". Better for me a beggar's bowl than the richest possession from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jallianwala. Better by far a warrant of imprisonment than honeyed words from those who have wantonly wounded the religious sentiment of my seventy million brothers.

My reading of the *Gita* is diametrically opposed to Sir Narayan's. I do not believe that the *Gita* teaches violence for doing good. It is pre-eminently a description of the duel that goes on in our own hearts. The divine author has used a historical incident for inculcating the lesson of doing one's duty even at the peril of one's life. It inculcates performance of duty irrespective of the consequences, for, we mortals, limited by our physical frames, are

incapable of controlling actions save our own. The *Gita* distinguishes between the powers of light and darkness and demonstrates their incompatibility.

Jesus, in my humble opinion, was a prince among politicians. He did render unto Caesar that which was Caesar's. He gave the devil his due. He ever shunned him and is reported never once to have yielded to his incantations. The politics of his time consisted in securing the welfare of the people by teaching them not to be seduced by the trinkets of the priests and the pharisees. The latter then controlled and moulded the life of the people. Today the system of Government is so devised as to affect every department of our life. It threatens our very existence. If therefore we want to conserve the welfare of the nation, we must religiously interest ourselves in the doings of the governors and exert a moral influence on them by insisting on their obeying the laws of morality. General Dyer did produce a "moral effect" by an act of butchery. Those who are engaged in forwarding the movement of non-co-operation, hope to produce a moral effect by a process of self-denial, self-sacrifice and self-purification. It surprises me that Sir Narayan should speak of General Dyer's massacre in the same breath as acts of non-co-operation. I have done my best to understand his meaning, but I am sorry to confess that I have failed.

Young India, 25-8-1920

115. KHILAFAT AND SWADESHI

It was not without much misgiving that I consented to include swadeshi as a plank in non-co-operation. But Maulana Hasrat Mohani by his sheer earnestness bore me down. I fear however that his reasons for including swadeshi are different from mine. He is a protagonist of boycott of British goods. I cannot reconcile myself to the doctrine as I have explained elsewhere in this issue. But having failed to popularize boycott, Mohani Saheb has accepted swadeshi as the lesser good. It is however necessary for me to explain how I have come to include swadeshi in the programme of non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation is nothing but discipline in self-sacrifice. And I believe that a nation that is capable of limitless sacrifice is capable of rising to limitless heights. The purer the sacrifice the quicker the progress. Swadeshi offers man, woman and child an occasion to make a beginning in self-sacrifice of a pure type. It therefore presents an opportunity for testing our capacity for sacrifice. It

is the measure for gauging the depth of national feeling on the Khilafat wrong. Does the nation feel sufficiently to move it to go through even the preliminary process of sacrifice? Will the nation revise its taste for the Japanese silk, the Manchester calico or the French lace and find all its decoration out of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, i.e., khadi? If crores of people will refuse to wear or use foreign cloth and be satisfied with the simple cloth that we can produce in our homes, it will be proof of our organizing ability, energy, co-operation and self-sacrifice that will enable us to secure all we need. It will be a striking demonstration of national solidarity.

Such a consummation cannot be achieved for the mere wish. It cannot be achieved by one man, no matter how capable and sincere he may be. It cannot be achieved by dotting India with swadeshi stores. It can only be achieved by new production and judicious distribution. Production means lakhs of women spinning in their own homes. This requires earnest men to be engaged in honestly distributing carded cotton and collecting yarn and paying for it. It means manufacture of thousands of spinning-wheels. It means inducing the hereditary weavers to return to their noble calling and distributing home-spun yarn amongst them and setting their manufactures. It is thus only as an energizing agent that I can think of swadeshi as a plank in non-co-operation. But it is not to be despised in that capacity. And I hope that every worker for the cause, even if he can do nothing else, will have done something if he can advance swadeshi first by increasing production and then distribution. He would be simply moving in a circle if he is satisfied with distributing cloth that is already being manufactured in India.

Young India, 25-8-1920

116. BOYCOTT OF GOODS V. NON-CO-OPERATION PROGRAMME

Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar was pleased to answer my argument in favour of the details of the first stage of non-co-operation that I had the honour of explaining at the great Madras Beach meeting. He expressed his dissent from all but the renunciation of titles. He suggested boycott of foreign goods in the place of the other items. Even at the risk of repeating arguments familiar to the readers of *Young India*, I must deal with the question of boycott which has now received the *imprimatur* of so able a publicist as Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar.

In the first place, boycott of British goods has been conceived as a punishment and can have no place in non-co-operation which is conceived in a spirit of self-sacrifice and is a matter of sacred duty.

Secondly, any measure of punishment must be swift, certain and adequate for the effect intended to be produced. Resorted to by individuals, therefore, boycott is ineffectual, for, it can give no satisfaction unless it is productive of effect, whereas every act of non-co-operation is its own satisfaction.

Thirdly, boycott of British goods is thoroughly unpractical, for, it involves sacrifice of their millions by millionaires. It is in my opinion infinitely more difficult for a merchant to sacrifice his millions than for a lawyer to suspend his practice or for a title-holder to give up his title, or for a parent to sacrifice, if need be, the literary instruction of his children. Add to this the important fact that merchants have only lately begun to interest themselves in politics. They are therefore yet timid and cautious. But the class, to which the first stage of non-co-operation is intended to appeal, is the political class which has devoted years to politics and is not mentally unprepared for communal sacrifice.

Boycott of British goods to be effective must be taken up by the whole country at once or not at all. It is like a siege. You can carry out a siege only when you have the requisite men and instruments of destruction. One man scratching a wall with his finger nails may hurt his fingers but will produce no effect upon the walls. One title-holder giving up his title has the supreme satisfaction of having washed his hands clean of the guilt of the donor and is unaffected by the refusal of his fellows to give up theirs. The motive of boycott being punitive lacks the inherent practicability

of non-co-operation. The spirit of punishment is a sign of weakness. A strengthening of that spirit will retard the process of regeneration. The spirit of sacrifice is a determination to rid ourselves of our weakness. It is therefore an invigorating and purifying process and is therefore also calculated to do good both to us and to those who evoke the spirit of sacrifice in us. Above all, if India has a mission of her own, she will not fulfill it by copying the doubtful example of the West and making even her sacrifice materialistically utilitarian instead of offering a sacrifice, spotless and pleasing even in the sight of God.

Young India, 25-8-1920

117. SPEECH AT GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD

August 27, 1920

I consider it an honour to discharge the duty which has been assigned to me. I am not, however, altogether disinterested in the matter. Electing a president is easy and yet difficult. This is a critical time for India. On this occasion, with the eyes of the whole country turned on us, we need to elect as president an old and experienced captain who will steer the ship well. Several names were suggested in the meeting of the Reception Committee. I voted for Shri Abbas Tyabji. I felt that, with him in charge, many of our difficulties would be overcome and that I, too, could help in solving them since I knew Shri Tyabji quite intimately. He is advanced in age and weak, but the moment he received my telegram about the Punjab matter he came running to Lahore. He was taken ill there; as he was making a list of the people who had suffered, his heart started beating faster. He was so ill that, since he looked upon me as his younger brother, he sent for me and made his will. We should pay careful attention to what the other side has to say. It was difficult for Shri Abbas Tyabji to accept the invitation to be president. As he is weak, he will not be able to take full part in the discussion. We should, therefore, make his task as easy as we can.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 5-9-1920

118. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION AT GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE[1]

August 28, 1920

There has been no occasion in the history of the Congress to move a resolution of this kind. Hence all of us should give the most careful consideration to it and hear respectfully what the leaders who oppose it have to say about it. If we would have the weapon of non-co-operation employed in the right manner, we should win over our opponents by love instead of trying to impose our views on them. Non-co-operation is no weapon of coercion. In using this beautiful weapon, there should be no impatience or discourtesy. If the resolution is rejected, I would be unhappy but would certainly not lose heart, nor would I give up non-co-operation. We should hear what leaders who have served the people want to say. If we refuse to give a hearing to those who wish to warn us, I do not know what work we are fit to do. It is our duty to listen with courtesy even to a child's protest. Courtesy is both the first and the last step in non-co-operation. This is not a weapon to be used in anger. Maulana Shaukat Ali, who acts in complete unity of purpose with me, has held his anger in check. Those who have joined the movement out of anger will be disappointed. The friends who advise against non-co-operation mention two things: one, that it involves a risk and, two, that the people of our country are not fit to employ this weapon, since using it against a Government which commands ample resources, which is united and does not lose heart all too soon, certainly involves a risk. But, then, without using such a weapon, it is impossible to bring it to its knees. There is no task attempted by the British people which may not have involved a risk. Is it without venturing anything that a handful of them rule 32 crores of Indians? Would there be any risk they may not have faced, these people who fought the Germans, unprepared as they were? Without taking risks, you will achieve nothing; only, we should see that the risk bears some proportion to the end we have in view. A weapon which will serve our purpose and at the same time involve the least risk—such a weapon, I think, you will find in non-co-operation. No one is able to suggest a practicable

[1] On the second day of the Conference; Gandhiji moved the resolution on non-co-operation.

alternative, involving less risk. We should not forget the services which the Congress has been rendering for 35 years. It is thanks to the Congress that we have this weapon. This does not mean, of course, that we should be content to be drowned in a well simply because it has come down to us from our forefathers. He is the real son who adds to his inheritance. Some persons argue that non-co-operation will violate the Congress constitution. There is nothing in it, however, in virtue of which we can say this. Of course, the Government will be put to harassment. An alcoholic is bound to feel when the wine-bottle is snatched away from his hands, and non-co-operation is a far more serious affair for the Government than the snatching away of his bottle is to the alcoholic. It is morally wrong to co-operate with the Government. If it had known that the people of India were opposed to it, the Khilafat issue would not have been settled as it was. I do not believe that the settlement was the work of other nations. Our powerful ministers are a match for them all. It would be morally wrong, and an act of injustice, to keep company with those who have been unjust to Turkey and we should keep away from such an evil course at any cost. A mere child like Prahlad could understand non-co-operation and one like me also can adopt it. What some persons say, then, that the people are not fit to employ non-co-operation, is not true. If my sons and my wife have used non-co-operation against me, I do not believe that the people of India cannot understand this idea. Non-co-operation is quite a practical weapon. The nation as a whole could employ it to its great advantage. If we employ it, we would not be the first people to do so. We need not believe, either, that if we start non-co-operation others will necessarily follow. Our waiting for the decision of the Congress will be no sign of progress [of the cause]. We should start it right now and present it in action to the Congress. I am going to Calcutta to get non-co-operation accepted by it. History furnishes innumerable instances of non-co-operation. We have before us the example of the Boers. General Botha was not satisfied with the rights granted to his people and resorted to non-co-operation. In the event, they called him to England and the Boers now enjoy freedom. They had boycotted the councils. Let the Moderates enter the councils if they will; but what will Nationalists do there, I should like to ask them. Personally, I do not believe they will be in a majority there. They will not succeed in their aim unless they secure every vote. The authorities hold dice which lend themselves to foul play, and against these the genuine dice of the Nationalists will not avail them. The latter's dice are hollow, whereas the Govern-

ment's are weighted with lead. Their entering the councils, therefore, will serve no purpose. If, in the Transvaal, 10,000 Indians could succeed against a hundred and fifty thousand whites, there is no reason to suppose that the weapon [of non-co-operation] will be ineffective in India. R. B. Ramanbhai says that, once the people's heads are turned with this weapon and they get out of control, there is no knowing what excesses they will not commit in future. When the check over them has disappeared [he says], they will not be held within limits. However, we wish to begin with the educated classes. If we proceed gradually and systematically, there will be no danger of chaos. If the weapon is put to wrong use by anyone, the movement will not last even for 15 days. No matter into whose hands this stainless weapon falls, there will be no excesses. For a people rendered important and growing impatient, non-co-operation is the only way. As Shri Wamanrao has pointed out, we would be savages if we struck with any weapon that came to hand. We have, thus, no right to employ any and every weapon. If any of you feel that I have advised you to take up this weapon without any experience of it and without giving thought to the matter, they should abandon me. If we were to take up any weapon [that came to hand], there would be utter chaos in the country and we would be reduced to the condition of beasts. In the funeral procession on the death of Tilak Maharaj, I witnessed scenes which were painful to me. I felt that people had not been able to restrain themselves within limits of propriety. As the tears over his death have not yet dried, I have not discussed the matter in public. The weapon of non-co-operation is not to be employed as we please. It would not be worthy of us to do so. We should take up non-co-operation only after we have had full training in it. It is a weapon not for spreading violence, but for reducing it. In Kheda district, they say, satyagraha has been followed by robberies, but there were robberies even before. When appealing to the people to enlist in the army, I told them that robberies would remain, and that the only way of preventing them was for the people to have arms or, following me, to keep nothing with them except a few clothes. I told them that their looking up to the Government for protection against robbers proved their lack of fitness for swaraj, that they should win over the robbers by love. The tree of non-co-operation will not grow in a day. It will bring you the gift of a good many powers. We need not boycott municipalities, since they are of benefit to our towns. We do not propose to start full non-co-operation all at once, but will proceed gradually. We shall have to wait, but not long. This is not a resolution to be

implemented by the Government; it is to be implemented by us. If you think it cannot be implemented, please drop it. If, on the other hand, you feel that the country has been humiliated and our religion slighted, welcome this resolution enthusiastically; go home and think over it and employ the weapon of non-co-operation only if you are convinced.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 5-9-1920

119. TO HINDUS

I see that the Hindus have still mental reservations about going all out to make sacrifices on the Khilafat issue. I decided many years ago that India's good lay in unity of heart between Hindus and Muslims. That is why on the Satyagraha Day, i.e., April 6[1], special stress was laid on Hindu-Muslim unity.

I attach far more importance to Hindu-Muslim unity than to the British connection. This latter is not indispensable for the prosperity of India, whereas Hindu-Muslim unity is. Three-fourths of India can never enjoy freedom if they remain hostile to the remaining one-fourth. Extermination of seven crore Muslims is equally impossible.

Many Hindus believe that British rule serves at any rate to protect Hinduism, and, therefore, whatever other harm it may do, the protection of Hinduism is a sufficient compensation. I can think of no more humiliating idea which can occur to a Hindu. If twenty-three crore Hindus are not strong enough to defend themselves against seven crore Muslims, either the Hindu religion is false or those who believe in it are cowardly and wicked.

I would rather that the Hindus and the Muslims settled their accounts by means of the sword than that the British Government maintained artificial peace between them.

If, however, we do not wish to fight it out with the Muslims, if we wish to live with them as with our own brothers, if we would ensure protection of cows, of our temples and our women by winning over their hearts and through a friendly approach, we should welcome the opportunity we have today. The like of it will not come again for a hundred years.

It is wrong to believe that Muslims and Hindus can never get along together. To be sure, you will find in history cases of

[1] 1919

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injustice done by Muslims. But their religion is a noble one and Muslims are a noble people. I do not believe that they have no respect for people of other faiths, or that they have no compassion in them. They know how to repay obligations. I, therefore, advise every Hindu to place full trust in his Muslim brethren. Man by nature is pure in his heart and Muslims are no exception to this law.

So far, we have made no sincere efforts to bring about unity. Such an attempt expects no reward. Sincerity is not a matter for a shop-keeper's calculations. To help Muslims on certain conditions is as good as not helping them. The hearts of seven crores cannot be changed by making conditions. Their trust and their respect can be won only by helping them in their time of need. Reward should be asked only of God. My Hindu religion teaches me not to expect a reward while doing any good deed and to trust that good always produces good. Knowing that this is an unalterable law, if we come across an instance which seems to contradict it, we should think that, with our limited understanding, we are unable to explain the contradiction. We have no ground for taking it to be an exception. God always puts man to a severe test. He helps him who does not forget Him in the direst adversity, i.e., who keeps up his faith in truth. That is why He has been called the Protector of the weak.

But suppose that Muslims betray Hindus despite the latter's generous behaviour. Will Hindus, in that case, remain cowards? Are they not strong enough to protect their religion? If Hindus want to acquire strength to protect their religion, this too they will acquire by helping Muslims because, in the process, Hindus will have to display the great qualities of determination, courage, truthfulness, capacity for self-sacrifice, unity, organizing ability, etc.

I do not mean that Hindus should help because of their own weakness, but rather that it has become our duty to help the Muslims as neighbours since their case is just and the means they are employing are also just. If they do not do this duty, they will strengthen their bonds of slavery and lose for ever the opportunity of winning the friendship of Muslims. Doing it, they will shake off slavery and win over Muslims.

Looking at the matter in this way, [we see that] it is the highest duty of every Hindu to help Muslims since, in doing so, he will be saving India and protecting his religion. There can be no thought of reward or fear in discharging such a duty. Bringing about so good and great a result requires a *yajna* —a supreme *yajna*. Offering up, in this *yajna*, our titles, our practice and our

education for material gain is, in my opinion, but a small sacrifice. Whether the Hindus make this sacrifice or not, every Hindu should try and understand the true meaning of this war.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-8-1920

120. OUR DUTY

Pir Mahboob Shah[1] has fallen. He was a strong man, and had been under no pressure not to defend himself. His religion meant much to him. And yet, when he found himself in jail, he took fright. Even two years' simple imprisonment was too much for him. He tendered an apology and came out. How could we explain the fact that even strong-minded people are not ready for a little suffering?

We have not always been cowards. The people of India could stand some suffering, indeed, and can do so even today. Why then are we afraid of some ordinary hardship? —for I do not look upon imprisonment as any great hardship. I attribute this abjectness to our slavery. We have been, for a long time, in so wretched a condition that we have forgotten what it is to be really free. And so, outside jail, whether or not we enjoy any respect and our dharma remains inviolate, we are content if we can have some freedom of person and desire no more. The result is that when we are asked to submit to physical suffering and win freedom of the soul, we prove ourselves cowards.

It is not merely that we have lived in slavery for a long time, luxuries have also found their way among us during this time. It is undoubtedly true that under British rule a few people have opportunities of comfortable living. As a mouse is lured into a trap by a piece of bread and a fish into a net by a small ball of flour, so we, lured by opportunities for luxurious living for a few, sacrifice our real freedom.

We need not be disheartened by the case of Pir Mahboob Shah, but we should, rather, redouble our efforts to change the atmosphere in which even the stoutest of men may fall. We should recognize our condition of slavery, should forgo bodily comfort, in other words, pleasures, to win our freedom and refuse to be frightened by the hardships of jail life.

[1] Sentenced for sedition in Sind; *vide* "Speech at Calicut", 18-8-1920.

Besides, if one of the bullocks yoked to a cart is taken ill or gets exhausted, the other bears the whole weight; likewise, if one Mahboob Shah falls, we should have the courage to take upon ourselves the burden which he should have carried.

It is no ordinary victory we aim at and no ordinary Government which we are up against. It has its strong points and weak. It is brave; its supporters are united, have knowledge, power of organization and capacity for self-sacrifice. It denies God, is hypocritical and deceitful. It lures people, dupes them, intimidates them; being brave, it recognizes bravery and yields to it. If, therefore, we would triumph over it, we should be more brave and more united than it is, should have knowledge of a purer kind than it has, power of organization which would put it to shame and a superior capacity for self-sacrifice. We should conquer its atheism by our faith, its hypocrisy by our plainness and its deceitfulness by our truth; we should keep miles away from its baits in the form of titles, refuse to be duped by its reforms or offer of high positions and not stand in awe of its Dyers and Johnsons.

There is no reason at all to feel that we shall never be capable of doing these things and so be disheartened. To win freedom means to acquire the strength for doing them. If we ask when it will be possible for the whole nation to have such strength, our heads would simply begin to reel; if, on the other hand, each one of us asks himself whether he can have the strength, everything will be easy. We should take it that what we ourselves can do, others too can do. It would be arrogance on our part to believe otherwise.

To be brave and truthful, to make sacrifices and be fearless, to have faith in God, to refuse to be tempted by the Government's baits or be taken in by its legislatures—this will not be difficult for the reader. He will be free when he can do so much, and his freedom cannot but infect others. When the nation has caught the infection, it will be free. There is the same law both for individuals and for a nation. Though all the people in the country, when they suffer from a disease, may not know the remedy, it is the duty of the man who knows it to apply it; in the same manner, any person who knows the remedies for this disease of slavery ought to apply them, even if he is the only one.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-8-1920

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121. *THREE INFATUATIONS*

As I tour the country, I realize more and more that the people are greatly in love with Government schools, practice in law-courts and legislatures. Neither the issue of Khilafat nor that of the Punjab will be settled while people continue under the delusions that without schools children will remain uneducated, that unless lawyers practise they will go hungry and people will not get justice, that without legislatures the people's affairs cannot be managed. And the Government will go on increasing its control.

We must acquire the ability to get for ourselves the knowledge which is available in the Government schools. The lure of degrees must go. We must know how to settle our disputes among ourselves. It is not as if we always get justice in Government courts. Judges and others are even known to accept bribes and to do injustice through error or ignorance. Cases of injustice are known to have remained unredressed even in the Privy Council. By abandoning courts, then, we are not likely to suffer any very great loss except that we might fail to get justice in settling disputes among ourselves. Moreover, lawyers, knowing that others are able to make a living all right, should have patience and maintain themselves in some other way. Though the lure of legislatures is the strongest, it is difficult to understand it. I can say nothing to those who hope for justice from the Government. It is in vain that one tries to persuade a man who believes wine to be beneficial to give up drinking. But many have even less faith in the Government than I. They never had any nor do they have it today. It passes my understanding why they should be attracted by legislatures.

So long as the ruling class is not sincere, its intentions not honest, so long as it has not atoned for its sins in the Punjab and has not made amends for its betrayal of the Muslims, all reforms, however splendid, are, in my opinion, to be shunned like milk mixed with arsenic. Mr. Sharma[1] and Dr. [T. B.] Sapru have been appointed to the Executive Council. So what? I look upon it as a studied attempt to deceive the people. Lord Sinha[2] may become a Governor, so what? Who are those people making

[1] B. N. Sharma; member, Viceroy's Executive Council

[2] S. P. Sinha (1864-1928); presided over Bombay session of the Indian National Congress in 1915

all these gifts? What is their intention in doing so? To strengthen their power, to make the people forget the wounds of the Punjab and the Khilafat. What epithet shall we give to a doctor who so treats the wound that it becomes septic within but seems to heal up on the surface?

Consider the Viceroy's speech. He says that he can answer the critics of the Government on the Punjab question, but would rather not do so. He leaves the final judgment to the future historian. He forgets that he has already pronounced this final judgment. He has absolved Sir Michael O'Dwyer; General Dyer [he has said] committed no crime, but only an error of judgment; the other officials are guilty of nothing; Col. O'Brien and others have been totally absolved and are known to be respected officials; the Rowlatt Act remains; this is the final judgment on the Punjab affair. What remains now for history to say? Perhaps in future, it will hold them unfit to have been officers, will call Sir Michael O'Dwyer a Nero; so what? Will that end the people's sufferings today? What shall it profit a patient if a correct diagnosis of his disease is made after his death? We demand justice for the Punjab today. If we are one people, the fact that even one Punjabi had to crawl on his stomach should mean for us that the whole nation had to do so. The Government has no right to ask for the people's co-operation without atoning for its sins. The people will accept no favours from the Government.

Now examine the reference to the Khilafat in his speech. That he has conveyed the feelings of the Muslims to the Allies means that he admits the justice of their demand. But he wants to absolve himself by saying that our Government cannot dictate to the Allies. This is an untruth. The whole world knows, as does the Indian Government, that the British Government took the main part in drafting the peace treaty with Turkey and ensuring its acceptance. They know that, if Mr. Lloyd George had wished, he could have kept his promise and respected the feelings of the Muslims. But it was his intention to destroy Turkey and weaken the roots of Islam. Despite this, the Viceroy says that he did his best in the matter of the Khilafat and wants thereby to disown his responsibility; in other words, he is misleading the people.

When the people are striving to end these injustices by employing the harmless weapon of non-co-operation, His Excellency ridicules them. He has given up the idea of arresting me and Maulana Shaukat Ali and decided to laugh at non-co-operation. I would have congratulated His Excellency if this decision had not been vitiated by hypocrisy. The massacre inflicted by General

Dyer was a barbarous method; to try to weaken a movement by ridiculing it is a refined method. And the people will certainly invite ridicule if they do not start non-co-operation and swallow the humiliation of having had to crawl on their stomach. It must be a principle with a people who love their religion and their self-respect that they cannot accept even a throne from hands stained with the blood of innocent people or from pens which have been instrumental in insulting Islam.

It is my hope, therefore, that the people will take the first step in non-co-operation with firmness and uphold their self-respect, give up the triple infatuation and see that the Viceroy regrets his mockery.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-8-1920

122. MADRAS TOUR

Faith of Madras

I have not been able to write an account of my tour of the Punjab. Mahadev Desai has reported it. I also wanted to write of my experiences in Sind, but I have not been able to find time for that. The morale of the Sindhis was not less. It is difficult to say where I saw it higher. However, the people of Madras have always produced a different effect on my mind. In Madras, my friend and I have had to address the meetings in English. In some meetings, where the Muslims were in a majority, Shaukat Ali often spoke in Hindustani. Even then the people heard him in complete silence. This used to have a profound effect on my mind. The faith of the people of Madras is boundless. The people's sincerity is extreme.

Even Then Disappointment

And yet the immediate result of our tour cannot be said to have been much. At every place some lawyers have given up practice, some parents have decided to withdraw their children from schools, some persons have resigned their jobs and some have abandoned the idea of entering legislatures. Even so, the result has not come up to one's expectations, considering the people's love [for me].

Reasons

The reasons are easy to understand. Some of the leaders have no faith in non-co-operation. Those who have it lack the

capacity for self-sacrifice. The third category consists of persons who are not sincere. They believe one thing and say another. This being the condition of the leaders, it is natural that the people are unable to act promptly. This experience suggests that the atmosphere will be purified as a result of this purifying movement of non-co-operation; hypocrisy will be a little less and the dross will come to the surface. The progress of the people is impossible without such purification.

Maulana Shaukat Ali

My experience of Shaukat Ali in the course of this tour was enough to help me get over my disappointment in other matters. His firmness, straightforwardness, truthfulness, honesty, his unbounded faith in himself and in the people, his generosity, his friendliness, his courage, his humility—all these qualities illuminate his life. I believe his love for India is great. He wishes that Hindus and Muslims should ever live as blood-brothers. He always tells Muslims, in private and in public, that they should make every possible sacrifice to please the Hindus. Even if a Hindu has hurt the feelings of any Muslim [he tells them], the latter should not go to court but settle the matter through a *panch*.

Where We Differ

There is one point on which we differ, and we have known it from the very beginning. If, despite this, we can live together as blood-brothers, it is because both of us are perfectly loyal to our respective ideals as well as to each other personally. He believes that one can kill an enemy and, for doing so, even deceit can be employed. I believe, on the contrary, that in killing an enemy, one falls from one's true nature as a human being, that the act is degrading; and also that deceit never pays at any time. In fact, it is soul-killing. Despite this, we have joined hands, since he has understood that the people have no strength of arms; that they lack unity and qualities like firmness, courage, and capacity for self-sacrifice; and that till they acquire them they cannot wield the sword. He says that, whereas his car needs good roads, my cart can move, whatever their condition. Hence, for the present, he has accepted my way. Certain things are necessary in following either way. Not only has he, therefore, not hesitated to accept my way, but, having accepted it, he is trying to cultivate the qualifications necessary for success in it and pleads with the people to do likewise. I see no deceit in him. He tells the people frankly that, at the present time, my way is the best for them. If the Muslims are peaceful, it is because of his firmness.

His Influence

His influence over the Muslims is great. Their regard for him is unselfish and most wonderful to behold. There is no exaggeration in saying that he is the life and soul of the Muslims.

Government's Ill-fortune

The Government proves its own ill-fortune by looking upon such a man as its enemy. He has served the Government for seventeen years and, during that period, he came into contact with many Englishmen. What kind of a Government it must be which could not retain the loyalty of such a brave man? He has no unreasoning hatred of the Government. If the latter would bow an inch, he would bow an ell. Only, he can stand no insult to his religion and his community. He runs away from hypocrisy. There is a possibility that the Government may imprison this man who, in any country outside India, would have become a commander-in-chief. I cannot but feel that to co-operate with such a Government is a sin.

Gujaratis' Love

If my experience of Shaukat Ali helps me to get over my disappointment in other matters, my experience of Gujaratis in Madras Presidency has been similar. Like other communities, Gujaratis, too, at every place, have taken part in the Khilafat movement. In Calicut and Mangalore, they were simply wonderful. At both these places, they took a leading part. We were put up at a *Bhatia*[1] gentleman's place in either of these towns. This was a most pleasant surprise to me. It does not mean that either of these two families had given up its religion. Though they keep up their *Vaishnava* way[2] of life, they saw no difficulty in putting up a Muslim in their houses. Even otherwise, they have been helping the Muslim residents there, who are, comparatively, an ignorant people. Women also joined in this public work with interest. The train leaves Mangalore early in the morning. When we arrived at the station, we found a Gujarati sister with *kumkum*[3], rice, coconut and a leaf-bowl of sugar-candy in her hands. She welcomed us as adopted brothers, put a *tilak*[4] on our forehead,

[1] A community of Gujarat

[2] A *bhakti* cult; also a follower of it or devotee of Vishnu, one of the Hindu Trinity, and His incarnation, Krishna

[3] Auspicious red powder

[4] Mark on the forehead, made with *kumkum*, sandal paste or saffron

offered us the coconut and the leaf-bowl, wished us success and blessed us. The radiant face of Shaukat Ali at the time was a happy sight. I was happy that, even far away from their homes, Gujaratis maintain their traditional courtesy, good sense and love, and play their part in public life.

SWADESHI

Gujaratis have been giving good encouragement to the swadeshi movement. They have taught even little girls in Calicut to spin. These girls also sang before us, as they plied the spinning-wheels, a song about the wheel. This movement and the awakening, in some measure, among the Gujaratis of Calicut and Cochin are due to the enterprise of but one man. I was very pleased to see some wealthy Gujaratis wearing khadi.

AN INTELLIGENT GUJARATI

All the Gujaratis may not be filled with pride by the fact that some of them, so far away from their homes, are working to promote the movement for swadeshi, but I am sure they will all be delighted at the incident I shall describe. In Calicut, my speech was translated by a Malayali friend. The people were not quite satisfied with his translation. Those who had followed my speech pointed out some mistakes. When it was the turn of Shaukat Ali to speak, Mathuradas[1] came forward to translate his speech. Everybody knew him. The audience cheered him. Shaukat Ali's speech which was in English, he translated so well into Malayalam that everybody was immensely pleased with him. It is said that Mathuradas did not miss in his translation a single shade of meaning expressed in the English speech. Mathuradas knows Gujarati, Malayalam and English, all three, very well, and all his study has been the little he had learnt in an ordinary school in Cochin, the rest having been picked up in actual life. He is a business man, but is well informed on political issues. Most of the Gujaratis living in this part of the country have settled here with their families for the last two or three generations. Many of them were born in these parts. They keep in contact with their home-towns by visiting them from time to time and, in the places where they have settled, they do not keep aloof but are found to mix with the people. Mostly, one finds *Bhatias* and *Vanias*[2] from Kutch and Saurashtra settled outside for business.

[1] Mathuradas Trikumdas
[2] A community in Gujarat

OUR DIARY

The diary of our tour is as follows:

August	10	Left Bombay
,,	12-13	Madras
,,	14	Ambur and Vellore
,,	15	Madras
,,	16	Tanjore and Nagore
,,	17	Trichinopoly
,,	18	Calicut
,,	19	Mangalore
,,	20	Salem
,,	21	Salem and Bangalore
,,	22	Madras
,,	23	Bezwada
,,	25	Bombay
,,	26	Ahmedabad

We could not stay continuously for twenty-four hours at any place except Madras. Even in Madras, we did so only when we first arrived there. Thereafter, it being the central place, we used to spend there a few hours whenever we passed through it. The 125-mile journey from Salem to Bangalore was made by car. Touring at this pace was rather too much. But invitations poured in from all over and we did not feel it proper to reject any. There was also the desire, of course, to convey our message to as many places as we could manage.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-8-1920

123. SPEECH ON BOYCOTT AT GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE[1]

August 29, 1920

I am of the view that boycott will prove a hindrance. Perhaps you will not understand this. Much has been said about the injustices done to us, and it is no longer doubted that injustices have been done. Nor is there any argument about the need to take some action in the matter. Since we have the weapon of non-co-operation for the purpose, why should we think of the

[1] A resolution advocating boycott of British goods was moved by G. V. Mavlankar on the third day of the Conference.

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additional weapon of boycott? I shall not refer here to my ideas about boycott from an ethical point of view and the moral objections against it; just now I shall only try to prove to you that the policy of boycott has been shown to be impracticable. The movement of boycott which followed the Bengal partition could not be kept up with the same spirit. Shri Jivanlal[1], Mr. Baptista, Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande[2] and others were against satyagraha and were advocates of boycott. They were simply in love with the idea. They had even administered a pledge of boycott at a conference in Ahmednagar, and also issued public statements to refute my views. It was announced that boycott would start within three months, but nothing of the kind happened. You will hardly come across a worker like Hasrat Mohani. I had pleaded with him earnestly at the Delhi meeting on non-co-operation and requested him not to move the resolution on boycott. But, with his influence on the Muslims, who would listen to me there? They heard me all right, some even felt that there was substance in what I said, but the resolution advocating boycott was finally passed. However, it remained ineffective, for the people are in love with foreign goods, and a lover has eyes only for the thing he loves. Hasrat Mohani pleaded with Muslim business men and requested them not to import goods manufactured by British firms. The business men, however, could not bring themselves to sacrifice their profits running into crores. I have met innumerable people in places like Calcutta and Bombay and I have come to the conclusion that boycott is not possible. And now Hasrat Mohani also has given up the idea. I have, thus, seen the failure of the policy. Why, then, cling to a stand which puts you in an awkward situation? Gujarat has voted for non-co-operation; where then, is the need for a further resolution on boycott? If it has been a proper course to follow, I would have taken up the idea long ago. I must admit that the [Prime] Minister of England is Lancashire, and also that, if we refuse to patronize it, this Prime Minister would lose his strength. But there is vindictiveness and anger in this attitude and hence I reject it. I do so not only because the idea is morally wrong, but also because it is impracticable and, therefore, unworthy of consideration. Besides, you have adopted swadeshi as your dharma; how, then, can you accept boycott? One who has understood the idea of swadeshi, how can he use

[1] Barrister; a public worker of Ahmedabad who had helped Gandhiji in establishing the Satyagraha Ashram in 1915

[2] A Congress leader of Karnatak

foreign goods manufactured, if not in England, in Japan or America or any other country? Is it your idea that we should retaliate against England through boycott? You will not succeed, unless you boycott all goods from England. How is this possible? A good English book, I would certainly keep in a sacred spot and offer my worship to it. It is when I fall in love with paper made in a foreign country, though paper made in my country is available, that I disgrace myself. You may resort to boycott when India has taken to the sword and the atmosphere has turned to poison. But consider this. Even the general of an army does not go to battle without first getting the army ready. What preparations have you made for boycott? Non-co-operation and boycott will ever remain as different from each other as light is from darkness. I appeal to you to reject the idea of boycott.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 12-9-1920

124. KHADI VOW[2]

August 31, 1920

From today for life I declare that I shall purchase for my (wear) only khaddar cloth hand-made of hand-spun yarn cap or head-dress and socks excepted.

From a photostat: G.N. 2514

125. RIDICULE REPLACING REPRESSION

Had His Excellency the Viceroy not made it impossible by his defiant attitude on the Punjab and the Khilafat, I would have tendered him hearty congratulations for substituting ridicule for repression in order to kill a movement distasteful to him. For, torn from its context and read by itself His Excellency's discourse on non-co-operation is unexceptionable. It is a symptom of translation from savagery to civilization. Pouring ridicule on one's

[1] The resolution was put to the vote and declared lost.

[2] The text of the vow is in Gandhiji's hand both in English and in Hindi. Below this appear the following signatures: in Sindhi, 1. Chimandas Isardas 2. Kundansing Gangasing Makhijani 3. Ramchand Tarachand Murjani 4. Pohumal Hassomal Butani 5. Hariram Mohandas Relwani 6. Alimchand Udharam Jiandani, in Gurumukhi, 7. Rukminibai.

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opponent is an approved method in civilized politics. And if the method is consistently continued, it will mark an important improvement upon the official barbarity of the Punjab. His interpretation of Mr. Montagu's statement about the movement is also not open to any objection whatsoever. Without doubt a government has the right to use sufficient force to put down an actual outbreak of violence.

But I regret to have to confess that this attempt to pour ridicule on the movement, read in conjunction with the sentiments on the Punjab and the Khilafat preceding the ridicule, seems to show that His Excellency has made it a virtue of necessity. He has not finally abandoned the method of terrorism and frightfulness, but he finds the movement being conducted in such an open and truthful manner that any attempt to kill it by violent repression would expose him not only to ridicule but contempt of all right-thinking men.

Let us however examine the adjectives used by His Excellency to kill the movement by laughing at it. It is "futile", "ill-advised", "intrinsically inane", "unpractical", "visionary". He has rounded off the adjectives by describing the movement as "most foolish of all foolish schemes". His Excellency has become so impatient of it that he has used all his vocabulary for showing the magnitude of the ridiculous nature of non-co-operation.

Unfortunately for His Excellency the movement is likely to grow with ridicule as it is certain to flourish on repression. No vital movement can be killed except by the impatience, ignorance or laziness of its authors. A movement cannot be "inane" that is conducted by men of action as I claim the members of the Non-co-operation Committee are. It is hardly "unpractical", seeing that if the people respond, everyone admits that it will achieve the end. At the same time it is perfectly true that if there is no response from the people, the movement will be popularly described as "visionary". It is for the nation to return an effective answer by organized non-co-operation and change ridicule into respect. Ridicule is like repression. Both give place to respect when they fail to produce the intended effect.

Young India, 1-9-1920

126. *THE VICEREGAL PRONOUNCEMENT*

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

The remarks on the Punjab mean a flat refusal to grant redress. He would have us to "concentrate on the problems of the immediate future"! The immediate future is to compel repentance on the part of the Government on the Punjab matter. Of this there is no sign. On the contrary, His Excellency resists the temptation to reply to his critics, meaning thereby that he has not changed his opinion on the many vital matters affecting the honour of India. He is "content to leave the issues to the verdict of history". Now this kind of language, in my opinion, is calculated further to inflame the Indian mind. Of what use can a favourable verdict of history be to men who have been wronged and who are still under the heels of officers who have shown themselves utterly unfit to hold offices of trust and responsibility? The plea for co-operation is, to say the least, hypocritical in the face of the determination to refuse justice to the Punjab. Can a patient who is suffering from an intolerable ache be soothed by the most tempting dishes placed before him? Will he not consider it mockery on the part of the physician who so tempted him without curing him of his pain?

His Excellency is, if possible, even less happy on the Khilafat. "So far as any Government could", says this trustee for the nation, "we pressed upon the Peace Conference the views of Indian Moslems. But notwithstanding our efforts on their behalf we are threatened with a campaign of non-co-operation because, forsooth, the allied Powers found themselves unable to accept the contentions advanced by Indian Moslems." This is most misleading if not untruthful. His Excellency knows that the Peace Terms are not the work of the allied Powers. He knows that Mr. Lloyd George is the prime author of Terms and that the latter has never repudiated his responsibility for them. He has with amazing audacity justified them in spite of his considered pledge to the Moslems of India regarding Constantinople, Thrace

and the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor. It is not truthful to saddle responsibility for the Terms on the allied Powers when Great Britain alone has promoted them. The offence of the Viceroy becomes greater when we remember that he admits the justness of the Muslim claim. He could not have "pressed" it if he did not admit its justice.

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

Young India, 1-9-1920

127. ASSASSINATION OF A DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

The assassination of Mr. Willoughby is a most unfortunate event which has naturally evoked public sympathy and indignation. The murder was a cruel, thoughtless and fanatical act. It has not advanced but retarded the cause of Khilafat. Mr. Willoughby had no hand in the Turkish Terms. As is quite probable, he was himself a popular officer. It can only be counted as madness to kill an innocent man for a crime committed by a member of his race. And yet the fact must not be disguised that the murder will be regarded by many Mohammedans as a pious act worthy of a martyr. I have heard Mohammedans calmly arguing that such murders are not only justifiable but meritorious. I have known many Hindus who have argued that it was the throwing of bombs which brought about the removal of the Partition of Bengal.[1] I know that many consider Dhingra[2] to have been a martyr. The Sinn Feiners[3] openly practise murder and other forms of violence for the purpose of freeing their country from the English connection. Every assassin or incendiary is considered by them a hero. It is because I feared such a result in our midst, that I advised non-violent non-co-operation regarding the Khilafat. In my opinion, it is the active and open preaching of non-co-operation which has prevented murders and assassinations

[1] The partition of Bengal took place in 1905 and was annulled in December, 1911.

[2] Madan Lal Dhingra, a Punjabi student who shot dead Sir Curzon Wyllie, Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India, on July 1, 1909 at a reception by the National Indian Association in London; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 302.

[3] In Ireland

in the land. The murder of Mr. Willoughby proves that the propaganda of non-violence and non-co-operation has not proved sufficient to control individual fanatics and that it is not an easy thing to do so. It proves further that the Khilafat wrong is a deep-seated grievance which with the passage of time will sink deeper still instead of being forgotten.

I observe that *The Times of India* credits the Khilafat propaganda with the murder and calls it the "first fruits". I realize that the language used is cautious. It connects "certain aspects of the agitation" with the crime. But I venture to suggest that no aspect of the agitation is responsible for the unfortunate murder. It is the grievous wrong, done by the British ministers, which has evoked the cruel deed.

The Times of India is on safer ground when it says that the tragedy "is a special call to Islam, for, all thoughtful Mohammedans must realize that the honour of their religion is at stake". I wish to emphasize that warning. It must be the special duty of every Khilafat worker to be more careful than hitherto in insisting on complete freedom from violence as the condition precedent to successful non-co-operation. I am sure it is possible to cite texts from the Koran in condemnation of murder of innocent men. I can understand violence being done to wrongdoers in order to compel justice. It is unfortunately the chosen method of the civilized world. It has scriptural authority. Islam is said openly to preach violence to the wrongdoer. The so-called votaries of Christianity justify organized warfare for the removal of wrongs, fancied or real. Thousands of Hindus interpret the *Gita* to be a certificate for war in the cause of justice. It is only a minority (daily growing in numbers) which religiously believes that violence is wrong in itself and cannot be justified even to vindicate truth. But it cannot be religious (it may be civilized) to murder innocent unarmed men without warning. It is not enough for Khilafat workers to be satisfied with public condemnations (necessary as they are) or for the sake of decorum to join them. It is necessary for us to preach privately, publicly and incessantly the necessity of refraining from violence especially when an active campaign of non-co-operation full of promise is going on. We must feel in every fibre of our own being that every murder, every deed of violence must retard the progress of the movement.

This is an opportunity for distinguishing the Sinn Fein or the Egyptian non-co-operation from ours. The former does not and did not depend for success on non-violence. The Sinn Feiners resort to violence in every shape and form. Theirs is a "fright-

fulness'' not unlike General Dyer's. We may pardon it if we choose, because we sympathize with their cause. But it does not on that account differ in quality from General Dyer's act. The Central Khilafat Committee has openly and deliberately accepted non-violence for its creed so long as non-co-operation is being carried on. We must therefore seek to guard English life as our own. We must constitute ourselves as self-appointed volunteers guarding English life from violent hands. And our success depends upon our ability to control all the violent and fanatical forces in our midst.

Young India, 1-9-1920

128. THE GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE

The Gujarat Political Conference has made its choice. The terse, able and firm addresses, both of the chairman of the Reception Committee and the hoary president of the Conference, left little room for doubting its verdict. But perhaps no one was prepared for the acceptance in detail of the programme of non-co-operation. The resolutions of the Conference, which were naturally in Gujarati, are being translated specially for *Young India*.[1] I venture to invite the attention of the readers to them.

The Conference had burned the boats. It has deliberately refrained from waiting for the Congress mandate. The Gujaratis consider that they hold sufficiently decided views to warrant their taking definite action. I tender my congratulations to them. They had full warning given to them. The opposition was led by Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai. But he was in a hopeless minority. His warning may be stated in one sentence. The agitation for non-co-operation is calculated to evoke a spirit of lawlessness which in a nation composed of millions may be impossible to keep under control. It is the warning of a leader who has devoted his whole life to political and social reform and is therefore entitled to respect. The Gujarat Conference has fully weighed the consequences and given vote for non-co-operation. Mr. Abbas Tyabji in his closing words said in moving tones that he was reluctantly driven to adopt non-co-operation because he saw no other choice left open but to take up non-co-operation if he was to keep his self-respect and leave any healthy tradition to his children. He who once implicitly believed in British justice no longer believed in it. And with his belief in it so rudely shattered, he could not

[1] They were published in *Young India*, 1-9-1920.

support the British Government until it had purged itself of the injustice.

The Conference has laid emphasis on the necessity of the boycott of titles and honorary offices, law-courts, Government schools and councils. It has a separate resolution advising would-be recruits from offering themselves as soldiers, clerks or labourers for service in Mesopotamia. It has suggested boycott of any welcome to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught. It views his visit in the same light as that of the Prince of Wales. It has approved of swadeshi and has by an overwhelming majority thrown out the proposition of boycott of British goods as being unpractical and inconsistent with true swadeshi and non-co-operation. By way of constructive proposals it has suggested private arbitration courts, national schools and university and formation of volunteers corps and boy scouts in the villages for defence against dacoits and robbers.

It has altered the phraseology of the resolutions reciting other grievances. Thus the programme is clear, unequivocal, drastic and thoroughgoing. But it will tax the Gujaratis to their utmost. The mere passing of resolutions sufficed when the Government were expected to give effect to them. The new resolutions will stand to our shame if they remain unenforced by us who have whole-heartedly and after full deliberation voted for them.

There is no mistaking the awakening among the masses. A strong Executive Committee has been appointed by the Conference. Much will depend upon its earnestness and patriotism to make non-co-operation a reality in Gujarat.

Young India, 1-9-1920

129. OUR BURDEN

Pir Mahboob Shah has fallen. He was a brave man. I am not concerned with his guilt or innocence. If he used the language attributed to him, it certainly constituted an incitement to violence. In that case the punishment of two years' simple imprisonment awarded to him was certainly light. Not even the highest in the land, whether belonging to the official class or to the people, can be exempt from punishment for proved guilt. What however commanded my admiration was the fortitude with which the Pir Saheb decided to refrain from offering any defence and patiently to bear the penalty imposed upon him by a lawfully appointed tribunal. I thought that he had understood the spirit of the struggle. The manner in which his followers seemed to have

borne the imprisonment of their leader was also most satisfactory.

But the later news to the effect that the Pir Saheb secured his release by an apology shows our weakness. Having been brought up in debilitating atmosphere of servility, the tallest of us often bend before a very simple storm. The temptation of Western civilization, without its hard discipline which the nations of the west undergo, has made us almost incapable of suffering the physical discomfort entailed by even simple imprisonment. But Pir Mahboob Shah's surrender need not dishearten us. When a number of horses are carrying a burden and one becomes fatigued or otherwise incapacitated, the rest if they are spirited animals take up their companion's burden, put forth greater effort and pull up the load. How much more should we intelligent human beings bear our comrade's burden when he gives in?

Let us therefore see what that burden exactly means. He is an indifferent soldier who ignores his opponent's strength. We must therefore know the strength of the Government with which we are engaged in a fierce struggle. The Government represents a corporation that is crafty in the main, godless, untruthful, but courageous, able, self-sacrificing and possessing great powers of organization. We must therefore meet its craftiness by simplicity and openness, godlessness by godliness, untruthfulness by truthfulness. We must match its courage with greater ability, sacrifice with greater self-sacrifice, and its organizing powers with greater organizing powers. It has almost matchless weapons of violence. We must meet them with non-violence. Unless we are able to satisfy the test, we must be content to occupy a status of servility. Non-co-operation affords the nation an opportunity of showing all the qualities required for sustaining its honour.

Young India, 1-9-1920

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130. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING[1]

ON THE WAY TO CALCUTTA,
[*September 2, 1920*][2]

MY DEAR CHILD,

I had your first long letter from home. I was delighted.

I had four very pleasant days with Menon. He is frank, honest and clean. He is unassuming. I have invited him to come to the Ashram any time he likes. I have told him too that both you and he could stay at the Ashram and make it your home there.

He has still difficulties. Pressure is being put upon him to own Christianity for your sake[3]. I consider that unworthy of both of you. Your religion must be above everything. It is not a mechanical thing to be changed at will. Therefore in my opinion you must keep your respective faiths.

Then what about your children if you decide to bear them? It is a tremendous question for a godfearing person.

The solution I can see is that though you may marry, you may not see each other carnally. But you will both do as God directs you. Menon wished me to write to you what we talked and I have done. The solution appealed to him then. But that signifies nothing. Your connection is too sacred to tamper with.

Anne Marie[4], that is Miss Petersen, [as she] insists on my calling her, [and] I have fallen in love with each other. Of course I had nothing to forgive. But I must not describe the interview. She must have done it.

Ba, Devdas, Mahadev, Imam Saheb, Shankerlal Banker, Anasuya Behn are with me among many others. These however you know. Harilal I shall meet tonight in Calcutta.

I know you are spreading there love for India. May God bless you and your mission.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in the National Archives of India

[1] A Danish missionary who came to India in 1916 and later joined Sabarmati Ashram; Gandhiji treated her as his daughter.

[2] The date given in the original is August 2, but Gandhiji was in Bombay on that date. He was on his way to Calcutta on September 2, reaching there on the 3rd.

[3] The original has "case", evidently a slip.

[4] A member of the Danish Missionary Society in South India

131. SPEECH AT CALCUTTA CONGRESS

September 4, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi then stood up on the chair supported by a gentleman and there were loud and continued cheers. He was given a patient hearing as he appealed in English to the audience to hear Mrs. Besant. He with folded hands said that he liked to say a few words to those who to their shame and to the shame of the great assembly were trying to prevent an authorized speaker from addressing the audience. Mr. Gandhi wanted to appeal to everyone in the assembly that if they had gathered together in order to demand justice it was their first and sacred duty to render justice. (Cheers.)

"Do not mistake the position", continued Mr. Gandhi, "that Mrs. Besant had taken up (Cries of 'shame! shame!') as a position which is wilfully inimical to the interests of the country. You will have to forget the differences ('Hear! hear!') on the part of your men and women. That will be the first test ('Order! order!') of your ability to govern yourselves ('Hear! hear!') and if you are about to inaugurate non-co-operation ('Hear! hear!') you will be making a bad and a sad beginning."

The speaker then appealed to every one of them not merely to listen to Mrs. Besant in silence but with the respect for her age and her magnificent services to India. ("Hear! hear!")

Mr. Gandhi yielded to no one in the position he had taken up and that if he could not agree with her he yielded also to none even of her best admirers in his respect for her ("Hear! hear!") which she could rightly claim from everyone in India for the services that she had rendered to the country. In the name of the country, in the name of the great cause on which they were about to embark Mr. Gandhi asked them kindly and prayerfully to give Mrs. Besant and every one of those whom they might consider to be their opponents a respectful hearing. ("Hear! hear!" Shouts of "*Vandemataram*!")

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 5-9-1920

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132. "NAVAJIVAN" ENTERS A NEW YEAR

Navajivan has completed one year. It has had to face many difficulties but, despite them all, it has been able to complete one year. I have not succeeded in all my intentions. Thanks to the difficulties about the printing press, high prices of newsprint, defects in management, etc., we have not been able to give as many pages as we wanted to.

The subscribers have to suffer because of harassment by some honorary agents. I was pained by the failure of this experiment. Honorary work, done out of love, should be far better than paid work, but we have not attained that level yet. The desire for service has spread but we have not yet developed the capacity for it.

Besides these, I have my personal difficulties too. Thanks to them, I have not been able to give readers all that I wished to. To edit a paper and to travel are, if not impossible, difficult to do at the same time. For this reason, I have not been able to write some articles I had wanted to. I know how to guide correspondents, but I have not been able to satisfy my wish to encourage them.

It is no small satisfaction to know that, despite these and many other shortcomings, *Navajivan* is read eagerly. I should like the ideas presented in it to be put into practice even by the illiterate. Hence I request those readers who share *Navajivan*'s views to read out its issues to the illiterate as well. I will continue my efforts to make it more deserving of readers' interest.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-9-1920

133. GUJARAT MAKES ITS CHOICE

Gujarat has played its part well. The Conference[1] has never in the past had to face, and it will not have for a hundred years more to face, an issue as serious as the one on which it took a decision. We needed at this critical time a leader with an iron will and we found one. Everyone who reads the speeches of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and the venerable old gentleman, Abbas Tyabji, will readily acknowledge that they were resolute and unambiguous, but polite. The chairman of the Reception Committee stated his views in a brief but impressive speech, in the simplest Gujarati. We cannot say anything about Mr. Abbas Ali's style, since his speech was originally written in English. Other speeches were short and easy to follow. I have rarely come across or listened to presidential addresses so brief but direct as those speeches.

The Conference was worthy of the president. The resolutions it has passed leave nothing to be desired. They are categorical and are to be implemented forthwith.

The resolutions passed before now called upon the Government to do something or other; now, it is we who are to act.

The Conference has been sufficiently warned. The leaders told it of all possible dangers. It was made very clear that the people would lose their good name if they were found lacking the strength to carry out their decisions. The Conference has accepted non-co-operation unanimously, regardless of whether the special Congress votes against non-co-operation as such or against the actual programme suggested.

Gujaratis are reputed to be practical; they do not pass resolutions, carried away by emotion. If Gujarat fails to act on the resolution, it will fall in the esteem of others as much as it has risen by passing it. If Gujarat weakens in its resolve, even the country as a whole may suffer. It is a sign of wisdom, in the first instance, not to embark upon a task but, once a task is undertaken, it is one's duty always to see it through.

Gujaratis have become the trustees of Mother India's honour. May God grant them firmness.

The Conference has decided on the boycott of legislative bodies, Government schools and law-courts. It has requested title-holders to renounce their titles. While it has accepted swadeshi

[1] The Gujarat Political Conference held on August 27, 28 and 29

unanimously, it has by a large majority rejected the proposal for the boycott of British goods. It has opposed a welcome being given to the Duke of Connaught when he pays a visit and advised people against offering themselves as recruits or clerks or labourers for in Mesopotamia.

The resolution means the following things:

1. Title-holders and persons holding medals should renounce the titles and return the medals.

2. Lawyers should give up practice in law-courts and work out arrangements for settling disputes privately.

3. Parents should withdraw their children from schools which have any connection with the Government. Grown-up students should leave schools and colleges on their own.

4. Voters should refuse to vote for any one of the candidates seeking election to a council and the candidates should withdraw their candidature.

5. Every man, woman and child should follow the rule of perfect swadeshi and, in order that they may do so, spinning and weaving should be started in every home.

This shows that it is no small responsibility which the people have taken upon themselves. Even so, there is no possible danger of harassment in discharging it. The danger comes from the people's own timidity and lethargy. The loss of money which the programme entails is also negligible.

"What will be the substitute for law-courts? And for schools?" In answer to these questions, the Conference has suggested a scheme for securing settlement of disputes through *panchas* and another for starting new schools and converting the present schools into national schools.

All this looks nice on paper. But nothing can be done without a good number of workers and these must be brave, of sound morals, sober, courteous and persevering. If we can get such workers, Gujarat which seems enslaved today will be free tomorrow and, if Gujarat is free, to that extent India can be said to be free.

This programme contains something for everyone to do. Nothing will be achieved if everyone waits for someone else to begin; whoever can do anything should start doing it forthwith.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-9-1920

134. *DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S ASSASSINATION*

When I heard of the assassination, by a Muslim, of Mr. Willoughby, a Deputy Commissioner, how I wished I had been present on the spot; if it had been possible for me to take that blow upon myself, I would have rendered a service to Islam and to India which I can do in no other way. My dying in such circumstances would have had the result of convincing the whole world of the purity of our struggle; in such conviction lie the seeds of our victory.

This assassination has harmed our cause. An element of violence has entered the struggle, which had been peaceful so far. The freedom from fear which individual Englishmen enjoyed has in a measure diminished. This will lead to vindictiveness and severer repression. Increase in repression brought on by our own mistakes cannot but harm us.

In our struggle, nothing is kept secret. What we think, we speak out. Since we certainly do not want to use violence in our non-co-operation movement, we should condemn this murder, condemn it not only in newspapers and meetings but in our private conversations too, and even in our thoughts.

It is not that what I am saying is relevant only to non-violence of my conception; I say it from the point of view of the generally accepted principles of moral conduct.

If we really wish to keep non-co-operation free from violence, we should realize that it was our first duty to stop violence [if it occurred]. Welcoming violence, openly or secretly, while claiming to have renounced it, would be nothing but duplicity.

If violence broke out, the people would not be able to keep up non-co-operation. There would be a reign of terror all over the country and the people themselves would get panicky; no one would then go on with non-co-operation. This is plain enough and those in charge of the movement have realized it; that is why non-co-operation has generally remained free from violence.

I know, however, that there are Muslims, and Hindus too, who welcome such assassinations. A good many people read with interest accounts of murders in Ireland. Quite a few believe that, were it not for bomb-throwing, the partition of Bengal would not have been undone. There are some who believe that the assassination [of Sir William Curzon Wyllie] by Dhingra did some good. I

myself am emphatically of the view that assassinations never do any good, and that, if sometimes for a while good seems to have followed, in the end there is harm. I regard the victory of the British to be their defeat. Evil has increased in them. Greed, hypocrisy, anger, lying, injustice—these are rapidly increasing. There is no limit to their arrogance. The Germans have no scope for these evil impulses. On whom should they perpetrate injustice? What will anger avail them?

I would make this appeal even to those who believe in the creed of violence, that they may not ride two horses at a time. Either we should have non-violent non-co-operation or abandon non-co-operation altogether.

In saying this, it is not my purpose to suggest that we should now abandon non-co-operation; I only wish to alert those in charge of the movement, to point out to them where the real danger lies. Probably, the assassin of Mr. Willoughby does not even know what the term "non-co-operation" means; the key to our success, however, lies in our acquiring control over every person in the country. If we are not strong enough to prevent even sporadic attempts at assassination, our movement simply cannot go on.

What is the way to prevent them? By changing the atmosphere. The atmosphere can change only when those who are conducting the non-co-operation movement fully understand its true nature and the conditions for its success. The first condition is that we appoint ourselves policemen for the protection of Englishmen's life; if we do so, we would reason with all around us and explain to them that our success depended wholly on our eschewing violence.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-9-1920

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135. THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION[1]

September 5, 1920

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Government have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussulmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussulman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him:

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab:

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and swarajya is established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented opinion and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law-courts and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the mini-

[1] This appeared in *Young India* with the additional caption: "Mr. Gandhi's Resolution".

mum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;

(b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the reformed councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may despite the Congress advice offer himself for election;

(g) the boycott of foreign goods.

And inasmuch as non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of non-co-operation to every man, woman, and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

Young India, 15-9-1920

CWMG XXVIII

136. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, CALCUTTA

September 5, 1920

Mr. Gandhi spoke in support of his motions[1]. He expressed his utter distrust of the bureaucracy and stated that as British people were past masters in the art of diplomacy he felt convinced now, though he felt otherwise in Amritsar, that these reforms were a dangerous trap which concealed gilded chains that enslaved the country. He warned his hearers not to fall in that trap. He assured them that if they would only start the movement in the right spirit and carry it out as he desired, he was sure that they would secure full independence for the country within a year. He also stated that the masses were still backward in political action and had no initiation in the working of the electoral machinery. The electorate in his view had not yet the ability to discriminate on complicated political issues and were unable to understand the objective they had in view. They would be at the mercy of unscrupulous men and he wound up by saying that boycott of elections was the pivot upon which the programme in his resolution turned and therefore he was not prepared to yield to any appeal made in the name of unity. On this head, patriots like Mr. Tilak would not have been able to do even the small part of work they had done if they had got into councils. He again reiterated that he was not afraid of Moderates getting into the councils and he wished well to them because they believed that non-co-operation was dangerous. He claimed that his was a religious movement, that to true Mohammedans, non-co-operation including boycott of councils was an obligation enjoined as their faith, which they may not break. He described the state of excitement in the Mussulman community, such that, for very safety and peace, no less for brotherhood and unity, they should go with them non-co-operating with Government and that Mr. Das'[2] plan won't do.

By this time a number of amendments were handed to the president including amendments by Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar[3] to both motions, by Swami

[1] On non-co-operation

[2] C. R. Das (1870-1925); eminent lawyer and Congress leader; orator and author; elected president of the Congress in 1921

[3] 1852-1943; leading lawyer and active Congressman; presided over the Nagpur Congress session, 1920

Shraddhananda[1], by Shri Prakasa[2], by Pandit Nehru and others. Mr. Jinnah[3] then enquired as to the procedure to be adopted in further discussion of motion and amendments, pointing out the issues raised in deciding between the two principles of the motions of Mr. Das and Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi at this stage agreed, so far as the preamble was concerned, he was prepared to accept the Das preamble defining the aim of non-co-operation to be the attainment of complete swaraj.

The Hindu, 6-9-1920

137. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, CALCUTTA

September 7, 1920

This is Gandhiji's speech delivered before the Subjects Committee held at Calcutta on 7-9-1920, while answering his critics when he won by a narrow majority. . . .

He said he had agreed to graduality of the withdrawal of school children and lawyers on the ground that that was how it had actually happened in his practical experiences. He said that non-co-operation was gradually gathering force. "Gradual" did not mean eternity. He was only giving shelter and dispensation to those lawyers who had. . .[4] and to those who, on account of their circumstances, could not immediately renounce practice. Similarly in regard to schools.

Next referring to the question of allegiance and full responsible Government he desired to dispel the illusion both upon Mohammedans and Hindus as regards his position. He accepted the amendment regarding full self-government in his proposal not on the ground that the Khilafat question was subservient to the question of swaraj. To him the Khilafat and the Punjab were greater than swaraj. Pressure had been put upon him to accept Mr. Pal's[5] amendment but he had come to the conclusion that he should reject it, not only on a matter of conscience, but also on the ground of practical expediency as well. He had been told that he would prove by his action to be the evil genius of the Congress and other things. Such statements did not appeal to him, if in the

[1] Mahatma Munshiram (1856-1926); later known as Shraddhanand; nationalist leader of Arya Samaj who took prominent part in public activities in Delhi and the Punjab

[2] 1890- ; Congress leader and freedom fighter; India's first High Commissioner to Pakistan; sometime Governor of Maharashtra

[3] Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876-1948); Muslim leader; founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan

[4] The source is damaged and some words are missing here.

[5] Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932); educationist, journalist, orator and political leader of Bengal

interests of the country, the Congress deserves to be split up, he did not mind the consequences. He did not care about the creation of a great split among Nationalists. The Congress was to him a national and not a Nationalist or Moderate organization. The old creed of the Congress, according to him, provided a platform for every shade of opinion in the country. He for one felt that the Congress should continue to do so. It was wrong at any time to put pressure on anybody of any kind in this matter he and [*sic*] give his assurance to Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari who had grieved him by his observations which amounted to saying that he, Mr. Gandhi, was trading on his past reputation. He asked to be judged as a practical man before the Congress. His amendment embodied both a political and a religious principle because he considered that in politics, conscience and honourable dealing were as important as in private affairs, though consequences had to be judged and expediency adopted. He asked them to discard all prejudices and vote upon this question. Whatever the result, his view was that the minority in the Congress should not secede, but stay and use its best endeavours to convert itself into the majority. If he was defeated, he would not secede and so long as he could find in the Congress a platform to reach the hearts of men of all shades of opinion he would continue to stay in it, but, if he could not find it, he would go away. In his view the function of the Congress was not one of acceptance and action, but one of the expression of the verdict of the people. The Congress resolution, as he conceived it, was not a party resolution and he considered it was not right to make a fetish of the Congress resolution. The Congress did not issue a command as the Central Khilafat Committee did and so it was, he used the word "advised", in the resolution. If the Congress found within the next few months that the opinion expressed by it now, was not the opinion of the country, it shall change it. There was, therefore, no reason to introduce or impute conscience in this matter.

In regard to boycott of councils, he reiterated his view that the councils were a trap in which they should not enter. They were a death trap. He acknowledged that there were substantial improvements in Mr. Pal's resolution over the Das resolution, but on the boycott of elections, he was clear he wanted to go to every elector and ask him to boycott elections for the insult offered to the country by the Punjab and the Khilafat questions. He would not base his appeal to them on the question of swaraj. To him swaraj was only a means to an end and he for his part was prepared to exchange swaraj for any other system of Government if, in his opinion, it was for the good of the country.

On the creed, he was clear, he should support Mr. Shaukat Ali in everything he said and he himself felt that, in the circumstances in which they were placed, he was unable to tender his loyalty to the Government. He was prepared to seek his objects with or without British connection if necessary, so long as the methods were peaceful and the object was the good of the country. Men-

tally at least he owed no allegiance now to the British connection. He finally appealed to his hearers to affirm their belief one way or other and he reiterated that they should not go and run into the danger of the death traps provided and offer themselves as sacrifices to the God mammon. He believed in the ancient and pacific ideals of the East and not in the modern and advanced ideals of the West as he only too well knew that the choice of India lay before them and he asked them to give a new gospel to the world based on their ancient ideals.

The Hindu, 8-9-1920

138. THE INWARDNESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION

I commend to the attention of the readers of *Young India* the thoughtful letter received from Miss Anne Marie Petersen. Miss Petersen is a lady who has been in India for some years and has closely followed Indian affairs. She is about to sever her connection with her Mission for the purpose of giving herself to education that is truly national.

I have not given the letter in full. I have omitted all personal references. But her argument has been left entirely untouched. The letter was not meant to be printed. It was written just after my Vellore speech. But it being intrinsically important, I asked the writer for her permission, which she gladly gave, for printing it.

I publish it all the more gladly in that it enables me to show that the movement of non-co-operation is neither anti-Christian nor anti-English nor anti-European. It is a struggle between religion and irreligion, powers of light and powers of darkness.

It is my firm opinion that Europe today represents not the spirit of God or Christianity but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's successes are the greatest when he appears with the name of God on his lips. Europe is today only nominally Christian. In reality it is worshipping mammon. "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom." Thus really spoke Jesus Christ. His so-called followers measure their moral progress by their material possessions. The very national anthem of England is anti-Christian. Jesus, who asked his followers to love their enemies even as themselves, could not have sung of his enemies, "Confound his enemies, frustrate their knavish tricks". The last book that Dr. Wallace wrote set forth his deliberate conviction that the much vaunted advance of science had added not an inch to the moral stature of Europe. The last War however has shown, as nothing else has, the Satanic nature of

the civilization that dominates Europe today. Every canon of public morality has been broken by the victors in the name of virtue. No lie has been considered too foul to be uttered. The motive behind every crime is not religious or spiritual but grossly material. But the Mussulmans and the Hindus who are struggling against the Government have religion and honour as their motive. Even the cruel assassination which has just shocked the country is reported to have a religious motive behind it. It is certainly necessary to purge religion of its excrescences, but it is equally necessary to expose the hollowness of moral pretensions on the part of those who prefer material wealth to moral gain. It is easier to wean an ignorant fanatic from his error than a confirmed scoundrel from his scoundrelism.

This however is no indictment against individuals or even nations. Thousands of individual Europeans are rising above their environment. I write of the tendency in Europe as reflected in her present leaders. England through her leaders is absolutely crushing Indian religious and national sentiment under her heels. England under the false plea of self-determination is trying to exploit the oilfields of Mesopotamia which she is almost to leave because she has probably no choice. France through her leaders is lending her name to training cannibals as soldiers and is shamelessly betraying her trust as a mandatory power by trying to kill the spirit of the Syrians. President Wilson[1] has thrown on the scrap-heap his precious fourteen points.

It is this combination of evil forces which India is really fighting through non-violent non-co-operation. And those like Miss Petersen, whether Christian or European, who feel that this error must be dethroned can exercise the privilege of doing so by joining the non-co-operation movement. With the honour of Islam is bound up the safety of religion itself and with the honour of India is bound up the honour of every nation known to be weak.

Young India, 8-9-1920

[1] Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924); 28th President of the United States of America

139. PARIAHS OF THE EMPIRE

The memorable Conference at Gujarat in its resolution on the status of Indians abroad has given it as its opinion that even this question may become one more reason for non-co-operation. And so it may. Nowhere has there been such open defiance of every canon of justice and propriety as in the shameless decision of confiscation of Indian rights in the Kenya Colony announced by its Governor. This decision has been supported by Lord Milner and Mr. Montagu. And his Indian colleagues are satisfied with the decisions. Indians, who have made East Africa, who outnumber the English, are deprived practically of the right of representation on the council. They are to be segregated in parts not habitable by the English. They are to have neither the political nor the material comfort. They are to become Pariahs in a country made by their own labour, wealth and intelligence. The Viceroy is pleased to say that he does not like the outlook and is considering the steps to be taken to vindicate the justice. He is not met with a new situation. The Indians of East Africa had warned him of the impending doom. And if His Excellency has not yet found the means of ensuring redress, he is not likely to do it in future. I would respectfully ask his Indian colleagues whether they can stand this robbery of their countrymen's rights.

In South Africa the situation is no less disquieting. My misgivings seem to be proving true, and repatriation is more likely to prove compulsory than voluntary. It is a response to the anti-Asiatic agitation, not a measure of relief for indigent Indians. It looks very like a trap laid for the unwary Indian. The Union Government appears to be taking an unlawful advantage of a section of a relieving law designed for a purpose totally different from the one now intended.

As for Fiji, the crime against humanity is evidently to be hushed up. I do hope that unless an inquiry is to be made into the Fiji martial law doings, no Indian member will undertake to go to Fiji. The Government of India appear to have given an undertaking to send Indian labour to Fiji provided the commission that was to proceed there in order to investigate the condition on the spot returns with a favourable report.

For British Guiana I observe, from the papers received from that quarter, that the mission that came here is already declaring that Indian labour will be forthcoming from India. There seems

to me to be no real prospect for Indian enterprise in that part of the world. We are not wanted in any part of the British Dominions except as Pariahs to do the scavenging for the European settlers.

The situation is clear. We are Pariahs in our own home. We get only what Government intend to give, not what we demand and have a right to. We may get the crumbs, never the loaf. I have seen large and tempting crumbs from a lavish table. And I have seen the eyes of our Pariahs, the shame of Hinduism—brightening to see those heavy crumbs filling their baskets. But the superior Hindu, who is filling the basket from a safe distance, knows that they are unfit for his own consumption. And so we in our turn may receive even Governorships which the real rulers no longer require or which they cannot retain with safety for their material interest—the political and material hold on India. It is time we realized our true status.

Young India, 8-9-1920

140. SWADESHI

The swadeshi propaganda has been going on in a more or less organized manner now for the past eighteen months. Some of its results are surprising and gratifying. It has taken a fairly firm hold in the Punjab, Madras and the Bombay Presidency. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving are steadily increasing in these parts. Several thousand rupees have been distributed in homes where women never did any work before. And if more work of this kind has not been done, it is due to want of workers.

This is however written more to note the mistakes of the past than to sum up the bright side. My observations lead me to the conclusion that whilst the inauguration of the three vows and swadeshi stores have greatly stimulated the swadeshi spirit, it is no longer possible to advocate the taking of any of the three vows or the opening of new swadeshi stores for the sale of mill-made cloth. The result of the propaganda has been to send up the prices of yarn and cloth rather than increase production. It is clear that the purpose of swadeshi is not served until the quantity of yarn and cloth produced is increased. The gain therefore is merely moral and not material. The people have begun to perceive the desirability of wearing only swadeshi cloth if the real interest of the country is to be advanced.

But it is clear that we must take practical steps for meeting the growing demand for swadeshi cloth. One way, no doubt, is to increase the mills. But it is obvious that capitalists do not need popular encouragements. They know that India needs much more cloth than is manufactured by our mills. But mills do not spring up like mushrooms. It is a matter of getting machinery from outside, let alone the difficulty of getting labour. And after all, India cannot become truly and economically independent so long as she must rely on the supply of machinery from outside for the manufacture of her cloth.

The cleanest and the most popular form of swadeshi, therefore, is to stimulate hand-spinning and hand-weaving and to arrange for a judicious distribution of yarn and cloth so manufactured. With a little talent and a little industry this thing is easy. Even as each home cooks its own food without difficulty, so may each home weave its own yarn. And just as in spite of every home having its own kitchen, restaurants continue to flourish, so will mills continue to supply our additional wants. But even as because of our private kitchens we would not starve if every restaurant was through some accident closed, so would we, by reason of domestic spinning, not have to go naked even if every mill, by a blockade from the West, had to stop work. Not long ago, we knew this secret of our own economic independence and it is possible for us to regain that independence by a little effort, a little organizing agency and a little sacrifice.

Therefore true swadeshi consists in introducing the spinning-wheel in every household and every household spinning its own yarn. Many a Punjabi woman does it today. And though we may not supply our own cloth entirely, we shall be saving yearly crores of rupees. In any event there is no other swadeshi than increased manufacture by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Whether we take up hand-spinning and hand-weaving or we do not, it is at least necessary to understand what true swadeshi is.

Young India, 8-9-1920

141. DEMOCRACY "VERSUS" MOBOCRACY

Looking at the surface there is but a thin dividing line between mob-law and the people's law. And yet the division is complete and will persist for all time.

India is today quickly passing through the mob-law stage. The use of the adverb signifies my hope. It may be our misfortune to have to pass through that process even in slow stages. But it is wisdom to adopt every means at our disposal to have done with that stage as quickly as possible.

There is much tendency on our part to yield to the rule of the mob. There was mob rule at Amritsar on the 10th April 1919. There was mob rule at Ahmedabad on the same fateful day. It represented undisciplined destruction and therefore it was thoughtless, profitless, wicked and harmful. War is disciplined destruction, much more bloody than any yet committed by mobs. And yet war has been apostrophized, because we have been deceived by the temporary but brilliant results achieved by some wars. So, if India has to achieve her freedom by violence, it will have to be by disciplined and honourable (insofar as it is possible to associate honour with violence) violence, named war. It will then be an act not of mobocracy but democracy.

But my purpose today is not to write of mobocracy of the Ahmedabad type. I intend to deal with the type with which I am more familiar. The Congress is a demonstration for the mob and in that sense and that only. Though organized by thoughtful men and women it may be called a mob-demonstration. Our popular demonstrations are unquestionably mob-demonstrations. During the memorable tour of the Khilafat mission through the Punjab, Sind and Madras, I have had a surfeit of such demonstrations. I have been ashamed to witness at railway stations, thoughtless though unwitting destruction of passengers' luggage by demonstrators who in their adoration of their heroes have ignored everything else and everybody else. They have made, much to the discomfort of their heroes, unmusical and harsh noises. They have trampled upon one another. They have elbowed out one another. All have shouted, all at the same time, in the holy name of order and peace. Ten volunteers have been heard to give the same order at the same time. Volunteers often become demonstrators instead of remaining people's policemen. It is a

task often dangerous, always uncomfortable, for the heroes to be escorted through a broken chain of volunteers from the platform to the coach intended for them. Often it is a process which, although it should occupy no more than five minutes, has occupied, one hour. The crowd instead of pressing back, presses towards the heroes and who therefore requires to be protected. The coach is taken possession of by anybody who dares, volunteers being the greatest sinners. The heroes and other lawful occupants have to reason with the intruders that they may not mount the footboards in that summary fashion. The hood of the coach is roughly handled by the processionists. It is not often that I have seen hoods of motors left undamaged by crowds. On the route instead of crowds lining the streets, they follow the coach. The result is confusion worse confounded. Every moment there is danger of accidents. That there is rarely any accident at such demonstrations is not due to the skill of the organizers, but the crowd is determined to put up with all jostling and retain its perfect good humour. In spite of everyone jostling everyone else, one has not the slightest *wish* to inconvenience one's neighbour. To finish the picture, there is the meeting, an ever-growing cause of anxiety. You face nothing but disorder, din, pressing, yelling and shouting there. A good speaker arrests the attention of the audience and there is order such that you can hear a pin drop.

All the same this is mobocracy. You are at the mercy of the mob. So long as there is sympathy between you and the mob, everything goes well. Immediately that cord is broken, there is horror. An Ahmedabad episode now and then gives you the mob psychology.

We must then evolve order out of chaos. And I have no doubt that the best and the speediest method is to introduce the people's law instead of mob-law.

One great stumbling block is that we have neglected music. Music means rhythm, order. Its effect is electrical. It immediately soothes. I have seen, in European countries, a resourceful superintendent of police by starting a popular song controlling the mischievous tendencies of mobs.[1] Unfortunately like our Shastras, music has been the prerogative of the few, either the barter of prostitutes or high class religious devotees. It has never become nationalized in the modern sense. If I had any influence with volunteer boy scouts and Seva Samiti organizations, I would

[1] The reference is to Alexander, who saved Gandhiji in this manner from an attack by the mob; *vide An Autobiography*, Part III, Ch. III.

make compulsory a proper singing in company of national songs. And to that end I should have great musicians attending every Congress or Conference and teaching mass music.

Much greater discipline, method and knowledge must be exacted from volunteers and no chance comer should be accepted as a full-fledged volunteer. He only hinders rather than helping. Imagine the consequence of the introduction of one untrained soldier finding his way into an army at war. He can disorganize it in a second. My greatest anxiety about non-co-operation is not the slow response of the leaders, certainly not the well-meant and even ill-meant criticism, never unadulterated repression. The movement will overcome these obstacles. It will gain even strength from them. But the greatest obstacle is that we have not yet emerged from the mobocratic stage. But my consolation lies in the fact that nothing is so easy as to train mobs, for the simple reason that they have no mind, no premeditation. They act in a frenzy. They repent quickly. Our organized Government does not repent of its fiendish crimes at Jallianwala, Lahore, Kasur, Akalgarh, Ram Nagar, etc. But I have drawn tears from repentant mobs at Gujranwala and everywhere a frank acknowledgment of repentance from those who formed the mob during that eventful month of April. Non-co-operation I am therefore now using in order to evolve democracy. And I respectfully invite all the doubting leaders to help by refusing to condemn, in anticipation of a process of national purification, training and sacrifice.

Next week I hope to give some illustrations[1] of how in a moment order was evolved out of mob disorder. My faith in the people is boundless. Theirs is an amazingly responsive nature. Let not the leaders distrust them. This chorus of condemnation of non-co-operation when properly analysed means nothing less than distrust of the people's ability to control themselves. For the present I conclude this somewhat lengthy article by suggesting some rules for guidance and immediate execution.

1. There should be no raw volunteers accepted for big demonstrations. Therefore none but the most experienced should be at the head.

2. Volunteers should have a general instructions book on their persons.

3. At the time of demonstrations there must be a review of volunteers at which special instructions should be given.

[1] *Vide* "Some Illustrations", 22-9-1920.

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4. At stations, volunteers should not all be centred at one point, namely, where the reception committee should be. But they should be posted at different points in the crowd.

5. Large crowds should never enter the station. They cannot but inconvenience traffic. There is as much honour in staying out as in entering the station.

6. The first duty of the volunteers should be to see that other passengers' luggage is not trampled upon.

7. Demonstrators ought not to enter the station long before the notified time for arrival.

8. There should be a clear passage left in front of the train for the passengers.

9. There should be another passage if possible half way through the demonstrators for the heroes to pass.

10. There should be no chain formed. It is humiliating.

11. The demonstrators must not move till the heroes have reached their coach or till they receive a pre-arranged signal from an authorized volunteer.

12. National cries must be fixed and must be raised not anyhow, at any time or all the time, but just on the arrival of the train, on the heroes reaching the coach and on the route at fair intervals. No objections need be raised to this on the score of the demonstration becoming mechanical and not spontaneous. The spontaneity will depend upon numbers, the response to the cries above all the general look of the demonstrators, not in the greatest number of noises or the loudest. It is the training that a nation receives which characterizes the nature of its demonstrations. A Mohammedan silently worshipping in his mosque is no less demonstrative than a Hindu temple-goer making a noise either through his voice or his gong or both.

13. On the route the crowd must line and not follow the carriages. If pedestrians form part of the moving procession, they must noiselessly and in an orderly manner take their places and not at their own will join or abstain.

14. A crowd should never press towards the heroes but should move away from them.

15. Those on the last line or the circumference should never press forward but give way when pressure is directed towards them.

16. If there are women in the crowd they should be specially protected.

17. Little children should never be brought out in the midst of crowds.

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18. At meetings volunteers should be dispersed among the crowd. They should learn flag and whistle signalling in order to pass instructions from one to another when it is impossible for the voice to carry.

19. It is no part of the audience to preserve order. They do so by keeping motionless and silent.

20. Above all, everyone should obey volunteers' instructions without question.

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is merely illustrative and designed to stimulate thought and discussion. I hope that all the vernacular papers will translate this article.

Young India, 8-9-1920

142. THREE NATIONAL CRIES

During the Madras tour, at Bezwada I had occasion to remark upon the national cries and I suggested that it would be better to have cries about ideals than men. I asked the audience to replace "*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*" and "*Mahomed Ali-Shaukat Ali ki jai*" by "*Hindu-Mussulman ki jai*". Brother Shaukat Ali, who followed, positively laid down the law. In spite of the Hindu-Muslim unity he had observed that if Hindus shouted "*Vandemataram*", the Muslims rang out with "*Allah-o-Akbar*" and *vice versa*. This he rightly said jarred on the ear and still showed that the people did not act with one mind. There should be therefore only three cries recognized, "*Allah-o-Akbar*" to be joyously sung out by Hindus and Muslims showing that God alone was great and no other. The second should be "*Vandemataram*" (Hail Motherland) or "*Bharat Mata ki jai*" (Victory to Mother Hind). The third should be "*Hindu-Mussulman ki jai*" without which there was no victory for India, and no true demonstration to the greatness of God. I do wish that the newspapers and public men would take up the Maulana's suggestion and lead the people only to use the three cries. They are full of meaning. The first is a prayer and a confession of our littleness and therefore a sign of humility. It is a cry in which all Hindus and Muslims should join in reverence and prayerfulness. Hindus may not fight shy of Arabic words when their meaning is not only totally inoffensive but even ennobling. God is no respecter of any particular tongue. "*Vandemataram*", apart from its wonderful associations, expresses the one national wish —the rise of India to her full height. And I should prefer "*Vandemataram*" to "*Bharat Mata ki jai*" as it would be a graceful recognition of the intellectual and emotional superiority of Bengal. Since India

can be nothing without the union of the Hindu and the Muslim heart, "*Hindu-Mussulman ki jai*" is a cry which we may never forget.

There should be no discordance in these cries. Immediately some one has taken up any of the three cries the rest should take it up and not attempt to yell out their favourite. Those who do not wish to join may refrain, but they should consider it a breach of etiquette to interpolate their own when a cry has already been raised. It would be better too, always to follow out the three cries in the order given above. Nor should cries be incessantly shouted. One often hears an incessant yell when a popular leader is passing through a station. I doubt if this incessant noise does the slightest good to the nation except to provide an indifferent exercise for one's lungs. Moreover, it is necessary to think of our hero's nerves and time. It is a national waste to keep him occupied in gazing at a crowd and hearing a cry in his praise or any other for full thirty minutes. We must cultivate the sense of proportion.

Young India, 8-9-1920

143. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION, CALCUTTA CONGRESS

September 8, 1920

Mr. Gandhi moved his resolution on non-co-operation with the following speech:

I am aware, more than aware, of the grave responsibility that rests on my shoulders in being privileged to move this resolution before this great assembly. I am aware that my difficulties, as also yours, increase if you are able to adopt this resolution. I am also aware that the adoption of any resolution will mark a definite change in the policy which the country has hitherto adopted for the vindication of the rights that belong to it, and its honour. I am aware that a large number of our leaders who have given the time and attention to the affairs of my motherland, which I have not been able to give, are ranged against me. They think it a duty to resist the policy of revolutionizing the Government policy at any cost. Knowing this I stand before you in fear of God and a sense of duty to put this before you for your hearty acceptance.

Think Impartially

I ask you to dismiss me, for the time being from your consideration. I have been charged of saintliness and a desire for dictatorship. I venture to say that I do not stand before you either as a

saint or a candidate for dictatorship. I stand before you to present to you the results of my many years' practical experience in non-co-operation. I deny the charge that it is a new thing in the country. It has been accepted at hundreds of meetings attended by thousands of men, and has been placed in working order since the first of August by the Mussulmans, and many of the things in the programme are being enforced in a more or less intense form. I ask you again to dismiss personalities in the consideration of this important question, and bring to bear patient and calm judgment on it. But a mere acceptance of the resolution does not end the work. Every individual has to enforce the items of the resolution in so far as they apply to him. I beseech you to give me a patient hearing. I ask you neither to clap nor to hiss. I do not mind them so far as I am concerned, but clapping hinders the flow of thought, clapping and hissing hinder the process of correspondence between a speaker and his audience. You will not hiss out of the stage any single speaker. For non-co-operation is a measure of discipline and sacrifice and it demands patience and respect for opposite views. And unless we were able to evolve a a spirit of mutual toleration for diametrically opposite views, non-co-operation is an impossibility. Non-co-operation in an angry atmosphere is an impossibility. I have learnt through bitter experience the one supreme lesson to conserve my anger and as heat conserved is transmuted into energy, even so our anger controlled can be transmuted into a power which can move the world. To those who have been attending the Congress, as brothers in arms I ask what can be better discipline than that, which we should exercise between ourselves.

I have been told that I have been doing nothing but wreckage and that by bringing forward the resolution I am breaking up the political life of the country. The Congress is not a party organization. It ought to provide a platform for all shades of opinions, and a minority need not leave this organization, but may look forward to translate itself into a majority, in course of time, if its opinion commended itself to the country. Only let no man in the name of the Congress advocate a policy which has been condemned by the Congress. And if you condemn my policy I shall not go away from the Congress, but shall plead with them to convert the minority into a majority.

Enforce Clear Repentance

There are no two opinions as to the wrong done to the Khilafat. Mussulmans cannot remain as honourable men and follow

their Prophet if they do not vindicate their honour at any cost. The Punjab has been cruelly, brutally treated, and inasmuch as one man in the Punjab was made to crawl on his belly the whole of India crawled on her belly, and if we are worthy sons and daughters of India we should be pledged to remove these wrongs. It is in order to remove these wrongs that the country is agitating itself. But we have not been able to bend the Government to our will. We cannot rest satisfied with a mere expression of angry feeling. You could not have heard a more passionate denunciation of the Punjab wrongs than in the pages of the presidential address. If the Congress cannot wring justice from unwilling hands how can it vindicate its existence and its honour? How can it do so if it cannot enforce clear repentance, before receiving a single gift, however rich, from those blood-stained hands?

Extend the Spirit of Sacrifice

I have therefore placed before you my scheme of non-co-operation to achieve this end and want you to reject any other scheme unless you have deliberately come to the conclusion that it is a better scheme than mine. If there is a sufficient response to my scheme, I make bold to reiterate my statement that you can gain swarajya in the course of a year. Not the passing of the resolution will bring swarajya, but the enforcement of the resolution from day to day in a progressive manner, due regard being had to conditions in the country. There is another remedy before the country, and that is drawing of the sword. If that was possible India would not have listened to the gospel of non-co-operation. I want to suggest to you that even if you want to arrest injustice by methods of violence, discipline and self-sacrifice are necessary. I have not known of a war gained by a rabble, but I have known of wars gained by disciplined armies and if you want to give battle to the British Government and to the combined power of Europe we must train ourselves in discipline and self-sacrifice. I confess I have become impatient, I have seen that we deserve swarajya today, but we have not got the spirit of national sacrifice. We have evolved this spirit in domestic affairs, and I have come to ask you to extend it to other affairs. I have been travelling from one end to the other of the country to see whether the country has evolved the national spirit, whether at the altar of the nation it is ready to dedicate its riches, children, its all, if it was ready to make the initiatory sacrifice. Is the country ready? Are the title-holders ready to surrender their titles? Are parents ready to sacrifice literary education of their children for the

sake of the country? The schools and colleges are really a factory for turning out clerks for Government. If the parents are not ready for the sacrifice, if title-holders are not ready, swarajya is very nearly an impossibility. No nation being under another nation can accept gifts and kick at the responsibility attaching to those gifts, imposed by the conquering nation. Immediately the conquered country realized instinctively that any gift which might come to it is not for the benefit of the conquered, but for the benefit of the conqueror, that moment it should reject every form of voluntary assistance to it. These are the fundamental essentials of success in the struggle for the independence for the country, whether within the Empire or without the Empire. I hold a real substantial unity between Hindus and Mussulmans infinitely superior to the British connection and if I had to make a choice between that unity and the British connection, I would have the first and reject the other. If I had to choose between the honour of the Punjab, anarchy, neglect of education, shutting out of all legislative activity, and British connection, I would choose the honour of the Punjab and all it meant, even anarchy, shutting out of all schools, etc., without slightest hesitation.

If you have the same feeling burning in you as in me for the honour of Islam and the Punjab then you will unreservedly accept my resolution.

Boycott of Councils

I now come to the burning topic, viz, the boycott of the councils. Sharpest difference of opinion existed regarding this, and if the house has to divide on it, it must divide. If it must divide you will consider that it must divide on one issue, viz, whether swarajya has to be gained through the councils or without the councils. If we utterly distrust the British Government and we know that they are utterly unrepentant how can you believe that the councils will lead to swarajya and not tighten the British hold on India?

Swadeshi

I now come to swadeshi. The boycott of foreign goods is included in the resolution. You have got here, I confess, an anomaly for which I am not originally responsible. But I have consented to it. I will not go into the history of how it found a place into the resolution, of which the essence is discipline and self-sacrifice. Swadeshi means permanent boycott of foreign goods. It is therefore a matter of redundancy. But I have taken it in, because I could not reject it as a matter of conscience. I know, however,

it is a physical impossibility. So long as we have to rely on the pins and needles—figurative and literal both—we cannot bring about a complete boycott of foreign goods. I do not hesitate to say this clause mars the musical harmony, if I may claim it without vanity, of the programme. I feel that those words do mar the symmetry of the programme. But I am not here for symmetry of the programme as for its workability.

I again ask you not to be influenced by personality. Reject out of your consideration any service that I have done. Two things only I claim. Laborious industry, great thought behind any programme, and unflinching determination to bring it about. You may take only those things from me, and bring them to bear on any programme that you adopt.

Young India, 15-9-1920

144. SPEECH REPLYING ON NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION, CALCUTTA

September 8, 1920

This is the full text of Mr. Gandhi's speech in reply to the criticisms of the opposite party.

I know that I have got to perform a duty by you and answer some of the many objections that have been raised against the points in the proposition. You have now listened to all speeches but one, with respectful attention. I am exceedingly sorry that you refused to hear Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas[1]. You have heard Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, and Mrs. Besant—a host in themselves. You have heard the arguments advanced by Mrs. Besant and several other speakers. They have all a splendid record of service behind them. They have hitherto led the Congress for a number of years and have given you their best services and I know that you will give all arguments that have been advanced against my resolution the respect that they are entitled to. But at the same time I am here to tell you that with all my anxiety to be convinced of any error of judgment or otherwise that I have committed, I stand unconvinced.

It has been suggested by Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Das that this programme is impracticable. Is it not capable of being practised? I venture to suggest to you that it is capable of being practised today by everyone who is affected by the several items.

[1] A leading member of the Home Rule League

There is the introduction of the word "gradual" and Mr. Das has very properly laid emphasis upon that word in order to show that it is in recognition of the impracticable nature of at least two items, those relating to schools and law-courts. I respectfully differ from him. The introduction of that adjective is a concession to our weakness and recognition of our unreadiness. I admit that with the introduction of the adjective, these two items may be absolutely whittled down. It would depend largely upon the sense of indignation that has really fired the nation and it will still more largely depend upon the work that may be put into the programme by real workers. You may depend upon it that so long as the Non-co-operation Committee started by the Central Khilafat Committee is in existence, so long will you find these items, and many more, continuously placed before you for acceptance and every argument and every inducement will be held out to you—not pecuniary but every inducement in the interest of the nation—and every appeal will be made to your patriotic spirit in order that you may be stimulated to action. I have not the slightest doubt, even with the experience of only one and a half months behind me, that we shall have a fairly good response from the country. I contend that this programme is not unpracticable, in the sense that anybody who wishes to enforce those items can do so today. It is not a physical impossibility with him as it is practical if he wanted really to enforce complete boycott of foreign goods.

In my humble opinion this item is a practical impossibility as other items are undoubtedly not. I have given you my reasons for accepting this item in my programme though in theory this is sound. I was most anxious to place before the nation only those things which the nation, if it was willing and ready, could put it into practice today.

Let me not conceal one great fact from you. I do suggest to you that if you want to carry out the programme of non-co-operation as sketched by me it is expected of you—and you will find in the course of our peregrinations that we shall be continually dinning the thing into your ears,—it is expected of you that if it is at all possible for you, you will withdraw your children from schools tomorrow and lawyers will suspend their practice from tomorrow. But, as I have said, if you have not the ability, if you have not immediate readiness, the introduction of the adjective gives you thinking time. I declined to accept the interpretation that some in the audience placed upon these two items, when they questioned that they are to withdraw their children only when

national schools are ready, and that lawyers should suspend practice when arbitration courts are established. That in my opinion is building before foundation. I cannot put a handsome pile of buildings or ever erect a straw cottage without having children to educate. When a nation is at war, whether non-violent, or violent, it is an indispensable condition that it stops its schools and law-courts. I have gone through two wars myself. In them schools remained in suspended animation and so were the law-courts closed, rather because litigants had no time to think of their private quarrels and parents came to the conclusion that the best education that their children could receive at a critical time in their history was that they should understand that it was better for them to have their children's education suspended for a time than that they should remain in a state of evil. These two items are undoubtedly tests of our feelings in the matter and if the nation feels it will act up to these two things.

Much has been made of want of notice and, if facts were as they are supposed to be, I think, it would be a sound argument. But perhaps this has escaped even Mr. Pal's notice, even Mr. Jinnah's notice, that really this question of notice arises only because of the introduction of new elements in the programme, namely the demand for swaraj. If we were making a new demand for swaraj, the argument will be final; they, as an honourable nation, ought to give a clear emphatic notice to the British people, but in my programme it is not put in that fashion. I have said that without swaraj it would be impossible to prevent repetition of wrongs such as have been inflicted in the Punjab and therefore in this programme swaraj is no independent demand but has been made a demand because in the opinion of the Congress it is necessary in order to guard against a future contingency to have swaraj. In my humble opinion, there is absolutely nothing wrong in it. But I go forward. Both Messrs Jinnah and Malaviya have accepted Mr. Pal's programme. You will find therein that some of the items are to be enforced from tomorrow and what the amendment states is that the other items will be reduced to practice later on and that while the mission is conducting its affairs, some operation of non-co-operation programme is to be enforced from the population of India. I think the Congress may well hold that notice sufficient for its purpose without in any way damaging the prestige of the whole nation which are convertible terms.

I come to the final point namely boycott of councils. I must confess that I have not yet heard a single argument in favour of going to councils. All the argument that has up to now been

advanced is seeing that we have done something through these councils during 35 years, seeing that the reformed council is really in response to our agitations—which I admit—and seeing that there is greater scope for obstruction as we can command a majority by influencing voters—which too I admit—, we may be able by going to councils, to paralyse Government, or the administration, as the case may be. In my humble opinion, as student of English history, I have found, and it is a practical maxim adopted in English public life, that every institution thrives on obstruction. When we seek elections to councils, I assure you that Government will not be pleased to see Nationalists outside the councils. Government are eager today to have Nationalists in the councils. You will take my evidence for what it is worth. It may be bad evidence, but it is there. It is my firm opinion that the services public men want to render can be rendered outside the councils, rather than inside and such services will be infinitely greater than the services they render in the councils. What is the secret of the great power of the late and the only Lokamanya of the country? Do you suppose that if he had gone to the council he would have exercised the unrivalled influence that he exercised over all the millions of India?

You have had evidence given before you in connection with his opinion. I am exceedingly sorry that you had not evidence brought before you as to what he considered in connection with the programme. But as the matter has been brought before you, it has become my painful duty to give you evidence, that is in my possession. I happened at his wish to wait upon him in company with Mr. Shaukat Ali a fortnight before his demise and he said: "I personally believe that it will be better to go to councils and obstruct where it was necessary and co-operate where also it was necessary." But when Mr. Shaukat Ali told him, "What about your promise to Mussulmans in Delhi?", at which also I was present, he immediately added, "Oh, yes, if the Mussulmans do the thing". He laid emphasis on it and did not merely speak, of the boycott of councils. He said: "I give you my word that my party will stand with you." I do not want you to exaggerate the value of this evidence. As I know his name is a name to conjure with and his opinion must carry great weight with those of us who believe that he was unrivalled in his continued prosecutions for the attainment of swaraj and naturally any opinion that might be cited as having come from him must carry weight.

What do these councils mean? A simple test I venture to present to you and leaders is that these two wrongs that we are

come to consider are the Khilafat and the Punjab. Do you believe that by going to the council and engaging in debates there, you can produce a direct impression upon British ministers and secure a revision of the Turkish Terms and repentance on account of the Punjab affair? Our revered brother and leader Pandit Malaviya has said that very soon all that the Congress Sub-committee asked for will be granted, because some or most of the officers are already gone or will be presently going and in April even the Viceroy will have gone. I respectfully suggest that it is not what I at least intended when I put my pen to that report. I said emphatically, even at our discussion, that the dismissal of the officers be based upon their incapacity and the atrocity, that they were guilty of and not by efflux of time and that the Viceroy should be compulsorily retired if he does not tender his resignation before his time. It does not serve my purpose when the Viceroy goes by efflux of time; and so also the officers. If the officers are retired compulsorily but not retired on these specific grounds, it does not serve my purpose at all. I want a repentant clean heart, a change of heart, and I miss any repentance, any change of heart and the hand of fellowship which I had thought was extended at the time of the Amritsar Congress—and that is my reason for having then suggested co-operation with Government, but having found out afterwards that there was no redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, the painful revelation has dawned on me that the British ministers or the Government of India never meant well by the people of India. Instead of repentance, a challenge is given to India, that if you want to be ruled by British, the price is terrorism. Therefore I want to make this party of terrorists, a present of these law-courts, a present of the education of my children if I cannot bring them into national schools.

But I certainly decline to wait for establishment of these schools. Necessity is the mother of invention. When there are children without schools, I promise that our revered leader Pandit Malaviya will himself go from place to place and collect subscriptions for opening national schools. I do not want to starve the Indian mind. I want every Indian to be educated along proper lines, educated to understand the dignity of his nation and not receive the education that makes him a slave.

There are many other points but I would reiterate two things. The public will not understand our fine distinctions. It will mean that non-co-operation must commence at the top, viz, in a body miscalled representative body, namely the reformed council and, if the best mind of the country refuses to associate with that

Government, I promise that that Government's eyes will be opened. The condition is that those who refrain will not go to sleep, but move from one end of the country to the other and bring every grievance to the notice not of Government but of the public and, if my programme is carried out, the Congress will be going on growing from year to year and give public expression to those grievances, so that the volume of wrong, ever increasing as it rolls, will inflame the great nation and enable the nation to harbour, to conserve all its anger and its heat and transmute it into irresistible energy.

Please recognize one fundamental settled fact, that the Muslim League has passed a resolution that they are going to boycott councils entirely. Do you believe that one fourth of our body may pull one way and three fourths in another way? If these were running along parallel lines I can understand it, but here they will be pulling in opposite ways and is it right they should do so? Can Hindus gain anything even by a policy of obstruction, if every believer in Islam boycotts the council, as he could boycott sin? That is the religious position in Islam. They consider it is sinful for them to go to the councils and take the oath of allegiance. Let not practical India and practical politicians who gather here from year to year forget this settled fact. If they believe that they will be able to change the Mussulman mind and that those resolutions of the Mussulmans are pious wishes then certainly the argument that I have now advanced falls to pieces. But if you believe that Mussulmans are in earnest, that they feel the wrong, and as time goes on, the wrong instead of dying out, and being forgotten, will gather force day after day, then you will understand that a time goes forward, the energy of Mussulmans will increase, whether Hindus help them or do not help them. That is the choice that lies before the whole of this national assembly. I, therefore respectfully submit to you that I have not embarked upon this thing without careful thought and it is not a matter of pleasure or joy to me to put myself, a humble, single individual, always liable to err, against the best leaders of the country. But here it is a matter of duty. Whereas I see clearly before me that if we want to cement the relations between Hindus and Mussulmans, and we want them to endure for ever, there is no escape for us but a complete association with them, so long as they remain on the right path and adopt honourable means and do not over-reach themselves in forming their demands and so long as they do not resort to violence.

There are many other things which have been said and to which I might have given a reply. But I have tried your patience

unduly. My business is finished when I have placed every argument in a dispassionate manner and not as an advocate, but if it is at all possible for me to speak as a judge, and I assure you I have endeavoured to place the whole argument pure and simple as a judge, I owe a great deal to Pandit Malaviya. The relations that subsist between him and me the country does not know. I would give my life to placate him, to please him and follow him, at a respectful distance. But when it becomes a matter of sacred duty and conviction I hold that I am absolved from any obligation to follow him. I know that he absolves me from any such obligation of following him and if I, who venerate him, adopt a course different from his, you will understand that I am absolutely serious and sincere when I ask everyone in this *pandal* to use his own individual judgment and not to be carried away in the slightest degree by my personality. Finally, if you pass this resolution, you will do so with your eyes open. If you think everyone of you individually has the capacity and willingness to offer this small measure of sacrifice in the name of the nation, for the name of the nation and for the sake of securing lasting friendship with Mussulmans you will not hesitate to adopt the resolution, but if you cannot satisfy these conditions you will not hesitate to reject this resolution. (Cheers.)

The Hindu, 11-9-1920

145. INTERVIEW ON INDIANS ABROAD

[*September 9, 1920*][1]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed on questions of Indians abroad, made a definite statement of his views. He said the despatch of the Governor of Fiji was one-sided and meant to whitewash official crime. He disapproved the idea of sending out a commission to Fiji to see labour conditions unless the commission is armed with power to investigate the causes of the unrest. He would oppose any attempt to encourage emigration to Fiji. He would advise Indians in Fiji to return to India.

As regards East Africa, Mr. Gandhi said the Government of that place was prejudiced, pro-white, and anti-Asiatic. The Indians in East Africa were numerous and influential. They must organize themselves. They were powerful enough to resist the influence of the white residents.

[1] *Vide* "Terrorism in Fiji", 22-9-1920.

Mr. Gandhi was now not in favour of a single Indian labourer going to British Guiana. Being asked as to how he proposed to work for Indians abroad now that he had taken up non-co-operation, he said his faith in British statesmen had been shattered. Till they had obtained complete responsible Government they would bring more prominently than hitherto to the notice of the public in India the grievances of their countrymen abroad, and the volume of indignation of the country would be such that Government cannot resist its pressure and would be compelled to take effective steps, because any wrong brought to their notice would speed the process of non-co-operation and to that extent the process of disintegration of the force of anarchy, injustice, and exploitation which dominated the Government of India and the Imperial Government at the present moment. They would continue to call public meetings and frame protests[1], but they will all be by way of arming themselves with power that would compel the Government to do its duty.

Young India, 15-9-1920

146. SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, CALCUTTA

September 9, 1920

In bringing the meeting to a close Pandit Malaviya said . . . that although he had the greatest regard and affection for Mr. Gandhi, it was his most painful duty to differ from him entirely in regard to the resolution of the Congress on non-co-operation. . . he was therefore determined . . . to pursue a course of action different from that adopted by the Congress . . . to remain in the Congress and at the same time seek election to the Legislative Council.

Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar said that he felt relieved to hear the statement from the Panditji because a number of friends who were standing as candidates and who were also Congressmen had doubts as to whether they should continue to be the members of the Congress seeking elections to the councils. . . . Panditji's example would be a precedent to them and may be acted upon by others who were in a similar position with regard to the resolution. . . . Members would like to hear Mr. Gandhi's views on the matter.

Mr. Gandhi said that as he had expressed his opinion in the Press, the Subjects Committee and elsewhere, he would state it again that it was perfectly competent for the minority to continue to be members of the Congress and to be free to act or not to act on the resolution of the Congress according to their convictions and conscience and said that he agreed with Mr. Malaviya in the view he took as regards this matter.

[1] The words that follow are from *The Hindu*, 13-9-1920.

Mrs. Besant observed that as she was totally opposed to non-co-operation, she as a member of the All-India Congress Committee felt she ought not to act in the Committee and she would cease to attend further meetings of the Committee till the next Congress.

Mr. Malaviya, however, said that as an ex-officio member of the Committee, he would continue to attend the meetings of the Committee till he was forced to leave. . . .

Mr. Malaviya finally adjured all those present not to take any hasty action.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-9-1920

147. INTERVIEW WITH MOTILAL GHOSE[1]

September 10, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi was accompanied by Babu Giridhari Lal[2], Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Sreemati Saraladevi. After mutual greetings Mahatma Gandhi opened the conversation by inquiring if it were a fact that Babu Motilal had written to the president of the special Congress opposing the boycott of councils.

MOTI BABU: It is not a fact. I only sent a message to the Congress and its Subjects Committee through the president suggesting that the non-co-operation resolution should not be disposed of in a hurry but its consideration should be postponed till the Nagpur Congress was held.

MAHATMA: What is your opinion about the boycott of councils and other items in the resolution passed by the Congress?

I have been a non-co-operationist for the last fifty years. As regards the councils I have always regarded them as a farce, a delusion and a snare. I myself have never sought to enter any of them and have always counselled our public men to do the same. But I must say both this and other items in the resolution affected only an infinitesimally small number of people. It mattered little whether the handful of title-holders give up their titles or not or the few men, who go to the council, do or do not go. The all-important question is how to rouse the masses. You must raise a cry which the masses will understand.

Will you kindly be a little more explicit?

[1] Editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta

[2] Lala Girdhari Lal; deputy chairman, Punjab Chamber of Commerce; managing director, Amritsar Flour and General Mills

I shall explain my position by citing two instances. You have no doubt heard of the great combination of the indigo *raiyats* of Bengal in 1866 to expel the planters from this province?

Oh yes.

Do you know how this was effected, the unity of six millions of people in the course of six months which has no parallel in the history of any country in the world? It was only by raising a cry of a great wrong felt keenly by all the *raiyats* equally and which went straight into the heart of every one of them as soon as it was raised.

Yes, I have heard of it.

It happened in this wise. The *raiyats* were groaning under the oppression of the planters. They came to see that their deliverance lay in not sowing indigo. So a few intelligent among them took a vow in some sacred place that they would have nothing to do with indigo-sowing. They then persuaded others to take the same vow. The cry was "no *raiyat* should touch the indigo even if he was tortured to death". And though they were tortured in a most brutal way by the planters they did not yield. When the planters failed, the authorities interfered and coerced them both by threats and entreaties. They remained as firm as the rock. "Saheb, you say you will put us in jail. Do it, but this hand shall never again touch indigo." "Sow it for this season only and you will be free to do what you like afterwards." "Saheb, we have taken the vow in the name of God. We can never break it."—that was the bold and spirited reply of the downtrodden and illiterate *raiyats*.

Moti Babu next referred to the cry of "land" by Ireland to bring about unity among Irishmen. He said, "You know the Irish leaders failed to rouse the Irish masses till Parnell raised the cry of 'land' which affected every Irishman. The Irish understood it because it was a common grievance. And the Land League was the result which formed the nucleus for Irish nationality."

Moti Babu addressing the Mahatma said: "Dear friend, you should think of a common cry for the masses which will appeal to their heart directly. It seems to me that there are two things which sit like a dread nightmare on the breast of both the masses and the educated class. One is the police *zulum*[1] and the other is the pitiless character of the criminal administration. Can't these go to make a common cry?" Mahatma Gandhi said that he would think over the matter.

Mahatma Gandhi next gave his view on the boycott of councils. He said that councils demoralized most of those who went there. These our representative men can do greater service outside the council than inside it. Moti Babu agreed.

[1] Repression

CWMG-XVIII

Next came the question of boycotting British courts. Mahatma Gandhi said, that the courts, as much as the councils are the great instrument to keep our people under moral and intellectual domination. We must get rid of these evils.

Moti Babu replied that he agreed with him but the evil must be struck at the very root. The vast majority of the lawyers won't give up their practice which enables them to keep motor cars, etc., and indulge in other luxuries. You must go to the people and advise them to stop litigation. Mahatma Gandhi replied that he knew of many lawyers who were prepared to give up their practice. Moti Babu said it was very hard for him to believe that story. However, if there be some willing to do it, the great majority will not. We are to stop the evil at the very source.

In regard to the question of the withdrawal of children from schools Mahatma Gandhi said that the boys get their mentality in the school. On being pressed to say what the boys would do if they were withdrawn from schools Mahatma Gandhi said that if the boys were withdrawn new schools would be started. So long as our boys, who are the makers of the future of the country, continue to be intellectually fed in the present-day schools there is little hope for the country.

Babu Motilal replied that as the existing schools and colleges are maintained by our money and not by money brought from England he did not see why should not our boys avail themselves of the education imparted in those institutions till we have got our national educational institutions established. Of course we must be on our guard that our boys are not in any way demoralized in the Government schools and colleges.

The last question discussed was the deletion of that part of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal's amendment which contemplated the raising of a fund in the name of Lokamanya Tilak. Babu Motilal regretted that this should have been dropped and was not added to Mr. Gandhi's resolution. The first thing we want now is propaganda not only in this country but also in England and America. We also need funds for starting national schools and colleges and establish arbitration courts. Babu Motilal appealed to the Mahatma to start such a fund at the Nagpur Congress.

The interview ended by Moti Babu's warmly embracing Mahatma Gandhi and giving him his blessings.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 17-9-1920

148. THE CONGRESS

Never has the Congress been called upon to decide an issue so momentous as the one it was called upon to decide at its special session presided over by Lala Lajpatrai. Never perhaps has the

Congress witnessed such determined opposition as was offered to the non-co-operation resolution. And yet never, within my experience, has a decisive majority listened with such respect and attention to the opposition argument as it did at the last session. Again never has there been such united opposition shown to a Subjects Committee resolution by the noted leaders of the people.

Mrs. Besant has a fine record of service to India. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is a name to conjure with. He has to his credit an unbroken record of many years' brilliant service to the country and an unblemished character. Mr. Das leads a party ever growing in influence and strength. I felt the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's absence most keenly at such a juncture. Mr. Baptista led the Deccan. Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, the talented editor of *The Hindu*, led the Madras Nationalist Party. All these and many other leaders strenuously opposed the non-co-operation resolution. I warned that great audience against accepting my proposal unless they were prepared to suffer and were convinced that true non-co-operation was possible only through the programme submitted by me. But the audience wanted action, wanted suffering. The voting was elaborately registered. The Congress *pandal* was cleared for the purpose of voting. Lala Lajpatrai personally superintended the operation. It lasted for six hours. All the Provinces but the Central Provinces and the Berar voted in favour of my resolution. The Central Provinces gave for my proposition 30 votes as against 33 for Babu Bipin Chandra Pal's. I give the figures below:

	For Resolution	For Amendment
Bombay	243	93
Madras	161	135
Bengal	551	395
U.P.	259	28
Punjab	254	92
Andhra	59	12
Sind	36	16
Delhi	59	9
Behar	184	28
Burma	14	4
C.P.	30	33
Berar	5	28
	1855	873

My resolution adopted the principle of the whole of the Khilafat programme, even non-payment of taxes, and advised for immediate adoption, boycott of titles and honorary offices, law-courts by litigants, schools and colleges and reformed councils. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal proposed a mission to England to present our demands and meanwhile to establish national schools, formulate arbitration courts and not to boycott the councils. His resolution would have meant in effect seeking election to the councils and these probably adopting obstructive tactics. This meant a virtual postponement of the real struggle to the next general election. The opposition therefore chiefly centred on the boycott of councils. And the Congress has decided by an overwhelming majority that the councils must be abandoned. I hope that those who do not believe that boycott of councils would postpone the attainment of swarajya (let alone hastening it) will work with all their might to advance the purpose of the Congress.

An analysis of the votes shows that the country wants non-co-operation. Mrs. Besant who consistently, fearlessly and frankly opposed it had very few adherents. I do not propose to examine the merits of the case at the present moment. My argument is before the country in favour of boycott of councils, schools and courts. Nothing I heard on the Congress platform has shaken my belief in the necessity or the efficacy of these steps. But I would respectfully address a few words to the majority and to the minority.

To the majority I would say: The hour of the greatest triumph is the hour of the greatest humility. The majority has taken upon its shoulders a tremendous responsibility. Every individual voter in favour of my proposal has certainly bound himself, if he is a parent, to withdraw his children from schools or colleges subject in any way to Government control. Every voter being a lawyer is bound at the earliest opportunity to suspend his practice and promote the cause of settlement of disputes by private arbitration. Every candidate for the councils, who has voted with the majority, has undertaken to withdraw his candidature, every such voter to refrain from voting at the elections. Every delegate voting with the majority has bound himself to stimulate hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in his own person to use only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. Everyone of the majority having accepted the principle of non-violence, self-sacrifice and discipline in regard to non-co-operation is bound to treat the minority with respect and fairness. We may not use physical or wordy violence against them. We must endeavour by our intensive practice and by scrupulously honourable methods to convert it to our

views. Those who voted with the minority were either weak or not ready. Some few doubted the rightness of withdrawing children from schools for instance. But when they see schools being emptied, national schools springing into being, lawyers suspending practice and yet not starving, and the councils deserted at least by the best of nationalists, they will soon begin to believe in the programme, lose their weakness and be themselves ready to adopt it. We need not therefore be impatient with the minority because it does not see eye to eye with us.

To the minority I would say, they have lost in a fair fight. Unless now therefore it is a matter of conscience with them, they must come forward to prosecute the programme of non-co-operation in a most vigorous manner. Those who think that the majority has grievously erred are no doubt entitled to carry on a campaign of conversion of the majority to their views. By far the largest number in the minority however have accepted the principle of establishment of private arbitration courts and national schools. They wanted only a postponement of the consideration of the boycott of councils. I venture to suggest to them that now that the majority has decided in favour of a quicker pace, the minority should accept the verdict and help to make the programme a success.

Boycott of foreign goods finds a place in my resolution. I am sorry for it. I may not state how it came to find a place there. But as it did not conflict with my conscience, and in order to show my reasonableness, I undertook to move a resolution whose musical harmony was marred by a false note. Boycott of foreign cloth is included in swadeshi. Boycott of all other foreign goods is a senseless proposition if only because it is a virtual impossibility. But if the introduction of the addendum stimulates us to sacrifice our luxuries and superfluities, it would have served a good purpose. It is certainly our right and duty to discard everything foreign that is superfluous and even everything foreign that is *necessary* if we can produce or manufacture it in our country.

Young India, 15-9-1920

149. LETTER TO N. C. SINHA[1]

BOLPUR,
[Before *September 17, 1920*][2]

DEAR MR. SINHA[3],

I am glad you have written about the lawyers. We shall never fight our way to swaraj without taking any risks and without causing some disturbance in the ordinary life. I agree with you that we lawyers have been the *bete noir* of the magistracy, but that was when in their opinion, we caused the greatest trouble. But you will see that when we ourselves abandon the courts, the process will not be relished by the bureaucracy. What does it matter if temporarily the Santhal Parganas and such other districts are deprived of the assistance the lawyers have only just begun to render to them, and I can conceive hundreds of ways of helping them without pleading their cause before biased or ignorant magistrates. The lawyers today lead public opinion, and conduct all political activity. This they do during the few leisure hours they get from their tennis and billiards. I do not expect that by dividing their leisure hours between billiards and politics, lawyers will bring us substantially near swaraj. I want at least the public workers among them to be whole-timers, and when that happy day comes, I promise a different outlook before the country.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 29-9-1920

[1] In reply to the addressee's letter regarding suspension of practice by lawyers

[2] Gandhiji stayed at Shantiniketan from September 13 to 17.

[3] A vakil of the Patna High Court

CWMG - XXVIII

150. SPEECH TO INMATES OF SHANTINIKETAN

September 17, 1920

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

The happiness I have found in your company these few days is beyond words. I came here to improve my broken health and you will be glad to know that I shall be returning from here, though not altogether restored to health, much improved.

It is a painful thought to me that I cannot speak to you in Bengali. Though my hope to be able, one day, to talk with you in Bengali may be a forlorn one, I think I am not unjustified in hoping that you will come to understand my Hindustani. Your education will be incomplete till Hindustani has become a compulsory subject in your school and you pick up the language. There is another thing, moreover, which I should not like to keep back from you and that is that I want to see your school, by and by, become a beautiful hive swarming with most industrious bees. The life we live will not be a real life until a beautiful harmony between our hearts and hands has been established.

I think the meaning of the work in which I am at present absorbed can be explained even to young children, though, of course, what I am going to say is not meant for them alone. I have kept back nothing from my own children or, in South Africa, from children whom I regarded as my own.

For me, personally, there is only one religion and that is Hinduism. I take pride in calling myself a Hindu, but I am no dogmatic, ritual-bound Hindu. As I understand Hinduism, it is an extremely comprehensive faith. It has tolerance and respect for other faiths. That is why you see me engaged in defending Islam with the same energy and passion with which I would defend my faith. Defending Islam is a great happiness to me since I feel that in the process I am acquiring fitness to defend my religion. The European Powers, which rely on brute force, pose a threat to Hinduism as much as they do to Islam. Today, it is Islam's turn, tomorrow it may be that of Hinduism. I think the threat to Hinduism has been there, a very subtle threat, ever since British power was established in this land. I have seen that Western influences have shaken the very foundations of our thinking. Western civilization is the work of Satan. For many years now, we have been under a strange spell.

My eyes really opened only last year. When the Allies declared war, it was ostensibly for the defence of weak nations but under cover of this aim they practised no end of scheming. Even then, at the last Congress at Amritsar, I pleaded earnestly and sincerely with the country to extend co-operation to the Government, for till then it was my faith that the British people would feel penitent for their misdeeds and that the British [Prime] Minister would honour his promises. But the closing of the Punjab chapter and the announcement of Peace Terms with Turkey destroyed all my faith. I came to the conclusion that every man is faced, once in his life, with a choice between God and Satan. From my experience of co-operation with the British Government for these many years, I have seen that association with the British rulers has a demoralizing effect. I am convinced that until India realizes her mission and the whole nation is awakened to a consciousness of their equality with the British, the continuation of the British connection will only mean our continued degradation. I also saw that unity with the Muslims was of far greater value than keeping up the British connection. This unity would be difficult to maintain if we did not help them in their hour of need. Moreover, with one-fourth of the body politic suffering from paralysis, development of the spirit of patriotism among us would be impossible.

Hence, I cultivated friendship with Shaukat Ali and became a brother to him. My association with him is a source of joy and pride to me. We have differences on some matters. I believe in the principle of non-violence. He seems to believe in violence. He believes that in certain circumstances a man may be another's enemy and that killing one's enemy is justified. If, nonetheless, I continue to work with him, the reason is that I have seen in him some qualities of sterling worth. He is a man of his word, is a perfectly loyal friend and is extraordinarily brave. He has great faith in God. I immediately saw that only a devoted man could have all these qualities and I sought association with him, attracted only by his devoutness. I have, besides, always trusted that my success in employing non-violence will convince him of its beauty.

No other English term can express all the meanings of ahimsa which the word *innocence* expresses. Hence ahimsa and *innocence* may be regarded as equivalents. It is my faith that everything will be well with the man who follows the path of non-violence. The weapons at the disposal of the votary of non-violence are much more potent than those available to the votary of violence. I may describe organized violence as a barbarous thing. It is most certainly beastly. Only a perfect practitioner of non-

violence can display perfect courage. Even one man ready to live a life of non-violence to perfection will be able to subdue the entire world. Let me say, in all humility, that, if I have, with this broken body of mine, some little strength to conduct a struggle of such great magnitude, it is because of my practice of non-violence. If the Hindus understand their religion and follow it, they are bound to produce an impact on the world. The day on which India accords primacy to violence, my life will have been emptied of its meaning.

But my faith remains unshaken. And you, children of Hindu parents, if you understand your duty as Hindus, you will never co-operate with the unjust and the wicked. The immortal verses of Tulsidas in which he advises against association with the wicked are beautiful beyond comparison. For India to hope for any good from British rule as it is today is like trying to hug empty space. I, for one, have offered my closest co-operation to this Government for a number of years and, at the end of it all, I had some bitter experiences. It is owing to them that I have undertaken this terrible, but noble and glorious fight and have been trying to induce you all to join it. In this holy temple, I only ask you to pray that, in my struggle for spiritual growth, God may grant me good health and wisdom and for ever keep me from error and cowardice.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 26-9-1920

151. PURE SWADESHI

I grow more convinced every day that swadeshi can mean only one thing. I have declared open swadeshi stores and formulated vows of swadeshi; this may have served some purpose and developed the spirit of swadeshi, but I do not think India has gained any economic benefits thereby. The swadeshi movement has benefited to the extent that hand-woven cloth has been produced out of hand-spun yarn and that such cloth has been popularized.

The mills need no incentives. They are able to market all their production. They are hardly in a position to spin the yarn they need. In this situation, producing hand-woven cloth with mill yarn is of no benefit to the country; on the contrary, it increases the burden on the poor. One disadvantage of doing so is that it will increase the price of yarn and cloth and the other is that, whereas now the poor content themselves with wearing cloth

produced by our mills, they will by and by start wearing foreign cloth. The latter will prove more harmful, for once the poor have fallen into the habit of using foreign cloth it will be difficult to bring them back to the use of swadeshi cloth. Hence I put down here some rules and principles of the swadeshi movement:

1. Only hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth should be used.
2. The utmost efforts should be made to promote the spinning and weaving of such yarn.
3. All possible improvements should be effected in the spinning-wheel and the handloom.
4. We should find out where hand-spinning and hand-weaving are carried on.
5. At present, the main variety of cloth so produced is khadi. We should work to popularize it.
6. Steps should be taken to promote love of simplicity among the people.
7. Stores should be opened for selling hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth made from such yarn.

In the course of my tours, I have been observing that swadeshi of this type is being quietly but steadily propagated in many places. In a village in Madras Province, Shri Hanumant Rao of the Servants of India Society has been working very hard with the help of friends. A widow is helping him with money and also by working herself. His own wife, too, has joined in the effort. There is a technical school in Masulipattam, where also work is going on. I saw some yarn, very much finer and of better texture than what we get in Gujarat. This fine yarn was spun by some rich women for the love of the thing. I saw some dhotis, too, made of such yarn. The people also succeed well in dyeing clothes with swadeshi material. Thus, in some isolated spots, even without capital the enterprise is making progress.

To open a khadi store requires hardly five hundred rupees. It can be managed by one person provided he is hard-working. He may have a small shop, just large enough to hold what he can afford to stock. Till he has acquired enough custom for khadi, he should go round hawking. In this way, with a small capital a large number of people can subsist and pure swadeshi will be popularized. The main purpose of this article, however, is to warn those who take the vow of wearing [Indian] mill cloth and those who open stores for such cloth. It may not be necessary to close down all the stores which exist, but their owners should gradually stock them with khadi. They may, if they wish, invest money in other

swadeshi goods besides cloth but it is clear that the country will not profit at all by their storing mill-made cloth or cloth woven by hand from mill yarn.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-9-1920

152. NOTES

THEFT ON RAILWAYS

I have been receiving complaints from many poor people that the goods they send by railway are stolen in transit. A person sends yarn and it is stolen. There is no end to the pilfering of fruits. Who is to blame for this? Certainly not the Government. We have no regard for honesty, no contempt for dishonesty. I do not know how much *Navajivan* is read among railway servants. I would, however, request those who read it to see that others read this article. Railway servants should realize that they are the servants of the public. They must not steal. If they are not paid enough for their living, they should try for an increase in pay, but on no account should they steal.

Railway workers have formed their own unions. I put it to their leaders that it is as much their duty to bring about internal reform as to secure rights in regard to their wages. If we merely insist on our rights and fail in our duties, we shall lose whatever rights we secure. No very profound principle of honesty is involved in this. If we do not display even practical honesty, public administration just cannot be carried on. I place a simple idea before the railway workers: "You, too, take interest in the national movement; you, too, raise your voice against the injustice of British rule. But how are people to protest against the injustice you do by stealing? Has an unjust man any right to demand justice? To the extent you are dishonest, you strengthen British rule, for people will lose faith in you. You will make them say, by your behaviour, that British administration is better, such as it is." So long as a subject people do not make themselves better than their rulers in point of moral strength, they cannot shake off subjection. Therefore, if the railway workers wish well both of themselves and the people, they must resolve to shake off this immoral practice of stealing.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-9-1920

CWMG - XXVIII

153. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKAT ALI[1]

[On or after *September 21, 1920*]

ZAFARALIKHAN MUST NOT DEFEND BY LAWYER. HE CAN ONLY MAKE STATEMENT. AM STRONGLY OPINION NO DEFENCE BY LAWYER POSSIBLE.

From a photostat : S.N. 7262

154. TELEGRAM TO AGA SAFDAR[2]

[On or after *September 21, 1920*][3]

AGA SAFDAR
CARE *ZAMINDAR*
LAHORE

CONSIDER UNNECESSARY FOR SELF COME THERE JUST NOW FIRM OPINION ZAFARALIKHAN SHOULD MAKE CLEAR STATEMENT ADMITTING ALLEGATIONS THAT ARE TRUE AND CHEERFULLY SUFFER PENALTY NO LAWYER'S PRESENCE NECESSARY.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 7263

[1] This was in reply to Shaukat Ali's telegram of September 21, 1920, from Bombay regarding the trial of the editor of *Zamindar*. It read: "Khilafat Lahore wires trial begins today, Section 124-A 153-A Special Magistrate Maulana cheerful offence Hazro speeches. Zafar Ali Khan case fixed 27 Prosecution evidence about twenty witnesses including Pirgolra. Wire advice about Defence. Kindly wire Khilafat Lahore direct send me copy."

[2] The draft is in Gandhiji's hand.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - XVIII

155. SWARAJ IN ONE YEAR

Much laughter has been indulged in at my expense for having told the Congress audience at Calcutta that if there was sufficient response to my programme of non-co-operation, swaraj would be attained in one year. Some have ignored my condition and laughed because of the impossibility of getting swaraj anyhow within one year. Others have spelt the "if" in capitals and suggested that if "ifs" were permissible in argument, any absurdity could be proved to be a possibility. My proposition however is based on a mathematical calculation. And I venture to say that true swaraj is a practical impossibility without due fulfilment of my conditions. Swaraj means a state such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English. If it is to be a partnership, it must be a partnership at will. There can be no swaraj without our feeling and being the equals of Englishmen. Today we feel that we are dependent upon them for our internal and external security, for an armed peace between the Hindus and the Mussulmans, for our education and for the supply of daily wants, nay, even for the settlement of our religious squabbles. The rajas are dependent upon the British for their powers and the millionaires for their millions. The British know our helplessness and Sir Thomas Holland cracks jokes quite legitimately at the expense of non-co-operationists. To get swaraj then is to get rid of our helplessness. The problem is no doubt stupendous even as it is for the fabled lion who having been brought up in the company of goats found it impossible to feel that he was a lion. As Tolstoy used to put it, mankind often laboured under hypnotism. Under its spell continuously we feel the feeling of helplessness. The British themselves cannot be expected to help us out of it. On the contrary, they din into our ears that we shall be fit to govern ourselves only by slow educative processes. The *Times* suggested that if we boycott the councils we shall lose the opportunity of a training in swaraj. I have no doubt that there are many who believe what the *Times* says. It even resorts to a falsehood. It audaciously says that Lord Milner's mission listened to the Egyptians only when they were ready to lift the boycott of the Egyptian council. For me the only training in swaraj we need is the ability to defend ourselves against the whole world and to live our natural life in perfect freedom even though it may be full of defects. Good government is no substitute for self-government. The Afghans have a bad

Government but it is self-Government. I envy them. The Japanese learnt the art through a sea of blood. And if we today had the power to drive out the English by superior brute force, we would be counted their superiors, and in spite of our inexperience in debating at the council table or in holding executive offices, we would be held fit to govern ourselves. For brute force is the only test the West has hitherto recognized. The Germans were defeated not because they were necessarily in the wrong, but because the allied Powers were found to possess greater brute strength. In the end therefore India must either learn the art of war which the British will not teach her or, she must follow her own way of discipline and self-sacrifice through non-co-operation. It is as amazing as it is humiliating that less than one hundred thousand white men should be able to rule three hundred and fifteen million Indians. They do so somewhat undoubtedly by force but more by securing our co-operation in a thousand ways and making us more and more helpless and dependent on them as time goes forward. Let us not mistake reformed councils, mere law-courts and even governorships for real freedom or power. They are but subtler methods of emasculation. The British cannot rule us by mere force. And so they resort to all means, honourable and dishonourable, in order to retain their hold on India. They want India's billions and they want India's manpower for their imperialistic greed. If we refuse to supply them with men and money, we achieve our goal, namely, swaraj, equality, manliness.

The cup of our humiliation was filled during the closing scenes in the Viceregal council. Mr. Shastri could not move his resolution on the Punjab. The Indian victims of Jallianwala [Bagh] received Rs. 1250, the English victims of mob-frenzy received lakhs. The officials who were guilty of crimes against those whose servants they were, were reprimanded. And the councillors were satisfied. If India were powerful, India would not have stood this addition of insult to her injury.

I do not blame the British. If we were weak in numbers as they are, we too would perhaps have resorted to the same methods as they are now employing. Terrorism and deception are weapons not of the strong but of the weak. The British are weak in numbers, we are weak in spite of our numbers. The result is that each is dragging the other down. It is common experience that Englishmen lose in character after residence in India and that Indians lose in courage and manliness by contact with Englishmen. This process of weakening is good neither for us, two nations, nor for the world.

But if we Indians take care of ourselves the English and the rest of the world would take care of themselves. Our contribution to the world's progress must therefore consist in setting our own house in order.

Training in arms for the present is out of the question. I go a step further and believe that India has a better mission for the world. It is within her power to show that she can achieve her destiny by pure self-sacrifice, i.e., self-purification. This can be done only by non-co-operation. And non-co-operation is possible only when those who commenced to co-operate begin the process of withdrawal. If we can but free ourselves from the threefold *maya*[1] of Government-controlled schools, Government law-courts and legislative councils, and truly control our own education, regulate our disputes and be indifferent to their legislation, we are ready to govern ourselves and we are only then ready to ask the Government servants, whether civil or military, to resign and the tax-payers to suspend payment of taxes.

And is it such an impracticable proposition to expect parents to withdraw their children from schools and colleges and establish their own institutions or to ask lawyers to suspend their practice and devote their whole time and attention to national service against payment, where necessary, of their maintenance, or to ask candidates for councils not to enter councils and lend their passive or active assistance to the legislative machinery through which all control is exercised? The movement of non-co-operation is nothing but an attempt to isolate the brute force of the British from all the trappings under which it is hidden and to show that brute force by itself cannot for one single moment hold India.

But I frankly confess that, until the three conditions mentioned by me are fulfilled, there is no swaraj. We may not go on taking our college degrees, taking thousands of rupees monthly from clients for cases which can be finished in five minutes and taking the keenest delight in wasting national time on the council floor and still expect to gain national self-respect.

The last though not the least important part of the *maya* still remains to be considered. That is swadeshi. Had we not abandoned swadeshi, we need not have been in the present fallen state. If we would get rid of the economic slavery, we must manufacture our own cloth and at the present moment only by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

[1] A Vedantic concept, seeking to explain phenomenal existence describing it as illusion

All this means discipline, self-denial, self-sacrifice, organizing ability, confidence and courage. If we show this in one year among the classes that today count, and make public opinion, we certainly gain swaraj within one year. If I am told that even we who lead have not the qualities in us, there certainly will never be swaraj for India, but then we shall have no right to blame the English for what they are doing. Our salvation and its time are solely dependent upon us.

Young India, 22-9-1920

156. SOME ILLUSTRATIONS

I promised in my article on "Democracy *versus* Mobocracy"[1] to give some illustrations of my meaning out of my own experiences. I was however unable, owing to the protracted Congress proceedings, to give those illustrations last week. I do so now. When we reached Madras, a huge crowd waited us at the station. Our compartment was detached and fortunately drawn up in front of a reserved platform. What would have happened, if we had to alight together with the other passengers can be better imagined than described. But even on the reserved platform we were not able to get out for some time. The volunteers were in the way. Instead of dispersing themselves among the crowd and keeping it back, they clustered together to do us honour as they thought. The result was that the pressure was all directed towards where they and we were standing. And "form a ring" has become the usual word of command. This forming a ring is a humiliating spectacle and yet it has become such an institution that even when there is no one else but volunteers, "a ring" is formed round the leader to be "honoured".

To proceed with my description, the crowd was large, the noises they made were so terrific that the directions given by the volunteers could not be heard at all. All was chaos. My poor toes were every moment in danger of being crushed to a pulp. I often very nearly lost my balance through the jostling of the very volunteers who were trying to protect me. And but for the very great care with which they guarded me and the assistance rendered to them by the stalwart Maulana Shaukat Ali, I would have fared much worse than I did. The atmosphere was suffocating. Thus struggling it took us nearly three quarters of an hour

[1] Of September 8, 1920

to reach the motor car, whereas ordinarily it need not have taken three minutes to walk out of the station to the porch. Having reached the car it was no easy job to get into it. I had to be shoved into it in the best manner possible. I certainly heaved a sigh of relief when I found myself in the car, and I thought that both the Maulana and I deserved the ovation we received from the crowd after the dangerous exercise we had gone through. With a little forethought this mobocracy, for such it was, could have been changed into a splendidly organized and educative demonstration. And it could have been rendered free of all risk to life. The experience of Madras was typical of many. We had an extraordinary experience at Erode on our way to Salem. I was fairly fagged out. My voice had become hoarse with speaking. As at many stations there was here too a surging crowd. It was thoroughly disorganized, though like everywhere else perfectly good humoured and respectful. I appealed to them not to make all kinds of unmusical noises, told them to disperse in an orderly manner as they had already seen us. I told them too that if they intended to take their share in the Khilafat and the Punjab struggle, they were expected to undergo discipline. I was able to reach my voice to the most intelligent amongst them. I suggested that they should quietly rise, turn towards the station entrance and noiselessly retire. They listened, the rest followed and the station was cleared in two minutes' time. If the friends, who heard me, had haggled, argued, objected and insisted on shouting and remaining, the whole crowd would have done likewise and there would have been a pandemonium throughout the long time that the train stopped there.

I shall finish this description by giving the reverse of our experience at Jalarpet. We were travelling to Madras by the night train leaving Bangalore. We had been taking meetings at Salem during the day, motoring to Bangalore, a distance of 125 miles from Salem, taking there a meeting in drenching rain and thereafter we had to entrain. We needed night's rest but there was none to be had. At almost every station of importance, large crowds had gathered to greet us. About midnight we reached Jalarpet junction. The train had to stop there nearly forty minutes or stopped that night all those terrible minutes. Maulana Shaukat Ali requested the crowd to disperse. But the more he argued, the more they shouted "*Maulana Shaukat Ali ki Jai*", evidently thinking that the Maulana could not mean what he said. They had come from twenty miles' distance, they were waiting there for hours, they must have their satisfaction. The Maulana gave up the struggle, he pretended to sleep. The adorers thereupon

mounted the footboards to have a peep at the Maulana. As the light in our compartment was put out they brought in lanterns. At last I thought I would try. I rose, went to the door. It was a signal for a great shout of joy. The noise tore me to pieces. I was so tired. All my appeals proved fruitless in the end. They would stop for a while to renew the noise again. I shut the windows. But the crowd was not to be baffled. They tried to open the windows from outside. They must see us both. And so the tussle went on till my son took it up. He harangued them, appealed to them for the sake of the other passengers. He produced some effect and there was a little less noise. Peeping however went on to the last minute. It was all well-meant, it was all an exhibition of boundless love, yet how cruel, how unreasonable! It was a mob without a mind. There were no intelligent men of influence among them and so nobody listened to anybody.

Before we can make real headway, we must train these masses of men who have a heart of gold, who feel for the country, who want to be taught and led. But a few intelligent, sincere, local workers are needed, and the whole nation can be organized to act intelligently, and democracy can be evolved out of mobocracy. This evolution is really the first step to successful, national non-co-operation.

Young India, 22-9-1920

157. SWADESHI STORES

In a previous issue[1] I endeavoured to show how stores for the sake of selling mill-manufactures did not advance swadeshi in any way whatsoever, but on the contrary tended to send up the price of cloth. I propose to show in this article how with a small capital, it is possible to advance true swadeshi and earn a modest livelihood.

Suppose that there is a family consisting of husband, wife and two children one of whom is ten years old and the other five. If they have a capital of Rs. 500, they can manage a khaddar *bhandar*[2] in a small way. They can hire, say in a place with a population of 20,000 inhabitants, a shop with dwelling rooms for Rs. 10 per month. If they sell the whole of the stock at 10 per cent profit they can have Rs. 50 per month. They have no servants. The

[1] *Vide* "Swadeshi", 8-9-1920.

[2] Store

wife and the children in their spare time would be expected to help in keeping the shop tidy and looking after it when the husband is out. The wife and children can also devote their spare time to spinning.

In the initial stages the khaddar may not sell at the shop. In that case the husband is expected to hawk the khaddar from door to door and popularize it. He will soon find a custom for it.

The reader must not be surprised at my suggesting 10 per cent profits. The khaddar *bhandars* are not designed for the poorest. The use of khaddar saves at least half the cost not necessarily because the khaddar is more durable (though that it certainly is) but because its use revolutionizes our tastes. I know what saving of money its use has meant to me. Those who buy khaddar from patriotic motives merely can easily afford to pay 10 per cent profits on khaddar. Lastly the popularizing of khaddar means much care, devotion and labour. And the owner of a khaddar *bhandar* does not buy it at a wholesale shop but he must wander to get the best khaddar, he must meet the local weavers and induce them to weave hand-spun yarn. He must stimulate in his own district hand-spinning among its women. He must come in touch with the carders and get them to card cotton. All this means intelligence, organization and great ability. A man who can exhibit these qualities has a right to take 10 per cent profits. And a swadeshi *bhandar* conducted on these lines becomes a true centre of swadeshi activity. I commend my remarks to the attention of the managers of swadeshi stores that are already in existence. They may not revolutionize their method at once but I have no doubt that they will advance swadeshi only to the extent that they sell khaddar.

Young India, 22-9-1920

158. THE DISTRESS IN PURI

I invite the attention of the readers to the latest report of the Puri distress.

The response made hitherto has been generous but not enough to cope with the distress in full. Volunteers are becoming scarce owing to the prolongation of the distress. They have to be replaced by paid workers. The committee[1] has been obliged for want of funds to cut down the number relieved and the Government of

[1] The People's Famine Relief Committee, Puri

Bihar and Orissa will not relieve "economic" distress. The committee needs at least Rs. 50,000. I take that the generous readers who see the appeal will not be slow to respond. An eyewitness who chanced to go to Puri from Calcutta told me that he saw a hungry man die in his presence. He had walked to the place where relief was being given. He was too exhausted to live to get relief. Only the other day an Oriya was found in the act of committing suicide because he was unable to bear the pangs of hunger. He was charged with the crime of attempting to commit suicide. The presiding magistrate practically discharged him and gave him Rs. 20 from the poor-box.

What do these incidents teach us? Distress is chronic in the land. We hear something of Puri because there it has become acute. But in India, it must be held to be a crime to spend money on dinner and marriage parties, tamashas and other luxuries so long as millions of people are starving. We would not have a feast in a family if a member was about to die of starvation. If India is one family, we should have the same feeling as we would have in a private family. But whether we connect ourselves generally with every Indian as with a member of our own family or whether we do not, let me hope that everyone will help to relieve the acute distress that is now going on in Puri.

Nor, let me hope, will the death of Mr. Krishnachandra Naik from snake-bite discourage volunteers from offering their assistance. Mr. Naik has died well in dying in harness. Any day such a death is better than a death from disease. In India it is an article of faith even with the most ignorant person that the soul survives the body and weaves for itself a better one or worse according to its karma, death ought not to matter so much as it seems to do. Mr. Naik will return to the earth with a body better equipped for the work before him. And with that faith in us we must refuse to mourn over his death and rejoice that he had the good fortune of meeting his death whilst engaged in relieving distress among fellow-beings.

Young India, 22-9-1920

I had in view all the three alternatives when I gave the answer I did. Let us hope no self-respecting Indian would go to Fiji on the proposed commission to *inquire into the prospects of further emigration*. An independent commission of our own to inquire into the grievance will be hampered in its progress. How was Mr. Andrews himself treated by some of the white men of Fiji? Pamphlets we may publish broadcast in India, we should. But that cannot solve the present troubles of those who are in Fiji who are in prison or being imprisoned. It is clearly a matter of terrorizing the present Indian population into slavish submission to the white exploiters. The esteemed correspondent forgets that these men are cooped up in Fiji. They have no facilities for coming back to India. Let us remember that the white men of Fiji *do not want to drive out* the Indians from Fiji as they do in South Africa or East Africa. The Fiji whites intend to keep those that are there and want more. It is therefore clearly our first duty to tell all who are weary and heavy laden in Fiji that they are free to return to India and to provide transport, for Mr. Manilal Doctor himself suggested the same remedy. The cables received by me from Fiji have said the same thing. The least we can do is to provide facilities for return.

Young India, 22-9-1920

[1] This was in reply to a correspondent's letter to the editor, *Young India*, which in part said : "In the interview that you kindly gave me on the 9th September in Calcutta, you told me that you would advise Fiji Indians to return to India even if they had to sell out all their possessions. . . They have built their houses there. Thousands of them have been born in Fiji. . . Surely, you will not ask these all to return to India . . . What shall we do for these fifty thousand Indians . . . I would suggest three things for favour of consideration : 1. We must make it clear to the public here that the Government of India is going to add insult to injury by sending a commission to Fiji to enquire into the labour condition in Fiji after their refusal to press for an independent enquiry into the Fiji Tragedy. No Indian worth the name should go to Fiji in that commission of the Government of India. 2. We should send a commission of our own to enquire into the causes and consequences of the recent disturbances in Fiji.

160. REPORT ON DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONGRESS ORGANIZATIONS[1]

September 22, 1920

Report on draft instructions for Congress organizations and those who approve of the resolutions on non-co-operation of the special Congress Session prepared by the Sub-committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee.

The Congress has advised:

(a) boycott of titles and honorary offices,

(b) boycott of Government functions such as parties, levees and durbars,

(c) gradual boycott of Government or Government-controlled schools and colleges and establishment of national schools and colleges,

(d) gradual boycott of law-courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment by the aid of such lawyers of private arbitration courts,

(e) boycott of reformed councils by candidates and electors,

(f) boycott of recruiting for soldiers, clerks and labourers for service in Mesopotamia (meaning Turkish dominions) as on the outbreak of the war,

(g) boycott of foreign goods,

(h) promotion of swadeshi by stimulating manufacture and distribution of hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth out of such yarn.

The Congress has approved of Mr. Gandhi's full programme of progressive non-violent non-co-operation but has adopted for immediate use the items above mentioned.

The question is how to enforce these items.

Boycott of Titles

This is the most difficult part of the programme. But it is the most necessary part. It is difficult because it applies to those who have not as a body hitherto taken part in active public life and have prized their titles or honours as life itself. It is a necessary item in non-co-operation because even this class must be disillusioned and educated to consider gifts from an unrighteous government as a dishonour to be religiously shunned.

[1] The original typewritten draft bears corrections in Gandhiji's hand.

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Workers therefore in every town, taluka and district should compile a list of such holders of titles and honorary offices and a small deputation of the leading non-co-operationists should wait upon such holders and with all respect and humility urge upon them the necessity of surrendering their titles and honorary offices for the good of the country. No undue pressure of any kind whatsoever should be exercised. Violence of language should be scrupulously avoided, and lists of those who have not should be furnished to the provincial headquarters for publication. Those who have already surrendered their titles and honorary offices will be expected to induce others to do likewise. Those who hold such titles and offices and who have voted for non-co-operation are naturally expected immediately to surrender their titles and offices, mentioning the purpose, viz, the resolution of the Congress.

Boycott of Schools and Colleges Owned or Controlled by the Government

This step ought really to be the easiest because the parents of children receiving education, as also grown-up boys and girls receiving education have taken keen interest in the politics of the country. And yet this step has been considered by many to be almost impossible of accomplishment because of the rooted bias in favour of these schools and colleges. It must however be clear to anyone who is anxious to attain swaraj within a measurable period that unless we are able to dispense with Government employment which the college degrees promise we cannot reach our goal for generations to come. The only way to become independent of Government employ and to evolve a truly national culture is to create a want for national schools by emptying the present Government schools, which give but an indifferent education, teach us false history and take no note of the national want. We advise gradual withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges, and meanwhile reliance should be placed upon private education and where even that is not available or possible for want of means boys should be apprenticed to patriotic merchants or artisans. Vigorous propaganda should be organized and carried amongst the parents, schoolmasters, and schoolboys who are over the age of 18 years. Canvassing should go on for volunteer-teachers, and where parents and schoolmasters of schools other than those under direct Government control agree, those schools should give immediate notice to the Government dispensing with all control or aid by way of inspection or otherwise. They should be conducted

as national schools with such modification in the training as local circumstances may require. If men of education take interest in this movement of truly nationalizing our education, local committees of inspection and guidance may be formed ultimately resulting in provincial or district universities. The introduction of the adjective "gradual" in the item regarding schools in the resolution simply means that immediate results are not expected because of the existing infatuation about Government schools. It does not mean that propaganda should be so carried out as to bring about only a gradual withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges. Lists of parents who have withdrawn their children, of boys who have themselves withdrawn and of schoolmasters who have resigned and lists of local schools established as also of volunteer-teachers should be sent to the provincial headquarters and should be published.

Boycott of Law-courts

The increase of litigation is an acknowledged evil. That litigation keeps pace with the increase of lawyers is also a fairly established fact. That a government wields tremendous powers through its law-courts and its system of punishments is also equally true. When there is a real national awakening amongst the masses it must be reflected in the statistics of crime and civil suits. A nation which has set its heart upon gaining self-determination can have little time for private quarrels civil or criminal and it must be the duty of everyone and specially of those who are versed in law to bring about such a state of things. Moreover, hitherto lawyers have controlled (and that very properly) public agitation in the country. If they do not give their whole time and attention to the immediate establishment of swaraj and devote only a portion of their leisure to public affairs, and assuming that the lawyers remained in charge of public movements the establishment of swaraj must be indefinitely postponed. Therefore it is absolutely necessary for reaching our goal in the immediate future that lawyers should suspend their practice. Those who do so and who require to be supported should be supported by the nation either by utilizing their services for the national schools or in connection with private arbitration or for propaganda work. A deputation such as has been suggested for holders of titles, etc., should also wait upon lawyers and ascertain their wishes. Lists of lawyers in each town or district should be prepared marking out those who may suspend their practice and forwarded to the provincial headquarters for publication.

Lawyers should help in inducing parties not only to refer future disputes to arbitration but also to withdraw cases now pending in the British courts and submit them to the national arbitration courts. District Committees should make lists of lawyers and other prominent citizens commanding public confidence who are to preside over arbitration courts. As there is at present no machinery to enforce the orders of arbitration courts some kind of social boycott should be imposed on parties who fail to carry out such orders.

It has been pointed out that certain lawyers who are ready and willing to suspend their practice immediately are not in a position to do so completely at a moment's notice as they have already entered into engagements from which as honourable men cannot withdraw without the consent of their clients. In these cases the lawyers will be expected to attend only to such engagements and to make every endeavour to cease to practice completely at the earliest possible date.

Councils

The boycott of councils is of the greatest moment and the greatest concentration of energy. People at large cannot understand the meaning of non-co-operation if the best workers seek election to the councils. The reform act has not been framed so as to grant immediate swaraj. Whenever swaraj comes it will not come as a free will offering from the British people but it will come when the demand becomes irresistible. A force of an irresistible character, we contend, cannot be generated on the floor of the reformed councils. It will have to be generated by an incessant education of the electorate and those who are outside the electoral rolls. Candidates who have already come forward should be approached by deputations requesting them to withdraw their candidature, and electors should be approached to sign the following form :

> In view and in virtue of the resolution of the special session of the national Congress and the All-India Moslem League we being voters in the electoral district of . . . for election to the reformed councils hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State) and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wish to the contrary, they will not, represent us. We do not desire to be represented in the reformed councils till justice has been granted in the matters of

Khilafat and the Punjab and swaraj is established in India.

If more than one half of the number of electors in a particular district can be induced to sign this form we consider that it is impossible for any candidate to persist in his candidature after such an emphatic declaration. Lists of those who have withdrawn their candidature and those who persist should be taken to put the pros and cons before the voters prior to asking them to sign the above-mentioned form which should be translated in the vernacular of the district concerned.

Recruiting for Labour, etc., for Mesopotamia

The least that a nation which feels the cruel wrong of the Khilafat and the Punjab can do is to refuse to swell the ranks of recruits as sepoys, clerks and labourers for service in Mesopotamia and the other parts of the Turkish Dominions as they existed on the outbreak of the War. Propaganda should be carried by workers among those who are likely to offer themselves for such service placing before them the true situation and then letting them make their choice.

Boycott of Foreign Goods

This clause was an unfortunate interpolation due to a misapprehension.[1] Every non-co-operator is in duty bound to simplify his or her wants and dispense with all luxuries that are dependent on the use of foreign articles.

Swadeshi

This part of the resolution contains all that is immediately possible in the way of boycott of foreign cloth. The use of foreign cloth whether from Lancashire or Japan or France has taken the bread out of millions of mouths, has all but killed the ancient art of home-spinning which supplemented the resources of millions of agriculturists and constituted a kind of insurance against famine. It has robbed thousands of weavers of an honourable and lucrative occupation. Our mills do not manufacture sufficient for our wants. Any pressure on mill-manufacture by those who are in the habit of using foreign cloths can only result in increasing prices, depriving the poor of the cloth they buy without in any way promoting swadeshi. Resort therefore to hand-spinning and hand-weaving is at the present day a national necessity and before it becomes fairly universal it will require discipline, sacrifice and organizing

[1] This sentence is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 28-9-1920.

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ability all of which are qualities also required for gaining swaraj. We attach great importance to swadeshi in the form of a revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and distribution of cloth so manufactured. Thousands of workers need special training for this work. Ladies of high station should be induced to take up hand-spinning and to use only such cloth as can be woven out of hand-spun yarn. Classes should be formed in every street. Spinning-wheels can be manufactured by any ordinary carpenter if a model is placed before him. Those who are desirous of taking up this branch of work should communicate with the manager of Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, near Ahmedabad.

Swaraj Fund

It is very necessary that a national fund should be established for the purpose of carrying into effect the Congress resolution. Fund will be required for propaganda work, for encouraging swadeshi for establishing national schools and for supporting lawyers who have suspended their practice and are unable to support themselves. Provincial with the help of district organizations should therefore make every endeavour to collect funds and submit monthly reports of receipts and expenditure.

Volunteer Corps

Provincial, district and town organizations should form volunteer corps for the purpose of disciplining the people and maintaining order.

Finally we would advise that where there is a sufficient number of workers, a batch should specialize in order to make one particular item successful. Where the workers are not sufficient, precedence should be given to the boycott of councils because results must be shown in this item of non-co-operation before the middle of December next.

Pandit Motilal Nehru
M. K. Gandhi
V. J. Patel
(Subject to a separate note)[1]

From a photostat: S.N. 7266

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

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161. TELEGRAM TO SHAUKAT ALI[1]

[On or after *September 23, 1920*]

AM PERSONALLY DISINCLINED RESPOND BUT IF YOU THINK CAUSE WILL BE SERVED THEREBY AM WILLING GO I DO NEED REST TILL END MONTH.

From a photostat: S.N. 7268

162. CIRCULAR LETTER TO HOME RULE LEAGUE BRANCHES

ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE,
305/09, MASJID BUNDER ROAD,
MANDVI,
BOMBAY,
[Before *September 25, 1920*]

TO
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES,
BRANCH,
HOME RULE LEAGUE

DEAR SIRS,

In accordance with the resolution passed at the general meeting of the All-India Home Rule League at Calcutta, we beg to send the following instructions for carrying out the non-co-operation resolution passed by the special session of the Congress:

All Branches of the All-India Home Rule League are requested in accordance with its object to enforce the non-co-operation resolution of the special session of the Congress in so far as it advises action on the part of the people. And with a view to effective action all the Branches are for the time being requested to concentrate their attention for the next two months principally upon complete boycott of the reformed councils. For that purpose

[1] This was in reply to Shaukat Ali's telegram of September 23, 1920 from Bombay which read : "Punjab Khilafat wants your presence urgent Lahore twenty-seventh Zafaralikhan's trial. Delegates here will join Baroda. If you start Express twenty-fifth evening reaching Lahore twenty-seventh morning wire reply."

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all the Branches are requested to canvass signatures on the following form on the part of the voters:

> In view and in virtue of the resolution of the special session of the national Congress and the All-India Moslem League, we, being voters in the electoral district of . . . for election to the reformed councils, hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State) and hereby inform all candidates for election that if they seek election in spite of our wish to the contrary, they will not represent us. We do not desire to be represented in the reformed councils till justice has been granted in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab and swaraj is established in India.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that before the signatures are taken the voters should be made to understand clearly what they are doing. No pressure of any kind should be exercised upon the voters. Candidates too should be requested to withdraw their candidature in obedience to the expressed wish of the voters, wherever more than half the number of voters have signified their wish in writing.

Further instructions as to the other items adopted by the Congress for immediate enforcement will be forwarded in due course.

M. K. GANDHI
President
UMAR SOBANI[1]
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[2]
GENERAL SECRETARIES

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-9-1920

[1] Sometime Congress treasurer; died in 1926
[2] 1879- ; statesman and first Indian Governor-General

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163. LETTER TO EVERY VOTER ON DUTY OF VOTERS[1]

ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE,
MASJID BUNDER ROAD,
MANDVI,
BOMBAY,
[Before *September 25, 1920*]

The special session of the Congress by an overwhelming majority has decided in favour of complete boycott of the reformed councils. It is therefore your duty not to vote for any candidate for election to the reformed councils. It is however necessary for any candidate who wished to stand in your name to know that you do not wish him or anybody else to represent you. For that purpose you should sign the form that has been prepared for your signature. It is your duty also to tell your co-voters, what they should do.

You know why it is wrong to enter the councils. The Government have declined to grant justice to the Punjab. British ministers have broken their pledged word to the Mussulmans and otherwise ignored the deepest Mussulman sentiments regarding the Khilafat.

We must get these wrongs righted and in order to prevent a recurrence of such injustice or bad faith we must obtain full swaraj and must get rid of the badge of inferiority. We cannot do this by going to the councils, nor can we gain swaraj by going there. On the contrary, although our representatives may vote against unjust Government measures they will still be regarded as authors of those measures and thus be unwilling instruments of injustice. The best way therefore for conserving our honour, hastening the advent of swaraj and righting those wrongs is for the voters not to send any representatives to the councils.

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-9-1920

[1] According to Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, this was issued as a leaflet by Gandhiji and was being freely distributed in Sind in English and vernacular.

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164. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

AHMEDABAD,
September 25, 1920

JAMNALAL[1]
BACHHRAJ
WARDHAGANJ

HAVE WIRED[2] ARAVINDA GHOSH[3]. HEALTH VERY MUCH BETTER.

GANDHI

Panchven Putrako—Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 13

165. LETTER TO CHAIRMAN, A.I.C.C.[4]

September 25, 1920

THE CHAIRMAN
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CALCUTTA

SIR,

By a resolution of the All-India Congress Committee held at Amritsar and dated the 2nd January last the undersigned were appointed a Committee to draft amendments to the Congress Constitution and Rules. The report was to be presented on or before the 30th June last. We regret to say that owing to unforeseen difficulties we were not able to prepare our final draft by that date.

We now append hereto our final draft of the Constitution.

We have not been able to meet at any place for mutual discussion but have been obliged to confer with one another only by correspondence.

In coming to our conclusions we have carefully considered all the suggestions received from various quarters.

[1] 1889-1942; whom Gandhiji regarded as his fifth son; treasurer of Indian National Congress for a number of years

[2] To accept the presidentship of Nagpur Congress; *vide* the addressee's letter to Gandhiji dated September 24, 1920 on page 12 in the source.

[3] Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950); mystic, poet and philosopher; settled at Pondicherry from 1910 onwards

[4] The original draft is in Gandhiji's hand.

We have not been able to agree to the principle of fixing the number of delegates to the Congress. Mr. Gandhi is alone responsible for the suggestion. The majority of us consider that the Congress will lose its demonstrative and influential character if the number is restricted. The majority admit the unwieldy nature of the present Congresses. But in their opinion the benefit of having an unlimited number outweighs the difficulty of the problem. Mr. Gandhi on the other hand considers that the restriction is essential in order to give the Congress a truly representative character and to make it a proper deliberative body. He thinks too that the Congress demands will become irresistible when it scientifically represents the whole people of India with an effective and proportionate voice in its deliberations and when every resolution has been considered with precision. He thinks that its demonstrative character will remain unimpaired by reason of the admission of visitors and guests in an unrestricted manner. The draft hereto attached embodies Mr. Gandhi's suggestions. If therefore the All-India Congress Committee rejects Mr. Gandhi's proposal the section dealing with the restriction of the number of delegates will have [to] be deleted. If Mr. Gandhi's proposal for restriction is accepted, we approve of the principle of proportional representation known as the single transferable vote.

The All-India Congress Committee will note the change we have made in the Congress creed. The most noteworthy change proposed by us is the substi[tu]tion of the adjective constitutional by legitimate and honourable in reference to the methods to be adopted. We think that the word constitutional having a double meaning—popular and legal—causes embarrassment. We have also removed the clause "a steady reform of the existing system of administration" in order to bring the article more in accordance with the recent resolutions of the Congress on reforms.

Another noteworthy change we have made is to redistribute the provinces on a linguistic basis. We believe that the present distribution made from time to time to meet the exigencies of a conquering power is unscientific and is calculated to retard the political and social progress of the respective communities speaking a common vernacular and therefore the growth of India as a whole. We therefore feel that so far as the Congress is concerned, we should re-divide India into provinces on a linguistic basis. This would also strengthen the movement for securing such a redistribution by the Government.

We have made no special provision for Mussulman representation in the Congress. In view of the happy relations existing between

the two races, we do not consider it necessary to make any special provision for their representation. But we wish to state that if the Mussulmans desire any special provision or protection, it should be made or granted for the asking. So far as recognition of Urdu is concerned we have used the common term Hindustani which includes both Hindi and Urdu and we have recognized both scripts, Devnagari and Persian.

We present no separate draft rules. We consider that the ordinary recognized procedure for such assemblies like the Congress and its offshoots should be applicable where no special mention to the contrary is made in the Constitution.

We remain,
Sir,
Your truly,

From a photostat : G.N. 8228

166. UNUSUAL CIRCULAR

The Education Department has issued a circular which, translated, reads as under:[1]

The reason which has prompted this circular is not difficult to understand. It is dated September 1. Even the man who trusts to his rifle must admit that, faced with non-co-operation, brute force is unavailing and the rifle ineffective. When we get the strength for non-co-operation, rifles will be covered with rust, there will be grass growing over them and our children will play where they lie buried.

When one side talks of non-co-operation, the other side has no choice but to talk of co-operation. There is no doubt of it that the Empire depends on friendship, on co-operation. It was only when I saw that the friendship was not genuine, that it was a friendship between the strong and the weak, that I advised non-co-operation. Friendship is possible only between equals and, since we want to be friends with the whole world, we wish to be the equals of all; we wish to give up all fear of others and to conquer their brute force by our moral strength.

It is our non-co-operation which will create the basis for friendship. The foregoing circular is sheer hypocrisy, no more than make-believe. The effort will be as futile as trying to make a

[1] For the text of the circular, *vide* "The Meaning of the Empire", 29-9-1920.

rope out of sand.[1] If the Government really means to treat us as friends, it must undo the injustices, its ways must change and its heart should melt. If the heart melts, it will repent for its innumerable sins, do justice to the Punjab, heal the Muslims' wound, will look upon Tilak Maharaj, not as an enemy, but as a pillar of the Empire and the Viceroy will apologize for the crime of refusing even to mention his name. The greatest crime of Tilak Maharaj was that, with his foresight, he saw that, so long as the British officers looked down upon us, associating with them would do us harm. It is for this reason that the British officers seem to think that they would be polluted if they so much as mentioned his name.

So long as, inwardly, they have contempt for us, such circulars for promoting friendship are but a salve for our wounds. But we can hope for a change of heart in the officials only when we have conquered their hostility by our strength of character. We ourselves credit them with superior strength and want to be what they are. The truth of the matter is that acquiring an empire constitutes no superiority. It requires brute force and the ability to use cunning methods of persuasion, bribery and coercion and to create divisions among the opponents. This provides no measure of moral worth. Superiority can be measured only in terms of moral worth and an empire based on moral strength is the only true empire. In adopting non-co-operation, India has chosen the way which will help it to win such an empire. All that the foregoing circular tells us is that even our adversary admits our path to be the right one.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-9-1920

[1] A Tamil proverb

167. GUJARAT'S DUTY

The question naturally arises what Gujarat will do now. Gujarat had decided, even before the Congress session was held, to boycott legislatures, schools and courts and the Congress has now approved this programme; Gujarat is, therefore, under a double obligation now.

However, it seems to have done nothing of much consequence so far.

It seems that legislatures will be boycotted by and large. But this certainly will not suffice.

How many schools have we rendered vacant? How many lawyers have given up practice? How many people have given up wearing foreign cloth entirely? How many have taken up, and induced others to take up, hand-spinning and hand-weaving?

These are no idle questions. We shall be tested by how we answer them. Our attending meetings and raising hands for voting will not get us swaraj or justice for the Punjab; nor will it prevent the humiliation of Islam.

Moreover, the Viceroy has made it clear by his action that we are not to expect any justice. Officers have been reprimanded. India has demanded not merely that the guilty officers be reprimanded but that they be discharged from service or suitably punished. Nothing like this has been done.

In Fiji, innocent and helpless Indians were subjected to atrocities similar to those in Amritsar. Gujaratis must have read the report of an example of arrogance in New Zealand. The rights of Indians living in Africa are being attacked. Indians in South Africa are being befooled and driven out. When these are the policies which prevail, how is co-operation possible?

We have taken upon ourselves to get this policy changed, to be the equals of the British, to uphold our self-respect, to prevent the country from ruination and show our culture (if we have any).

The Congress has concluded that we cannot achieve all this by arranging, gathering or making petitions. Gujarat had decided so even earlier.

How, then, can we succeed in this task? Our reply was: By non-co-operation. Non-co-operation with British rule means co-operation among ourselves. This task can never be accomplished without self-sacrifice, determination, efficiency, planning, training, etc.

If we must look to the British Government for our education, for settling our disputes, for our laws and the cloth we need, how can we ever start non-co-operation with it?

Can the children of a man sunk in immorality non-co-operate with him while he provides their education, settles their disputes and lays down rules for their future conduct and they receive these benefits from him? Does not the very first step towards non-co-operation lie in renouncing these three benefits? And when the children straightaway give up these favours, what will be the effect on their father? Will he not change his ways and try to win them back?

If, however, the children think that they cannot do without the benefit of education, that it is for the best that the father should settle their disputes and he alone can lay down the law for their guidance and ask how it could be non-co-operation to renounce these benefits, then not only will they fail to put a stop to their father's immorality but will be a party to it and take to immoral ways themselves.

The same is true of our relations with the Government. If, tempted by tangible benefits like schools, etc., we make compromises, swaraj will be ever receding from us. For we shall always feel that schools, courts, etc., can be run only by the Government. Just as a person who always moves in a vehicle loses his ability to walk, one who passively receives education and such other benefits can never be independent.

When we are able to educate our children and settle our disputes ourselves, we shall feel new strength in us and shall know what it means to be independent.

In Agra, there was a dispute between Hindus and Muslims. The English official said: "Well, send for your Maulana Shaukat Ali and Gandhi." He obliged us by saying this. Maulana or Gandhi did not have to go, but the well-known Hakim Ajmal Khan and others went there from Delhi and restored peace between the two communities. The people were convinced that they could do without the services of the army and the officials. To that extent the people made progress, became independent and qualified themselves for swaraj.

In this way, as the people gradually learn to manage their own affairs, they will become more and more free.

It is the essence of non-co-operation to awaken people to their strength. People must realize that without their consent and co-operation, the Government can never be carried on. In this realization lie the seeds of swaraj. The people will be subject only so

long as, yielding to temptations or out of ignorance or fear, they co-operate [with the Government]. If people emancipate themselves from the lure of titles, etc., from the ignorant belief that knowledge can be acquired only in Government schools and from the fear of the Government's physical might, they will be independent.

Gujaratis should understand this simple idea and everybody should realize his duty.

It is mainly workers that we lack. If honest, sincere and alert workers who have unshakable faith in every item in the non-co-operation programme come forward, people will not take long to get ready. So the first thing to do, for ensuring the success of non-co-operation, is to find workers. There can be no lack of such workers. I hope that they will be found in every village.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-9-1920

168. FAMINE IN ORISSA

The distress in Orissa is getting more acute, not less. Readers of *Navajivan* have contributed much towards relief but what they have given is not enough. Shri Amritlal Thakkar has asked for Rs. 50,000. If we fail to collect this amount, some are bound to die of starvation.

Anyone may go there and see people starving. One gentleman was there recently. He saw with his own eyes a man dying of hunger. This latter had gone to the place to receive doles being distributed among famine-stricken people, but did not live to get his share.

Another such starving man, unable to bear his suffering, went away to commit suicide. Since the attempt to commit suicide is a crime, he was arrested by the police. The magistrate passed a nominal sentence on him and set him free; he was given Rs. 20 from the charity box.

In Puri, now, they are short of volunteers. Those who were enrolled got overworked. So paid servants have had to be employed, and this has meant additional expenditure. It is our duty to meet this.

As long as millions are starving in India, we have no right to arrange parties and dinners, to indulge in rhetoric and spend money on luxuries. We cannot even enjoy good dishes.

I have stated our duty in regard to the chronic poverty of India. You may accept or reject it. But we cannot escape the duty to end the present starvation in Puri and it is my hope that everybody will contribute to the fund to the best of his ability.

I also wish to draw the reader's attention to another fact mentioned by Amritlal Thakkar. He writes about a young man named Krishnachandra Naik, and says that he died of a serpent bite while doing his duty. We may offer consolation to the family of this friend. Personally, however, I would offer congratulations.

I would rather die of a serpent bite while trying to satisfy the hunger of a starving man, than of dysentery. The dysentery may be the result of my sins. The serpent bite may also be due to my sins; even so, if I die of such an accident while doing good, I cannot but fare well after my death. I would, therefore, consider it my good fortune [to meet such a death].

Instead of being pained by the death of friend Naik, everyone should rejoice over it and not turn away from such work as risky.

We find there is greater fear of death in India, where it should be less. We believe the *atman* to be immortal. We know the body to be liable to perish any moment. The *atman* goes from body to body, according to its actions. If so, why fear or mourn death? If a child dies, why should we not believe that it has died after paying its debt and, therefore, feel no terror at its death? Is it not a delusion to believe that a child's death is untimely? Does not our dharma teach us that all deaths occur at their appointed hour? We indeed need to shake off our delusions about death.

This certainly does not rule out manly effort. Whether death comes today or tomorrow, true human effort consists in adhering to our dharma and doing our duty without fearing death, for, in this way, we remain free from the weakness of impatience and are saved from many sins. And, at the same time, believing that there is no room for slackness in matters of dharma, we go on working ceaselessly and take no thought of death.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-9-1920

169. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

AHMEDABAD,
September 27, 1920

JAMNALAL
BACHHRAJ
WARDHAGANJ

IF SHUKLAJI[1] DOES NOT ACCEPT YOU MAY ACCEPT[2].

GANDHI

Panchaven Putrako—Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 13

170. TELEGRAM TO BIHARILAL ANANTANI[3]

[On or after *September 27, 1920*]

EXPECT NO JUSTICE FROM PRESENT GOVERNMENT. OUR COUNTRYMEN EAST AFRICA STRONG ENOUGH, PROTECT THEMSELVES BY NON-CO-OPERATION ANY CASE EVENTS PROGRESSING HERE CANNOT BUT ULTIMATELY IMPROVE THEIR POSITION.

From a photostat : S.N. 7277

171. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, AHMEDABAD[4]

September 28, 1920

In the Punjab, students being forced to march sixteen to eighteen miles, and children being whipped, were not the only indignities; some students were even called out to salute the Union Jack. I leave it to the students to judge how, if people are forced to salute the Union Jack, or even God, those who are so forced—and God Himself—would feel. Then, again, some were

[1] Pandit Bishandutt Shukla

[2] Chairmanship of the Reception Committee of Nagpur Congress

[3] An East African settler who in a telegram to Gandhiji on September 27 had said : "Leaving for East Africa Wednesday. Pray wire me care Swaga desired advise as message to be delivered our countrymen under present circumstances."

[4] Meeting of students of Gujarat College, V. J. Patel presiding

CWMG XVIII

expelled from college. I used to get letters from such students. They felt that they were ruined and that their future was bleak.

If there is any lesson that students should learn from the events in the Punjab, it is that they should not be enamoured of colleges any longer, should drive out of their minds the idea that if they did not go to college, they would lose their bread.

When I went to Lahore, I could see from the joy on the faces of students that their fascination for college had considerably waned. Had I been frightened along with them and given way to false concern as if, unless they went to college, they would not be men, their infatuation would have increased. Had these students not been enrolled in Government colleges, what could the Government have done to them? I am sure it could have done them no harm; it could not have forced them to salute the Union Jack. Above everything else, they were afraid that they would face dire consequences if they refused to salute the Union Jack. These students would have been quite safe had they been attending private colleges over which the Government had no control. But, as the students attended Government colleges, it could exercise greater control over them and through them humiliated our people. It is only through students that we can achieve independence, and it is only because of their weakness that we shall continue to be under foreign domination. It is true that I have laid great stress on the boycott of councils. Each one of us is prone to hero-worship and, therefore, when leaders who are fit to be our representatives give up the idea of entering the councils, I know that the immediate effect would be tremendous. This can be done right now and it should be done. It would also have a powerful effect. If, however, all Government schools are left empty I promise that you will see the face of India changed within a month. Nothing else will have the same impact on the public and our rulers as that produced by every student leaving his or her school or college forthwith in a day. Even lawyers giving up practice would not have the same effect as students leaving their schools. When students stop attending Government schools, the Government will realize that their Tansa Water Works[1]—why go so far, the Dudheshwar Water Works[2]—has stopped its supply [of Government servants]. India depends on its students for winning its freedom because they are young. Lawyers are men of affairs and as such seasoned in the ways of the world. But students lead an innocent life. It is difficult

[1] Source of water-supply to Bombay
[2] Source of water-supply to Ahmedabad

to make lawyers give up practice as they have their interests to consider; but, as students have no such interests, it would be easy for them to boycott their colleges if only they would give up their fascination for them.

Some of you may ask why students should do this, why they should leave schools. Our great leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a profoundly religious man with long experience in public service, Shri Shastriar, one of the ablest thinkers in the country, and some of our other leaders including Lala Lajpat Rai argue against this movement and say that this step of asking the students to leave schools is fraught with great danger. I certainly cannot wish that you should be guarded against being influenced by their ideas and, therefore, request you, students, to give the fullest consideration to the views of these patriotic leaders of ours. If, having done so, you still feel that what I say is true, only then must you leave schools and colleges.

Some of you may ask how the education we have been receiving has suddenly become vicious. However bad the Government, why should we leave the schools which we attend if they are well managed and staffed with good teachers and professors? This is a question which will naturally trouble each one of us.

When the Punjab and the Khilafat issues arose, the policies of the Government were bearable. I give you my word that, when I was there [in the Punjab], I was confident that we were bound to get justice. I also assured our Muslim brethren that they would get at least what had been promised by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George. However, we received a slap in the face over the Punjab issue and the most ingenious means were employed to cover up the injustice. Regarding the Khilafat, even a child can see that the promise given has been broken.

The victims of the atrocities in the Punjab were no ordinary persons; it was the educated class, educated by the Government, which was subjected to the most wanton cruelties.

The Government has robbed India of its self-respect. Were a robber to rob us of our belongings and then come and ask us to attend a school founded with money from out of what he had seized from us, I am sure we would tell the robber that we did not want the education provided by him. I can tolerate a robber robbing me of my belongings, but how am I to get back my honour, my manhood or womanhood, if I am robbed of it? Could I have my nose whole again if it were to be cut off? Robbers in Kathiawad used to cut off people's noses, and then a doctor came along who offered to stitch them up. But there is no surgeon who can

restore its shapeliness to India's nose which has been cut and disfigured. It is we alone who can effect this. Just as we would not touch the best of milk if it is poisoned with arsenic, so we should keep away from education which is polluted even though it be the best. I doubt if Pandit Malaviya or Shri Shastriar has been pained as much as I have been by these two issues. If they also feel as I do that the Government, by its policies, has turned into poison what otherwise was as beneficial as milk—they would say the same thing that I have said. I would say that these great men of our country fail to recognize the poison which has infected the education provided by the Government.

If, in this situation, we do nothing, we shall be disgraced for ever. For ages to come, our people will be unfit to hold up their heads before the rest of the world. You, students, cannot be called children any longer. You should, therefore, boycott your colleges and schools right from tomorrow after courteously informing your parents and elders. But I want you to understand fully the conditions under which the freedom that boys and girls over sixteen have may be used.

Those alone, who are both mentally and physically sick of our present condition and are convinced that they cannot even for a moment tolerate this Empire, that it is humiliating to live in such an Empire permeated by the poison of injustice, have the right to leave schools and colleges. Just as we cannot accept alms from the robber who has robbed us of our all, likewise we should refuse the education provided by the Government; this is the only right way of showing our respect for our parents and leaders. If you hear the voice of conscience telling you to do a certain thing, you have the right to obey it. If you are convinced of all this, I would like you to give up your colleges right from tomorrow.

"To which schools do we go then?" To those students who ask this question, my reply is that they should yet wait for a while and consult their parents, for they are still undecided. Would I have any doubt about leaving a room inhabited by a snake? If you want to know the meaning of the resolution passed by the National Congress, I tell you that it does not make the leaving of schools conditional on new schools being provided. Whether we have new schools or not, it is necessary to boycott the present ones which have become like poison to us.

Let no one conclude, from what I have said above, that I am opposed to education or that I wish to propagate my own ideas on education. I am trying to spread my ideas through the National School and, when I wish to spread them more effectively,

I shall find the appropriate means. But today it is as a soldier that I advise the boycott of schools and colleges. When a war breaks out, students give up studies, law-courts are closed and even prisons emptied. Even prisoners who have made jail their home turn a new leaf in their lives and go out to the battle-field. Similarly, this is a time of war for us. Had ours been a warlike nation, long before now thousands of swords would have been unsheathed, but the way of the sword is not possible in India today. At present, it is from the ordinary, worldly point of view that I put this issue before the public—that we cannot accept gifts, we cannot accept assistance from a Government which has humiliated us to this extent. If this principle is accepted, the question whether there are any alternative schools does not arise at all. You have, therefore, to consider the issue only from this point of view, whether or not it is your duty now to leave schools and colleges forthwith. What should the students do after leaving their institutions? What should those who are rendered idle during the intervening period do? You may ask all these questions. The principle is the same that I have put forward. I do not put before you the corollaries which follow from this. Consistently with this main principle, one may, unwaveringly, follow any course which appeals to one's heart. It is, at the same time, my duty to add that no student is justified in continuing to attend school or college out of weakness, once his doubts have been resolved. This is no time for the nation to show weakness.

Then followed questions by students and Gandhiji's replies.

Q: Mahatmaji, what should we do if the Congress meeting in Nagpur postpones the implementation of this resolution?

I think that the Congress session in Nagpur cannot pass a resolution to that effect. This question—what the Nagpur session of the Congress will do or will not do—has no meaning for one who has really understood the principle advanced here. The awakening among students in Gujarat could make it impossible for the Congress to pass such a resolution.

Mahatmaji, do you wish students to commit suicide or to sacrifice their interests?

I wish students to do the latter and thereby protect themselves.

The Gujarat College was founded by funds collected from Gujarat and the Government merely accepted its management when handed over to it. Should we, then, give up that which truly belongs to us or should we take back its management in our hands?

Should a person misuse something that has been entrusted to him, even in law such a person is said to have committed breach of trust. If a dhobi puts to some other use a garment which has been given to him for washing, he is accused of theft. In the same manner, I accuse the Government of theft, of a breach of trust. When we entrusted the Government with the management of the College, we did not anticipate the injustice it would do in the Punjab and with regard to the Khilafat. Secondly, as the chairman has said, Gujarat College is not going to be converted into a zoo. It will, in the end, be ours. In order to take complete and proper possession of our property, which at the moment is under the control of the Government, it is necessary that we should even give up its improper use. As we would abandon our house if there has been a plague case in it, so we should abandon this College as it is no longer truly ours. Should one's arm become gangrenous, Dr. Kanuga would amputate it since gangrene is incurable. During a storm, sailors jettison their cargo into the sea, but thereby they do not commit suicide. In the same manner, it is necessary that we boycott today the schools which once belonged to us and it is only through such a boycott that we shall regain our ownership.

Mahatmaji, should one leave schools which are private and not run by the Government?

Those private schools which are affiliated to the Government [to the university] are in fact controlled by the Government, are under its moral government and should, therefore, be boycotted. In my opinion, all those colleges which have even the very slightest trace of Government influence should be boycotted.

Would the Government be affected if only a few students gave up their colleges?

We are not concerned with the effect but with the question whether to accept or not to accept the gift of injustice. It is our duty to uphold our self-respect. A boy or a girl who gives up college has done his or her duty and served the world to that extent. Even a single person making a sacrifice will produce some effect.

As far as I can see, the Government never wanted to educate us. Do we not then help the Government by leaving colleges?

I do not think the Government wants us to do so. It has even issued a circular in this connection. The Government is very much afraid that, if schools and colleges are vacated, it would lose what control it has over the people. We should do the right thing irrespective of the wishes of the Government.

Should we give up even those schools or colleges which are to become national institutions?

You should write to the managers of such schools and colleges congratulating them on their intention to make them national institutions and requesting them to notify the Government immediately of their intentions so that you would be reassured.

What should we do if our parents do not agree to this?

Try and reason with your parents. We must be respectful and polite to our parents. We should not forget that we must obey their wishes, but we may politely refuse to comply with them whenever we find them unreasonable.

What should we do if national schools are banned as seditious?

In that case, every student in a Government school must walk out of it. If, in such a situation, the people continue to patronize Government schools, they will be fit only to be a nation of slaves. The Government cannot stop people's education along national lines, it cannot prevent private tutors and volunteer workers from going to people's homes.

Mahatma Gandhi, you said that the Dudheshwar Water Works would be shut down if Government schools and colleges were boycotted. What do you mean by this?

We supply to the Government water in the form of Government servants and it is with this water that the Government quenches its thirst. So, then, the Government will perish of thirst if this source of water is dried up. Lord Macaulay also said that schools and colleges alone could provide the Government with the servants it needed.

Some people believe that this movement will collapse like the one against the partition of Bengal. What would you say to this?

There are bound to be, among the people, such bubbles which arise and burst. If all the babies born could live, what more could the world ask for? We should embark on this task only after taking our weakness into account. There were two weaknesses in the movement against the partition of Bengal: (1) The students were not made to leave Government schools and (2) the leaders continued to send their own children to colleges and such institutions. These two weaknesses are being overcome to the extent possible. I am always prepared to be cursed by the students. One who wishes to serve the public must, from the very beginning, be prepared for curses. Both the public and I must be pre-

pared to suffer the consequences of this course. That alone will raise the future generations.

Do all war-time requirements hold in this movement?

All war-time requirements are being adhered to in this movement and, most certainly, this is a war.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-10-1920

172. THE KACHA GARHI INCIDENT

My attention has been drawn by Lieutenant Hewett of the 37th Dogras to certain statements which appeared in the issue of this paper on the 28th July last under the heading, "More about the Bulletted *Muhajarin*." The report[1] in question which deals with the Kacha Garhi incident was communicated by Mr. H. J. Mohamed as the opening words showed. Lieutenant Hewett denies the truth of various statements in the report and complains in particular of the following specific allegations, which he characterizes as false and malicious:

> The officer kneeled upon the body and cut deep into the neck;

and

> They (i.e. the British soldiers and the officers) were bent on murder and murder in a cruel manner, for this alone could satisfy their lust for blood and appease their anger.

Lieutenant Hewett informs me that he was the only officer travelling by the train referred to in this report or present on the occasion referred to therein, and he denies that there is any truth whatever in these allegations which he says clearly refer to him. On another page of the same issue of *Young India*, there appeared an article[2] by me in which I said that "If the facts set forth in the statement are true they reflect the greatest discredit on the so-called soldiers who took wanton delight in killing a man who was endeavouring to protect the honour of women", but I was careful to advise my readers to suspend their judgment till they had the Government version before them.

I gladly publish the repudiation by Lieutenant Hewett. The public thus have the original statement and a contradiction by the

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] *Vide* "More About the Bulletted *Muhajarin*" 28-7-1920.

officer concerned. There is now all the greater reason for suspension of judgment till the result of the inquiry is before the public.

Young India, 29-9-1920

173. REPRESSION IN THE PUNJAB

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the editor and proprietor of the *Zamindar* of Lahore, is on his trial. Probably by the time this appears in print, his fate will have been decided. The reader will see the charge-sheet against Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.[1] It is worth studying from the political standpoint. The judicial must for the time being rest with the judges. He has been accused of having made use of sentiments amounting to an attempt to create disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India and to promote feelings of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.

The statements attributed to Mr. Z. A. Khan undoubtedly constitute the crime, if they were actually made and are not true. For to state facts cannot by any stretch of the canon of interpretation amount to an attempt to excite disaffection or to promote enmity. To speak of General Dyer's performances, of Mr. Lloyd George's breach of promises or of the Viceroy's and Mr. Montagu's defence of O'Dwyerism, would be to speak the truth; and yet it cannot but excite disaffection towards a Government that is guilty of condonation of crimes or breaches of deliberate pledges. And if it be a crime to speak the truth, it is a virtue and a duty to promote disaffection. Similarly if the telling of truth promotes feelings of enmity between classes, it has to be risked if truth may not be sacrificed. Suppression of material but damaging facts cannot promote friendship but can only make the enmity more deadly for its secrecy.

In Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's case there are two statements which are, so far as I am aware, unsupportable by evidence. Mecca was never set on fire. And there seems to be no warrant for the statement that virgin girls were outraged in Baghdad. I do not know whether Mr. Zafar Ali Khan made the two statements imputed to him. I should be sorry if he did. Khilafat workers in particular, and all other workers in general, cannot be too strongly urged to avoid all exaggeration. Facts are always stronger than

[1] For making statements at Hazro in August 1920 against the British Government on Khilafat and other issues; *vide Young India*, 29-9-1920.

fiction. The latter hurts a cause in the long run and discredits the speaker. The case against the Government based on proved facts is invulnerably strong. And public movements will gain greatly when no charge of exaggeration can be sustained against workers.

But the charges that will be and must be admitted by Mr. Khan are really from the Government's point of view far more serious, and yet of those charges I am guilty with Mr. Khan. For instance, the conditions laid down for a hearty reception to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales would be mine as they are stated to be Mr. Khan's. It is but too true, if the conditions laid down are not fulfilled, that this Empire must perish.

Hitherto the Government has taken no notice of speeches advising non-co-operation and containing such demands as are said to have been made or advice as is said to have been given by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. And I had begun to think that the Government were adopting the healthy method of allowing such agitation to go on so long as it did not result in violence. I had thought that the Government had ceased to think of punishing a man for expressing his views however extreme they might be so long as they did not incite the people to violence.

But the policy is evidently to be changed. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's speech must have told. He preached against recruiting in the District which provided recruits. And if such preaching is wrong, the Congress itself has done wrong. Yet surely it is the right of a citizen to warn people against accepting an occupation that is harmful to the people's self-respect or religious honour.

Mr. Habib Shah of *Siasat* had his security forfeited, I suppose, for much the same reasons. This kind of repression we must expect as non-co-operation begins to produce its effect. It is clear that success depends entirely upon our ability to carry on our campaign in spite of repression by way of prosecution of speakers and suppression of newspapers. Such repression must simply nerve us for further effort. And the demands must be repeated not by one man but thousands. Newspapermen need not feel concerned if their activity is stopped. Door to door propaganda, circulars written by the hand and multiplied after the snowball process by voluntary workers will result in more concentrated work than newspapers. When the struggle reaches the effective stage even in spite of peace reigning in the land, we must be prepared for prosecutions and internments and the like. And the victory will be ours, only when the struggle survives the repressive stage and makes non-co-operation more popular than ever. For will it not be a conclusive proof of the necessity of non-co-operation with a Government

that will suppress even the legitimate aspirations of the people and a legitimate and truthful narrative of facts, however distasteful they may be to the Government?

Only we dare not be impatient. Sentences like the following do betray impatience.

> I have heard that in Baghdad a father and son were in the Indian army. They were fighting against the Turks. The son was killed in action, the father carried his body to Baghdad. In the way he noticed that his son's face had turned into that of a pig!

These sentences have been put into Mr. Khan's mouth. It is an appeal to superstition. I hope that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan did not appeal to the superstition of his audience. The Khilafat agitation is a religious movement. It must be free from untruth, exaggeration, violence of speech or action, and superstition or prejudice. The cause itself is truthful, and truth, when self-sacrifice and courage have been applied for its vindication, has never yet been known to fail.

Young India, 29-9-1920

174. THE HALLUCINATION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Much is being said and written against the proposed boycott of Government-controlled schools and colleges. The proposal has been described as "mischievous", "harmful", "opposed to the best interest of the country", etc. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is among its most uncompromising opponents.

I have been taxing myself to the best of my capacity in order to discover my error. But the effort has resulted in deepening my conviction that it is sinful to receive any education under the control of the present Government, no matter how high its quality may be, even as it would be to take the richest milk when it is tainted with poison.

I ask myself why some see the truth of the proposition quite clearly whilst others, the accepted leaders, condemn it as an error. The answer I have been able to find is that the latter do not consider the present system of Government as an unmixed evil as the former do. In other words, the opponents do not sufficiently realize the significance of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. They do not feel as the others do that these wrongs show conclusively that the sum total of the activity of the present Government is injurious to national growth. I know that this is a serious statement

to make. It is unthinkable that Malaviyaji and Shastriar cannot feel the wrongs even as I do. And yet that is precisely my meaning. I am positive that they will not put their children in a school where there was any likelihood of their becoming degraded instead of being elevated. I am equally positive that they would not send their children to a school managed, controlled or even influenced by a robber who had robbed them of their possessions. I feel that the nation's children suffer degradation in the Government schools. I feel that these schools and colleges are under the influence of a Government that has deliberately robbed the nation of its honour, and therefore the nation must withdraw its children from such schools. It may be that some learning even in such schools may be able to resist the progress of degradation. But it cannot be right to countenance national humiliation going on in the schools because some have risen above their environment. In my opinion it is self-evident that the honoured leaders of the nation today do not realize that the Government-controlled schools are tainted in the manner described by me.

It may be urged that the schools are no worse today than they were before the Punjab wrong or the Khilafat breach, and that we tolerated them before these events. I admit that the schools are not much worse now than before. But so far as I am concerned, the knowledge of the Punjab and the Khilafat betrayal has revolutionized my view of the existing system of Government. My ignorance of its inherent wickedness made the system tolerable to the extent of my not rising against the schools. And that is just the reason why I fear that those who oppose the proposed boycott of the schools on the ground of its harmfulness, do not put the same valuation on the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs that I do.

And so I congratulate Messrs S. B. Tilak, Patel, Tripathi and others on their having given up their colleges even as they were on the point of finishing their education. That is also why I congratulate Misses Desai and Patel for their having left their high school. It is perhaps not generally known that these high-spirited girls left the schools of their own accord as have the young men.

I have no hesitation in wishing that the youth of India, both boys and girls, will, if they have felt personally the deep humiliation of atrocities of the Punjab, or understood the meaning of the violation of the Khilafat pledge, without any further reflection, empty the Government-controlled schools and colleges. The moral education that they will gain in a moment when they take that step will more than make up for the temporary loss of literary education. For the day that the boys and the girls empty the Government-con-

trolled schools will be the day that will mark a very definite advance towards the goal.

It will mark a revolution in the national thought. It will mark our freedom from the hallucination of schools and colleges. Is not nation able to take charge of its own education without any Government intervention, protection, advice or grant? Abandonment of the present schools means consciousness of our ability to educate ourselves in spite of Himalayan difficulties.

Young India, 29-9-1920

175. THE MEANING OF THE EMPIRE

The following circular has been issued by the Education Department :

> Teachers and educational officers of this Presidency should be asked to co-operate in bringing about a right understanding of the meaning of the Empire and in dispelling the idea that the Empire is based on force and militarism, by encouraging the parties concerned to look upon each other as brethren in advancement of the liberal aims and mutual friendship and sympathy particularly in India where a contrary feeling is gaining ground.

It is dated at Poona the 1st instant.

The circular in my opinion is a triumph of non-co-operation. We have been often told authoritatively that the Empire is based finally on force. When an attempt is being made to isolate this force, and to show by not meeting it by force that it is utterly useless when it is not backed by the co-operation, conscious or unconscious, of the people, we have a circular calling upon the teachers to co-operate in showing that the Empire is based not on force or militarism but that it is based on mutual friendship. This I consider a triumph of non-co-operation because force recedes into the background. Sir Michael O'Dwyer flaunted his brute force in the face of the nation, and terrorism reigned supreme for a time. It did not answer. Now it is to be covered under soft-sounding phrases. It too must fail.

The circular is hypocritical. To talk of friendship and sympathy between terrorists and their victims is to add deception to tyranny. The way out is through non-co-operation.

It is a vain attempt to expect to secure friendship by false pretensions. The best and only way to secure the real friendship of the people and to prove to them that the Empire is not based

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on force and militarism, is to withdraw the superfluous military force even at the risk of losing the Empire to trust the people, and for Englishmen in general to regard us in every way their equals in thought and in deed. This presupposes righting the Khilafat wrong in accordance with the Mussulman sentiment and to give full reparation regarding the Punjab.

But this seems impossible for the general body of Englishmen to do. They have been brought up to work upon us as mere chattels. I invite the attention of the reader to the account of the treatment of our countrymen in New Zealand. I cannot conceive anything more wantonly brutal than the doings of the white men of New Zealand. It is not as if the colonists are a depraved people. They are brave, generous, charitable and cultured in their own sphere. But they are thrown off their balance immediately they come in contact with us. We are their natural prey. And culture is no bar to their maltreatment of us even as culture is no bar to the killing even say of snakes by the majority of mankind. I have not used a far-fetched illustration. Thousands of Englishmen cannot bear the idea of an Indian claiming or living on terms of equality with them. White superiority, as Mr. Andrews has shown, has become a religion. President Kruger[1] used to say that God had ordained Asiatics to be white men's slaves. He even introduced the idea in his statute-book. He was frank and he avowed it. Others believe it, practise it, but would fain break its force by using euphemistic language or worse.

It is not possible to blame anybody but ourselves for this badge of inferiority and we alone can remove it by supreme effort.

Young India, 29-9-1920

[1] 1825-1904; Boer leader and State President of the South African Republic; *vide* Vol. III, p. 76.

176. MR. PENNINGTON'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

I gladly publish Mr. Pennington's[1] letter[2] with its enclosure[3] just as I have received them. Evidently Mr. Pennington is not a regular reader of *Young India*, or he would have noticed that no one has condemned mob-outrages more than I have. He seems to think that the article[4] he has objected to was the only thing I have ever written on General Dyer. He does not seem to know that I have endeavoured with the utmost impartiality to examine the Jallianwala massacre. And he can see any day all the proof adduced by my fellow-commissioners and myself in support of our findings on the massacre. The ordinary readers of *Young India* knew all the facts and therefore it was unnecessary for me to support my assertions otherwise. But unfortunately Mr. Pennington represents the typical Englishman. He does not want to be unjust, nevertheless he is rarely just in his appreciation of world events because he has no time to study them except cursorily and that through a press whose business is to air only party views. The average Englishman therefore except in parochial matters is perhaps the least informed though he claims to be well informed about every variety of interest. Mr. Pennington's ignorance is thus typical of the others and affords the best reason for securing control of our own affairs in our own hands. Ability will come with use and not by waiting to be trained by those whose natural interest is to prolong the period of tutelage as much as possible.

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

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

1. That the crowd was unarmed.
2. That it contained children.

[1] J. R. Pennington, a retired I.C.S. officer
[2] Defending General Dyer
[3] Entitled "Is India Worth Keeping?"
[4] *Vide* "General Dyer", 14-7-1920.

3. That the 13th was the day of *Vaisakhi* fair.

4. That thousands had come to the fair.

5. That there was no rebellion.

6. That during the intervening two days before the "massacre" there was peace in Amritsar.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No trace was found of the so-called Danda Fauj dignified by the name of bludgeon-army by Mr. Pennington. There was no rebel army in Amritsar. The crowd that committed the horrible murders and incendiarism contained no one community exclusively. The sheet was found posted only in Lahore and not in Amritsar. Mr. Pennington should moreover have known by this time that the meeting held on the 13th was held, among other things, for the purpose of condemning mob excesses. This was brought out at the Amritsar trial. Those who surrounded him could not stop General Dyer. He says he made up his mind to shoot in a moment. He consulted nobody. When the correspondent says that the troops would have objected to being con-

cerned in "what might in that case be not unfairly called a 'massacre'," he writes as if he had never lived in India. I wish the Indian troops had the moral courage to refuse to shoot innocent, unarmed men in full flight. But the Indian troops have been brought in too slavish an atmosphere to dare do any such correct act.

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

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

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

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

Young India, 29-9-1920

177. SPEECH AT TEACHERS' MEETING, AHMEDABAD

September 29, 1920

I was myself a teacher once and can still claim to be one. I have had some experience in education, having carried out experiments in it. As a result of these experiments, I have come to the conclusion that a nation whose teachers have lost their manhood can never rise.

Our teachers have indeed lost their manhood. They do under force what, otherwise, they would not do. No physical force is used on them, but they are subjected to a subtle kind of pressure. Teachers get frightened by threats from their superiors, by threats or hints of cuts in their salaries or stoppage of increments.

We are now faced with a situation in which teachers—both men and women—should risk their lives, their belongings and their salaries and, courageously, put the situation before the students as it is. If they cannot do so, they should give up teaching as their means of livelihood. My task for the day will be done when I have explained this to the teachers. A great teacher like Shri Shastriar is in the opposite camp. Even Pandit Malaviya, founder of an institution like the [Benares] Hindu University, is of the opinion that I am leading the public on the wrong path. Those who belong to the nationalist camp also have their doubts. Even so I believe I am right.

A gentleman who has come from Baghdad recounted to me his experiences there. I was dumbfounded by this. I tell you that I find it unbearable to live in India. If I did not think of non-co-operation all the twenty-four hours,—even when I go to bed it is this thought which calms my mind—it would have been impossible for me to live in this country. I think the illiterate Arabs of Baghdad are infinitely more advanced than we. This gentleman is no ordinary person. He was a high official in Government service in Baghdad. He is no enemy of the British Government. He gave me but a truthful account of his experiences. When Gangabehn[1] asked him whether the British rule would last there, he replied that Mesopotamia was not India, that the Arabs would not rest in peace while one Englishman remained there. They have no equipment such as gunpowder or swords, or anything to

[1] Gangabehn was the one who found the spinning-wheel in Vijapur.

speak of. But one weapon they certainly possess: "This is our country. Those whom we do not permit cannot stay here even for a moment."

They massacred all the Sikhs who were sent there by the British Government. I do not advise Indians to do anything of the kind. On the contrary, I am trying to prevent the trend in that direction. The Arabs had nothing against the Sikhs as such. We have to look only to their motives. The British held out many hopes to them. It is so hot in Baghdad that one cannot sit on the sands there, as you are doing now. The sand there is hot enough for one to cook on. The British Government promised to build tarred roads for the Arabs, to build railways and provide all facilities to see them happy, as also to educate them. The Arabs saw a car for the first time only recently. But they knew only this: "You have come here to occupy our country." The Muslims of Mesopotamia have already set about expelling the British from their country, while the Muslims of India have yet to do so.

The British planes cannot frighten them. What is an air-plane or anything else to Arabs? They ever hold their life in their hands. They have nothing to lose to the enemy. They do not fight for their personal interests. Their clothes are made of leather and they live in tents. Their aim is to save their own land—no matter if it be all sand. Who dare enter, without their permission, the holy city of Baghdad, which has been the dwelling place of many a Muslim saint? Neither an Englishman nor a Sikh nor any friend of theirs will be permitted to stay there.

The Arabs are a million times superior to us. He alone is truly happy who has the courage to declare: "This is our country; whoever points a finger at it will lose that finger. No outsider will be permitted to stay here." We shall be doing injustice both to ourselves and to the Arabs if we believe that they are barbarous and we are civilized. Although we live in a state of servitude, we enjoy some comforts and luxuries. So long as we cherish the desire for such pleasures, we are most certainly lower than the Arabs.

Our forefathers have told us, it has been said in the Vedas and the *Upanishads* "Let not this holy land be profaned." Let outsiders enter your country only as guests. One who has lost his independence has lost all, including his dharma.

I do not believe that we can follow our religion very freely under the British and that under the Muslims it was not quite so. I know Muslim rule was oppressive, that it suffered from pride. But, then, British rule denies God, it has no regard for dharma. It threatens the very existence of our religion.

The condition of the Pathans, the Iranians and the Arabs in our neighbouring countries is better than ours. They do not get the education we do and yet they are superior to us.

Having, in this manner, set out our sad plight, I present my case to the teachers. So long as we are not prepared to sacrifice our education, it will not be possible for us to make our country free.

Many students come to me these days and tell their story in touching words. But I see that they are overcome with fear. They ask me whether there would be other schools and colleges ready for them tomorrow if they were to leave their present ones. This is the glamour which education has for them. No one will say that I myself am opposed to education. There is not a moment when I am not thinking or reading. But we cannot settle down to read Dickens or the Bible when there is a conflagration all around us. It is so at present. At this hour, one should not be overmuch in love with education.

If you are convinced in your mind that the British have been guilty of a great injustice to India in regard to the Punjab and the Khilafat issues, it would be a grave sin to accept gifts in any form, or to accept any salary or education from them, until they sincerely feel penitent for their misdeeds and have thoroughly cleansed their corrupted souls. We would not let a monster educate us. Even the purest education is corrupted if one who imparts it is corrupt. The British actually pass off even their evil as purity itself.

We owe our present abjectness, wretchedness and the delusions from which we suffer solely to English education. It is entirely incorrect to say that, were it not for this education, there would have been no [social or political] movements among us.

We lack the Arab's spirit which impels him to lay down his life for his country. I shall prophesy that, so long we have not lifted ourselves out of this low state, India will not succeed in winning her freedom.

I shall be bold and tell you, teachers and professors, that if you would see the nation buoyant with zeal and enthusiasm, hand in your resignations tomorrow. The teacher who resigns will be teaching his students the most important of lessons.

Gujarat will be as good as free today if teachers come to be fired with heroism and feel that they cannot accept salaries from a Government which does not do justice and does not feel penitent for its misdeeds. If they courageously declare that they would impart only such education as is truly national, even though they

may have to beg for the purpose, the very gods in heaven would come down to witness what they did and rain money on them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-10-1920

178. NEED FOR FIRMNESS AND COURAGE

Probably, very few people know the significance of the war we are fighting. A gentleman asked me: "Can our activities be described as war?" I had no hesitation in replying: "Our struggle has all the attributes of a war." The thing that we want, namely, swaraj, is not to be had without fighting and, therefore, all the means we employ must be those used in a war. That is to say, we must suspend our normal work and attend to the duty forced on us by circumstances. The only difference, or rather the one great difference, between our struggle and a war is that there is no scope for brute force or armed might in our struggle; in fact, the use of physical force will mean our defeat. The other characteristics of our struggle are those of an ordinary war. As in the usual kind of war, so in this, too, self-sacrifice, training, planning, and so on are indispensable. During a war, people suspend their normal work; in the face of a general threat, people forget their individual misfortunes. The immoral becomes moral, the robber gives up robbing, the drunkard, drinking, the debauchee gives up his debauchery and the thief, his thieving. There is but one thing on the lips of all: the country's freedom. In a crisis of this kind, people have no time to go to law-courts; the students join the struggle for national freedom and look upon their part in it as their studies.

At such a time, though, the qualities which shine best are firmness and courage. These are the qualities needed most. Not to go back on one's decision is firmness. To leave a Government school today, to repent the next day and on the third day to seek readmission to the same school is no firmness. Such weakness will bring about the downfall of the nation, will not raise it. The teacher who submits his resignation today and withdraws it the next day does greater harm to the nation than the one who does not resign at all. Courage lies in going ahead with one's work in the face of difficulties and risks. During a war, courage is in greater demand than the shrewdness of a business man. This shrewdness is needed during peace time. When things are unsettled, the thing needed is courage. Gujarat is famous for her commercial

shrewdness, and it seems quite a natural thing that the commercially inclined should lack courage. This supposition is not proper. As a nation cannot thrive on just one aptitude, so too an individual cannot. Hence, every individual is endowed with the quality of courage. It is only when we have no need to use it that we feel we lack it. The time has come for Gujarat, for the whole of India, to show her courage.

"Where is the scope for courage when no physical force is to be used?" I hope no one will raise such vain doubts. In truth, courage does not lie in using physical force. The elephant does not exhibit courage when he goes along crushing ants underfoot, but he shows it when he fights a lion with all his strength, for in doing so he risks his life. The potter exhibits no courage in twisting his donkey's ear, but the lion-hearted man opposing a band of robbers exhibits courage, for it is plain that he puts his life in danger. The man who refrains from using physical force and yet, refusing to submit, fights on, shows the highest courage. What is courage, indeed? India has, in this unarmed war, an opportunity to show such courage. The student who leaves his school without thinking of the future or of education shows real courage, while the one who leaves only when another school is provided shows the shrewdness of a business man. The pleader who boycotts the Government's law-courts without considering whether or not he will then be able to maintain himself shows courage; the one who boycotts them only after making alternative arrangements for his livelihood may show worldly wisdom but he certainly exhibits no courage. To plunge into a thing with faith and without any fear of consequences is courage. Where there is timidity, there can be no courage. Our people are afflicted with timidity. To talk of winning while clinging to this is to indulge in self-contradiction. We shall need an enterprising spirit and shall have to take risks at every step. On a battle-field, they often brave dangers under compulsion; in our struggle, we brave them willingly, and can achieve much at a small risk.

The steps we are to take by way of non-co-operation are such as involve very little danger. And yet, if the people respond well, I am sure we shall be enjoying swaraj in a very short time. However, the people will certainly expect the educated classes to show firmness and courage in taking these steps.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-10-1920

179. *TRUTH AND KHILAFAT*

All dharma culminates in truth. Truth is God. There is no dharma which is above truth. Undoubtedly, truth is difficult to follow. If a man can be truthful both in thought and word, he will need nothing more. He will find in truth everything else. The path of truth is only for the brave. "Truth" is a simple word. Anyone who fails to follow it in his dealings will lose his honour and his credit. If some dirt mixes with a quantity of milk, all of it is considered impure; likewise, the value of words otherwise unblemished is diminished if falsehood mixes with them. Thus, it is not only for an ill-spoken word that one has to pay; even innocent things are regarded as evil when mixed with evil.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's case provides an instance of this truth. We do not know if the words attributed to him were actually spoken by him; my object is merely to show that some ingenuity has been used in framing the charge against him. A fact which has no direct bearing on the charge and which cannot possibly prove the charge has been included to strengthen the case against the Maulana.

Whatever the legal meaning of the charge, I am concerned with its political implications.

There are two parts in the charge-sheet. Even if the serious allegation made in one of these is true, it does not prove the main charge. If the other part, alleging nothing really criminal, proves the charge, it also reflects credit [on the accused]. The Maulana is charged with having said, in the course of a speech: "If the Government wishes the people to honour the Prince it ought to fulfil certain conditions; for instance, it must keep the Turkish Empire intact, satisfy the Muslims, repeal the Rowlatt Act and promise that it will never again proclaim martial law. If it does not do this, the Empire will perish." This is indeed a strong thing to say, but it is utterly innocuous. If it is a crime to say such a thing, then I am guilty of such a crime practically every day. The Maulana has spoken the truth and there can be no crime in telling the truth.

The Government, however, argues that such statements create disaffection against it. This is true, but, then, if the Government is guilty of misdeeds and disaffection follows on their being described, it should blame itself and not the person who describes them. If describing the misdeeds of the Government is an offence in the

eyes of the law, then such an offence is in reality an act of virtue.

The second part of the accusation is as follows. It is alleged that, in the course of the same speech, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan told the Muslims that the English had bombed the holy city of Mecca, that a Muslim whose son died fighting on the British side and against the Arabs saw that son's face distorted like that of a pig, and that some British soldiers had raped virgins in Baghdad. Now, of these three allegations, the first and the last are baseless; the second is incredible and as such likely to rouse the superstitious feelings of the people. I still hope that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan did not say these things; if he did say them, we should be sorry. Exaggeration will give a set-back to our cause. The object of this article is to show that the workers have great need of keeping away from such exaggeration. The case against the Empire is proved by the evidence which the Government itself provides. Exaggeration can only weaken it.

It is possible that, had Maulana Zafar Ali Khan not been charged with making exaggerated statements, no case would have been instituted against him, or it would have been difficult to institute one, for his other statements.

The lesson that every Khilafat or other public worker should draw from this is that he should never swerve from the path of truth.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 3-10-1920

180. WOMEN'S ROLE

"What can we do to help non-co-operation?" This question was asked of me in all seriousness by the women in Shantiniketan. The question has also been asked by a gentleman on behalf of women. I wish to give here the substance, with some variation, of the answer I gave to the Shantiniketan sisters. It would be in vain to hope for swaraj so long as women do not make their full contribution to the effort. Men are not as conscientious as women in such matters. If the women do not know or do not accept their duty of preserving the nation's freedom, or of winning it back when it is lost, it will be impossible to defend it.

Going to temples, I grant, is important for strengthening one's faith. If, however, women believe this to be the whole of religion,

the idea becomes a superstition and harms the nation. The women who understand that the Lord's *darshan*[1] is a means to self-realization will also know that even temples must speak to us of freedom, for without freedom it is impossible to protect religion. Could the people protect their religion when General Dyer let loose a reign of terror in Amritsar? Even at that time, women used to go to temples, and a few men as well; what did this avail them?

Had the women been aware that it was the primary duty of the people to free themselves from the tyranny of this man, they would have filled with courage their husbands and sons, made them shake off their cowardice and defend their self-respect. But, in the present age, the women keep aloof from the things which really matter for the nation's welfare and, hence, we get little help from them.

It was not so in ancient times. Sita set out for the forest with Ramachandra and there was nothing he did of which she remained in ignorance. Draupadi, making herself a true partner in life, accompanied the Pandavas in their wanderings and, when her honour was threatened, she proved to the world that she had the strength to protect herself with soul-force. Damayanti stood by Nala's side in all he did;[2] not only that, but she even proved to be his protector when he was not in his right mind.

Speaking generally, we can say that men and women seem today to be going in opposite directions. Men do not interfere with women in anything the latter may wish to do; many of women's superstitions are growing stronger, though their faith has remained unshaken. Men do as they like, and women do not interfere with them.

Hence the first reform for the women should be to understand the important idea of freedom and cherish it as a part of dharma. The woman who has understood this should enlighten her sisters. Women alone can work and achieve great results among women. There is a limit to what a man can do. He can never understand their deepest feelings.

A woman nourishes the bodies of her children. In the same way, she should inculcate in their minds the qualities of independence, fearlessness, firmness, etc. She should not worry about livelihood but should realize that, if she and her children are ready to work, livelihood should be no problem.

The immediate duty before women is, if their children are

[1] Sight of a person, place or thing considered holy

[2] The story is told in the *Mahabharata*.

attending Government schools, to withdraw them from those schools.

But the most important work—work which should become a permanent activity—is promoting swadeshi. The nation simply cannot be kept alive without swadeshi. The main reason why the people are suffering from lack of food and clothing is that they have no money. Though they can produce their own cloth, still, instead of doing so, they wear imported cloth and, in consequence, the nation is bled whiter every year. This weakness cannot be overcome unless women undertake the task. They have been spinning, in this country, from time immemorial. From the time that they gave up this work began the economic and spiritual degradation of the people. It is no exaggeration to say that India's freedom hangs solely by a cotton thread. If the country were to spin in her cottages all the yarn she needs and weave it into cloth, she would acquire so much strength that India could win her freedom with it, and a free India is bound to win justice on the Khilafat and the Punjab issues.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-10-1920

181. THE HALLUCINATION OF LAW-COURTS

If we were not under the spell of lawyers and law-courts and if there were no touts to tempt us into the quagmire of the courts and to appeal to our basest passions, we would be leading a much happier life than we do today. Let those who frequent the law-courts—the best of them—bear witness to the fact that the atmosphere about them is foetid. Perjured witnesses are ranged on either side, ready to sell their very souls for money or for friendship's sake. But that is not the worst of these courts. The worst is that they support the authority of a government. They are supposed to dispense justice and are therefore called the palladia of a nation's liberty. But when they support the authority of an unrighteous Government they are no longer palladia of liberty, they are crushing houses to crush a nation's spirit. Such were the martial law tribunals and the summary courts in the Punjab. We had them in their nakedness. Such they are even in normal times when it is a matter of dispensing justice between a superior race and its helots. This is so all the world over. Look at the trial of an English officer and the farcical punishment he received for having deliberately tortured inoffensive Negroes at Nairobi.

Has a single Englishman suffered the extreme penalty of the law or anything like it for brutal murders in India? Let no one suppose that these things would be changed when Indian judges and Indian prosecutors take the place of Englishmen. Englishmen are not by nature corrupt. Indians are not necessarily angels. Both succumb to their environment. There were Indian judges and Indian prosecutors during the martial law regime, who were generally guilty of just as bad practices as the Englishmen. Those who tortured the innocent women in Amritsar were Indians, if it was a Bosworth Smith in Manianwala who insulted its women. What I am attacking is the system. I have no quarrel with the Englishmen as such. I honour individuals among them today as I did before my discovery of the unimprovableness of the existing system. If anything, Mr. Andrews and other Englishmen I could name, are nearer to me today than before. But I could not tender my homage even to him who is more than a brother to me, if he became the Viceroy of India. I would distrust his ability to remain pure if he accepted the office. He would have to administer a system that is inherently corrupt and based on the assumption of our inferiority. Satan mostly employs comparatively moral instruments and the language of ethics to give his aims an air of respectability.

I have digressed a little for the purpose of showing that this Government, if it was wholly manned by Indians but worked as it now is, would be as intolerable to us as it is now. Hence it is that the knowledge of Lord Sinha's appointment to a high office[1] fails to fill me with a glow of satisfaction. We must have absolute equality in theory and in practice, and ability to do away with the British connection if we so wish.

But to revert to the lawyers and the law-courts, we cannot gain this desirable status so long as we regard with superstitious awe and wonder the so-called palaces of justice. Let not individuals who get satisfaction of their greed or revenge or their just claims, be blind to the ultimate aim of these courts—the permanence of the authority of the Government which they represent. Without its law-courts the Government must perish in a day. I admit that under my plan this power of subjugating the people through the courts will still remain even when every Indian lawyer has withdrawn and there are no civil suits in the law-courts. But then they will cease to deceive us. They will have lost their moral prestige and therefore the air of respectability. It is strange but it is true that so long as we believed in the gradual transference of the

[1] Governor of Bihar and Orissa

power of the English to the people, appointments to high posts in the law-courts were hailed as a blessing. Now that we believe that the system is incapable of being gradually mended, every such appointment by reason of its deceptiveness must be regarded as an evil. Therefore every lawyer suspending his practice to that extent undermines the prestige of the law-courts and to that extent every suspension is a gain for the individual as for the nation.

The economic drain that the law-courts cause has at no time been considered. And yet it is not a trifle. Every institution founded under the present system is run on a most extravagant scale. Law-courts are probably the most extravagantly run. I have some knowledge of the scale in England, a fair knowledge of the Indian, and an intimate knowledge of the South African. I have no hesitation in saying that the Indian is comparatively the most extravagant and bears no relation to the general economic condition of the people. The best South African lawyers—and they are lawyers of great ability—dare not charge the fees the lawyers in India do. Fifteen guineas is almost a top fee for legal opinion. Several thousand rupees have been known to have been charged in India. There is something sinful in a system under which it is possible for a lawyer to earn from fifty thousand to one lakh rupees per month. Legal practice is not—ought not to be—a speculative business. The best legal talent must be available to the poorest at reasonable rates. But we have copied and improved upon the practice of the English lawyers. Englishmen find the climate of India trying. The habits imbued under a cold and severe climate are retained in India, ample margin is kept for frequent migrations to the Hills and to their island home and an equally ample margin is kept for the education of an exclusive and aristocratic type for their children. The scale of their fees is naturally therefore pitched very high. But India cannot bear the heavy drain. We fancy that in order to feel the equals of these English lawyers, we must charge the same killing fees that the English do. It would be a sad day for India if it has to inherit the English scale and the English tastes so utterly unsuitable to the Indian environment. Any lawyer looking at the law-courts and the profession of law from the view points I have ventured to suggest cannot keep coming to the conclusion that if he wants to serve the nation to the best of his ability, the first condition of service is suspension of his practice. He can come to a different conclusion only if he successfully changes the statement of facts I have made.

Young India, 6-10-1920

182. HOW THE VICEROY DISCHARGES HIS TRUST

The reader will find reproduced elsewhere the Viceroy's cablegram to Mr. Montagu in refutation of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu's[1] allegations regarding the ill-treatment of women in the Punjab during the martial law period, as also Shrimati Sarojini's spirited reply. It seems that every responsible statement made by His Excellency only strengthens the opinion of the public that he is totally unfit for the great trust which has been reposed in him. I do not wish to add one word to what Shrimati Sarojini has said in condemnation of the Viceroy's attitude; but I would draw the readers' attention to the ignoring of some very material allegations that were made by the Shrimati. Even assuming the propriety of rejecting the evidence of prostitutes because they are engaged in the unfortunate traffic, what has His Excellency to say regarding the evidence of the many women of Manianwala against whom, in so far as I am aware, not a word of reproach has been whispered? I give below in full the statement of Guredevi, the widow of Mangal Jat. That statement was corroborated by several other women. This is the statement:

> One day, during the martial law period, Mr. Bosworth Smith gathered together all the males of over 8 years at the Dacca Dalla Bungalow, which is some miles from our village, in connection with the investigations that were going on. Whilst the men were at the Bungalow, he rode to our village, taking back with him all the women who met him on the way carrying food for their men at the Bungalow. Reaching the village, he went round the lanes and ordered all women to come out of their houses, himself forcing them out with sticks. He made us all stand near the village Daira. The women folded their hands before him. He beat some with his stick and spat at them and used the foulest and most unmentionable language. He hit me twice and spat in my face. He forcibly uncovered the faces of all the women, brushing aside the veils with his own stick.
>
> He repeatedly called us she-asses, bitches, flies and swines and said: "You were in the same beds with your husbands; why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the police constables." He gave me a kick also and ordered us to

[1] 1879-1949; poet, patriot, Congress leader and a close associate of Gandhiji

undergo the torture of holding our ears by passing our arms round the legs, whilst being bent double.

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

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

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

Young India, 6-10-1920

183. HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

There can be no doubt that successful non-co-operation depends as much on Hindu-Muslim unity as on non-violence. Greatest strain will be put upon both in the course of the struggle and if it survives that strain, victory is a certainty.

A severe strain was put upon it in Agra and it has been stated that when either party went to the authorities they were referred to Maulana Shaukat Ali and me. Fortunately, there was a far better man at hand. Hakimji Ajmal Khan is a devout Muslim who commands the confidence and the respect of both the parties. He with his band of workers hastened to Agra, settled the dispute and the parties became friends as they were never before. An incident occurred nearer Delhi and the same influence worked successfully to avoid what might have become an explosion.

But Hakimji Ajmal Khan cannot be everywhere appearing at the exact hour as an angel of peace. Nor can Maulana Shaukat Ali or I go everywhere. And yet perfect peace must be observed between the two communities in spite of attempts to divide them.

Why was there any appeal made to the authorities at all at Agra? If we are to work out non-co-operation with any degree of success we must be able to dispense with the protection of the Government when we quarrel among ourselves. The whole scheme of non-co-operation must break to pieces, if our final reliance is to be upon British intervention for the adjustment of our quarrels or the punishment of the guilty ones. In every village and hamlet there must be at least one Hindu and one Muslim whose primary business must be to prevent quarrels between the two. Sometimes, however, even blood-brothers come to blows. In the initial stages we are bound to do so here and there. Unfortunately we who are public workers have made little attempt to understand and influence the masses and least of all the most turbulent among them. During the process of insinuating ourselves in the estimation of the masses and until we have gained control over the unruly, there are bound to be exhibitions of hasty temper now and then. We must learn at such times to do without an appeal to the Government. Hakimji Ajmal Khan has shown us how to do it.

The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the indubitable proposition that swaraj for India must be an impossible dream without an indissoluble union between the Hindus and the Muslims

of India. It must not be a mere truce. It cannot be based upon mutual fear. It must be a partnership between equals, each respecting the religion of the other.

I would frankly despair of reaching such union if there was anything in the holy Koran enjoining upon the followers of Islam to treat Hindus as their natural enemies or if there was anything in Hinduism to warrant a belief in the eternal enmity between the two.

We would ill learn our history if we conclude that because we have quarrelled in the past, we are destined so to continue unless some such strong power like the British keep us by force of arms from flying at each other's throats. But I am convinced that there is no warrant in Islam or Hinduism for any such belief. True it is that interested or fanatical priests in both religions have set the one against the other. It is equally true that Muslim rulers like Christian rulers have used the sword for the propagation of their respective faiths. But in spite of many dark things of the modern times, the world's opinion today will as little tolerate forcible conversions as it will tolerate forcible slavery. That probably is the most effective contribution of the scientific spirit of the age. That spirit has revolutionized many a false notion about Christianity as it has about Islam. I do not know a single writer on Islam who defends the use of force in the proselytizing process. The influences exerted in our times are far more subtle than that of the sword.

I believe that in the midst of all the bloodshed, chicane and fraud being resorted to on a colossal scale in the West, the whole humanity is silently but surely making progress towards a better age. And India by finding true independence and self-expression through an imperishable Hindu-Muslim unity and through non-violent means, i.e., unadulterated self-sacrifice can point a way out of the prevailing darkness.

Young India, 6-10-1920

184. A VOW

BOMBAY,
October 6, 1920

Many months ago I took a vow to wear khadi so long as I live.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2513

185. SPEECH TO STUDENTS AND TEACHERS[1], *SURAT*

October 6, 1920

You must have read a summary of my speech to students in Ahmedabad. I want to talk to you about some of the things I said to them. I shall talk to your elders in the evening.[2] Wherever I go, I like to keep alive the close contacts which I have established with students. Being myself a father of four sons, I understand the son's duty towards his parents. I was myself a son once and some persons whom I respect as elders are still living. Hence I know very well the duty that sons owe to fathers. A son can be advised to disobey his father, if the occasion demands this. I may thus seem to be giving contradictory advice. What I am going to say to you, I have already told my sons. I have a good many sons, have had quite a few children entrusted to my care and I have brought them up. Only yesterday, a couple belonging to one of the untouchable communities expressed their desire to entrust their daughter[3] to my care. The girl has stayed with me before now. I told her father that he could leave Lakshmi with me only if he gave up all claims on her. I did not make this condition with all parents who entrusted their children to me. Even so, I regard as my very own the children whom I have brought up. I have given my sons advice no less harsh than what I give the students these days. On the right occasion, you can rise against me, your parents and the whole world. If I did not say this, I should violate what I understand to be dharma. If one would prosper in dharma, one should, if need be, sacrifice one's parents, relations and all others in a *yajna* undertaken in real sincerity of heart as Prahlad sacrificed his father. Prahlad did not offer violent resistance to his father, Hiranyakashipu, nor did he obey his order forbidding him to worship Vishnu[4] —an order repugnant to his conscience—but said: "In this matter, I will obey His order who is your father, and the grand-father of your grand-father."

[1] Of the College and the High School run by the Sarvajanik Education Society

[2] No report of this speech is available.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 9-10-1920.

[4] One of the Hindu Trinity, regarded as Preserver of the universe

Your parents would say you should not leave schools and I say you should. If you understand that what I am asking you to do is your dharma, tell your parents respectfully that you cannot attend your schools. This is your duty if you have been sincerely moved. Why do I give such advice? What I say is not meant for students of 10 or 12 years of age. They are not free to think for themselves. They should do their parents' bidding. According to our Shastras, a child should be lovingly reared for five years, should be disciplined for ten years—"disciplined" not with physical punishment but with instruction and persuasion,—and a son of 16 should be regarded as a friend. Why do I give such advice to young men ? For many years I have co-operated with the Government, with the British Empire. Nobody could have given better co-operation than I did, for there was nothing better. My co-operation was inspired by no selfish motive. I did not want any brother or son of mine to be employed in Government service, nor did I wish to be honoured with a title. My attitude, therefore, was entirely disinterested. I gave my co-operation as a matter of dharma, duty. I gave obedience to this regime, not because of the punishment it can inflict, but because I thought it my duty to do so. I shall give you one illustration.

When my third son was born, I was faced with the question whether I should get him vaccinated against smallpox. I have a conscientious objection to vaccination. Yet, in 1897, I got the child vaccinated. If a child is not vaccinated within a certain number of days, one is liable to punishment. This law exists only on the statute-book. People do not respect it as they should. I felt that either I should respect it or clarify my position to the Government, which meant that I should disobey it respectfully since I do not accept as valid the public opinion which it reflects. However, I thought it better to obey it so long as I did not get it amended and hence I got my child vaccinated. But there was an occasion afterwards to resist this same thing, vaccination. While in South Africa, we went to jail. According to the prison rules, one must be vaccinated. We non-co-operated, offered civil resistance. We told the Government that it could keep us in jail longer if it chose, but that we would not agree to vaccination. At last, the Government had to issue an order exempting people from vaccination on grounds of conscience.

How far have I not gone in co-operation? I believe it to be the highest dharma indeed to swallow and put up with minor harassments on the part of the Government. Even after we have won swaraj, fraud, robbery and Dyerism will flourish. I am not

naive or hypocritical enough to say that with swaraj will come *Satyayuga*[1]. After all, it will be swaraj in *Kaliyuga*[2] and not in *Satyayuga*. It will be the kind of swaraj which the British and the Arabs enjoy. But the Dyerism of that time will be tolerable. Power will be in our hands, so that, at the most, we ourselves will have abused it, or will have allowed it to be abused. But what has happened today is not this. It has been done against our will. Had Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy or Lord Sinha been appointed by us, it would have been a different matter. What we protest against is the way [things are done] and not the skin [of those who do them]. If my friends Dayalji and Kalyanji act unjustly, I may protest and may not even accept milk offered by them. Mr. Andrews, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali are as brothers to me, but I would not accept their appointment as Viceroy since they would have been appointed by the Government. When power is in our hands, we may appoint even Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy, if we trust him, and may dismiss him when we cease to trust him. Today the whole of the country is asking Lord Chelmsford to resign, but there he is. I would give only the kind of co-operation I have explained here. Since that is not possible, I advocate non-co-operation.

I cast the accounts of the Government's rule and found that it had taken away more than it had given. I saw that the Reforms gave no reforms, but made the position worse. The Government's power is maintained not because of its machine-guns, but because of our deluded love for it. This love has taken three forms : Love for the councils, which Dwijendranath Tagore[3] has compared to [Sita's] infatuation for the illusory deer[4], love for the courts and love for education. I say nothing about titles and similar honours, for very few have them. But we are very much in the grip of the three above-mentioned infatuations. Our great leader, the learned and veteran Lala Lajpat Rai, is also their victim. Madan Mohan Malaviya, whom I have always revered, also believes that I have lost my head and that I am misleading the people. He thinks that it is dharma to enter councils and to attend schools. To my mind, it is a sin to enter councils and attend courts and an altogether heinous sin to attend schools.

[1] Age of truth

[2] Age of strife

[3] Eldest brother of Rabindranath Tagore, affectionately called "Borodada"

[4] Deceived by Maricha, Ravana's uncle, appearing as a golden deer, Sita asked Rama to capture it alive or dead. Lakshmana went to his help and Ravana, taking advantage of the absence of the brothers, carried off Sita.

There is a reason why I cannot succeed in convincing lawyers. I know how attached they are to things of this world. It is not easy to forsake children, to give up the arm-chair and the motor-car. But a student has no such problem. He can be led as desired. If I do not stop those who receive education for slavery and persist in attending schools and colleges, we shall not succeed in loosening the roots of the Empire. That is what I want to do. Through the students, the Empire gets the manure it needs; they are like the Niagara Falls—like the waters of the Ganga, the Yamuna and the Brahmaputra combined. This bare hint will be enough to make you see that we should have none of this education which breeds ignorance—this education for slavery. Unless I teach you the A B C of how to shake off your slavery, everything else will be unavailing. If you go on pouring milk into an unclean vessel, instead of the latter becoming clean it is the milk that will become dirty. So long as we remain like a vessel polluted by slavery, all education will be mere waste. If there are any gods above and if they see that India is like an unclean vessel, the rain of education will be to no good purpose. First, therefore, see that you are clean. If you do not learn law or medicine, India is not going to sink into the bottomless pit; with slavery, it will. It will not, then, be a country inhabited by human beings but by beasts. Not to speak out one's mind out of fear of anyone—even of a great Empire—this is to be a slave. The first lesson we have to learn is to shake off this fear. May the lesson of Jallianwala and the humiliation of Islam fill everyone with the fire which has possessed me.

The Hindus have two dangers to face. If the Muslims became slaves, through them the Hindus too would be enslaved. This is as simple as the rule of three. If we would protect Hinduism, would spend our time in devotions to Vishnu, sitting under a tree, it is our duty to help the Muslims. If the latter should behave aggressively to you in future, I would tell them to remember this time. You, too, can say that one Gandhi from among you—no matter what kind of man he was in other ways, did something on your behalf. If nothing avails, you may fight it out. I, for one, would ask you to be brave men. As between a man who is ready to lay down his life fighting and another who will do so without fighting, the latter is the braver man. How much stronger of breath must be the man who climbs the Himalayas without a stick in hand or without getting himself carried up in a *doli*[1] than

[1] Hammock slung from a stick carried by two men on their shoulders

the one who climbs in this way? Having reached the top, such a man will turn to the country and greet it with a peal of happy laughter. The friend sitting by my side (Mahomed Ali) looks upon this as the weapon of the weak. Whether or no he is right, it is only in this way that one can learn even to use the sword. I told my friend Shaukat Ali that the Muslims did not have the strength to make self-sacrifices. When they have the strength to die, they will see that there is no need for a sword at all. Even so, you are welcome to draw the sword when you think it is necessary to do so. An Empire which has betrayed Islam, which made India crawl on its stomach—it is that even if one person was made to do so—which forcibly removed the *purdah* off the faces of India's women this happened in the Punjab—how is it possible to co-operate with such an Empire ? No matter how many metalled roads they build and what peace prevails in the country—we would rather have rivers of blood flow. Nay, even if we had to go without railways and ships and even if the administration were to break down, I would rather prefer that to the present condition. If you are fired with the same zeal that I am, even those among you who have been forbidden by their parents can leave their schools and colleges. One student's father told me that he would watch how the national school which has been started runs and then see what he should do. A man who withdrew his child from a Government school only after he had, in this manner, first satisfied himself about the working of a national school could be of no help in winning back the [freedom of the] country. One should not be exercised whether one would have education or not. Even if it were possible to teach the idea of freedom to a man who continued meanwhile in his state of slavery, one cannot teach him how to win freedom. If you feel that you have rightly understood what I am saying, give up everything. You will get all things afterwards. It is a divine law that he who lives in utter devotion to God will have all things given to him.

If all the students in Surat left their schools and colleges, how happy the result would be. The professors and teachers would then come asking you on what terms you would remain. You should tell them that, once the connection with the Government was broken off and its aid rejected, you would provide the expenses of the institutions even by begging. This was the ancient way. In those times the pupil approached the teacher with sacrificial wood in his folded hands, told him that he would fetch his fuel and look after his cattle, and prayed to be instructed. In Poona, there is one such Students' Home for orphans which the inmates

maintain by begging from door to door. You should do the same rather than sacrifice your humanity by attending the present schools. Great indeed are the hopes built on you.

Here in Surat you have these two great institutions. Their students can do very fine work. Surat has lost its *surat*[1] these days. I expect the people here to make it a point of honour to have education on their own terms or go without it altogether. If all the students showed this strength, we would have the desired result in a month's time. But even if it be that only a few stray students are convinced of this, they should leave the schools this very day. I would tell the students who did this that they had taken one step towards swaraj, had spoken up eloquently for the country. If you get no help from your people at home, work with your bodies. Learn, what you do not know at present, how to use your hands and feet, but do not remain in slavery. Believe it for a truth, students, that we needs must give up the love of schools, courts and councils if we want swaraj for the country. The first and last step towards swaraj is to purify ourselves. Those who have been endowed with teeth will be provided with food, not by this Government but by a Government above this Government. This is for us the first lesson, which has gone out of our minds. I for one give no credit to the Government or the rich for providing food [to the people]. Though the Government was there all the time, thousands of people died victims of the famine in Orissa. There is no dearth of rich men in the country, but even so thousands of these victims went their way to seek refuge in God. Have God's name on your lips, take courage and, without making any calculations—without balancing profit and loss—give notice to your parents and teachers that you cannot attend your schools and colleges. Do not say this, being carried away by my words. I am only trying to stimulate your heart and your reason. Unless convinced, no child has a right to disobey its parents. Only that child has such a right whose heart is on fire as mine is. In the effort to rescue parents addicted to drink from the hold of that evil habit, a son should renounce his inheritance, his home and the protection it provides. If you see that you are getting your education under the shadow of slavery, take the plunge tomorrow, even if you have to go against the wishes of your parents.

Q. Mahatmaji, do you believe that the country will remain peaceful if you are arrested or exiled?

[1] Beauty

Yes. If it does not, I shall believe that we are unworthy. If I rule out the sword, it is not because I do not know how to use it or because I am weak. Even this moment I can fire a revolver. If I wish, I can put a dagger into a man's bowels. I have ruled them out, however, because there is no great profit in them. If the country does not remain peaceful when they arrest me or Shaukat Ali or Mahomed Ali, I would think that it had not learnt the lesson. Violence in such circumstances would be natural in Ireland or Arabia, for there everyone has the right to carry arms and knows how to use them. If I were among them and the Government tried to arrest me, the people would say that it would have to fight them before it could take me away. But conditions here are not the same. If in this country peace was not preserved, I would have to retire into the Himalayas for I cannot permit violence on my account. However, the Hindus have no such strength, nor the Muslims. I told the latter in Allahabad that this was not a new idea I was placing before the people. All scriptures have spoken of it, but we had forgotten it till today. If they thought [I told them] that they were strong enough right then to fight and save Islam, they were free to draw the sword. Suppose we succeed in attacking the Viceroy unobserved and killing him, or get someone to do so, we would not have saved Islam thereby. The result would be martial law. Even that would not matter, were it not that India would be completely suppressed. For India, what I am recommending is a weapon not of the strong but of the weak. If the Muslims had the requisite strength, they would have asked me who I was to advise them against drawing the sword, would have told me that they had the injunction of the holy Koran. Among the Hindus, too, there are some who do not listen to me. Even so, it should be remembered that the country has come round and accepted this line. The men and women who died in Jallianwala Bagh were not martyrs or heroes. Had they been heroes, when General Dyer came on the scene in all his pride, they would have fought with swords or sticks or would have stood up before him and faced death. There are no Sikhs in the country today who resort to *hijrat*, as did the Imam, there are no such Gurkhas and certainly no *Vanias*; as for the Rajputs, they are now no better than *Vanias*. If, therefore, violence should break out in the country on my arrest, I would say that you had been defeated, for you simply do not have the strength to succeed in it. On the day I am arrested, you should leave your schools if you will not do so today, and the lawyers should give up practice, the policemen should

leave their service and the army should throw away its arms. I am, moreover, a farmer. The farmers should declare on that day that they would pay no taxes. The day this happens, our freedom will be assured.

Perhaps they will arrest all three of us together. Till now, I used to pray that they should arrest the two of us at the same time. Now I pray that it should be all three. That is why I did not give my consent to Shaukat Ali when he wanted to go to Delhi alone for, if we are to be arrested, I should like both of us to be arrested together. When the Government goes mad, it will arrest all three of us or the one who seems to it the most guilty.

The Government cannot put us down with force. I ought to have the right to tell it that, if it ruled without regard to law, we would send it out bag and baggage. So far, we used to think one thing in our mind and say another on the platform, and peace was described as unrest. That has gone now. Certainly, I trust these two brothers so far that I am sure that the day they want violence, they will give advance notice and say that from that time on no English life was safe. You may ask them about this. Ask them separately. Then ask me. If you get the same reply from all three, believe it and, when we are arrested, let all of you become volunteers and go out to preserve peace. Otherwise, there will be martial law. That in itself would not matter; but the difficulty is that we do not have the strength to keep up the struggle so as to force the Government to prolong the martial law.

Mahatmaji, if you advise that children should be withdrawn from English schools, why do you not advise that they should also be withdrawn from the Municipal primary schools?

Municipalities may also forgo Government aid, repudiate all connection with it and so become free. The Nadiad Municipality is about to take such a step.

If you advise withdrawal from schools, why do you not ask people to forgo other help from the Government, to stop using trains or availing themselves of benefits like water-taps, etc?

I am a "practical idealist"[1], and so I place before the people only such programmes as can be implemented. Even so, I would congratulate anyone who refrained from using these things. When it was suggested by Mrs. Besant, by way of answer to my non-co-operation, that the Government should refuse to deliver postal articles to me and Shaukat Ali, to issue us railway tickets, and so on, I had

[1] The original has the English phrase.

congratulated my friend. I told the friends present then that, if this happened, it would be a great day indeed. The work of Khilafat or non-co-operation would not stop in consequence.

Mahatmaji, since primary education is compulsory here, how can we ask anyone to stop going to school?

Education is compulsory; there is no compulsion to attend a particular school.

About non-co-operation, what should people do in the Indian States?

The subjects of Indian States are slaves of slaves. At the moment, let us confine ourselves to direct slaves. If, however, anyone in an Indian State leaves school or college on his own, that would be another matter. Only, I would not go and start an agitation there. My doing so would put the rulers in an awkward position. It would be a different matter, of course, if the Gaekwar of Baroda himself felt that, in trying to protect the religion of his Muslim subjects, he should even go to the length of abdicating.

What should people do if the Government forced the national schools to close down?

This is a shrewd Government and will not take such a step. Even if it does, that will not stop national education. On the contrary, those students and teachers who refuse today to leave school or college will then leave them forthwith and the teachers will start going round and teaching pupils in their homes. No Government can stop this. If the Government does so, it would mean that the Hindu should not read the *Gita*, since it talks of war, and the Muslim should not read the Koran. The Government simply cannot take such a step.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-10-1920

CWMG-XVIII

186. SPEECH AT ROHTAK

October 8, 1920

I remember that one of the arrested maulvis[1] saw me in Calcutta, and said that a case would be started against him. He requested Shaukat Ali and me to visit Panipat when he was arrested, so, according to the promise then given, I have come with Shaukat Ali. Regarding the charges against the maulvis, it is a bad thing to abuse anyone and it is not worthy of us to say such things, but it is alleged that one of them said that Englishmen are scoundrels. I am ashamed to utter these words, but I do not know whether it is true or false, but it is a bad thing and I dislike such abuse. The other charge is that they called the Government *be-iman*[2]; but I say that in reality the Government did cheat the Indians and Turks, and Mr. Lloyd George did this. The Government then is faithless. Government promised Indians that after the War it would grant them special rights and safeguard the kingdom of the Turks. The favours shown by the Government at Amritsar and in other parts of the Punjab are well known to you. You can never obtain self-government until you prepare yourself for sacrifice. Freedom can never be had until you overpower your anger and become united. The real freedom is in jail. In the search for truth all of you have to go to jail and I confidently say that there is no place to keep 30 crores of you and you will be left alone in India. Self-government and the Khilafat cause can only be secured when you have become united. Give up co-operation with the English. I do not mean that you should kill any Englishmen, because one Englishman's life will cost 1,000 Indian lives as General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer proved at Amritsar. I would give 1,000 lives for the life of an Englishman, but I do not think it right to pay as much. All the Indian public servants are our brothers and the Indian soldiers in the army are also our brothers; only for Rs. 10 a month our Indian soldiers kill their brothers, which I regret to say is not right. I co-operated with the English for 35 years, but I have now ceased to do so. No one should stand for the councils and no one should vote for them, because it is a case of cheating. No one should serve the Government and we should not send our boys to the Government schools. Hold panchayats

[1] Muslim priests

[2] Dishonest

to decide your cases. The maulvis who have been arrested will be released.

N.A.I. : Home : Political : December, 1920 : Nos. 183-6 & K.W.A.

187. MESSAGE TO INDIAN WOMEN, BOMBAY

[*October 9, 1920*]

The Bhagini Samaj celebrated the 52nd birthday of Mr. M. K. Gandhi at the hall of the Marwadi Vidyalaya on Saturday evening. There was a large gathering of ladies. Mrs. Jaijibai Petit presided.

After a prayer sung by some of the ladies, Mrs. Petit gave them the message of Mr. Gandhi in Gujarati in which he said that he did not understand what connection the women had with his birthday and how Indian women recognized him. Thinking over this, he felt that they recognized his affection. They knew that he had their self-respect at his heart and to preserve this the easiest method which he had shown to them was swadeshi. Men could not help more than women in promoting it. When the daughters of India used to spin yarn and covered themselves and others, India was poor but she was not so poor as she was today. At that time the women of India preserved their modesty but it was seen that they did not do so now. He therefore preached to the women the same thing. His advice to them was that all the women should always spend one hour in spinning yarn. All of them should consider plain living a duty imposed upon them and use the clothes made of the yarn spun by their maidens and consider them as holy. He perceived swarajya for India in that only.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-10-1920

188. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[*October 9, 1920*][1]

Started writing this letter on Friday evening and finished it on Saturday morning at 3.15.

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Lakshmi will be ours as long as she remains with us. Dudabhai may take her away if he wants to. To me she is like a daughter. Though she is not well bred, we

[1] Dudabhai handed over his daughter Lakshmi to Gandhiji on October 5, 1920; *vide* "Speech to Students and Teachers, Surat", 6-10-1920. The letter seems to have been written on the Friday and Saturday following October 6. The latter was October 9.

have got to bear with her. The only unhappy part of the business is that I have invited the burden and you have to bear it. Well, that has been my way, and there is nothing for you to do but to put up with it. In this lies your training. Though it is difficult enough, you have agreed to submit to it.

What do I do about Harilal's children? I will keep them as long as he permits me to. When he wants to take them away, who can stand in his way? Have not their interests suffered? Should we hold ourselves responsible for this? I leave everything to God. The responsibility and the right, both are His. He uses us only as His instruments. The moment we have rid ourselves of the "I" in us, we shall have done our duty. Dudabhai handed over the girl to me. That was a moment of trial for me; how could I possibly be found wanting in that? Our duty is now to do the best we can for her. If Dudabhai keeps interfering, we need not mind that; this means that he may either leave the girl to us or take her away. I have applied the same rule to Harilal. My own wish is that the girl should grow up to be a Mirabai; what would it matter, though, if she should become a prostitute instead? Only, we may not help her to become one. If this does not explain everything, you may ask me further. As Rukhi and Manu, so Lakshmi: this is the long and the short of it.

Tell Imam Saheb that I always think about the Khilafat. I had tried a little to intervene. I can say no more. The two brothers, besides, are far away. Ask him not to worry. A great many things are done without proper understanding. No one can prevent them. There is God to look after all and so everything will end well. Does Amina learn anything?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5768. Courtesy : Radhabehn Choudhri

189. THE DIARY

The business man who goes to bed without drawing up his balance-sheet for the day will declare himself a bankrupt some day. The man who finds no time during the whole day for prayers and ablutions is a thief stealing what belongs to God. Following the same principle, the swarajist who understands that swaraj is to be won through non-co-operation must keep an account from day to day and ask himself at the end of each day:

1. "How many title-holders did I request today to renounce their titles?"

2. If he has not withdrawn his children from schools and colleges, "Why have I delayed so long? How many other parents have I persuaded to do this?"

3. "Why have I failed so far to give up legal practice? Or, how many lawyers did I request to do so?"

4. "How many persons did I dissuade from joining the army as recruits?"

5. "How many candidates for councils did I entreat to withdraw their candidature? To how many voters did I appeal to abstain from voting?"

6. "What foreign goods have I myself boycotted ? How many persons have I successfully persuaded to do the same?"

7. "How much yarn did I myself spin today? How many others did I get to spin? How many weavers did I help by encouragement?"

8. "Since I believe that swaraj is impossible without self-sacrifice, selfless work and discipline, what further self-sacrifice did I make today? How many persons in my own locality or village did I inspire to work for this movement ? How much of my time and money did I spend in doing so?"

Every swarajist must put such questions to himself every day and, if the answers are not satisfactory, he must do some act of penance and increase his efforts the following day. It is only in this way, through persistent efforts and unfailing vigilance, that we shall advance and establish swaraj. If people in their crores join this movement today, freedom is ours this very day. One year is much too long a period. Only, for taking the message of swaraj to the millions we need thousands of volunteers. A volunteer can do much work even while keeping himself in the background. He does not require anybody's guidance. Beginning with himself,

he may go on to work among the people in the neighbourhood. We must see that not a single Indian remains ignorant of the movement. Anyone who is still not convinced may not join it. Half our work will have been done when we have taken the message of non-co-operation to the entire country.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-10-1920

190. SCHOOLS

Government schools and colleges in Gujarat are getting emptied every day. Two professors of Gujarat College have resigned their posts and have joined an institution imparting national education. I congratulate them and hope that other professors will follow their example and join this national movement.

From the students, however, I expect more. When they come out of the present schools and colleges, their teachers and professors are likely to follow them on their own. For them, the immediate problem is one of livelihood; for the students, it is a question merely of getting rid of a fascination.

Two students of the Grant Medical College, Bombay, who were due for their final examination, left the College without taking the examination. Two others were reading for a post-graduate course. They were getting a scholarship of 50 rupees each; renouncing their scholarships, they have won their freedom and are now engaged in national education work. I do not feel concerned for these students. On the contrary, I think they have done the right thing and congratulate them. Many other students have left Gujarat College and I should like to see that College totally deserted. In my view, the most important education is to learn to be a man. As matters stand, our men have lost their manhood and our women their womanhood. If the whole nation were to declare with one voice that it would not have this subjection to foreign rule, then, in that declaration itself lies swaraj. The nation cannot be prepared for this by degrees or stages. Those who get ready will do so overnight. It is, in fact, a kind of new birth. To recognize our state of slavery and to have the faith that we are, this very day, fit to be free from it: this is swaraj. In managing the affairs of our families, we realize what swaraj means. When we sincerely desire swaraj for the nation, we shall have it for the asking.

The country will be free only when students are possessed with this intense desire for freedom. As things are, the first lesson the pupils learn is to know the might of the Empire and understand that it is thanks to the Empire that we live. No wonder that this is so. What else can you expect foreign imperialists to teach in their schools?

So now, by asking the students to leave schools, I teach them the first lesson, that they save themselves from this and I appeal to parents to help me in this work. It does not matter if our young men remain uneducated or semi-educated. If they acquire self-respect, other things will follow. The truth is that if only a handful of students come out, they may have some reason to think before taking the step but that, when large numbers of them leave, provision of national education is bound to follow.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-10-1920

191. SURAT'S RESPONSE

A competition is going on among Surat, Nadiad and Ahmedabad. Only the future will show who wins the race. When we, my friends Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali and I visited Surat, the enthusiasm was boundless. Hundreds of men had come there even from villages. Our chief object was to open a national school. There are many educational institutions in Surat, among them the well-known Anavil Chhatralaya and Patidar Chhatralaya. Both have a large number of boarders. A question had arisen as to what should be done about those boarders who had given up their schools. The leading workers there felt it necessary to open a national school for them and others in their position and immediately made the necessary arrangements. One Muslim gentleman, Mr. Narmawala, has given his big building free of rent for the use of the school. Some teachers have come forward to teach without remuneration. Some others will work as paid teachers. If the workers are honest and industrious, the school will flower into a splendid institution. I have no doubt about their being so and the school, therefore, is bound to flourish.

A very good arrangement has also been made for its maintenance. Cotton merchants have resolved to contribute amounts at the rate of four annas for every transaction of 20 maunds. Other business men, too, will contribute. The educational programme in Surat is thus likely to have its needs fully provided for.

A movement to persuade the students in the present schools and in the colleges to leave the institutions is also going on and, this, too, is likely to meet with success.

Though the movement is thus going on satisfactorily, personally I felt disappointed on two scores. One was the noise and bustle that went on in the meeting for some time. We must learn to conduct a meeting peacefully, however vast the gathering. Such control will be a sign of our discipline, culture, understanding and unity. No one in particular was to blame for the failure to maintain order, but it shows that we still have a long way to go in that direction.

The second incident is still more painful. When, at Surat, we boarded the train for Delhi, a fairly large number had assembled on the platform. Some from among them insulted white passengers by loudly jeering and booing at them, though the latter had done nothing to provoke the people. In such behaviour lies the danger of violence breaking out. However bitter our hostility to the Empire, we ought to show no hostility to individuals. Our victory lies in the control we acquire over ourselves in such matters.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-10-1920

192. TO TEACHERS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Personally, I am convinced that the present salaries of primary school teachers are very low. All the same, I cannot at present advise them to agitate for higher salaries. Even if teachers were to be paid adequately, to my mind all schools run by the Government deserve to be shunned like poison, by both teachers and pupils. If, therefore, the primary school teachers have sufficient national consciousness and moral strength, they should leave, at any cost to themselves, these schools in which the pupils are educated, above everything else, for slavery and should work to educate the people, even begging for their maintenance, as teachers used to do in ancient times. But, personally, I am certain that, if teachers give up Government service in all sincerity and with full faith in themselves, the public will not fail to provide for them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-10-1920

193. SPEECH AT U. P. CONFERENCE, MORADABAD

October 11, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi . . . expressed the extreme pain he felt at having to differ from his brother Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He wanted them to consider Panditji's views with great respect as he had an unbroken record of service in the country's cause. He wanted them to dismiss his (the speaker's) personality from their mind in giving their decision. His views remained the same as at Calcutta and in spite of the most anxious thought he held that non-co-operation was the only road for the attainment of the country's liberty and that the programme adopted at Calcutta was the best. He had been asked whether he wanted separation from the Empire. He admitted that separation from the British Empire had its place in the non-co-operation programme but it was necessary to distinguish. His object was the attainment of Indian liberty. If the present Government purified itself and the people rose to the occasion and the Government and its officers treated Indians as equals, the connection may continue. But it must be made clear that the people were masters and the Government their servants. If the people were treated as equals and partners, well and good. But if the Government and the British people claimed to be the master, he would not tolerate it for a minute nor would he allow them one square inch of Indian land. There were two conditions necessary for the attainment of Indian freedom. First there was Hindu-Muslim unity. He appealed to them to be mutually tolerant. Being a Hindu, he could appeal to the Hindus more frankly. They must love and trust the Mohammedans which they could do even though leading lives of rigid orthodoxy. The second condition was the success of the non-co-operation movement. It was the best and the only remedy. He did not believe in violence and violence will not mitigate but only aggravate existing evils. The Government had broken their pledges in reference to the Khilafat; the Government had been guilty of outrage in the Punjab. The Government had not repented. Under the present system the people cannot prevent men from going to Mesopotamia and destroying the freedom of small nations. Association with such a Government was sin. It was a Government which had passed the Rowlatt Act, it was a Government which has broken its pledges in reference to the Khilafat; it was a Government which had set up the infamous martial law tribunals; it was a Government which had made their children bow before the Union Jack—to associate with such a Government, to sit in its councils or to send their children to its schools would, he believed, be a deadly sin (*haram*).

The Searchlight, 17-10-1920

CWMG-XVIII

194. REPLY TO A CRITIC, ALIGARH[1]

October 12, 1920

This work is certainly destructive, but the weeds which have grown need to be rooted out so that a good crop may be sown.

* * *

How can you remain, even for an hour, in an institution in which you are obliged to put up with the Union Jack and profess your loyalty to a Governor or other high-ranking official when in fact you are not loyal?

* * *

A college which has proclaimed itself free will get more money. Why should you be anxious for money when you have indomitable leaders like Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-10-1920

195. IN CONFIDENCE

I receive so many letters questioning me regarding celibacy and I hold such strong views upon it, that I may no longer, especially at this the most critical period of national life, withhold my views and results of my experiences from the readers of *Young India*.

The word in Sanskrit corresponding to celibacy is *brahmacharya* and the latter means much more than celibacy. *Brahmacharya* means perfect control over all the senses and organs. For a perfect *brahmachari* nothing is impossible. But it is an ideal state which is rarely realized. It is almost like Euclid's line which exists only in imagination, never capable of being physically drawn. It is nevertheless an important definition in geometry yielding great results. So may a perfect *brahmachari* exist only in imagination. But if we did not keep him constantly before our mind's eye, we should be like a rudderless ship. The nearer the approach to the imaginary state, the greater the perfection.

But for the time being I propose to confine myself to *brahmacharya* as in the sense of celibacy. I hold that a life of perfect

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour. Gandhiji, accompanied by Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, met students in the Union Hall. The remarks were in answer to a criticism.

continence in thought, speech and action is necessary for reaching spiritual perfection. And a nation that does not possess such men is the poorer for it.[1] But my purpose is to plead for *brahmacharya* as a temporary necessity in the present stage of national evolution.

We have more than an ordinary share of disease, famines and pauperism—even starvation among millions. We are being ground down under slavery in such a subtle manner that many of us refuse even to recognize it as such, and mistake our state as one of progressive freedom in spite of the triple curse of economic, mental and moral drain. The ever-growing military expenditure, and the injurious fiscal policy purposely designed to benefit Lancashire and other British interests, and the extravagant manner of running the various departments of the State constitute a tax on India which has deepened her poverty and reduced her capacity for withstanding disease. The manner of administration has in Gokhale's words "stunted" national growth so much that "the tallest of us have to bend". India was even made to crawl on her belly in Amritsar. The studied insult of the Punjab, and the refusal to apologize for the insolent breach of the pledged word to Indian Mussulmans are the most recent examples of the moral drain. They hurt the very soul within us. The process of emasculation would be complete if we submit to these two wrongs.

Is it right for us who know the situation to bring forth children in an atmosphere so debasing as I have described? We only multiply slaves and weaklings if we continue the process of procreation whilst we feel and remain helpless, diseased and famine-stricken. Not till India has become a free nation, able to withstand avoidable starvation, well able to feed herself in times of famine, possessing the knowledge to deal with malaria, cholera, influenza and other epidemics, have we the right to bring forth progeny. I must not conceal from the reader the sorrow I feel when I hear of births in this land. I must express that for years I have contemplated with satisfaction the prospect of suspending procreation by voluntary self-denial. India is today ill-equipped for taking care even of her present population, not because she is over-populated but because she is forced to foreign domination whose creed is progressive exploitation of her resources.

How is the suspension of procreation to be brought about? Not by immoral and artificial checks that are resorted to in Europe but by a life of discipline and self-control. Parents must teach their children the practice of *brahmacharya*. According to

[1] The source has "poorer for the worse".

the Hindu Shastras, the lowest age at which boys may marry is 25. If the mothers of India could be inclined to believe that it is sinful to train boys and girls for a married life, half the marriages of India will automatically stop. Nor need we believe the fetish of early puberty among girls because of our hot climate. I have never known a grosser superstition than this of early puberty. I make bold to say that the climate has absolutely nothing to do with puberty. What does bring about untimely puberty is the mental and moral atmosphere surrounding our family life. Mothers and other relations make it a religious duty to teach innocent children that they are to be married when they reach a particular age. They are betrothed when they are infants or even babes in arms. The dress and the food of the children are also aids to stimulating passions. We dress our children like dolls not for their but for our pleasure and vanity. I have brought up children by the score. And they have without difficulty taken to and delighted in any dress given to them. We provide them with all kinds of heating and stimulating foods. Our blind love takes no note of their capacity. The result undoubtedly is an early adolescence, an unmature progeny and an early grave. Parents furnish an object lesson which the children easily grasp. By reckless indulgence in their passions they serve for their children as models of unrestrained licence. Every untimely addition to the family is ushered in amid trumpets of joy, and feasting. The wonder is that we are not less restrained than we are, notwithstanding our surroundings. I have not a shadow of doubt that married people if they wish well to the country and want to see India become a nation of strong and handsome full-formed men and women, would practise perfect self-restraint and cease to procreate for the time being. I tender this advice even to the newly married. It is easy not to do a thing at all than to cease doing it, even as it is easier for a life-abstainer to remain a teetotaller than for a drunkard or even a temperate man to abstain. To remain erect is infinitely easier than to rise from a fall. It is wrong to say that continence can be safely preached only to the satiated. There is hardly any meaning, either, in preaching continence to an enfeebled person. And my point is that whether we are young or old, satiated or not, it is our duty at the present moment to suspend bringing forth heirs to our slavery.

May I point out to parents that they ought not to fall into the argumentative trap of the rights of partners? Consent is required for indulgence, never for restraint, this is an obvious truth.

When we are engaged in a death-grip with a powerful Government, we shall need all the strength—physical, material, moral and spiritual. We cannot gain it unless we husband the one thing which we must prize above everything else. Without this personal purity of life, we must remain a nation of slaves. Let us not deceive ourselves by imagining that because we consider the system of Government to be corrupt, Englishmen are to be despised as competitors in a race for personal virtue. Without making any spiritual parade of the fundamental virtues, they practise them at least physically in an abundant measure. Among those who are engaged in the political life of the country there are more celibates and spinsters than among us. Spinsters among us are practically unknown except the nuns who leave no impression on the political life of the country. Whereas in Europe thousands claim celibacy as a common virtue.

I now place before the reader a few simple rules which are based on the experience not only of myself but of many of my associates.

1. Boys and girls should be brought up simply and naturally in the full belief that they are and can remain innocent.
2. All should abstain from heating and stimulating foods, condiments such as chillies, fatty and concentrated foods such as fritters, sweets and fried substances.
3. Husband and wife should occupy separate rooms and avoid privacy.
4. Both body and mind should be constantly and healthily occupied.
5. "Early to bed and early to rise" should be strictly observed.
6. All unclean literature should be avoided. The antidote for unclean thoughts is clean thoughts.
7. Theatres, cinemas, etc., which tend to stimulate passion should be shunned.
8. Nocturnal dreams need not cause any anxiety. A cold bath every time for a fairly strong person is the finest preventive in such cases. It is wrong to say that an occasional indulgence is a safeguard against involuntary dreams.
9. Above all, one must not consider continence even as between husband and wife to be so difficult as to be practically impossible. On the contrary, self-restraint must be considered to be the ordinary and natural practice of life.
10. A heartfelt prayer every day for purity makes one progressively pure.

Young India, 13-10-1920

CWMG-XVIII

196. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, KANPUR[1]

October 14, 1920

Mr. Gandhi dwelt on the essentials of success in the unequal struggle against the biggest power in Europe. One was organizing capacity. Without the Englishman's organizing capacity they would not be able to administer their own affairs. He had on a former occasion marched with a corps of 10,000 men in the early hours of a morning in perfect discipline but there force was the determining factor. Where the battle had to be won by means of non-co-operation the necessity for discipline was all the greater. Another essential was Hindu-Muslim unity, not lip-unity, but a unity of the heart and spirit. The moment both the communities realized that without their co-operation British rule was impossible and ceased to give their co-operation, success would be achieved. They would not be able to make their power felt by acts of incendiarism or violence. They would only do so by acts of self-sacrifice and self-surrender. The speaker firmly believed that the true test of truth was sacrifice and truth never won but when it was backed by true sacrifice. The whole lecture was a fervent appeal to the people to withdraw their boys from schools, to boycott courts and council elections, to abandon all luxuries and adopt swadeshi.

The Leader, 21-10-1920

197. INTERVIEW TO PRESS REPRESENTATIVE, LUCKNOW

October 15, 1920

Messrs Gandhi, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali arrived by Bombay Mail this morning. . . . Replying to a question by a representative as to why he did not put himself at the head of the reform and support the Government, Mr. Gandhi said:

That would be a death-trap to me. I would rather command this rabble. I have tried to work with the Government for the past 30 years, but can do so no longer. It is a devilish, wicked Government which has broken treaties and I would tell Mr. Lloyd George that myself if I could speak to him.

Asked why he used the English language, also Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Gandhi said he used the former because he would not be understood if he spoke

[1] At a mass meeting on the parade ground

in Hindi. As regards Posts and Telegraphs, he considered them his own property and if the Government took them away from him he would be only too glad.

The Hindu, 16-10-1920

198. SPEECH AT LUCKNOW[1]

October 15, 1920

We want to train a big national army. We cannot do so unless we have strict discipline.

* * *

The British Empire, today, represents Satanism and they who love God can afford to have no love for Satan.

* * *

You have pledged yourselves not to draw the sword; if so, such isolated assassinations [as that of Mr. Willoughby] are a serious violation of discipline. I do not think Islam permits this either. So long as Muslims are pledged to non-violent non-co-operation, it should not even occur to them that drawing the sword might bring excellent results. The Empire certainly has been guilty of misdeeds but, by killing an innocent man, we would only encourage the Government in its policy of repression and terrorism. Islam, it is true, permits the use of the sword, but I am sure it does not countenance such wanton killing and I believe that Ulemas also will support me on this point. If ever you decide to abandon non-violent non-co-operation and draw the sword, I am sure you would warn every European man, woman and child that their lives were not safe thenceforth. But I shall cherish the hope that you will not be obliged to come to such a decision.

* * *

Zafar-ul-Mulk is an extremely upright and fearless man, so that he could have peace only when he was in jail. Why is he imprisoned? Because he said in a speech that this Empire would perish, that to offer oneself for recruitment was to take the path to hell.

* * *

This Empire has been guilty of such terrible atrocities that, if it did not apologize for them to God and to the country, it would certainly perish. I will go further and say that, unless it so apologized, it was the duty of every Indian to destroy it. If it is a crime to say that to offer oneself for recruitment is to take

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of tour

the path to hell, most certainly it is the duty of everyone to commit such a crime and be cleansed.

* * *

We cannot make such a demand [i.e., for a public trial of Zafar-ul-Mulk]. By making it, we prove our unwillingness to go to jail. I do not know why people make this demand; to Zafar-ul-Mulk himself, jail is like a palace. We should, rather, make things impossible for the Government, so that it would either give us what we want or throw us into the sea. Better be drowned in the sea than remain in slavery.

I have often compared the Government to a robber. If any robber robbed us of our possessions and then offered to return one-half, could we accept it? This Government, however, is even worse than a robber. Not only has it dispossessed us of all we had, but it also seeks to gain control of our souls, to reduce us to slavery. If so, we can tell it only this, that we can maintain no relations with it until it had not only restored all our wealth but also given us back our honour and freedom.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-10-1920

199. "MY FOLLOWERS"

This letter[1] was received by a candidate contesting the election to the Legislative Assembly. He has made a verbatim copy and sent it to me. The correspondent's language is faulty. He must have deliberately made it such, or he is not a very educated man. He has not given his name. Such correspondents do not have the courage to give their names.

We need to feel ashamed so long as there are such people in Gujarat. Adopting the pseudonym of "Bolshevism", he brings discredit on the Bolsheviks. I am in no great love with Bolshevism as I have known it. However, the Bolsheviks are certainly no cowards. The foregoing letter, on the other hand, bespeaks cowardice. How can we hate a man who seeks to enter the legislature with an honest intention? What wrong does he do? If we try to control people's inclinations, we shall be doing what the Government does and, therefore, we shall have been as Satanic as the Government.

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had threatened the candidate with death unless he withdrew his candidature.

We may try to dissuade an intending candidate by the force of argument or of public opinion, or we may win him over with love. I am sure that we shall gain nothing by trying to stop him forcibly. We can only harm ourselves.

The correspondent refers to the murders[1] in Viramgam and Ahmedabad. Was there any bravery in several thousands of people killing a white or an Indian officer and then burning his body? The brave do not fight that way. To this day the men who killed [these persons] have not been apprehended. It is to act like a murderer to kill anyone thus unobserved and then run away. Such an act shows no courage and no manliness; it is neither patriotism nor self-sacrifice, nor is it an example worthy of being followed. Those who commit such acts of terror harm the nation. So long as there are such men in Gujarat, we cannot have non-co-operation in full swing. Even if we want, we cannot have it so. As darkness is the enemy of light, so also the kind of ideals referred to above certainly obstruct non-co-operation, which requires self-sacrifice, as they obstruct the training for non-co-operation. It is the duty of non-co-operators to restrain with love those who follow the philosophy of Bolshevism, to reason with them and make them shed their cowardice.

The gentleman who received this letter writes to me: "I think you cannot but be pained to read this extract. You advocate peaceful and non-violent non-co-operation and want everyone's honest opinions to be respected. But this letter will show you to what lengths your followers go to compel people to accept the idea of non-co-operation under threat of force. And this is but the beginning. It should not be surprising if those who believe that non-co-operation will lead to coercive tactics keep away from this idea." The original letter is much longer. I have given only an extract from it. The correspondent has done me injustice in including "Bolshevism" among my followers. Had he done injustice only to me, I would not have entered into an argument; but he has done injustice to non-co-operation. I do not regard anyone as my follower. Those who approve of my ideas are followers of those ideas [not of me]. Those who act contrary to my ideas are followers neither of me nor of the ideas.

As we may not abandon good work lest someone should see it in a wrong light, so also a movement like non-co-operation which is otherwise considered essential may not be abandoned for fear that it might lend itself to abuses. The *Gita* is misinterpreted by

[1] In 1919

many people, but this is no reason why it should be condemned or abandoned. So-called Christians plunder others in the name of Christianity, but this is the fault neither of the Christian religion nor of its founder.

A misdeed of the Government cannot be concealed simply because its exposure is likely to make people more angry with it. There is no virtue in being free from ill will for the blameless. Not to entertain ill will even for the guilty—this alone lends lustre to the virtue. Hence it is that, though I point to the great evils of the British Empire, I restrain the bitter feelings which they rouse, check violence and show to the people the royal road of bringing about a change of heart in the British or making them leave India through non-co-operation.

This will intensify the bitterness for a while. There will also be trouble from insane persons, like this "Bolshevism"; if there is, I shall try to check it, of course, but I consider it less intolerable than that the British Empire should continue as it is today. I think it is easier to counteract Bolshevism obviously gone mad than Bolshevism which is respectable. If public opinion non-co-operates with persons who go mad, like "Bolshevism", all such madness will collapse like a house of cards at a mere puff of the breath.

The candidate who received the letter has said a few things in anger; I entreat him to banish his anger. He is free to contest the election to the legislature if he thinks it right to do so; but to contest the election merely in a fit of anger, provoked by "Bolshevism's" letter, would also be a kind of Bolshevism. Is it right, out of anger, to harm the country's interest?

It would be altogether wrong now to seek election to legislatures in opposition to public opinion. What epithet can describe the action of a candidate who enters the legislature, though forbidden by the very voters with whose votes he aspires to be elected?

We have, therefore, but one golden rule. Those who believe that the councils will open the gate to freedom and those, like me, who believe them to be a death-trap for the country, should patiently explain to the voters the possible benefits and dangers and act as the latter wish. If they wish to elect anyone, persons of my view should not hinder them; likewise, if the voters plainly show their opposition, it is the duty of intending candidates not to seek election. If the opponents of council entry use coercion, they will be committing a sin; if candidates enter councils against all opposition, they will be committing a heinous sin. There is here no problem of conscience for the candidates, for their duty is to enter

the legislature only if the voters in their constituency want them to.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-10-1920

200. SPEECH IN REPLY TO ADDRESS BY BAREILLY MUNICIPALITY[1]

October 17, 1920

Since you have been so fearless, I hope you will remain so. What could be more cruel than compelling a municipality to do the ignoble things which the Government compelled the Amritsar Municipality to do—to cut off water supply to the people? Preserve your independence, though they torture you; do not be intimidated; do not follow the example of the Amritsar Municipality. The other thing I tell you is, you can make your schools independent if you but have the strength. Refuse Government grant and your schools will be independent. I want you to think seriously about both these things.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-10-1920

201. SPEECH AT AMRITSAR

October 18, 1920

Mr. Gandhi . . . began his speech in Hindi amid shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar* and *Sat Sri Akal*. He said, Mr. Mahomed Ali had told them what was taking place at present in England. It was being considered how to secure all the approaches to India. If the Government was taking possession of Persia and Iraq, it was to ensure the perpetuation of India's dependence. A man could not serve two masters. If Indians acknowledged the English as their masters, it meant that they had forgotten their great master to whom they had sworn allegiance from their very birth. The only alternative before them now was to relinquish their God or to relinquish the Government. The only two ways to attain swaraj were the sword and non-co-operation. The Hindus and Mussulmans had already accepted the latter. Although some people had confidence in the sword, too, to win swaraj, he had not. They could not free India by burning houses and committing murders. There were two conditions precedent to win swaraj, complete unity and sacrifice. The latter was only possible

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour

if they decided upon non-co-operation with the Government. If they did that they could achieve swaraj in one year. They lacked discipline which they must cultivate. As long as there was no discipline in towns and villages liberty was impossible. There should be unity and confidence. They must remember that fear and slavery could live side by side but not fear and love. God wanted pure sacrifice. They must be pure. They must leave Government courts, schools, service, councils, and titles and wear home-spun khaddar. He asked the Amritsar lawyers with what face they now practised in the courts which had disgraced and humiliated them so much during the martial law days. Unless they relinquished practice the salvation of India was impossible through them. Could they send their boys to schools where they had been made to walk 16 miles a day for punishment? The first lesson of liberty was that they should tell their children that although they themselves were slaves they did not want their children, too, to grow up as slaves. Theirs were the buildings, the teacher and the money. They should refuse Government grants and affiliation. That would be the first lesson to the rising generation to break the chains of slavery. Amritsar had done well to leave off the councils. These were nothing but weapons for snatching their freedom. They could turn out laws like the Defence of India Act and the Rowlatt Act. Then, they all knew what injustice had been used in recruitment. How the Punjab suffered by that decision. Could they still supply recruits?

Did they not like to maintain the freedom of Arabia, etc.? They should turn into national recruits and advise people not to join the army.

It was said if people did not join the army they would take to rapine and plunder. Could they not, he asked, turn from sword to the plough? Punjab was the cause of the subjection of India, as she supplied recruits and it was the boast of their late Lieutenant-Governor that the Punjab had supplied in the War as many recruits as all the other provinces of India put together. If even now they did not refuse to be recruited, India's freedom was impossible. They should also turn to swadeshi. Their women should take to charkha. They must know that crores of rupees were annually drained out of India by reason of cloth alone. If they could not do all this their freedom was impossible.

The Tribune, 20-10-1920

202. TALK WITH KHALSA COLLEGE STUDENTS, AMRITSAR[1]

October 18, 1920

My friend Mahomed Ali wrote an article, "Choice of the Turks", which was confiscated. I tell you today that the time has now come to make up our minds about "Choice of the Believers of India"[2]. I have come here to ask the Sikh students whether they wish to be loyal to the Empire or to Guru Nanak[3]. Friends of your community are being sent to put down the great, freedom-loving Arab people who have done us no harm. The Government steals an anvil from you and compensates you with the gift of a needle. After the torture which was inflicted on Sardar Gohar Singh, how can a Sikh draw the sword for the Government? How can we maintain cordial relations with it after the cruelty perpetrated by Bosworth Smith in Jallianwala? If you feel for the Punjab as much as I do, you can see that the Khalsa College gives up receiving grants, that it breaks off its connection with the Municipality, and so you can make it truly *khalsa*[4]. If you do not succeed, you can leave it and be *khalsa* yourselves.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-10-1920

203. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, LAHORE[5]

October 19, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi said that he was glad to find Zafar Ali in jail, because according to him Zafar Ali became free by being put inside the jail. The only place for those who did their duty by the people and the Government was the prison house. The speaker had read the charges against Zafar Ali. Zafar Ali had said that if Government did not do justice on the matter of the Khilafat, Government would perish and had asked his audience to repeat that statement

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour

[2] Gandhiji used the English expression.

[3] 1469-1538; religious reformer and founder of Sikhism

[4] Pure

[5] A shorter version of this appeared in *Young India*, 24-11-1920; *vide* Appendix II.

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after him. This was the principal charge against Zafar Ali. The speaker said that he would proceed a step further. He wanted the audience to repeat after him not only that if the Government would not do justice in the matter of the Khilafat, Government could perish but also that they would deem it their duty to destroy it. (The audience repeated this after Mahatma Gandhi.) The speaker said that the way to release Zafar Ali was to do their duty loyally by the people and to push on the non-co-operation propaganda. In that event, Government could not send any of their leaders to jail. He was glad to be told that in spite of being kept in a dark narrow cell, being supplied with the jail food though he was yet an under-trial prisoner, and in spite of his being in bad health for these reasons, Government was not able to break Zafar Ali and he would not apologize. It was not for the people to pray to Government for Zafar Ali's release. It would be a sin to do so. They could not ask favours from Government.

The speaker next referred to the bravery of the Sikhs during the War and said that they had saved the British Empire and had cut the throats of the Turks, the Arabs and the Egyptians at the bidding of their task master. What was their reward? Let them ask Gohar Singh of Sheikhupura. Let them ask the Sikh ladies of Manianwala.

The speaker emphatically declared that violence was not to be encouraged. He was sorry to see the great ovation given to Mr. Mahomed Ali when he said that it might be necessary in the future for us to unsheathe the sword and proclaim jehad. The sword, said the speaker, should be altogether discarded. Neither the Punjab wrong nor the Khilafat wrong could be righted by violence. Freedom was not to be attained through violence. Mahatma Gandhi said that for him non-violent non-co-operation was the beginning and the end.

The speaker said that several persons had told him that in the Punjab there were no prominent leaders who were prepared to lead the non-co-operation movement. But the people did not want leaders to boycott schools and colleges, for every one could withdraw his children from Government and aided schools and colleges without leaders. Nobody required a leader to be told that Lieut.-Col. Frank Johnson made the students of Lahore College walk 16 miles a day in the summer sun; nobody wanted to enslave the future generation of the province by sending the children into the degrading and dwarfing atmosphere of official institutions. Nobody need require a leader to boycott the courts. Let the people cease going to courts to recover their debts. Let the parties go to any man whom they could both trust and let him settle their differences. If this could not be done, let the creditor in the last resort forgo his money rather than seek the help of Government courts. The courts that had unjustly deprived their leaders of their liberty could not deserve to be called courts of justice. Similarly people did not require a leader to tell them of the advantages of the doctrine of swadeshi, which was the only means by which they could affect the voters of Lancashire.

Clean morals and strong character was the condition precedent to success of the non-co-operation movement. The ladies of Amritsar had told Mahatma Gandhi that the two things necessary for success were (1) truth, and (2) that the men and women should be *jitendriya*. By *jitendriya* was meant a person who acquired complete control over his senses. The man who could control his senses and passions and had complete sway over his desires and appetites was the clean man. He was the man, who could work for the nation with a single-minded and fearless devotion. He would be the man who would fear God and love truth and would be impervious to everything else. He who could not live a pure life was not fit for non-co-operation.

Let the Hindus, Mussulmans and the Sikhs weld themselves together in one whole and through progressive non-violent non-co-operation wrest justice from Government's unwilling hands. Either they should all go to jail or secure the release of their innocent brethren who were being unjustly made to suffer. That was the only way left to them. That way lay their goal and final destination, which was complete swaraj. There was no other way; and let them start on the journey while yet there was time.

The Tribune, 22-10-1920

204. FROM RIDICULE TO ——— ?

It will be admitted that non-co-operation has passed the stage of ridicule. Whether it will now be met by repression or respect remains to be seen. Opinion has already been expressed in these columns[1] that ridicule is an approved and civilized method of opposition. The Viceregal ridicule though expressed in unnecessarily impolite terms was not open to exception.

But the testing time has now arrived. In a civilized country when ridicule fails to kill a movement it begins to command respect. Opponents meet it by respectful and cogent argument and the mutual behaviour of rival parties never becomes violent. Each party seeks to convert the other or draw the uncertain element towards its side by pure argument and reasoning.

There is little doubt now that the boycott of the councils will be extensive if it is not complete. The students have become disturbed. Important institutions may any day become truly national. Pandit Motilal Nehru's great renunciation of a legal practice which was probably second to nobody's is by itself an event calculated to change ridicule into respect. It ought to set people thinking seriously about their own attitude. There must

[1] *Vide* "Ridicule Replacing Repression", 1-9-1920.

be something very wrong about our Government—to warrant the step Pandit Motilal Nehru has taken. Post-graduate students have given up their fellowships. Medical students have refused to appear for their final examination. Non-co-operation in these circumstances cannot be called an inane movement.

Either the Government must bend to the will of the people which is being expressed in no unmistakable terms through non-co-operation, or it must attempt to crush the movement by repression.

Any force used by a government under any circumstance is not repression. An open trial of a person accused of having advocated methods of violence is not repression. Every State has the right to put down violence by force. But the trial of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and two moulvis of Panipat shows that the Government is seeking not to put down or prevent violence but to suppress expression of opinion, to prevent spread of disaffection. This is repression. The trials are the beginning of it. It has not still assumed a virulent form but if these trials do not result in stifling the propaganda, it is highly likely that severe repression will be resorted to by the Government.

The only other way to prevent the spread of disaffection is to remove the causes thereof. And that would be to respect the growing response of the country to the programme of non-co-operation. It is too much to expect repentance and humility from a government intoxicated with success and power.

We must therefore assume that the second stage in the Government programme will be repression growing in violence in the same ratio as the progress of non-co-operation. And if the movement survives repression, the day of victory of truth is near. We must then be prepared for prosecutions, punishments even up to deportations. We must evolve the capacity for going on with our programme without the leaders. That means capacity for self-government. And as no government in the world can possibly put a whole nation in prison, it must yield to its demand or abdicate in favour of a government suited to that nation.

It is clear that abstention from violence and persistence in the programme are our only and surest chance of attaining our end.

The Government has its choice, either to respect the movement or to try to repress it by barbarous methods. Our choice is either to succumb to repression or to continue in spite of repression.

Young India, 20-10-1920

205. NECESSITY OF DISCIPLINE

I have already remarked upon my experiences of want of method and discipline in Madras. The same want is being noticed during the tour in the Rohelkhund. Everywhere there is chaos and disorder not for want of men but because of volunteers without training. They are called upon to handle a situation and crowds that are unprecedented. There is more noise and bustle than work.

Maulana Shaukat Ali is the indefatigable organizer. He wants to satisfy all parties and therefore packs too many events in any programme he arranges. To take only one instance. He accepted for one single day a motor ride from Aligarh to Hathras, thence to Etah and from Etah to Kasgunj with the prospect of a slow night journey from Kasgunj to Cawnpore. The motor ride covered a distance of 90 miles. After a trying meeting of workers at Aligarh early in the morning, we got into our motors at 9.45 a.m. and reached Hathras at about 11 a.m. The sun was burning hot and fierce. The inevitable noisy procession was there. It was followed by a huge meeting involving an intolerable strain on the voice of the strongest speaker. We however got for our pains resignations of three honorary magistracies. We motored thence to Etah. There was a little more order there than at Hathras. Soon after finishing Etah we motored to Kasgunj. We had accidents during the journey, the cars refusing to move. With difficulty we reached Kasgunj, Maulana Shaukat Ali and his companions not reaching in time for the train. We had several resignations at Etah. The meeting at Kasgunj for its enormous size was well managed but not without difficulty. Touching the feet has become an uncontrollable performance causing much waste of time and involving danger when it is resorted to in the midst of a large crowd.

But the most wretched experience was the night journey from Kasgunj to Cawnpore. It was made most uncomfortable by crowds attending at every station. They were everywhere insistent and assertive. The noises they made in order to wake me up were piercing and heart-rending. I was tired. My head was reeling and was badly in want of rest. In vain did Mrs. Gandhi and others plead with the crowds for self-control and silence. The more they implored, the more aggressive the crowds became. It was a tug of war between her and the crowds. The latter would put

on the light as often as she put it off. If she put up the shutters the crowd immediately put them down. I was resting, did they want me to die a premature death? The answer was, they had come many miles to have *darshan* and *darshan* they must have. I had hardened my heart and refused to move till it was daybreak. But there was not a wink of sleep for any of us during the whole of that night. It was a unique demonstration of love run mad. An expectant and believing people groaning under misery and insult believe that I have a message of hope for them. They come from all quarters within walking reach to meet me.

And[1] I do believe that I have a message of hope and certain deliverance, but?

Yes. It is a big BUT. There is no deliverance and no hope without sacrifice, discipline and self-control. Mere sacrifice without discipline will be unavailing. How to evolve discipline out of this habitual indiscipline? Not certainly by the British bayonet or the British hypocrisy. The British officials have no affection for this loving and phenomenal demonstration of a peaceful and peace-loving people. They would put it down, if they could, by barbarous exhibition of force even as Sir Michael O'Dwyer tried and ingloriously failed.

But if this demonstration cannot be put down by force, it cannot also procure swaraj for India unless regulated and harnessed for national good. There are in it all the elements of success as well as of self-destruction. It cannot lead to the promised goal if the nation in extravagant affection wastes its servants by encroaching upon their hours of needed rest. We must therefore cease to have nocturnal demonstrations. We must have consideration for the feelings of the lowest of our fellow-beings. We must not disturb the rest of a train-load of passengers. We must learn to transmute our love for our heroes into unquenchable energy and useful action. Love that is satisfied with touching the feet of its hero and making noise at him is likely to become parasitical. Such love ceases to be a virtue and after a time becomes a positive indulgence and therefore a vice. The great task before the nation today is to discipline its demonstrations if they are to serve any useful purpose. Non-co-operation is not designed to create hate but to purify the nation to the point of rendering it proof against the injurious aggression whether from within or from without. Non-co-operation to be effective must be prevented by co-operation between

[1] The source has "As".

all the units composing this great and ancient people. Let us begin by co-operating with our loved ones.

Young India, 20-10-1920

206. THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND "INDIA"

I gladly reproduce in another column an open letter sent to me by Miss Normanton[1]. I do not know the lady save by her writings in *India* while it was being edited by her. Her views on non-co-operation are refreshingly strong and her unqualified support of the boycott of the reformed council ought to prove consoling to the waverers. But I would ask my reader not to overweigh the effect of the boycott on the British public or the League of Nations. It is better for us to rivet our attention on our own duty irrespective of the effect of its performance on outside opinion. We have over-estimated the effect of our action on British public opinion and in doing so have often damaged the true interests of the nation. At the same time Miss Normanton's argument appears to me to be perfectly sound.

What will however interest the public more are perhaps her views on the British Committee. I do not know the merits of the controversy she discusses. But apart from the merits, her views on the constitution of the Committee would appear to be original. I entirely associate myself with her remark that a British Committee, to be true to the name, should be composed exclusively of the British people and financed by them. It is then more likely to exert influence on British public opinion than not.

In any case we would then have a real index of the British interest in Indian affairs. I endorse Miss Normanton's views about the newspaper *India* also. The paper costs much more than it is worth. Its influence on English opinion is practically nothing and it is an indifferent vehicle of English opinion for India's enlightenment. Its only value therefore consists in its parliamentary reports which can be received and distributed by the All-India Congress Committee with very little cost. An enterprising newspaper could take over that duty any day and make it a paying venture. And now that we have embarked on non-co-operation and are de-

[1] Helena Normanton, ex-editor of *India*, the official organ of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Her letter to Gandhiji, of September 15, 1920, supported the policy of non-co-operation.

termined to become self-reliant, it would be more consistent for us to disestablish the British Committee and stop *India*. It would save a needless waste of public money and turn our attention more towards ourselves.

It is not easy for me to reconcile myself to the alternative suggested by Miss Normanton, viz, that we should have a kind of an advisory committee or adviser resident in London to help the proposed British Committee with suggestions. I would rather concentrate all our attention and all our best workers on work in India. The harvest is truly rich and the labourers are few. We can ill spare a single worker for foreign work. It will be time for us to consider the propriety of sending a representative abroad after we have created a permanent impression in India itself by substantial and solid work.

(We are in possession of further evidence, which we have received from another esteemed correspondent in London in connection with the very unsatisfactory condition of the newspaper *India*. The total circulation of *India*, our correspondent informs us, is, 500 only (!) 220 in Great Britain, the rest in India. Last year's income was £4-17-0 (!!) only, while the expenditure for the current year is estimated to £3300. This is how our correspondent puts it:

For the maintenance of *India* we pay—that is the poor people in India pay—£1800 a year, out of which Mr. Syed Hussain as editor-secretary gets £550 a year with effect from October. Mr. Fenner Brockway as co-editor-secretary gets £550, Mr. G. P. Blizzand as secretary £400, the typist £150, clerk £150.

The paper has had a chequered career but we never had success from the propaganda point of view. It has never had a constructive policy. To squander £1800 on a 3d weekly with a circulation of 500, and to spend another £1500 on establishment charges, £3300 in all, looks like reckless extravagance. Ed. *Y. I.*)

Young India, 20-10-1920

207. TALK TO COLLEGE STUDENTS, LAHORE[1]

October 20, 1920

Will the Punjab, for whose sake the whole nation has got ready to fight, itself remain in slumber? You may forget the Khilafat, but you cannot forget the Punjab. Jallianwala made us brave but, when we were ordered to crawl on our stomachs, we submitted like cowards. India rose through Jallianwala, but fell when people crawled on their bellies. Forcing students to salute the Union Jack was still more bitter. Col. Johnson humiliated you and you submitted to the humiliation. My satyagraha never asked anyone to sacrifice his honour. The souls of the boys who died in the Punjab are present here and are clamouring to know what you mean to do. Even if you want to hang Sir Michael O'Dwyer, you must be ready, yourself, to be hanged.

* * *

When the Boer War was going on, persons like Smuts[2] and Hertzog[3] who were eminent lawyers left their profession to join the war. Boer women used to teach their children not to speak a single English word, while here men and women—Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri and Saraladevi, for instance—correspond with one another in English. I see our cowardice in this. Every woman in the Transvaal was a Rani of Jhansi[4]. When will our women be so brave? I am all praise for the English language. I am all admiration for the New Testament. I read Tolstoy and the Koran in English. But I cannot tolerate one Indian using English for communication with another Indian. I for one believe that the Indian father who communicates with his son or the Indian husband who communicates with his wife in English is a coward. I shall be in a position to benefit from anything English only when I am their equal. The second sacrifice that the Boers made was after the Treaty of Vereeniging. Smuts and Botha rejected the reforms [offered by the British]. Instead, they

[1] At Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri's place, where Gandhiji was staying. Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour

[2] 1870-1950; South African soldier and statesman; Prime Minister, 1919-24 and 1939-48

[3] 1866-1942; South African nationalist leader and politician; Prime Minister of South African Union, 1924-39

[4] Lakshmi Bai who fought the British in 1857

started non-co-operation, and it stopped only when the Boers got the free constitution of their choice.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-10-1920

208. SPEECH AT BHIWANI CONFERENCE

October 22, 1920

Mahatmaji said that it was impossible for the followers of God to co-operate with such a Government. The only two ways to win swaraj were the sword and peaceful non-co-operation; Hindus and Muslims both accepted the latter way. There were two conditions precedent to attaining swaraj—complete unity amongst the people and non-co-operation with Government. Mahatmaji said that he had strong faith in the non-co-operation programme; it could make Indians free and get them swaraj within one year. God wanted pure sacrifices. Indians must leave Government courts, Government schools, Government services, councils and titles, wear hand-spun khaddar, arrange their own panchayats and leave other considerations alone. Complete unity among Hindus and Muslims would make India free, help Muslim brothers in connection with the Khilafat problem.

The Tribune, 27-10-1920

209. SWARAJYA SABHA

The "All-India Home Rule League" will henceforth be known as "Swarajya Sabha". Its constitution has been changed. I must confess that I always disliked the term "Home Rule". If we are to know even our highest ideal under a foreign name, why not have it as our ideal to turn ourselves into foreigners? I know some highly educated Indians who believe that India's salvation is possible only through imitation of Western ways and ideals. One of these Indians is Mr. Chintamani[1]. I respect Mr. Chintamani. It is not that he does not love India. If, in most things, he prefers the Western way, it is not for self-interest. Somehow he feels that only by turning ourselves into their like shall we be able to meet the English as their equals. Some Indians, converts to Christianity, believe that the country's salvation is impossible until both Hindus and Muslims have become Christians.

[1] Sir C. Y. Chintamani (1880-1941); editor, *The Leader*, Allahabad

However, just as we would not have it as our ideal to turn ourselves into Englishmen or Christians, so also I did not like the phrase "Home Rule". The meaning, the force, to be found in "swaraj" are not present in "Home Rule". Hindus and Muslims, all—even illiterate people—can understand the term "swaraj", but not "Home Rule". We have, therefore, dropped Home Rule and given to "swaraj" its rightful place.

Besides this, there are other important changes which are worth noting. The aim, so far, was to secure Home Rule within the British Empire, like what the Colonies enjoy. Instead, the aim now will be to strive for swaraj of people's choice. The means have always been a subject of controversy and, therefore, we have limited ourselves to all effective means which are peaceful and legitimate. That is to say, the ideal now before us is to achieve swaraj without recourse to violence.

The Congress is the people's organ. The Home Rule League has always worked as a subsidiary body of the former and the Swarajya Sabha will do the same. For the present, therefore, swaraj has been defined to mean what it means in the Congress constitution, the implication being that the Swarajya Sabha will also strive to get the Congress constitution changed.

In my view, these changes are unexceptionable, and were necessary too. The intention behind them is sincere. They have been made after much thought and discussion. A committee consisting of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri Omar Sobani, Shri Jinnah, who is president of the Bombay Branch [of the All-India Home Rule League] and Shri Jayakar[1] was appointed to draft a suitable constitution. The draft was discussed in plenary sessions, once in Calcutta and a second time in Bombay, and the constitution was adopted by a majority vote.

Despite this, some lawyers and other friends have resigned from the Swarajya Sabha. Signatories [to the letter of resignation] include men who have enjoyed a high reputation right to this day. I have been pained by these resignations, and still more by the reasons given in the letter. The help these friends gave was highly esteemed by the Swarajya Sabha. Even so, when basic ideals are in question, one has to part from one's dearest friends and be happy in doing so.

Let us now consider the letter of resignation. We shall first examine the charge against me. Mr. Jinnah had argued that no

[1] M. R. Jayakar (1873-1959); Bombay lawyer and Liberal leader; leading negotiator and peace-maker

amendment would be valid unless approved by a three-fourths majority. In support of this, he argued that under the old constitution the council of the Home Rule League could make any change by a three-fourths majority. I ruled that the restriction placed upon the council by the general body of the Sabha did not apply to the Sabha itself. The general body had the common right of taking decisions by a simple majority and this was not nullified by the restriction placed on the council. I still adhere to this ruling. I do not think it necessary to enter into a discussion of the adjectives which Shri Jinnah and his friends have used to describe my ruling.

However, thinking that Shri Jinnah's view, which was supported by Shri Jayakar, deserved the utmost consideration, I consulted other lawyers. They have endorsed my view and said that I could have given no other ruling, that it would have been arbitrary of me to have given a ruling other than the one I gave.

The second reason which they have given for resigning is that the Swarajya Sabha has shown contempt for the Congress constitution. This is certainly not true for, as I have pointed out above, we have accepted the Congress definition of swaraj pending a change in its constitution.

The third charge is a little serious. Shri Jinnah and his friends have stated that the clause defining the means to be employed for winning swaraj lends itself to the interpretation that it permits the Swarajya Sabha to carry on unlawful activities. To an extent, this interpretation is correct for, in my view, the means [as defined] cover civil disobedience. I think it necessary to retain this freedom. It is not always easy to say what is constitutional or legal. Some people argue that non-co-operation is illegal. Some others used to argue that civil disobedience was illegal. The means clause is so drafted as to give some freedom with a view to avoiding occasions for such controversies. The clause does not mean, however, that the Swarajya Sabha will encourage any and every kind of violation of law. The provision that the means must be peaceful rules out incivility in any form. The clause is intended to ensure that there is no difficulty in our adopting any means we consider necessary so long as we remain civil.

I have shown that there is nothing improper in the constitution of the Swarajya Sabha. Why, then, have all these leaders left it? The simple answer is that the country is moving so fast now that our leaders cannot keep pace with it. In such circumstances, no matter how much we are pained we must go ahead.

India will not have such an opportunity for a century. We cannot afford to miss it. We may only hope that when the leaders realize the value of the strong popular current, they will not hesitate to join it. Our duty, meanwhile, is to follow our chosen path with due civility, to bear with the leaders' differences with us, to maintain respect for them and, undeterred by their disagreement, go ahead firmly, calmly and with full regard for moral principles. Truth comes to no harm.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-10-1920

210. LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES OF ALIGARH COLLEGE

October 24, 1920

GENTLEMEN,

I know you are about to meet in order to give your decision on a most momentous issue for Islam and India. I hear that you are calling in the aid of the Government and the police for the occasion of your meeting. If the rumour is true you would be making a grievous mistake. In a matter which is purely domestic you need neither the intervention of the Government nor the protection of its police. Neither the Ali Brothers nor I are engaged in brute war. We are engaged in a war in which our only weapon is force of public opinion and we shall reckon ourselves beaten in the battle if we do not carry the public with us. In the present dispute the test of public opinion will be in the first instance your majority. Therefore, if you after a full and free discussion decide by a majority that the college and school students may not remain in the college ground either as students or even as boarders if they persist in their demand of disaffiliation and the rejection of the Government grant, they will be peacefully withdrawn. We propose in that event to carry on their education if at all possible in Aligarh itself, or elsewhere. The desire is not to suspend their secular education for one moment longer than is absolutely necessary. But it is our sincere desire that it should be given in consistence with the law of Islam and the honour of India. I understand that in the opinion of the recognized Ulemas it is not lawful for a believing Muslim to receive the assistance of a Government that has desired or indirectly sought to cause the destruction of the holy Khilafat and to tamper with the exclusive Muslim

control of Jazirat-ul-Arab[1]. You know as well as I do, how this Government has wilfully trampled under foot Indian honour. Consistently therefore, with the control of the passions by the people, all voluntary association with the Government is being withdrawn by the people. The least that you, in my humble opinion, can do is to decline any further Government grant, disaffiliate the great institution of which you are the trustees and reject the charter of the Moslem University. The least that the Aligarh boys can do, if you fail to respond to the call of Islam and India, is to wash their hands clean of an institution acknowledging the aegis of Government that has forfeited all title to the allegiance of Islam and India and to bring into being a larger, nobler and purer Aligarh that would carry out the inmost wishes of its great founder. I cannot imagine the late illustrious Sir Syed Ahmed[2] keeping his noble creation under the control or influence of the present Government.

As I have been the originator of the idea of disaffiliation of Aligarh and rejection of the Government grant, I feel that I might be able to assist you in your discussions, and therefore, offer my humble services to you, and will gladly attend your meeting if you will allow me to do so. I am proceeding to Bombay and shall await your answer there.

But whether you wish me to attend or not I hope that you will not summon Government intervention in this purely domestic matter.

And let me say to the Government through you, that one hears all sorts of rumours of their intentions about the Ali Brothers and myself. I hope for the peaceful evolution of the struggle, they will not restrict our liberty. We are endeavouring in a most constitutional manner to conduct our propaganda. We are seeking to bend the Government to the people's will, or if it will not, to overthrow it, not by brute force but by creating real public opinion. We hold it to be perfectly constitutional, legitimate and honourable to expose the Satanic nature of the Government, and to ask the people by appealing to their heads and their hearts, never to their animal passions, to express their will, not in words but in action, i.e., by withdrawing all possible association with the Government. But if the Government wish even to suppress the liberty

[1] The holy places of Hedjaj. The Government of India affirmed on March 29, 1920, that those would remain under independent Muslim control.

[2] 1817-1898; educationist and reformer; founder of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh

of opinion and peaceful action, I hope they will issue no internment orders against us, but that they will imprison us. For, in spite of our sincere desire not to offer civil disobedience even in our own persons, it will not be possible for us to respect any internment orders. So long as our movement is not physically restrained, we must use it in such a manner as we consider to be the best in the interests of our mission.

With humble apology,

Your faithful servant,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 27-10-1920

211. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
October 25, 1920

DEAR MR. JINNAH,

I have just returned from an exhausting tour. I have received the letter addressed to me by you and 19 other friends, tendering your resignation of the membership of the Swaraj Sabha, till lately known as the All-India Home Rule League.

I am exceedingly sorry that you and your co-signatories have thought fit to take the very serious step you have.

The reasons given by you are that the procedure adopted at the meeting at which the change was made was "contrary to the rules and regulations of the League" and that my ruling validating the procedure was both incorrect and arbitrary.

I venture to think that the procedure adopted was in accordance with the rules and regulations and that my ruling was strictly correct. The point you raised was that there was not a three-fourths majority. The regulations cited by you referred to a change in the constitution by the council of the League being legal only if it was voted by a majority of three-fourths. The meeting at which the vote was taken was not a meeting of the council, but it was a general meeting of the League. And my ruling was that as there was no rule, whereby the League had bound itself not to change its constitution except by a majority of three-fourths, it was competent and proper for the League to alter its constitution by a bare majority. Had I accepted your deductive or inferential interpretation of the rules, I feel that my ruling would have

been "illegal and arbitrary". Coming as the challenge did from you, for whose legal knowledge I have high regard, I have since the meeting endeavoured to examine my ruling and every one of the lawyers whom I have consulted tells me that it was not possible for me to give any ruling other than the one I gave.

Your second objection is that the new constitution omits mention of "British connection", and that it is permissive of "unconstitutional and illegal activities".

So far as British connection is concerned I think you are clearly wrong. Because the meaning of the word "swaraj" is deliberately limited by the new constitution so as to keep the Sabha strictly loyal to the Congress creed. Let me recall to you the discussion that took place before the important alteration was adopted. Speaker after speaker made it clear that the interpretation clause was purposely introduced to keep the affiliation of the Sabha pure and above board.

In my opinion, you may not allow yourselves to be affected by any sentiments expressed by the speakers, including myself. If I could help it I would certainly make it clear in any creed as I have made it clear in my speeches, that I want my country to have swaraj whether with or without the British connection. I am not opposed to that connection by itself but I do not wish to make a fetish of it. I will not keep India for a single minute under slavery for the sake of that connection. But I and those who think with me have limited our ambition in order that we can carry the Congress with us and be thus enabled to remain affiliated to that body. I venture to suggest to you that your amendment and the original adopted by the Sabha, do not materially differ, except in so far as the original keeps unadulterated swaraj constantly before the country as an ideal to be worked for. I should think, therefore, that your objection to the alteration is not so vital (if at all), as to warrant a separation.

There now remains for me to consider your objection to the methods. I entirely dissent from your interpretation of sub-clause 2, that it permits "unconstitutional or illegal activities". You will admit that the words "unconstitutional" and "illegal" are highly technical terms. An ex-Advocate General of Madras considers non-co-operation to be unconstitutional. If I have understood you correctly you consider it to be perfectly constitutional. The president of the special Congress gave it as his considered ruling that my resolution was not unconstitutional. As a not indifferent lawyer of 20 years' unbroken practice, I confess it is difficult for me to conceive an illustration under the British constitution of

unconstitutional activity except it be violence. And violence has been specifically eschewed from the Sabha's constitution.

Similarly, about the word "illegal". Jurists have differed on its interpretation. A cyclist cycling without a lamp to fetch a doctor acts contrary to law but does not engage in an "illegal" activity. He voluntarily pays the fine and thus honours the law. To disregard a tyrannical administrative order may be contrary to law but it is not in my opinion an "illegal activity". To make strong speeches amounting in the opinion of an erratic judge to sedition is not an illegal activity.

In placing before you for your consideration these homely illustrations my purpose is to show that it is a most dangerous thing for a country, fighting for its very life, its honour and its religion, to tie itself down in a knot of indefinable expressions. Surely all public bodies will think out for themselves the methods to be adopted for winning freedom for the country. I personally hate unconstitutionalism and illegalities, but I refuse to make a fetish of these as I refuse to make a fetish of the British connection.

I therefore, venture to ask you and friends to reconsider whether you have not hastily severed your connection with a body which you have hitherto nursed with industrious affection. If you wish to take your share in the new life that has opened up before the country, and benefit the country by your experience and guidance, and if you do not consider that there is anything fundamentally opposed to your conscience, I invite you and your co-signatories to reconsider your resignations. But if, unfortunately, you cannot see your way to revise your decision I trust you will acquit the Sabha of any irregular procedure and me of any illegal or arbitrary conduct and base your decision on grounds other than those you have set forth in your letter.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-10-1920

CWMG-XVIII

212. *TO EVERY ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA*

DEAR FRIEND,

I wish that every Englishman will see this appeal and give thoughtful attention to it.

Let me introduce myself to you. In my humble opinion, no Indian has co-operated with the British Government more than I have for an unbroken period of twenty-nine years of public life in the face of circumstances that might well have turned any other man into a rebel. I ask you to believe me when I tell you that my co-operation was not based on the fear of the punishments provided by your laws or any other selfish motives. It was free and voluntary co-operation based on the belief that the sum total of the activity of the British Government was for the benefit of India. I put my life in peril four times for the sake of the Empire,—at the time of the Boer war when I was in charge of the Ambulance corps whose work was mentioned in General Buller's dispatches, at the time of the Zulu revolt in Natal when I was in charge of a similar corps, at the time of the commencement of the late War when I raised an Ambulance corps and as a result of the strenuous training had a severe attack of pleurisy, and lastly, in fulfilment of my promise to Lord Chelmsford at the War Conference in Delhi, I threw myself in such an active recruiting campaign in Kaira District involving long and trying marches, that I had an attack of dysentery, which proved almost fatal. I did all this in the full belief that acts such as mine must gain for my country an equal status in the Empire. So late as last December I pleaded hard for a trustful co-operation. I fully believed that Mr. Lloyd George would redeem his promise to the Mussulmans and that the revelations of the official atrocities in the Punjab would secure full reparation for the Punjabis. But the treachery of Mr. Lloyd George and its appreciation by you, and the condonation of the Punjab atrocities have completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the Government and the nation which is supporting it.

But though my faith in your good intentions is gone, I recognize your bravery, and I know that what you will not yield to justice and reason, you will gladly yield to bravery.

See what this Empire means to India:

Exploitation of India's resources for the benefits of Great Britain,

an ever-increasing military expenditure, and a civil service the most expensive in the worlds,

extravagant working of every department in utter disregard of India's poverty,

disarmament and consequent emasculation of a whole nation lest an armed nation might imperil the lives of a handful of you in our midst,

traffic in intoxicating liquors and drugs for the purpose of sustaining a top-heavy administration,

progressively repressive legislation in order to suppress an ever-growing agitation seeking to give expression to a nation's agony,

degrading treatment of Indians residing in your dominions and

you have shown total disregard of our feelings by glorifying the Punjab administration and flouting the Mussulman sentiment.

I know you would not mind if we could fight and wrest the sceptre from your hands. You know that we are powerless to do that, for you have ensured our incapacity to fight in open and honourable battle. Bravery on the battlefield is thus impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us. I know you will respond to that also. I am engaged in evoking that bravery. Non-co-operation means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice. Why should we co-operate with you when we know that by your administration of this great country we are being daily enslaved in an increasing degree? This response of the people to my appeal is not due to my personality. I would like you to dismiss me, and for that matter the Ali Brothers too, from your consideration. My personality will fall to evoke any response to anti-Muslim cry if I were foolish enough to raise it, as the magic name of the Ali Brothers would fail to inspire the Mussulmans with enthusiasm if they were madly to raise an anti-Hindu cry. People flock in their thousands to listen to us because we today represent the voice of a nation groaning under your iron heels. The Ali Brothers were your friends as I was, and still am. My religion forbids me to bear any ill will towards you. I would not raise my hand against you even if I had the power. I expect to conquer you only by my suffering. The Ali Brothers will certainly draw the sword, if they could, in defence of their religion and their country. But they and I have made common cause with the people of India in their attempt to voice their feelings and to find a remedy for their distress.

You are in search of a remedy to suppress this rising ebullition of national feeling. I venture to suggest to you that the only way

to suppress it is to remove the causes. You have yet the power. You can repent of the wrongs done to Indians. You can compel Mr. Lloyd George to redeem his promises. I assure you he has kept many escape-doors. You can compel the Viceroy to retire in favour of a better one, you can revise your ideas about Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. You can compel the Government to summon a conference of the recognized leaders of the people, duly elected by them and representing all shades of opinion so as to devise means for granting swaraj in accordance with the wishes of the people of India.

But this you cannot do unless you consider every Indian to be in reality your equal and brother. I ask for no patronage, I merely point out to you, as a friend, an honourable solution of a grave problem. The other solution, namely repression, is open to you. I prophesy that it will fail. It has begun already. The Government has already imprisoned two brave men of Panipat for holding and expressing their opinions freely. Another is on his trial in Lahore for having expressed similar opinions. One in the Oudh District is already imprisoned. Another awaits judgment. You should know what is going on in your midst. Our propaganda is being carried on in anticipation of repression. I invite you respectfully to choose the better way and make common cause with the people of India whose salt you are eating. To seek to thwart their aspirations is disloyalty to the country.

I am,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 27-10-1920

213. "DEPRESSED" CLASSES

Vivekanand[1] used to call the *Panchamas*[2] "suppressed classes". There is no doubt that Vivekanand's is a more accurate adjective. We have suppressed them and have consequently become ourselves depressed. That we have become the "pariahs of the Empire" is, in Gokhale's language, the retributive justice meted out to us by a just God. A correspondent[3] indignantly asks me in a pathetic

[1] Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902); disciple of Ramakrishna and eminent exponent of Vedantic philosophy

[2] Lowest caste among Hindus traditionally regarded as untouchables

[3] S. M. Michael; *vide* "Satyagraha and the Suppressed Classes", 17-11-1920.

letter reproduced elsewhere, what I am doing for them. I have given the letter with the correspondent's own heading. Should not we the Hindus wash our blood-stained hands before we ask the English to wash theirs? This is a proper question seasonably put. And if a member of a slave nation could deliver the suppressed classes from their slavery, without freeing myself from my own, I would do so today. But it is an impossible task. A slave has not the freedom even to do the right thing. It is right for me to prohibit the importation of foreign goods, but I have no power to bring it about. It was right for Maulana Mahomed Ali to go to Turkey and to tell the Turks personally that India was with them in their righteous struggle. He was not free to do so. If I had a truly national legislature I would answer Hindu insolence by erecting special and better wells for the exclusive use of suppressed classes and by erecting better and more numerous schools for them, so that there would be not a single member of the suppressed classes left without a school to teach their children. But I must wait for that better day.

Meanwhile are the depressed classes to be left to their own resources? Nothing of the sort. In my own humble manner I have done and am doing all I can for my *Panchama* brother.

There are three courses open to these down-trodden members of the nation. For their impatience they may call in the assistance of the slave-owning Government. They will get it but they will fall from the frying pan into the fire. Today they are slaves of slaves. By seeking Government aid, they will be used for suppressing their kith and kin. Instead of being sinned against, they will themselves be the sinners. The Mussulmans tried it and failed. They found that they were worse off than before. The Sikhs did it unwittingly and failed. Today there is no more discontented community in India than the Sikhs. Government aid is therefore no solution.

The second is rejection of Hinduism and wholesale conversion to Islam or Christianity. And if a change of religion could be justified for worldly betterment, I would advise it without hesitation. But religion is a matter of the heart. No physical inconvenience can warrant abandonment of one's own religion. If the inhuman treatment of the *Panchamas* were a part of Hinduism, its rejection would be a paramount duty both for them and for those like me who would not make a fetish even of religion and condone every evil in its sacred name. But I believe that untouchability is no part of Hinduism. It is rather its excrescence to be removed by every effort. And there is quite an army of Hindu reformers

who have set their heart upon ridding Hinduism of this blot. Conversion, therefore, I hold, is no remedy whatsoever.

Then there remains, finally, self-help and self-dependence, with such aid as the non-*Panchama* Hindus will render of their own motion, not as a matter of patronage but as a matter of duty. And herein comes the use of non-co-operation. My correspondent was correctly informed by Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Hanumantrao that I would favour well-regulated non-co-operation for this acknowledged evil. But non-co-operation means independence of outside help, it means effort from within. It would not be non-co-operation to insist on visiting prohibited areas. That may be civil disobedience if it is peacefully carried out. But I have found to my cost that civil disobedience requires far greater preliminary training and self-control. All can non-co-operate, but few only can offer civil disobedience. Therefore, by way of protest against Hinduism, the *Panchamas* can certainly stop all contact and connection with the other Hindus so long as the special grievances are maintained. But this means organized intelligent effort. And so far as I can see, there is no leader among the *Panchamas* who can lead them to victory through non-co-operation.

The better way therefore, perhaps, is for the *Panchamas* heartily to join the great national movement that is now going on for throwing off the slavery of the present Government. It is easy enough for the *Panchama* friends to see that non-co-operation against this evil Government presupposes co-operation between the different sections forming the Indian nation. The Hindus must realize that if they wish to offer successful non-co-operation against the Government, they must make common cause with the *Panchamas*, even as they have made common cause with the Mussulmans. Non-co-operation when it is free from violence is essentially a movement of intensive self-purification. That process has commenced and whether the *Panchamas* deliberately take part in it or not, the rest of the Hindus dare not neglect them without hampering their own progress. Hence though the *Panchama* problem is as dear to me as life itself, I rest satisfied with the exclusive attention to national non-co-operation, feel sure that the greater includes the less.

Closely allied to this question is the non-Brahmin question. I wish I had studied it more closely than I have been able to. A quotation from my speech delivered at a private meeting in Madras has been torn from its context and misused to further the antagonism between the so-called Brahmins and the so-called non-Brahmins. I do not wish to retract a word of what I said at that

meeting. I was appealing to those who are accepted as Brahmins. I told them that in my opinion the treatment of non-Brahmins by the Brahmins was as Satanic as the treatment of us by the British. I added that the non-Brahmins should be placated without any ado or bargaining. But my remarks were never intended to encourage the powerful non-Brahmins of Maharashtra or Madras, or the mischievous element among them, to overawe the so-called Brahmins. I use the word "so-called" advisedly. For the Brahmins who have freed themselves from the thraldom of superstitious orthodoxy have not only no quarrel with non-Brahmins as such, but are in every way eager to advance non-Brahmins wherever they are weak. No lover of his country can possibly achieve its general advance if he dared to neglect the least of his countrymen. Those non-Brahmins therefore who are coquetting with the Government are selling themselves and the nation to which they belong. By all means let those who have faith in the Government help to sustain it, but let no Indian worthy of his birth cut off his nose to spite the face.

Young India, 27-10-1920

214. ALIGARH

Aligarh is an old institution—forty-five years old. It has unique traditions. It has a great record behind it. It may claim to have given to India the Ali Brothers. It is the best known centre of Islamic culture in India.

Why do I seek to destroy it? Some Mussulmans easily think that I mean ill under the pretence of wishing well to Aligarh. Little do they know that I am imploring Panditji to do to the Hindu University what I am asking the trustees to do to Aligarh, and I am certainly going to plead with the Benares students as earnestly as I have with the Aligarh boys. I have done the same with the Khalsa College. The latter is the only centre of Sikh culture.

I do desire passionately to destroy all these three institutions as they are, and would strive to raise purer and truer ones instead.

I deny that these institutions are in any way true representatives of their respective cultures. And as much as Islam is in peril at English hands, Hinduism and Sikhism are also in peril. I asked an Aligarh professor whether he would preach complete independence for India as her goal if necessary, or if the institution as such could refuse to receive a Governor in his racial capacity. He frankly

admitted that it was not possible. And yet I make bold to say that today the vast majority of the students of India have no regard or respect for British rule. They are disgusted with it. They have certainly no genuine affection for it. I venture to submit that to keep boys in this false atmosphere is to teach them to deny their faith and for us to do violence to their respective cultures. *We will not make a nation of hypocrites.*

With the knowledge we have of British intentions, it is unmanly—un-Indian—for us to accept even a portion of our own money through hands stained with the blood of the innocents at Jallianwala. We may as well accept gifts from a robber who has robbed us of our property. This Government has robbed us of our honour and put one of our religions in peril. In my humble opinion, it is a sin for the nation to receive education in schools financed by or under the influence or control of the Government.

I have therefore no hesitation in advising immediate destruction of these institutions at all cost. But if the trustees, the teachers and the parents or the boys will act in unison, there is no cost to be paid and everything to be gained.

I am asking for the form to be changed, I do not seek to destroy the soul. Even as we leave bodies which we have out-grown, so must we leave the institutions which we have outgrown, and bring into being others, more in accord with our needs. How can scholastic institutions which represent the youth of a nation lag behind when the nation is marching forward? Several high schools having a more or less distinguished record have thrown off the yoke of grant and affiliation in Gujarat. They are none the worse for it. They are all the purer for it. The principals and the trustees can train the youth under their charge in a freer atmosphere.

Financial considerations deter those who do not want to work. Our institutions will collapse if the teachers or the trustees are false to their trust, or the nation really does not want them. The programme of non-co-operation is based on the belief that the nation is tired of the present Government and wants to change it without resorting to methods of violence. The experience so far gained shows that the nation does definitely desire the change. If there is failure or delay, it will be due to want of workers.

Young India, 27-10-1920

215. OUR LATE TOUR

My experiences are becoming so much enriched by every tour that it is difficult for me to cope with them and give the results to the reader. I must therefore content myself with adding to the stock on the necessity of discipline and organization. I have dealt with our experiences up to the journey to Cawnpore. I was dreading our approach to Cawnpore—the Cawnpore of Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Dr. Murarilal[1]. They are both great workers. The arrangements at the station were perfect. A large crowd awaited us at the station. But the discipline observed was so good that we were able to make our way through two solid rows of men without a single member moving before we had taken our seats in the cars. What might have meant a waste of thirty minutes was finished within five. The procession was happily abandoned. The programme was as businesslike as the reception at the station. We reached at about 8 o'clock. We had only a day at our disposal, but during that time there was a meeting with the workers, a private interview with Mr. Frazer Hunt of the *Chicago Tribune*, a visit to the Widows' Home, opening a national Gujarati school, a meeting of the Gujarati ladies (a crowded ladies' meeting), opening of a national arbitration court, an open-air meeting, and finally private chats with visitors. All this was finished without any undue rush and strain. There was at first a little confusion at the open-air meeting. It was discovered that no previous instructions were given to the volunteers. But after a little effort, there too perfect silence reigned, and the audience listened to three heavy speeches amid perfect silence. It is my conviction that as soon as we have organized and disciplined ourselves, swaraj will be established. An organized refusal to be ruled by any foreign power is all that is needed in a country like ours. Lucknow was a contrast. There was utter confusion at the station and a seething mass of humanity. It was a demonstration of undisciplined love. All were pressing forward to get at us. Not one of them realized that it was an impossible task. At last I refused to move unless the crowd had regained self-control. In a few minutes the crowd understood what I had to say, and made way for us. There was a trying procession. We were all privileged to stay with Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb.

[1] Who resigned the title of Rai Saheb and returned the badge and sanad to the U.P. Government

He had engaged a Brahmin cook and made special arrangements for the Hindus of the party. The reader may recall that it was here that Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk, a cultured Mussulman of blameless character, was arrested. It was not far from Lucknow that Mr. Willoughby was murdered. There was at night a vast meeting. The crowd listened with rapt attention. I wish I had time and space to give the gist of the speeches. We all referred to the Kheri murder[1] and showed how it had taken place in spite of the vigilance of the Khilafat Committee, and how it had injured the cause of the Khilafat by creating unnecessary alarm and covering the local committee with suspicion. I am sorry to have to note that the leaders were conspicuous by their absence. They think that the movement of non-co-operation is harmful. Time alone will show. We must be patient with them. They belong to the nation and will march with it as soon as their distrust is dispelled.

I must reluctantly omit the stirring events of Amritsar and Lahore and hasten to Bhiwani. At Amritsar there was a huge but unorganized crowd at the station. We evaded it by alighting at another platform. The demonstration at Lahore we evaded by motoring there.

The night journey to Bhiwani was perfectly restless. Crowds insisted on *darshan*. One man suggested that mahatmas needed no rest and that it was their duty to give *darshan*. Some were really angry that we all stolidly refused to move out of beds. Another remarked that we must be highly inconsiderate not to respect the wishes of the people and get up to give *darshan*. At length tired and sleepless, we reached Bhiwani. Probably fifty thousand people had gathered from surrounding villages. I was therefore afraid that we would be crushed to atoms. But to my agreeable surprise, I found perfect order there. There was no rush or noisy bustle at the station. All kept their respective places. The procession was comfortably managed in spite of a dense throng. Order observed at the *pandal* was still more striking. It was a huge artistic but non-pretentious structure. There was not a single chair—not even for the president. Distinguished visitors were seated on a substantial and commodious platform erected in the midst of the *pandal*. Although there was accommodation for 12,000 people, the *pandal* appeared to be roomy. The approaches were wide. The ground was excavated to slope towards the centre. All therefore had a perfect view of the centre. The only suggestion I have to make is that a semi-circle is a better arrangement. There

[1] Assassination of Willoughby

should be no seats at the back of the platform. The Sind arrangement, referred to in these columns, of T inverted as ⊥, is therefore better from an acoustic standpoint.

Let Bhiwani and Hyderabad (Sind) present a lesson to the approaching Congress. The Reception Committee will save a few thousand rupees and much space if they will dispense with chairs whether on the platform or below. We must cater more and more for the masses and their leaders. We, the educated few, hope to control them only through the leaders of the masses who are as simple as the masses themselves. It is cruel to impose chairs on the many, because the few seem to want them. I hope, too, that the Nagpur volunteers will be trained from now for their respective duties so that we may have perfect arrangements regarding every little detail.

Young India, 27-10-1920

216. IN DEFENCE OF MALAVIYAJI AND SHASTRIAR

TO
THE EDITOR
YOUNG INDIA

SIR,

Mahatma Gandhi in his article headed "The Hallucination of Schools and Colleges"[1] while discussing the non-co-operation programme re the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges, admitting that the movement has been called "harmful" and "opposed to the best interests of the country", says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is its most uncompromising opponent. Then he taxes himself to find out the reasons for this attitude of Panditji. We quote Mahatma Gandhi: "The answer I have been able to find is that the latter do not consider the present Government as an unmixed evil as the former do. In other words, the opponents do not sufficiently realize the significance of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs." And further on he proceeds to say : "It is unthinkable that Malaviyaji and Shastriar cannot feel the wrongs even as I do. And yet that is precisely my meaning." We assure Mahatma Gandhi that we have the most profound and sincere respect for him, but that would not blind us to the claims of others. We hold no brief for Messrs Malaviyaji and Shastriar. They can take care of themselves. Panditji's brilliant speech in the council, his touching appeal for funds for the "Jallianwala Bagh Memorial"

[1] Dated 29-9-1920

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and his recent stirring speech at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, supply an emphatic refutation to the suggestion that Mahatma Gandhi, quite unconsciously no doubt, has made. Mr. Shastriar's articles in the *Servant of India*[1], and his speeches on the Punjab tragedy also reveal the burning patriotism, somewhat softened by the judicial mind of Mr. Gokhale's worthy successor. Both of these great men have sufficiently given vent to expressions of deep feeling in connection with the Khilafat wrong.

Mahatma Gandhi himself has said so much on the question of individual liberty and the importance of following one's conscience, that we can hardly believe that he would, by any action of his, try to curtail the one, or silence the other. But that is what the article indirectly attempts to do. That there is ample scope for difference of opinion in the adoption of means to attain the end is conceivable, but that so great an individualist as Mahatma Gandhi should attempt, however remotely, to curtail the expression of different views, is not so easy to imagine.

In conclusion, we appeal to Mahatma Gandhi not to make such equivocal statements, we appeal to the modern Buddha not to excite emotions, to base his arguments on reason alone, and trust he will see the impropriety of the statements he has made and will hasten to make reparation for the same. We trust Mahatma Gandhi will allow us the same honesty of conviction and freedom of opinion as Mahatma Gandhi claims for himself, though we have the misfortune to differ from him.

Yours, etc.,
"SWADESHI"

I gladly publish this letter. I honour the writers for their defence of the two great patriots. I wish they had permitted me to publish their names. Let me however inform the reader that they are Gujaratis. And it is a matter of pride to me that Gujaratis would resent like everyone else any aspersion upon the patriotism of either Malaviyaji or Shastriji. But I hasten to assure these friends that they will not be able to outdo me in the race for honouring the two patriots. For the time being we differ in our views on matters of highest importance. I have endeavoured honestly to find out the reason for the difference and have come to conclusion that they cannot feel as strongly as I do the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. Feelings are measured by acts, not by words. Their diagnosis is different from mine. From the two wrongs I deduce that I am to expect nothing good from this Government. Not so they. Therefore, whilst for them association with the Government is possible, for me it is impossible unless it

[1] Organ of the Servants of India Society, Poona

repents of its sins. Two surgeons may describe a particular disease by the same name and yet one may prescribe mere ointment and the other a dangerous surgical operation. There need not be on that account any want of respect ascribed to the one who resorts to an operation. And if the other were to seek the cause of difference in the methods of treatment, he would be entitled to say and be justified in saying that the one who prescribed the ointment treatment could not have realized the desperate nature of the disease, though he described it by the same name. I wish to assure the writers further that in my statement of the case there is no equivocation. Nor is there any desire on my part to curtail anyone's liberty, or silence the voice of conscience, least of the two patriots. On the contrary, I have humility enough to own that though I *feel* sure that my diagnosis and method are both correct, [they] *may* be wrong. And when I *find* that they are, I shall be quick enough to acknowledge my mistake. Lastly, let me assure these friends that I have made it my business in life not to appeal to emotions, that is, excite passions but to put the most abstruse truths in simplest terms, so that the reason even of the illiterate masses may comprehend.

Young India, 27-10-1920

217. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, DAKOR

October 27, 1920

This place where we have gathered is a centre of pilgrimage. But India today is in such straits, such a sad plight, that even when we are in a holy place, we fail to realize the meaning of sanctity. Moreover, I have not come here to have *darshan* of Ranchhodji[1]. In these days, Ranchhodji has lost the power to set us free from our debt. The reason for this is that we, his devotees, have no devotion, we have lost our faith. I can see with my own eyes that places of pilgrimage have lost their purity and, instead, become nurseries of hypocrisy. When will God deliver us from this evil, this sin?

I have often heard that many pilgrims coming to Dakor do not conduct themselves properly. On their way, they misbehave at places. I do not know whether there is any truth in this talk. But, if there is anything that our religion, that of Hindus and of

[1] A name of Lord Krishna

Muslims, teaches us, it is above all to keep our desires or senses under control. All religions teach us to look upon every woman in the world, according to her age, as our mother, our sister or our daughter. I have heard, and I believe it, that pilgrims to Dakor violate this very first tenet of religion, and yet believe that a dip in the Gomati would purify them. Can a dip be of any avail? I do not even believe that they wish to be purified by a bath. The practice of truth and *brahmacharya* are elementary requirements of religion. Even for those who accept family life, *brahmacharya* is a dharma. *Brahmacharya* consists in controlling all the five senses —hearing, sight, smell, taste and touch. This dharma is not for the sannyasi only but also for all good householders. One who does not follow these simple rules is none such. This, then, is our first duty if we would live rightly, remain independent and be no one's slave—be it in Hindu society or in Muslim.

Someone told me that there would be many *Dharalas*[1] in this gathering and that I might address a few words to them. What should I tell them? This at least I must tell them, that, if they have any idea of religion, they should know that it does not tell them to rob others. Rather than live by robbery, it would be better to commit suicide. Rather than rob others that one may eat, it is better to starve to death. Rather than rob for clothes, it is better to go naked.

This plea that I am making to the whole of India is not addressed to *Vanias* and Brahmins alone, but to everyone in the country, to *Dheds*[2], *Bhangis*[3], *Dharalas*—to Muslims, Parsis, Christians and others. I entreat you all that, if you wish to make India happy, your primary duty is to live in harmony with people of other faiths. That is the duty of good neighbours. Had it not been for some work which called brother Shaukat Ali away from Bombay, you would have seen him standing here beside me in this place of pilgrimage for Hindus. Wherever I go, I take him—and now I take both the brothers—along with me. I tell everyone that I have lost two of my own brothers but that my regard for these two brothers is no less than for my own. I claim to be a *sanatani*[4] Hindu and, despite my fraternal relations with these two Muslims, I think I am a perfectly good Hindu. Maintaining such relations is in my own interest. For if, being a Hindu, I can die for Islam, then, when the occasion arises, I shall be able to lay down my life for Hinduism as well. In this lies a challenge both for me and the country.

[1] Community in Gujarat

[2] & [3] Communities traditionally regarded as untouchables

[4] One who accepts the essentials of Hinduism as unalterable

A great calamity has befallen seven crores of our Muslim brethren in the matter of their religion. A mighty Empire is bent upon destroying their faith. Islam is under the shadow of the Empire, just as at the moment the moon in the sky above is caught in an eclipse. You must rescue Islam from this grip. The eclipse of the moon is a physical phenomenon and it is not in our hands, either, to rescue her from it. This eclipse does not frighten me at all, it does not force me to observe a fast. But the eclipse which has our soul and our heart in its grip makes me shudder. If fasting can set us free, I pray to God to give me the strength to fast. If suicide can do so, may God give me the strength to commit suicide. The lovely moon that is India is darkened by the shadow of England. I have already explained one reason for this. The sword of the Empire hangs over Islam. Today it is Islam's turn, tomorrow it will be that of Hinduism. The Empire which has betrayed Islam, which, in the shape of the Punjab, made the whole of India crawl on its stomach, forced children all over the country to raise their hands in salute, and, in the process, took the lives of two children six or seven years old, the Empire under which fifteen hundred or a thousand innocent men have been murdered—what kind of an Empire is this? I cannot measure the extent to which this Empire has cast its eclipsing shadow over us.

The present Government is no *Ramarajya*[1]; it is *Ravanarajya*[2]. We suffer under this *Ravanarajya* and learn the ways of wickedness under it. How are we to be rid of this *Ravanarajya*? By becoming evil men in dealing with evil men? By meeting a crafty man with craftiness? How can we ever match them in their wickedness? How can we outwit the Empire in its cunning ways? How can the men of policy among us succeed against this Empire which, by its skilful deceptions, has conquered even Europe with all her cunning ways? Even if we, Hindus and Muslims, would employ cunning, we simply do not have it. If we want to kill Ravana with brute force, we should have ten heads and twenty arms like him. From where are we to get these? It is only a man of Rama's strength who can do so. What was that strength of his? He had observed *brahmacharya* and he was God-fearing. His army consisted of monkeys. Have monkeys ever used weapons? During *Diwali*[3] we celebrate even today the victory of Rama over Ravana. But we can

[1] Literally, Rama's rule, traditionally regarded as the ideal political order

[2] Ravana's rule, the opposite of *Ramarajya*

[3] The Hindu festival of lights celebrating, according to legend, Rama's success in rescuing Sita

truly celebrate this victory only when we destroy this monster with not ten but a thousand heads. So long as we have not accomplished this, there is nothing but *vanavasa*[1] for us. If you are men who would never cast lustful glances at chaste and devoted women like Sita, then alone will you be able to mobilize sufficient strength to destroy this Empire. If any power has succeeded in subduing Satan, it is God's. He it was Who created Satan and He it is Who can kill him. Man can never vanquish him by his own strength. It is God Who subdues him through the agency of a man serving Him with single-minded devotion.

We have to face such a mighty Empire. I do not wish to bemoan our sorry lot under it. On the contrary, I ask of the people of India that they leave it to me alone, as my privilege, to criticize this Government. At the time when I was co-operating with it, I used to see you spitting fire against it. It does not become you even to speak ill of it. You have not swallowed the bitter pills that I have. You have not acquired even one hundredth of the strength I have derived from swallowing these bitter pills. I have many reasons for being angry with the Government, but I have gulped down my anger. On this occasion, too, I speak no word in anger, but only what the self in me dictates. I do not want from you even so much as one sentence in anger against the British Empire. Rather than look at the evil in the British, you should look at your own and cast it out; that will set you free. If I point out the wrongs of the British Empire, it is because I have been a witness to them. After having faithfully served it for thirty years, I am convinced that it is no *Ramarajya* but *Ravanarajya*. If this Empire seems an evil thing to me, it is not because I hate the British, I hate only the Empire. As long as the British Empire refuses to repent, to apologize to the men and women of India, and say, "We are here to serve you, and would like to stay on if you will keep us as your servants," I am ready to face the aeroplanes and machine-guns of that Empire and fight it. These planes and machine-guns cannot frighten me.

I see nothing contrary to religion in opposing the Empire. If need be, I can resort to non-co-operation against my own son. Likewise, I may do so against the Empire. That also is dharma. It is but human to err and sin. I admit that, even though I exercise self-control, I am far from perfect. I am imperfect and full of sin. All the same, I fear sin. I have my failings, which I try to over-

[1] Literally, dwelling in the forest. The reference is to Rama's living in the forest for 14 years to fulfil Dasharatha's promise to Kaikeyi.

come. I am no slave to them. This Empire, on the other hand, looks upon sin as virtue. It builds its own prosperity on the ruins of other countries. This is the height of tyranny. I do not wish to make India prosperous by crushing or ruining others. I do not want to raise India by destroying the religious faith of others. But this Empire says that for its own imperial glory it will stoop to any atrocity. It does not say this in so many words, but it acts as it did in the Punjab. As a devotee of Lord Krishna, I ask you to boycott the schools and law-courts of such an Empire. I have no fears from any quarters for my person. Though I am present here, I have handed over my body to the Empire. Let your hearts be guided by God alone. The moment you do so, your chains will break.

Non-co-operation is a golden weapon, a weapon of the gods. When you see injustice, see someone as evil incarnate, you should forsake him: Shri Krishna taught this to the Hindus, the Prophet Mahomed to the Muslims and the Zend-Avesta teaches it to the Parsis. Tulsidas has said, in his gentle way, that one should keep away from the wicked, that their company is a source of suffering. You should run away from evil men and from injustice as you would from a forest fire. This running away is non-co-operation. Non-co-operation does not proceed from ill will or hatred. It is a religious duty for the man of religion. Even between father and son, non-co-operation is proper; between man and wife and between relatives, it is a duty. Were I to allow my son who drank and ate meat to stay in my house even for a second, I, as a *Vaishnava* father, would be consigned to eternal hell. If I fail in explaining the meaning of this non-co-operation to you, swaraj will be impossible to achieve. If you want to achieve it, the only way is through non-co-operation.

Yes, certainly, there is a second way, that of the sword. But have you ever practised *tapascharya*[1] to be able to wield the sword? Have you practised self-control for the purpose? The Muslims are better able to use the sword than you. But even they have realized that the sword will not avail here. Do you think the killing of a few will frighten the Empire into giving us swaraj ? That Empire which is established on the corpses of thousands of Englishmen, which has shed rivers of British, Sikh and Pathan blood, is that Empire going to be frightened by the murder of a handful of people ? Most certainly not. Though I criticize the British Empire, I also call it fearless. The British love their country. It is their

[1] Self-suffering as moral discipline

evil tendencies which are to be shunned. I would even admire Ravana's courage. Tulsidas has said that, if one must have an enemy, let him be like Ravana. To fight against Lakshmana[1], one must be an Indrajit[2]. If you would fight such an Empire, you should abandon all fear and take the field against it, sword in hand. But this is beyond our power. As I understand the Hindu religion, a Hindu should fight without a sword, offer his own head rather than take that of another. I claim to be one of the greatest Kshatriyas of India. Can I not fire a few shots with a revolver? Can I not administer poison? Can I not throw bombs from an aeroplane if required to do so? But I have deliberately decided to have nothing to do with these things. As God has not given me the power to create even a creature like the bug, it is not for me to take anyone's life. My duty is to lay down my life. I can be called a true Kshatriya only if I can lay down my life in defending myself, my wife or my country. The weakest among the weak, even a woman, can cultivate the true Kshatriya spirit within himself or herself—that is, can tell an enemy, "I will stand firm—do your worst." Otherwise, even a murderer would have to be called a Kshatriya and a man who raised his hand to strike a woman could also be called a Kshatriya. That is why I proclaim to the people of India, ever so loudly, that whatever they do, they should do in the true Kshatriya spirit. Abusing Muslims and looking down upon them will put our own religion to shame. Even assuming for the moment that Muslims will betray you, you can employ against them the same strength that you would employ for the purpose of non-co-operation with the British. Have you ever co-operated with the Muslims? For once, try to join hands with them. You have all along co-operated with this Government and we are no better off for that. That is why I ask you to offer non-co-operation against the Government and co-operate with the Muslims instead. For the purpose of non-co-operation, you do not have to resort to violence. You cannot convert by force those who do not wish to join you. You should be all humility before them and plead with them. If they kick you, you should submit to their kicks; then alone will you be able to promote the cause of non-co-operation. If you are truthful and humble, and if you have unity amongst you and you are brave,

[1] Shri Ramachandra's brother, who accompanied him to the forest

[2] Meghanad, son of Ravana, who had earned the name of Indrajit by his victory over Indra, chief of the gods

who will dare to leave your side and join the Government? In order to win over such men, you should make yourselves fearless.

How is that a hundred thousand white men can lord it over thirty-three crores of us? The reason is that we have become slavish-minded. If we say to them "Friends, as from today, we will no longer be your slaves," they would either leave the country or stay on as our servants. To acquire the strength to say this, the first step to take is to cultivate a sense of brotherhood with the *Dharalas*, the *Bhils*[1], the Muslims, the *Dheds*, the *Bhangis*—with all the communities—that is, to think of them all as our brothers and not look down upon any. You are angry with the Muslims for killing cows, but don't the Hindus kill them? To continue to milk a cow even when the milk is exhausted and she bleeds, to strike her offspring with iron-spikes, this is in no way better than killing a cow. With what face can the Hindus, who are given to such cruel exploitation of the cow, go up to their Muslim brethren and ask them why they kill their cows? If Hindus want cows to be saved, they should show their large-heartedness. I would be ashamed to approach Muslims for the purpose. The British eat beef every day. British soldiers cannot do without beef—cow's meat—for a single day. Why, then, do you hate Muslims alone? A Muslim is God-fearing, at any rate. If you lived with the Ali Brothers for a while, you would know how much they fear God. If you make common cause with the Muslims, swaraj will not be long in coming.

Take your children out of Government schools, do not send your representatives to the legislatures, ply the spinning-wheel and wear khadi.

One last thing I have to mention is that we want to educate our children and set up new law-courts, and for this we need money. Contribute according to your capacity. I am not happy asking for your money. I do not know many young men in whose hands I may safely entrust it. If you wish to help the cause of non-co-operation, give to the volunteers, who will go round just now, anything you may want to, from a pice onwards. For the cause of non-co-operation, each of you can give a pice at least. If one can do nothing else, everyone can spin and weave. You are mistaken if you believe that by wearing mill-made cloth you support swadeshi. The mills cannot produce enough cloth to meet the needs of the country. In khadi alone is there beauty. I see a symbol of slavery in fine muslin and, therefore, I find khadi to be as light as a feather,

[1] Tribe in Central India and Gujarat

and the former appears thick to me. Let your children stay at home. It does not matter if they do not study for a while. Let them sing hymns to Vishnu at home.

If you wish to support the cause of non-co-operation and free yourselves from the yoke of the wicked Empire, do not go away at the sight of volunteers but contribute your mite. If anyone approaches you for funds on my behalf or Sardar Vallabhbhai's or on behalf of the Swarajya Sabha, do not give anything straightaway. Contribute only if you happen to know the persons. Those who do not have money on them now may send their contributions to Ahmedabad. From today, may God make you fearless, give you the strength for self-sacrifice, may He make you truthful and humble. May you fear God alone and may He rid you of your fear of other men.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-11-1920

218. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, DAKOR

October 27, 1920

SISTERS,

All of you should listen to me in silence. I will finish what I have to say in a few words. While some of you belong to Dakor, others must be visitors to this place of pilgrimage. I am sure there is hardly any among you in this large gathering who is fully aware of the present plight of India. What is our duty, our dharma, in the condition in which India is placed today? You have all come to this place of pilgrimage with feelings of devotion. You probably believe that you will be rid of your sins through the *darshan* of the Dakor shrine, that you will have your heart's desire granted if you take a dip in the Gomati. Some of you may be thinking that by having *darshan* of a mahatma like this Gandhi, they will be sanctified. This is far from the truth. In fact, you pollute the Gomati if you merely bathe in it without purifying your hearts. It will avail you little if, going for the *darshan* of Dakorji, you leave behind there only the dirt on your feet. The *darshan* can bear fruit only if we purify our hearts, fill them with good thoughts and attain self-knowledge. You yourselves will ask what good such *darshan* can do to a sceptic like myself or to a Christian. I wish to make it clear to you that so long as the heart is not purified and the mind not cleansed, *darshan* of Ranchhodraiji or bathing in the Gomati can bear no fruit.

First of all, I request you, my sisters, to understand the true meaning of religion. So long as you do not do this, you will not realize what the present condition of India is. While you look upon the present Government as your parents and believe that you live in peace under it, you will not be able to free yourselves from slavery. I believe that the Government has enslaved us. For thirty years, I thought that we were happy under the protection of the British Government, but now I am convinced that, instead of being sheltered by the Government, we burn in its scorching heat. We are about to lose all sense of dharma. On my way, I saw a sign-board which said that we lose caste by eating in hotels. This is true enough, but it is not the whole truth. When were these hotels introduced? It was under the present Government. Why were they introduced? Because the present Government taught us to lead a life of ease and luxury. We now prefer bazar-made preparations to what is cooked at home and violate the strict restrictions of the *Vaishnava* way. This is a Government which collects hundreds of thousands of rupees by trafficking in liquor and opium. It is said in the Shastras that a king who carries on trade is of the middle order, one who raises money from his subjects just enough to help him protect them is of the highest order, but one who collects revenue by making addicts and drunkards of his subjects is of the lowest order. I have come here to make you, my sisters, realize that our present Government is of this last order.

We have been taught in the *Bhagavad Gita* to treat all men as equals. The Hindus and Muslims are like the two eyes of the country. There should be no enmity between them. But we look with contempt upon them, do not associate ourselves with them, and treat them as our enemies. Today this Government is bent upon destroying the religion of the Muslims. If it can destroy their religion today, it can destroy ours tomorrow.

And now about the Punjab. Perhaps you have not even heard of the Punjab. But it is through the Punjab that our *rishis* entered India. The Punjab is the land in which the *rishis* wrote the Shastras. It is in this same Punjab that the Government humiliated our men and women, whipped the children, and forced the people to crawl on their stomachs like serpents. It is against dharma to accept the authority of such a Government. That is why I tell you that we should overthrow this *Ravanarajya* and establish *Ramarajya* in its place.

My second request to you is that you should adopt swadeshi. This Government has taught us false ways. We have come to believe that foreign cloth adds to one's beauty. Even the clothes worn

by you, in this gathering, have the odour of foreign cloth. Even mill cloth is not swadeshi. The cloth produced by the mills is not sufficient to meet the needs of the country. You are not quite so poor. I have seen people who are poorer than you. I have seen men who have only a loin-cloth with which to clothe themselves and women who have no more than a torn skirt. We can set ourselves free this very day if India adopts swadeshi, if all women take to the good old spinning-wheel and if they put on clothes made only with yarn spun by themselves. To the women of the past, virtue was beauty. Wearing of foreign cloth makes a woman ugly. There is a touch of the harlot in a woman seeking loveliness by fine dressing. What is our image of Sita and Damayanti, whom we adore? Is it that of women clad in finery? We revere Damayanti who wandered in the forest, half-clad, and Sita who suffered *vanavasa* for fourteen years. Was Harishchandra's[1] queen, who served as a maid, dressed in fine clothes? In those days, people covered themselves with nothing more than leaves. To seek beauty by adorning oneself is to imitate the harlot. If you want to follow your dharma, you must first understand the swadeshi dharma. It consists in using cloth made with yarn spun by yourselves and woven by your menfolk, singing as they work. I am truly handsome, since the clothes I am wearing are made with yarn spun by women and lovingly woven by men. If you wish to deliver yourselves from *Ravanarajya* and establish *Ramarajya*, you must adopt swadeshi and introduce the spinning-wheel in your homes. There are many women now who will be able to teach you how to work it. Each one of you should spin for at least an hour daily, singing devotional songs the while. Get the yarn, afterwards, woven into cloth.

You will no doubt find it difficult at first to use hand-spun cloth in place of foreign muslin. Some women in Bombay complained to me that their saris, which previously weighed less than forty *tolas*[2] now exceeded seventy *tolas* in weight. I replied to them in figurative language, saying that, they had till now lowered their own weight by reducing the weight of their clothes. During pregnancy, women cheerfully carry their load for nine months and suffer the severe pains of child-birth with joy. This is the time for the birth of new India. Will you not be ready at least to carry the weight of heavy clothes at this hour? You can make India

[1] King of Ayodhya who suffered great hardships while in the service of a *Chandala* (outcaste); he was even ready to kill his wife Taramati for the sake of truth.

[2] Forty *tolas* make about a pound.

free only if you bear this burden. If you wish to give birth to a new India, every woman must bear this burden not merely for nine months but for nine years.

Secondly, do you know to what kind of schools you send your children? You send them to the schools of *Ravanarajya*. Would a devout *Vaishnava* ever send his or her children to the schools of an irreligious Government? Would I ever go to the wicked to learn the *Gita* or the *Bhagavat*[1] from them? Our present schools are run by a wicked Government. So long as these schools are not run by us, do not send your children to them. Teach them *Ramaraksha*[2], teach them devotional songs, or go to the wise men of your town and request them to educate your children. But do not, under any circumstances, send them to the present schools.

A sister came and left Rs. 5 for me. Till today, I have accepted nothing in this way. What I need, I obtain from friends. But now I want swaraj to be established and to run many schools; I cannot do all this by raising money from friends. If you want *Ramarajya*, you must work to that end. Contribute whatever you wish to. I shall use the amount for the cause of swadeshi and for running schools for your children. At present, some wicked men among us have made the shrine of Dakor a subject of litigation. Should we take disputes concerning our shrines to courts of law? This is wickedness. We must compensate lawyers for giving up their practice. If the arguments put forward by my colleagues and myself hold good, every pice you contribute will bring you two in return. With this money, your own law-courts will be run and the swadeshi movement will be carried on. The money that we contribute to these sacred places is being squandered by the wicked.

If you wish to be pure like Sita, if you would give up the many forms of subtle mental degradation of the kind I have described and make others give them up, if you wish to understand your true dharma rather than wickedness, then you must whole-heartedly join in the movement for swaraj. Each one of us must be able to distinguish between true dharma and wickedness. Many fraudulent men will also come to you for contributions. I would ask you not to contribute to any of them. I hold out my hand to you only because I feel certain that you have trust in me. I

[1] One of the 18 *Puranas*, sacred narrative poems in Sanskrit, part history and part legend; it depicts the love of Radha and Krishna as symbolic of the love of the human soul for God.

[2] A prayer in Sanskrit, believed to be efficacious in securing Rama's protection and grace

shudder to introduce the corrupting influence of money in my work. Had I the strength and the *tapascharya* to be able to carry on my work without money, I would most certainly not ask for it. But I do not have such *tapascharya* and such strength. I also am a man of *Kaliyuga* and am full of failings, but I know that I am constantly striving to overcome these failings. So, if you trust me, contribute anything you wish to, from a pice onwards. The funds will be handled by the Swarajya Sabha.

Finally, I request you to see that these few things I have placed before you do not go in at one ear and come out at the other. By adopting swadeshi, you will be able to save some money on clothes. You will be able to give your children milk and ghee out of this. At present, you spend on your comforts and luxuries the money which could buy milk and ghee for your children. I, too, want a small share from the amount you will save. But contribute only if you wish to. Even if you do not give money, you should at any rate follow the dharma of spinning which I have explained to you. We have today to wash off the pollution caused by the eclipse. The right way of doing so is to purify our hearts. If all of you take the name of Rama in good faith and pray for *Ramarajya* in place of *Ravanarajya*, I can assure you that you will find that Rama is the strength of the weak.[1] May your hearts be ruled by God and may He set you free from all other forms of enslavement.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-11-1920

219. LETTER TO ROBERTSON

[*October 28, 1920*][2]

DEAR MR. ROBERTSON[3],

I have just returned from my tour to find your kind note. I shall certainly peruse the pamphlet sent by you and I shall have pleasure in discussing the subject with you in December if I am in Ahmedabad during that month.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 7308

[1] The reference is to a well-known song, "*Nirbalake bala Ram*".

[2] Gandhiji reached Ahmedabad on October 28, 1920, after his tour of U.P. and the Punjab.

[3] Inspector General of Police, Poona

220. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM,
[*October 28, 1920*]

CHI. DEVDAS,

We arrived here at eleven. You must have got my letter of yesterday's. Mathuradas has given me news about your health. I am sure he will continue to do so. I am trying not to worry over it.

Balibehn is here. When she returns, she will take the children along with her. Deepak, too, is going to Lahore for the holidays. Mr. Andrews is here. He will leave tomorrow. Jinavijayji[1] has also come along with me.

Ba must be in good cheer. I shall leave for Mehmedabad on Monday morning and then go on to Nadiad in the afternoon. I shall leave Nadiad on Tuesday and be there on Wednesday morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7172

221. LETTER TO RAGHUNATH SAHAI[2]

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 30, 1920

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I agree with you that the scene described by you was most disgraceful. I am inquiring into the matter. Please let me hear from you again if you receive further particulars about the outrage. I hope to correspond with you further on hearing from my co-workers.

[1] A Jain scholar and sadhu, then on the staff of the Gujarat Puratatva Mandir

[2] Head Master, Dayalsingh High School, Lahore, who in his letter of October 25, 1920, wrote : "Hundreds of boys entered into my school . . . broke our windows and desks, beat several boys and took away several books . . . a number of *badmashes* also joined the students in doing mischief. Pray think over the consequences of this sort of non-co-operation. It cannot remain non-violent as you think. . . ."

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These regrettable incidents will now and then undoubtedly happen. It will be for us to check all such violent tendencies. But I think it hardly proper to stop a big movement because of the over-zeal shown by some students.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 7313

222. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON CLOSURE OF TEA-STALLS[1]

[Before *October 31, 1920*]

I see that some persons have been trying forcibly to get tea-stalls closed and exploiting my name, too, for the purpose. I have even received a complaint from a shop-owner whose shop and men had been attacked with stones. I was very much pained to know this. I certainly do not approve of these things. True, I do not approve of tea-stalls either, but I have not started or asked anyone to start a movement to get them closed; rather, if anyone sought to get them closed forcibly, I would protect the owners. I request all such persons who are engaged in getting tea-stalls closed to see that, if at all, they go about their work peacefully. They should reason with people and should in no circumstances employ force nor exploit my name. Volunteers owe it as a duty to protect innocent shop-owners against such attacks.

M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 31-10-1920

[1] *Vide* "Tea-stalls", 31-10-1920.

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223. *HOW TO CELEBRATE "DIWALI"*

It would be no exaggeration to say that in this *Kaliyuga* we have no right to celebrate *Diwali* with so much jubilation. Our celebrating *Diwali* implies that we feel we are living in *Ramarajya*. Do we have *Ramarajya* in India today?

A king who is not prepared to listen to his subjects, under whose rule the subjects get no milk to drink, no food to eat and no cloth to wear, a king who massacres his innocent subjects, who trades in wine, hemp and opium, who, by eating pork, hurts the feelings of Muslims and by eating beef the feelings of Hindus, who threatens the very existence of Islam and gambles at horse-racing—how can the subjects of such a king celebrate *Diwali*?

Let no one labour under the delusion that this is an exaggerated picture; if there is anyone who has such fear, I shall be only too happy to be able to explain the thing to him in all humility. If I am being in the least unfair to the British, I am ready to be convinced of my mistake and, on being convinced, I shall consider it my religious duty to apologize to them.

I would apply to any Indian Prince the standard I apply to the British Government. Actually, I apply a much stricter standard to Indian Princes. Judging it even by the lightest standard, I find British rule repugnant to me. All my admiration for this rule has vanished.

I have the utmost respect for the courage of the British. Their team spirit and organizing power are wonderful. Their literature has much that is admirable. Reading their Bible, I feel myself in bliss. However, their selfishness overshadows their fine qualities. Their activities have done nothing but harm to India. These policies have ruined and emasculated the country. I am convinced that never under Moghul rule, or at any other time, were the people so thoroughly emasculated as they are today. This is no accidental result but has been deliberately brought about, and so I look upon this rule as *Ravanarajya*. The Government we dream of, I describe as *Ramarajya*. Swaraj alone can be such *Ramarajya*.

How may we establish it?

In former times, the subjects did *tapascharya* when they were oppressed. They believed that it was because of their sins that they got a wicked king and so they tried to purify themselves. The first step in this was to recognize a monster as such and avoid him, to non-co-operate with him. Even non-co-operation requires courage.

To cultivate it, one needs to give up comforts and pleasures. To receive education provided by a wicked Government, to accept honours at its hands, to seek settlement of one's disputes through its agency, to help it in framing laws, to provide it with policemen, to wear cloth produced by it—to do this while desiring that it should perish is like trying to cut off the branch on which one is sitting. This is nothing but sin. Nor, in this way, shall we succeed in destroying the Government. How, then, should we celebrate *Diwali*?

1. If our children are attending Government schools, we should withdraw them from such schools.
2. We should start other schools in their place.
3. We should settle our disputes privately through *panchas*.
4. If we are lawyers, we should give up practice.
5. We should resolve, if we are voters, and persuade others, not to vote for any candidate. If anyone from our own locality stands as a candidate, we should send him a "card" requesting him to withdraw his candidature.
6. We should introduce the sacred spinning-wheel in our homes.
7. We should get hand-spun yarn woven into cloth and wear such cloth, bearing the additional burden for the sake of the country.

All these things need money, of course. We should, therefore, donate what we can and collect contributions from others. If the people listen to me, I would advise them to do nothing during the *Diwali* but engage themselves in work for swaraj.

This, at any rate, we should not do during *Diwali*:

1. Treat ourselves to pleasures,
2. gamble,
3. prepare all manner of sweet dishes and
4. enjoy ourselves with fire-works.

The money saved by renouncing these things, we should donate for swaraj work.

This is the duty dictated by these difficult times. When we have the Government of our dream, we may enjoy some innocent pleasures. At present, however, the people are in mourning, they are widowed. At such a time, they can have no celebrations.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-10-1920

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224. TEA-STALLS

The closing of tea-stalls in Gujarat is a change of no ordinary significance. I congratulate the workers who took up this task and saw it through. I hope this self-denial will be permanent.

There was a time when we always had our meals in our homes and had no need to eat or drink anything outside. Nowadays, we generally eat outside. In consequence, we do not get good food to eat, and it is dear. In this way, we make things dear for the poor.

Personally, I know of no virtue in tea. Moreover, the tea made in shops is boiled and, therefore, harmful. The most beneficial result of this movement, however, is that the consumption of milk has been reduced and its price has come down. If the people exercise sufficient care, they can have [the consumption and price of] milk under control and it may then be possible for the poor to have milk and ghee, things which they can now only dream of.

However, it is one thing to bring about the closure of tea-stalls through the force of public opinion and quite another to seek to do so through coercion. The attempts being made in Bombay to get them closed forcibly seem dreadful to me at any rate. I have even addressed a letter[1] on this subject to the newspapers there. I invite readers' attention to this letter. I would rather that the tea-stalls remained open than that they should be forced to close down. The right way to see them closed down is to dissuade the visitors, and not to coerce the owners. It has pained me all the more to see my name used in this movement. I can never associate myself with violence in any form whatever. To me, violence is a denial of dharma. I would not like to have even the best thing done under compulsion. Even swaraj I would not have through violence. How, then, can I desire to have tea-stalls closed under threat of force?

The most important reform, however, which people can bring about is to see that drinking liquor is given up. If the people as a whole take up this work, they can get wine-shops closed. Not, of course, by trying to persuade the owners of the shops. I think it impossible to win over the owners. But I do not think it should be difficult to persuade the wine addict of the evils of drinking and influence his mind. Tea weakens one's digestion and wine destroys the soul. In the wake of drinking follow insanity, adultery,

[1] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Closure of Tea-stalls", before 31-10-1920.

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gambling, etc. It depraves the mind and hardens the heart with cruelty. I am convinced that wine-drinking has depraved the West. It is because of this that they do not shrink from wickedness and regard sin as virtue. If, therefore, we can rescue people in Gujarat from the evil habit of drinking, we shall have, as it were, got them out of a prison. It is universally acknowledged that wine is not at all necessary for man. Who does not know that a drunken man is incapable of self-control? I hope, therefore, that a movement will be started for rescuing wine addicts, courteously, without using any force against them and entirely through persuasion, from the evil habit of drinking.

To be sure, there are difficulties in the way. It was easy to reason with tea addicts. To do so with wine addicts is more difficult. But, before public opinion everyone feels helpless. Shamed by it, if for no other reason, wine addicts will give up their evil habit.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 31-10-1920

225. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, AHMEDABAD

October 31, 1920

Wherever I go in India in the course of my tours, women bless me with their *darshan*. At every place, I meet thousands of them. Today, I shall tell you a beautiful story. By now there must be hardly any of you who has not heard of Amritsar. A few days ago I was in this very town, where there had flowed the blood of thousands of our brethren and General Dyer had killed or wounded a thousand or fifteen hundred innocent people. When I was in Amritsar, one day four women came to me early in the morning, at half past six. There, the cold is much severer than it is here. But the women felt that they ought to caution the man who, they thought, had been doing so much in their service. One of them said to me: "Brother, what you are doing is good indeed, but you do not know that our men, and the women too, in some degree, have been deceiving you." I was simply taken aback. I asked them: "Why should they deceive me? What can they hope to gain thereby?" She said: "The men are cunning. They lie to you. We have understood, of course, that you need only pure men and women to help you in your work and this is the reason why we, women, follow you everywhere, that we may be filled with your

ideals.'' The sister then used a Sanskrit word. One would not expect to hear a Sanskrit word like this from a Punjabi woman. Perhaps you also do not understand its meaning. She told me that their men were not *jitendriya*, and that the women, too, were not so to the extent I wanted them to be or believed they were. I understood from this hint what they meant. *Jitendriya* means one who has the senses under control. In other words, a man or woman who does not mind hearing evil with the ears or speaking evil with the tongue is not *jitendriya*. In this context, what is specifically meant is that a man who is not loyal to one woman, his wife, or a woman to one man, her husband, is not *jitendriya*. The sister asked me: "You want us to control our anger, but how can one who cannot restrain carnal desire restrain anger? And how can one who is unable to restrain anger make sacrifices?''

* * *

Tulsidas and the *Gita* teach that association with the wicked is to be shunned. The present rule also is a rule of the wicked, of the base. Rather than that the children be educated in the schools of this Government, it is better that they should go without education. "Who will maintain us if the son is not educated?''—such fears are unnecessary. How do they, who have no sons, maintain themselves? It is God who maintains us.

* * *

If you can make only thick *rotlas*[1] and another woman can make them thin, will you eat your thick ones or beg thin ones from the other? Wearing mill-made cloth, even Indian, is not enough for following the swadeshi dharma. By doing so, on the contrary, you will make the poor man's cloth dear for him.

* * *

There can be no happiness without suffering. It is because Rama had suffered *vanavasa* for fourteen years that he could rescue Sita; it is because Nala went through so much suffering that his name became immortal; it is because Harishchandra, Queen Taramati and Rohit[2] suffered so much that their truthfulness shone like the sun and its brightness filled the world. Do not, therefore, be afraid of suffering; instead of feeling ashamed of thick saris, use cloth woven with yarn spun by your own hands.

Again, it is necessary to have God's name constantly on one's lips, but repeating *Ramanama*[3] parrot-like will not bring you *moksha*.

[1] Unleavened bread of *bajra* or *jowar* flour
[2] Son of Harishchandra
[3] Sacred name of Rama

If you have Rama in your heart, you will feel compassion and, with compassion in your heart, you will not behave so as to hurt others. I tell you that, if you do not wear hand-spun, hand-woven cloth, thousands of women will have to go without clothes or have only rags to wear. Even today, I can show you thousands of Damayantis[1] in the country. I once suggested to a woman that she should bathe regularly. She replied that she would do so if I gave her another garment to change into. Such is the miserable plight of the country today.

* * *

To secure swaraj, to start new schools—this requires money and I cannot collect it from a tree. When I started this begging in Dakor, one woman who made her living by working a quern parted with her ring to me. Two or three other women gave me rings, necklaces, etc. One friend took off his gold wristlet. It was his faith, he said that anyone who gave a pice would get two in return.

* * *

This is *Kaliyuga*. Falsehood reigns everywhere. I would be very happy if I could carry on without begging; I would then never beg. I or my co-workers are not likely to put the money to wrong use. Nevertheless, give something only if you are convinced of what I say.

* * *

The *Diwali* festival celebrates Rama's success in rescuing Sita. So long as we are unable to achieve another victory like Rama's against Ravana, we have no right to enjoy ourselves, to dress ourselves in finery, to indulge the palate or fire crackers.

* * *

This money[2] is more sacred than gifts of millions by the rich. In everyone of these copper coins is the soul of one sister in Ahmedabad; she has poured forth with it her love of the country. With this sacred money, I shall educate the children in this country. With such sacred gifts, I shall have my swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-11-1920

[1] Nala's wife. The husband and wife were reduced to such straits that they had to go covered with a single garment between them.

[2] Small change donated by the people in response to Gandhiji's appeal

226. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

Monday [*October, 1920*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter.

Pay Jugatram Rs. 40. I forgot to tell you about this. His salary is no longer being charged to *Navajivan*. From now on, it will have to be paid from the school.

Tulsidas Karani's[1] contribution has been traced. It was not for Orissa though. It was for Shantiniketan. I have written to him, all the same, to make sure. I have sent the sum to Shantiniketan, of course.

Blessing from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7328

227. TELEGRAM TO MAHOMED ALI

EXPRESS [Before *November 1, 1920*][2]

MAULANA MAHOMED ALI
ALIGARH

WIRE FULLY POSITION COLLEGE HAVE YOU NOT VACATED COLLEGE PRECINCTS. WIRE EXPRESS NADIAD.
GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 7360

[1] Of Mangrol
[2] Gandhiji was at Nadiad on November 1.

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228. TELEGRAM TO SIR AKBAR HAIDARI[1]

ORDINARY [Before *November 1, 1920*][2]

HAIDARI
TRUSTEE
ALIGARH

UNTHINKABLE MAHOMEDALI REFUSING VACATE PROMISE SHALL CERTAINLY BE FULFILLED.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 7360

229. SPEECH AT MEHMEDABAD

November 1, 1920

I should like to talk to you about a great many things today, but I do not wish to hold forth for long. India is passing through a difficult period. I can hardly describe the sad plight of the country. I have just said, at a women's meeting,[3] that the present Government is a Satanic Government, a *Ravanarajya* possessed by a Satanic spirit. We have two outstanding instances of this: that of the Punjab and of the Khilafat. About the Khilafat, promises have not been kept; there has been double-crossing; in the Punjab, there has been a senseless massacre. He alone who is imbued with a demoniac spirit, a Satanic spirit, would act in such a manner. Tulsidas has described such a government as a demoniac government. Co-operation with such a government is not possible, indeed it is one's duty, one's dharma, to withhold co-operation from it. Should we take help from such a government or accept favours from it, we would be a party to its acts of injustice and its sins. So long as we share in its sin, the people cannot be happy.

What can we do to carry out non-co-operation? One way is for all of us to co-operate with one another. There should be the utmost co-operation among all Indians—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and others. A demon can govern only by

[1] 1869-1940; one of the trustees of Aligarh University

[2] *Vide* the preceding item. The two telegrams appear to have been sent about the same time.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Women's Meeting, Dakor", 27-10-1920.

setting his subjects against one another. This is what our Government has actually done. It has set Hindus and Muslims against each other and, in the Madras Presidency, Brahmins and non-Brahmins against each other. If it could have its way, it would create trouble here as well. I have already received a few letters. Some *Dheds* and *Bhangis* have asked me where they stand in the non-co-operation movement. I see their point and tell you that non-co-operation is not feasible without unity amongst us. Unity cannot be achieved through hypocrisy. Unless we are just to one another, there can be no unity.

For this we must have the strength to make sacrifices, the strength to subordinate self-interest; we should be able to lay down our lives. We shall not get swaraj by killing people, setting fire to houses, or removing railway tracks. To be able to win swaraj, we should become pure, and to be pure is to be self-controlled.

We shall not be able to carry on our work so long as we do not eliminate fraud and dishonesty from us. The attempt to stop the slaughter of a goat in Ahmedabad is a recent example of what I mean. A wicked moulvi went about misleading the people there. He conducted meetings which went on till midnight. He declared that he was there on behalf of Gandhi and had stayed on at Gandhi's request. He incited the people by making tendentious statements in his speeches; he was joined by a sadhu. He thought that he would ascend to heaven by saving the goat. The sadhu got the moulvi to support him and the latter, by intimidating the butcher, prevented the killing of the goat. But this incident sowed the seed of a dispute between the Hindus and the Muslims. Some Hindus believe in the sacrificial offering of a goat to the Goddess. Those who share my view do not believe in it. If an offering has to be made, it should be of one's own body. But I would certainly not ask Maulana Shaukat Ali to take sides in this internal dispute of the Hindus. The cowardly Hindus, however, brought the moulvi along. He came, and with the help of his drum-beating retinue rescued the goat. That sadhu then came and saw me. I asked him to cast off his sadhu's robes. I asked the moulvi to leave Ahmedabad and told him that he could not serve the country in this way. Shall we, who do not seek even to replace this Government by force, seek anything by using force against our own countrymen? What would be the outcome of such an attempt? The outcome would have been fine indeed(!) were it not that the Collector of Ahmedabad was a good man and did not permit the slaughter of the goat. Otherwise, the Government could as well send its police and arrange for the slaughter of

the goat under its protection. Such things would make our non-co-operation ineffective. I sent for the moulvi and told him this. We could not function effectively [I told him], if such methods came to be introduced in our work. When I asked him not to leave his province or his sphere of work, he said that he was under pressure from the Hindus to do what he did. Is it possible that we should be overwhelmed by two hundred cowards? If two hundred cowards can do this, what may not one white man do? What was expected did actually take place. When the Collector sent for the moulvi he was frightened and sought [mill-]workers' protection, so that the Government, afraid of the trouble that they might create, would not touch him. One who is really sincere about going to jail should rather dissuade others from violence.

If you resort to violence or arson or remove railway tracks in case Maulana Shaukat Ali or I am arrested, you will lose the game. I give you this advice as you are not Arabs. You do not even know the use of a stick. Do not think that you do because you use it on your wife or on a donkey. A man who can really wield a stick can hold his own against thousands. But you cannot do so and, therefore, mine is the right advice to you.

We have forgotten that we are lions and have become lambs. If, therefore, we try to follow the example of the Irish or the Egyptians and behave like lions, we shall invite hell when the Government puts forth its full might—and it is not wrong to do so. If I were in charge of the Government, I too would arrest people. It is the duty of a Government which wishes to maintain its authority to put under arrest those who oppose it. When the Government puts forth its full might, you will be lost if you take to violence. You are cowards if you try to frighten the Government in this manner. If our aim is to make India free, we should be lions.

You six thousand people are in danger at present. What would you do with a municipality? It is a white elephant which the Government has imposed on you. An expenditure of twelve thousand rupees for a population of six thousand! You must wind up such a municipality. It does not serve you in any way. It provides education, but we must boycott that education. How can we receive alms from the unworthy? I need funds for a *vidyapith*[1], but should I run it by begging from harlots? Should I run it with profits from liquor shops?

[1] Evidently the Gujarat Vidyapith, which was established some time in October; *vide* footnote 1, "Inaugural Speech at Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, Ahmedabad", 15-11-1920.

I tell you that the money for our education comes from liquor shops. When we demand that the excise department be closed down, we are told that but for the revenue received by this department our schools will have to be closed down. Those—lawyers, barristers and scholars—who have been educated with the help of money obtained through the sale of liquor, of what service can they be to the country?

I congratulate your boys on having boycotted Government schools. You should educate these boys and girls at your own expense. Ask the teachers to resign their posts and make a start this very day. Give up the use of Government buildings and start the schools in your own buildings. This is the alternative to the education provided by the municipality. The other things it provides are lavatories and street lights. These are in a deplorable condition. The municipality affords you no protection as the police is not under its control. The municipal roads are a cloud of dust. So, apart from providing education, the municipality does nothing important. It runs a dispensary; but, then, there are three private dispensaries. So leave its dispensary to itself. The long and short of it is that we have no use for the municipality. It is like an idol, merely to be worshipped. All nine hundred of you, rate-payers, should get together and pass a resolution that this municipality should be wound up. Say that you do not want the sanitary board nor the village panchayat. Serve notice to the members to resign their seats.

Inform the Government that you will not pay the municipal taxes. This does not involve disobedience of law or disrespect for authority. The Government can have no cause for complaint, since you do not avail yourselves of its services. You can resist it, though it will threaten you for some time. Should you try and resist it, it will attach your property. Let it auction away your property. A population of six thousand can even vacate a whole town. Whom, then, will the municipality serve? The Government is not so insane as to go to that length. I speak against it, but I know it has some sanity; if it did not show such wisdom, it would have to quit the country this very day. But the Government has no intention of winding up the Empire.

You must have unity among yourselves if you wish to succeed in this. There are sure to be some who will oppose you. You should tell them politely and respectfully : "You hold the place of pride amongst us. We merely request you to bow to the wishes of the majority." Even if this does not succeed, we may at least request them not to put a spoke in our wheel. What will two

to five hundred of them gain by setting themselves against six thousand? This is my advice to you, provided you Hindus and Muslims can remain united.

I have already mentioned two conditions for success in our task. The first condition is forbearance or non-violence. Even assuming that this is the virtue of the weak, so long as you do not possess the strength to wield a sword, there is no other way which can be shown to you. The second condition is that there should be unity among Hindus and Muslims—among all the communities in the country. You can adopt non-co-operation only if you fulfil these two conditions. As the first step in non-co-operation, you should withdraw your children from Government schools and refuse to send your representatives to legislatures. If you do this, swaraj will be yours.

Besides, have no fear of the police or of Government servants. We bear them no ill will; rather, we have to win them over with love and affection. You have, therefore, nothing to fear.

There are two more things to be mentioned. You get your cloth from Ahmedabad. Beautiful cloth was woven in Mehmedabad in the past. But there is no one left who follows that occupation. If you but make up your mind, there is little that six thousand of you cannot accomplish. Why do you require mill-made cloth? Your homes can become your cotton-mills. If you do not get your food from hotels, why do you get cloth from elsewhere?

The textile mills of Sheth Mangaldas or Mr. Tata[1] will not shut down if you do not purchase their cloth. That cloth is for the poor. You should not rob them of what they cannot live without. The other alternative is to use foreign cloth. But that you should not even think of. We should not use cloth which belongs to others. It is as sinful to cast covetous glances at imported cloth as it is for a man to cast lustful glances at another's wife. We cannot free ourselves from the clutches of that Empire so long as we are dependent on it for our cloth. It is as sinful to use Japanese cloth as to use British cloth, because it is in British ships that Japanese goods come to this country. The Empire has us in its grip on every side. I, therefore, advise you to open a new chapter in your history. Though it may be difficult for a population of crores, so far as your town is concerned you can become self-sufficient. You do not have to get food from outside. There can be no shortage of foodgrains in Kheda district. But even your cloth you must produce here; nay, you should produce more than you need and send it out to

[1] Sir Dorabji Tata (1859-1932), mill-owner of Bombay

nearby places. It will not be difficult, then, to collect twelve thousand rupees to run your municipality.

Let me now turn to the subject of money. We shall certainly need money for all our tasks. But my greatest difficulty is in raising funds. I have become nervous because I get dishonest workers to collect funds. The need for funds, however, remains. So, in sheer helplessness, I hold out my hand for contributions. I do not wish to carry on this work with help from millionaires only. I shall accept a gift even from a *Bhangi*. A small contribution of even a pice offered with goodwill is as welcome as a large contribution of a hundred thousand rupees. The rings and other jewellery given to me by young girls are very dear to me, since they give them with the thought of God in their mind. This is a thousand times better than my getting money from them by flattery. Whatever you contribute here, do so not in front of me but with God alone as your witness.

We shall make progress in this work of raising funds only if volunteers who are entrusted with it realize that they hold public money in trust. The people are unsuspecting. They trust anyone who approaches them on my behalf. A certain dishonest woman, calling herself my daughter, collected funds in Dwarka[1]. She has now gone to Hyderabad[2], where she has been given a cordial reception. I cannot bear to see my name used for misleading the public. We have before us the example of the Ahmedabad moulvi. He, too, had exploited my name. So I expect each one of you to be upright. I am ready to fall at the feet of those of you who work honestly. There will always be evil in the world, but let it not corrupt the masses. If it does, it will be my hanging and, though I am not afraid of being sent to the gallows by the Government, the thought of this other hanging frightens me to death. Collect money, therefore, with God as your witness.

I ask the people not to hand over their contributions to anyone, even to an emperor, no matter in whose name the person approaches you. I intend to issue credentials on behalf of the Khilafat Committee and the Swarajya Sabha, stamped with their respective seals. Do not heed anyone who cannot produce such authorization. Give him nothing. Turn him out immediately. We want to have the control of our Government in our hands; if so, we shall have to learn to be strict so that we may run it properly.

[1] In Saurashtra
[2] In Sind

You are not truly free if you give up slavery to the British only to become my slaves. I wish to win over your mind and your heart; I do not wish to make slaves of you, since I do not wish to become a slave myself.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-11-1920

230. TALK WITH MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS, NADIAD

November 1, 1920

You can be free not only in regard to education but every other matter.[1] Take the Municipality in your hands and collect the taxes yourselves. The Government will certainly use pressure for a while and try to collect the taxes itself, but the rate-payers should refuse to pay and take the consequences.

* * *

We ask to have swaraj today; we should, then, be ready this very day to manage our affairs. You can explain all this to the rate-payers and, if they are not ready to refuse to pay the taxes [to the Government], you can employ non-co-operation against them as you do against the Government. You can tell them that, if they do not agree, they cannot ask you to look after their affairs. The leaders' duty is to lead the people, not to be led by them. You should also make it plain to them that not paying the taxes to the Government does not mean that they will escape paying. They will have to pay the money needed for managing their affairs. In this arrangement, however, they will not get, as they get from the Government, a return worth one rupee against ten rupees which they pay. Here, they will get two pice against every pice paid. But pay they will have to.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1920

[1] The Collector of Kaira had informed the Municipality that, even if it refused to avail itself of education grants from the Government, it would not be free from Government control.

231. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, NADIAD

November 1, 1920

At this time, when it is necessary for all communities to unite in this great struggle, no quarrels should arise between different sections of the Hindus or the Muslims because of tendentious speeches made by some irresponsible or wicked persons. To prevent this, I hope, the Swarajya Sabha and the Khilafat Committee will issue notices to the effect that no one should make speeches unless authorized by them. You are at liberty to listen to anyone who wishes to make a speech before you, but you will have known at any rate that the person does not represent any organization. The Government we wish to fight is a mighty organization. Not one of its men either speaks or acts without orders from his superiors. We should develop such discipline.

Hindus and Muslims should be united and be sincere with one another if we wish to get swaraj. Should a Muslim say something in an unguarded moment, the Hindus should overlook it. Similarly, Muslims in their turn should excuse something said carelessly by a Hindu.

You must silently carry on your work in the event of the arrest of myself, Maulana Shaukat Ali or Maulana Abdul Bari. You cannot even call a hartal, for that would mean that we had lost our cause. Why should you wish to get us released? I told Zafar Ali, who has been arrested, that we would not appeal on his behalf but would get him released by winning swaraj. Should you want me and others to be released, think of taking the four steps of non-co-operation[1]. I would certainly put Gandhi under arrest if I were the Government and knew that the people depended entirely on him in their fight.

You will win no respect if you are without courage yourselves. In our absence, start doing what you are not doing today.

* * *

Give your contributions to volunteers after making sure that they are men of integrity. This is a movement not of millionaires but of the poor. Should thirty crores of people contribute no more than a pice each, even then we would have five million rupees and could provide free education. The contribution I ask from you is

[1] *Vide* "Speech on Non-co-operation, Madras", 13-8-1920.

not by way of a gift. It is in your own interest to give me money, for if you contribute a pice it will bring in twice as much in return.

* * *

Little girls of eight to sixteen took out their rings and necklaces and gave them to me.[1] They will not ask their parents to replace these ornaments. What use have they for ornaments? India is in a state of helpless widowhood. Where are the men in the country to give her the status of mistress of the house? That good fortune will be hers when such men arise and the women will then be able to adorn themselves.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1920

232. *MESSAGE TO STUDENTS OF WILSON COLLEGE, BOMBAY*

[Before *November 2, 1920*]

I understand that the Wilson College students are agitated with the question whether they should leave the College or not. I wish I could be of some help in enabling them to solve the question.

If we may not receive education through the patronage or under the influence of those who have robbed us of our wealth, we may not receive it from a Government that has robbed us of our honour and has conclusively proved untrustworthy. This Government of ours has humiliated us through the black record in the Punjab. It, i.e., the Imperial part of it, has violated a solemn pledge given through the Prime Minister to India in general and to the Mussulmans in particular. And yet it not only shows no signs of repentance but even insolently seeks to defend its conduct both regarding the Khilafat and the Punjab. I hold it to be a sin to receive any favours through it and I have therefore no hesitation in saying that it is sinful for us to receive education in schools and colleges conducted by or through it. It is better to be without such education or even to suspend it till we have received redresses.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-11-1920; also from a photostat : S.N. 7315

[1] At the women's meeting in Ahmedabad on October 31, 1920

233. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BROACH

November 2, 1920

There is a war on at present between *Ravanarajya* and *Ramarajya*. It is a war between God and Satan, conflict between evil people and good people. I see that this Government is possessed with a Satanic spirit. I have been spreading this idea ever since I awoke to the truth. I believe that the British Government is Satanic, has the nature of a demon. All religions—those of the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and all others—enjoin that we conquer *adharma*[1] with dharma. This means that we should desist from assisting *adharma*. One could cite examples of such conduct from the Muslim scriptures. In the Parsi scriptures there is an everlasting war between Ormuzd and Ahriman. The *Gita*, speaks of this very same conflict. For us, today, there is no dharma except non-co-operation. If, however, you feel that you can still get something out of the British Government, that it is not sinful, cling to it by all means. I do not wish to say that the British are evil. But the system they have created, the roots of evil that they have planted, are doing harm to the country. There are, in this Government, good Viceroys such as Lord Hardinge and Lord Ripon, and officers like Mr. Chatfield, the kind-hearted and noble Collector of Ahmedabad; yet they, too, work under a Satanic system and only further its purposes. My own father was in the service of an Indian State. The ruler of this State was an unworthy man. I asked him why he did not give up the service of such a ruler. He replied that we had been indebted to him for our livelihood. My father would not be ungrateful and our entire family continued to live supported by a ruler wholly engrossed in the gratification of his desires, in drinking and meat-eating. I say this before the whole of India—that for us there is no other dharma. However virtuous a man may be, he cannot but be affected by association with this system. Hence it is that a difference of opinion has arisen between me and Shri Shastriar and Pandit Malaviya, for both of whom I feel great reverence and whose close friendship I value and for whom, even now, I have great regard. They believe that there is an element of goodness in this Government, I believe that it is a sinful one. Malaviyaji is like an elder

[1] Opposite of dharma

brother to me and I respect Shri Shastriar, but I must fight against them. The Congress has already shown what to do for non-co-operation, and so have the Muslim League and the Sikh League.

There are two conditions for our being able to carry on non-co-operation. One of them is unity between Hindus and Muslims. By Hindu-Muslim unity I mean unity among all religious communities. I mention Hindus and Muslims as a widely-known example. For many centuries these two communities have distrusted each other and, therefore, so long as the Hindus and Muslims do not settle their differences, we shall not win. In the same way, we should win over Parsis and others through love. We could reduce them to submission by Satanic methods like murder, but then we would have to destroy eighty thousand Parsis. We would do best, rather, to win them over only with affection. Nor shall we attain independence if Hindus or Muslims try to suppress the Sikhs. Even the Jains have been claiming of late that they are not Hindus; should we on that ground destroy them? The strength of one who is strong lies not in his being able to crush his opponent through pride, but in his ability to win him over through love. So our primary task is to maintain unity among the various religious communities.

Our second requirement is the power of organizing. Non-co-operation will not be possible until we develop this capacity.

The other thing needed is compassion. We should not even think of murder. Even if, instead of being compassionate, you take to cruel methods, you will not succeed in your aim. Should you draw the sword, it will be broken into pieces. You should be welcome to draw the sword if you could rescue your country thereby; that, however, is not possible. Do not utter a single word against the Government; do not abuse it any more. Give a patient hearing to those who favour co-operation with the Government, but stick to your denial. Non-co-operation is aptly described by the saying—"A firm denial will prevent a hundred mischiefs."

In order to ensure the success of non-co-operation, you have to make two great sacrifices. The first is in regard to education. Education has become the biggest problem in India today. The second sacrifice is to be made through the boycott of legislatures. To this day it is only the people—the common men and women—who have participated in the non-co-operation movement. The privileged classes have taken no part at all. If we wish to make them join this movement, we can do so provided we are strong enough. We could send them a notice, signed by all of us, stating that we do not want them to enter legislatures to represent

us and then they will not be able to do so. Why should parents, students and teachers be perplexed about education? The growing generation must emerge from slavery. It is the duty of elders to see that they do. Parents and teachers should do everything in their power to help the young to be free. See that the cause of education is not held up even for a moment for lack of funds. Some of you may ask, "What if the Government passes a law to create difficulties in our way?" As this is a meaningless question, I do not wish to say a word about it. If you feel that anyone can restrict our freedom of action in this manner, you should be courageous and fearless and come out of Government schools. Teach as many boys, girls and youths as you can and forget the rest.

Let us now turn to swadeshi. It is my faith that swadeshi means swaraj. Mr. Chintamani once said of me that swadeshi is nearer to my heart than swaraj or the Khilafat. Swadeshi is indeed dear to me. Will not the Khilafat question, once we have won, cease to exist? But swadeshi is for all time. It is a dharma inseparable from the fact of one's physical existence, something that is unalterable. Swaraj would be ours today if we but followed swadeshi uncompromisingly for a single day. Some wise men have suggested to me that we should see to it that Lancashire was ruined. But this is not an easy task. We have neither the desire nor the strength for boycott. Had we this strength, I would not be deterred from boycott through fear, just as I would not fear to use weapons. If, without boycott, India were to be altogether impoverished, I might approve of it. I would never accept again what I have once renounced. One cannot associate with a drunkard or a sinner even for a single moment. Co-operation would be possible only when the drunkard gave up drinking. India would have freedom today and the Khilafat problem would be justly solved if the country accepted this immutable principle. I have not been able to persuade Muslims to take to khadi. I have been unable to make fakirs of them. Nor have I been able to convert Hindus to my views. It is because of this that we have not succeeded in securing justice on the Khilafat issue. Even in the Punjab, all this bemoaning has been of no avail. We should resolve in our minds to forbid ourselves the use of foreign cloth. To the women, I say humbly that the success of swadeshi is in your hands. It is your dharma to spin. You should set an example to the men. Mothers can hardly complain about the weight of khadi. How can a mother, who is cheerfully prepared to carry for nine months the burden of pregnancy, say that she cannot bear an added weight of a seer? A woman could say this only if she

would prefer to remain childless. But so long as women have no desire to remain childless, would rather like to be mothers of brave boys and girls, I would not hear such talk from them. I fail to understand how you can use saris made in the mills of Japan, China, England or France at a time when men and women in your country go naked.

Funds are needed for the work which has been started. This country has so much faith in religion that even fraudulent persons are able to collect funds. If you can raise money for your temples, mosques and your public rest-houses, why should you not be able to raise it for temples which are purer than these—the temples of learning? It is not for want of funds that India lacks anything. What we require is the capacity for *tapascharya* and renunciation. The meaning of renunciation will be clear to the Hindus. The Shastras say that jewels will pile up before one who has taken the vow not to hoard things beyond his immediate needs. My own experience has been similar. Even in a country as poor as Africa, the struggle was not held up for lack of funds. On the contrary, I had to write to Gokhale asking him not to send any more funds. The public poured forth money at the time of the Kheda and Champaran agitations also. I stopped them. The workers in Ahmedabad did not seek a pice from outside even when they had recourse to an extreme form of non-co-operation for 23 days. If the attitude of renunciation is present, money will pour forth of itself.

Crores of rupees are lying idle in the *Vaishnava*, Jain and *Swaminarayana*[1] temples; even with a small portion of this sum, you could run your entire department of education. We do not, however, wish to do what the Government does, throwing away money and setting up a new department in a matter of a few minutes. Our work should take into account the poverty of India. A magic mango could be grown within seconds, but its fruit cannot be enjoyed. It takes twenty years for a real mango tree to grow. If, therefore, anyone offers you a crore of rupees for national education, I would advise you to reject it. The professors of Khalsa College were told to join non-co-operation only if I gave them a grant of a crore of rupees. The professors replied that they did not wish to be my slaves after they had ceased to be the Government's slaves. They said they would go from door to door begging from the Sikhs. These professors have informed the College authorities that, if the Government control did not go, they would go

[1] A *Vaishnava* sect, founded by Swami Sahajananda (1781-1830)

forth as beggars to impart national education to the country's youth.

If you have faith in the cause, do not hold back, but contribute your mite. These funds will not be used for your own town only. The money will also be used for the Gujarat Vidyapith which has been founded in Ahmedabad. I wish to set [through it] an example to the citizens of Broach.

If you carry out non-co-operation in this manner, you will have swaraj within a year.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1920

234. SPEECH AT OPENING OF LOKAMANYA NATIONAL SCHOOL, ANKLESHWAR

November 2, 1920

Make your school worthy of the revered figure after whom it has been named. Swaraj could hardly be dearer to anyone than it was to the Lokamanya. We shall be justified in having associated the name of the Lokamanya with this school only if its purpose is to take us nearer swaraj. If I tell parents, students and teachers that the Government schools be abandoned, it is not because the education they provide is of a poor quality. The spirit I wish to create in you has no bearing on the problem of the quality of education. There is, of course, need for improvement in the education imparted in the Government schools, but the task on hand cannot be postponed till this is brought about.

We have been at the service of Government schools for fifty years and have derived some benefit, too, from them. Today, these schools are out of bounds for us, though the reason for this is something different. The flag that flies over the schools today is the flag of a Satanic Government. That Government has broken the hearts of seven crores of Muslims, has, through the Punjab, committed terrible atrocities on the whole of India. The scriptures of all religions say with one voice that it is sinful to live under an irreligious king, that to do so is as good as embracing evil and being a party to it. Run away from these schools even if, by attending them, you earn some money and even if they teach the Koran, the Zend-Avesta, or the *Gita*. If they do this, their motive will be evil. We do not, therefore, wish to make slaves of our children by getting them educated in those

schools over which flies this Satanic flag. Those who have understood this will not let their children remain in Government schools even for a day longer. They will first take them away and make alternative arrangements for their education afterwards. If our house were to catch fire, we would not stay on in it, while it was burning, till we had found a better dwelling place. We would jump out of it immediately, even if there was a moat underneath. If we do not cultivate such a spirit, we shall not succeed in our educational movement, for the Government's men—spies—will always be there to tempt us and speak to us of the high quality of the education in the schools they served, of their beautiful buildings and of education there being free. But so long as the spirit does not come to prevail among the people that, despite all this, the education imparted in these schools is totally unacceptable to us, our movement will make no progress.

I pray to the parents not to let their children remain in slavery. Your first duty is to withdraw your children from Government schools. Having done so, we must not let them roam about in the streets. And so your second task is to give all you have and make arrangements for providing national education. If we have no capacity for this, we shall not get swaraj. To manage swaraj, that is, our own government, does require capacity.

As the second condition for the success of national education we need teachers of good character. I congratulate the head master and other teachers of this high school who have made a sacrifice for the sake of their dharma and their country, and I ask of them that in their work henceforth they show the same spirit which has prompted their self-sacrifice. Once you are absorbed in your work, money will come in of itself. Your executive committee will be able to raise funds with ease. Even if they have nothing else than clean ground to sit on, the boys of national schools will be able to hold their own against other boys and, if their teachers are men of character, will acquire a greater spirit of manliness than the pupils of the more pretentious Government schools. Today, the men have lost their manhood, the women their womanhood. They have not the strength to raise a manly nation. I forbid them to give birth to slaves. If true men are born, they would refuse to be educated in those schools which, by their teaching, make slaves of them. If only parents refuse to send their children to receive the education which makes slaves of them, national schools will undoubtedly shine out in comparison with other schools.

My advice to the executive committee is that it should not at all be impatient. Entreat the parents, but do not use harsh

words with them. It is difficult to win them over with persuasion. Do not assume that everyone's eyes will open and they will see things as we see them. This new wind has been blowing only for some time now and, if we are not patient, we shall achieve nothing.

I have heard that the wealthy Parsis of Ankleshwar are opposed to non-co-operation. India is the land of the Parsis as much as it is of the Hindus and Muslims. Was Dadabhai Naoroji not an Indian? Was Sir Pherozeshah also not an Indian? Parsis should feel as much for the country as the others do. We shall reason with the Parsis, fall at their feet and beg money from them. We shall bow to them if they send their children to our schools, and bow to them even if they do not do so. We shall in this way show them that they should also make their contribution in this great struggle that is going on in India. Win the Parsi brethren over with love. Tell them that it is your dharma to explain their duty to them.

The surest key to the successful working of national schools lies in avoiding all show and publicity. There will be no question, then, of our having failed in our aims. A beautiful piece of brick masonry cannot be put up in haste. One can be quick in destroying things. The work of weeding out a field with a sickle can be completed within a day, but the sowing cannot be done in such haste. We can get a school vacated in a day, but a great deal of patience is required where something new is to be started. If good teachers are not available, do not, out of impatience, employ men without character. If we do not swerve from the truth, if we are not impatient, then we shall be able to get twelve hundred students instead of the hundred and twenty who have enrolled themselves today. It is not enough, either, that you get everyone of the students at present attending Government schools. All children do not attend these schools. There should be no boy or girl in a village to whom we are not able to give an education such as would build the finest character.

This school is being started with the sole object of securing justice on the Punjab and the Khilafat issues and of winning swaraj, and you must make it worthy of the great man as a tribute to whom you have embarked on this task and to perpetuate whose memory you are establishing it. May God grant wisdom to parents, pupils and teachers.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1920

235. TO THE PARENTS OF ALIGARH BOYS

GENTLEMEN,

I know that the best of my friends are bewildered at many of my doings at the present moment, not the least among which is my advice to the youth of the country. I do not wonder at their bewilderment. I have undergone a complete transformation in my attitude towards the system of Government under which we are labouring. To me it is Satanic even as was the system under Ravana's rule according to the scriptures of my religion. But my friends are not so convinced as I am of the supreme necessity of ending this rule, unless the system undergoes a radical change and there is definite repentance on the part of the rulers.

I share too your concern about your boys who are learning at Aligarh. You will believe me when I tell you that I do not wish to hurt your feelings. I am, myself, the father of four boys whom I have brought up to the best of my lights. I have been an extremely obedient son to my parents, and an equally obedient pupil to my teachers. I know the value of filial duty. But I count duty to God above all these. And in my opinion, the time has come for every young man and young woman in this country to make their choice between duty to God and duty to others. I claim to know the youth of our country in a fairly intimate manner. I know that in the majority of cases the youth of our country have the determining of their higher education in their own hands. I know cases in which parents find it difficult to wean their children from what to them (the parents) appears to be the infatuation of their children about higher education. I am convinced that I am doing no violence to the feelings of parents when I address our young men and ask them to leave their schools or colleges even in spite of their parents. You will not be astonished to learn that, of the parents of hundreds of boys who have left schools or colleges, I have received only one protest and that from a Government servant whose boys have left their college. The protest is based on the ground that they were not even consulted before their boys decided to leave their college. In fact my advice to the boys was even to discuss with their parents the question of leaving before arriving at a decision.

I have myself appealed to thousands of parents at scores of meetings at which hardly a parent has objected to the proposition

of leaving Government-controlled schools. Indeed they have with wonderful unanimity passed resolutions on non-co-operation including the item on schools. I therefore take leave to think that the parents of the Aligarh boys are no less convinced than the others of the necessity of withdrawing their children from schools and colleges supported or controlled by a Government that has participated in betraying the Mussulmans of India and has wantonly humiliated the nation through its barbarous treatment of the Punjab.

I hope you know that I am as eager as any that our boys' education should not be neglected. But I am certainly more eager that their education is received through clean hands. I hold it to be unmanly for us to continue to receive grants for our education from a Government which we heartily dislike. In my humble opinion that would be even dishonourable and disloyal.

Is it not better that our children should receive their education in a free atmosphere, even though it may be given in humble cottages or in the shade of trees and under teachers who, being themselves free, would breathe into our children the spirit of freedom? I wish you could realize that the destiny of our beloved land lies not in us, the parents, but in our children. Shall we not free them from the curse of slavery which has made us crawl on our bellies? Being weak, we may not have the strength or the will even to throw off the yoke. But shall we not have the wisdom not to leave the cursed inheritance to our children?

They can lose nothing by pursuing their studies as free lads and lasses. Surely they do not need Government university degrees. And if we could but get rid of the love of Government degrees for our boys the question of finding money for their education is in reality simple. For a week's self-denial by the nation will provide for the education of its school-going children for one year. Our existing religious and charitable Hindu and Muslim funds can support our education without even a week of self-denial. The present effort is no more than an attempt to take a referendum of our capacity to govern ourselves and to protect our religions and our honour.

I remain,
Well-wisher of the youth of India,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 3-11-1920

I have seen the repudiation by the Punjab Government of a statement made at a public meeting in Lahore that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was reported by his son to be confined in a dark small room and that, although he was an under-trial prisoner, he was given only prison food. The Government *communique* does not mention the name of the speaker at the meeting in question. I must confess that I was the speaker, and I made the statements now contradicted by the Government. I was careful. I stated the source of my information and said that if it was true, the treatment was illegal and inhuman. I am glad that the Government have repudiated all the three statements. I could have no desire further to discredit the already discredited Government of the Punjab by a single exaggerated statement. I know that the cause of India can only suffer by a single wrong statement. At the same time I must be forgiven for looking with suspicion upon all Government contradictions. I have had more than enough experience of such contradictions during the dark days in the Punjab. The majority of these contradictions were simply lies. I therefore ask the reader to reserve his opinion till Maulana Zafar Ali's son has given his explanation. He gave me the information with great deliberation and I have, and had, no reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement. I am in communication with him.

* * *

Meanwhile let the reader join me in congratulating Maulana Zafar Ali Khan in receiving his sentence of five years' transportation and Rs. 1,000 fine. Let the reader realize that he has had this sentence for holding opinions. I have already analysed[1] the indictment in these pages. Thus has repression begun in the Punjab. There is also the seditious meetings prohibition. The strong speeches are strong if calling a spade a spade be strong—if a demand for full independence in case the Government do not repent, be strong.

* * *

Only, this repression need not worry us. It should strengthen our resolve to throw off a yoke which is intended to humiliate us and keep us in perpetual servility. The one indispensable condition

[1] *Vide*, "Repression in the Punjab", 29-9-1920.

of success is that we must not on any account lose our heads in the midst of repression. We must not retaliate secretly or openly. We must bear the repression meekly and use it to strengthen our resolve to suspend or sever all association with the Government. To observe hartal when an innocent man is imprisoned betrays weakness—a desire not to go to gaol. But I see no gateway to liberty save the doors of His Majesty's prison. And when a single political offender is imprisoned for no fault save an expression of his opinion, we must rejoice in his suffering. The best way of emptying the gaols of political offenders is to fill them. And the best way to fill them is ceaselessly to go on enforcing non-co-operation and unhesitatingly and unequivocally to demand full swaraj with the British connection if possible, and even without it if necessary.

* * *

If the Punjab Government have been active in repressing expression of opinion, the U.P. Government have been no less so. Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment and Rs. 750 fine, or nine months more if he fails to pay the fine. More arrests are promised. On the top of this comes the suggestion that my activities must not be left unchecked. My activities must result in the attainment of swaraj within a short time, and if swaraj must be delayed, the people must be debarred from hearing or adopting my views. The Government have the right to take away my liberty so long as in their opinion my activities are harmful. It will undoubtedly be more honourable to deal with me than with my co-workers. They cannot distinguish between my activity and that of my co-workers. Both are absolutely peaceful. We are concerned merely in spreading a certain class of opinions which if carried out can never result in violence. And only a tyrannical Government endeavours to suppress non-violent propaganda. So long therefore as this Government of ours persists in its denial of justice to the Khilafat and the Punjab, so long must it resort to repression—the only means available to a tyrant when he is thwarted in his purpose.

Young India, 3-11-1920

237. THE DEPRESSED CLASSES[1]

In order to give an authoritative reply the letter was referred to the Senate which has passed a resolution to the effect that, in accordance with the constitution of the Senate, no institution that specially excluded the depressed classes could be affiliated. I had personally no doubt about the meaning of the constitution.

Young India, 3-11-1920

238. LUCKNOW SPEECHES

The recent meeting in Lucknow, held during the visit of the Ali Brothers and myself, has attracted considerable attention and resulted in the secession of Mr. Douglas, an Indian Christian barrister, from the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Douglas' reason for his decision is Maulana Abdul Bari's speech on that occasion. Mr. Douglas charges the Maulana with having called Christians Kafirs and with having practically condoned the late Mr. Willoughby's murder.

Now I was present at the meeting and had reason to listen to every word that Maulana Abdul Bari said with the greatest attention, and I must confess that the speech could not possibly provide any occasion for Mr. Douglas' secession. I deny that the Maulana Saheb either condoned the murder, or by calling Mr. Willoughby a Kafir had any intention of insulting Christians. Mr. Douglas was hardly justified in seceding. He never protested at the meeting, he never complained to me. He knew that I had great regard for the Maulana Saheb, and that I myself would have spoken out if there was any condonation of the offence in his speech, or if there was any insult meant to be offered to Christians as such. I could not associate myself with an insult to any of the great religions of the world. Moreover Mr. Douglas suspended his practice and joined non-co-operation, not merely for the sake of the Khilafat but equally for the Punjab, and he was a party to the extension of non-co-operation up to the

[1] This was in reply to Andrews' letter, which, referring to Gandhiji's article ("Depressed Classes", 27-10-1920), put the following question : "Will all national schools and colleges be open to the depressed classes?"

time of the establishment of swaraj in India. Does Mr. Douglas now not want swaraj or redress for the Punjab? And can he abandon the Khilafat movement because a moulvi however distinguished gives him offence by his speech? Surely there is something wrong and incomprehensible about Mr. Douglas' attitude. However, I must leave Mr. Douglas to clear up his position[1] and justify his secession on more reasonable grounds.

It is necessary for me to deal with the speeches themselves, and more especially the speech delivered by Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb. The difficulty of a reporter is at any time great, but when he has to take down a report in long hand, and at the same time to translate the speaker's remarks made in a tongue the reporter only half understands, the task becomes still more difficult. Such was the position which my co-worker, Mr. Mahadev Desai, occupied when he took notes of the Maulana's speech. I saw his report after it was published in the *Navajivan* and was grieved about it. I thought that a serious though innocent mistake was made by him. The report does not do justice to the Maulana and makes him say that the murderer of Mr. Willoughby was a martyr, and that he, the Maulana had accepted my word in preference to that of *Alkoran*. I consider Mr. Mahadev Desai to be one of the best and most careful of the co-workers I have the good fortune to possess. But the best of us may, in spite of the best of intentions, sometimes make mistakes.

To my recollection what Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb said was that he disliked the murder of Mr. Willoughby as much as anybody. He knew that it had damaged the Khilafat cause. He felt sure that if he had known anything of the proposed murder he would have himself intervened to prevent it. That was a position he himself could take, and understand when taken by others. But it was a different thing when he was asked, as he was by some of his friends, to condemn the murderer to *jahanam*[2]. He, as a religious man found it impossible to do so. He did not know how the murder was committed, or what were the motives actuating it. The murderer's position after death was therefore clearly a matter between him and his Maker, and it would be presumption on the part of any person to anticipate the verdict of the Deity. Mr. Willoughby belonged to the Kafir race, and had there been jehad proclaimed anyone belonging to the enemy race could have been lawfully killed by the sword of Islam.

[1] *Vide* "Mr. Douglas Replies", 17-11-1920.
[2] Hell

But they (the Mussulmans) had decided not to draw the sword and so it was not lawful for any Mussulman to take the life of any member of the enemy race. They had accepted Mr. Gandhi's advice of non-co-operation. For there was ample warrant for it in the Koran and the Prophet's own life. And so long as non-co-operation continued, he would be guided entirely by Mr. Gandhi. He was rebuked for making friends with the Hindus who were idolators. It was his conviction that it was perfectly competent for a Mussulman to prefer friendship with the Hindus, and even to refrain from killing cows, to friendship with those Kafirs who had left no stone unturned to put Islam in jeopardy.

This is the gist of the Maulana's speech. The speech was certainly bitter. Who can complain of bitterness of speech in a man of such religious devotion as Maulana Abdul Bari when he finds that his religious honour is at stake? I personally dislike the use of the word Kafir as applied to anyone, as I dislike the use by a Hindu of the word *mlechchha*[1] or *anaryas*[2] to anyone. But I refuse to quarrel with the Mussulman or the Hindu for the use of words to which they have been accustomed from their childhood. Time will certainly tend towards the discontinuance of such words as friendship between people of different professions and faiths grows. Must I refuse to acknowledge the learning or the goodness of a man like Bishop Heber[3] for calling Hindus heathens and even pitying them? "Man alone is vile"[4] was said of a whole race of mankind and is even today sung in many a Christian church. I can therefore see no warrant for Mr. Douglas' decision in the above speech.

Maulana Shaukat Ali was still more unexceptionable. He said no one could regret more than he did the murder of Mr. Willoughby. Had not Khilafat Committees sedulously tried their best to prevent violence there would certainly have been not one but many such murderers. But it was their duty for the sake of their own religion and honour to prevent them so long as they accepted non-co-operation. But he declined to identify himself with toadying resolutions regarding the murderer.

I observe too that I have been misreported. I never said that we would give notice when we intended to draw the sword. I condemned the murder with the emphasis I could command and

[1] Impure
[2] Non-Aryans
[3] Reginald Heber (1782-1826); Bishop of Calcutta
[4] For the actual lines, *vide* Vol. XIII, footnote 3 on p. 376.

said that the honour of Islam would be injured if there was any condonation of the murder of an innocent man when an assurance of safety was issued by authoritative religious bodies in Islam. I said further that my own personal religion forbade me to take the life of my enemy in any case whatsoever. But I added that I recognized that Islam, and for that matter lakhs of Hindus, believed that killing one's enemy was considered lawful under certain circumstances. And I said that when the Mussulmans of India wanted to draw the sword, they would as honourable men declare themselves in no equivocal terms and give due notice.

And I repeat what I have often said that the noblest and the most fearless among the Mussulmans (and I count Maulana Bari Saheb and the Ali Brothers as such) are trying their utmost to prevent violence. I verily believe that but for strenuous efforts of such men violence would have broken out in this land. I admit that it would have done no good to Islam or India. It would only have provided occasion for ruthless repression without doing any honour to Islam or India.

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239. THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

The belated report of the Congress Constitution Committee has now been published for general information, and opinion has been invited from all public bodies in order to assist the deliberations of the All-India Congress Committee. It is a pity that, small though the Constitution Committee was, all the members never met at any one time in spite of efforts, to have a meeting of them all. It is perhaps nobody's fault that all the members could not meet. At the same time the draft report has passed through the searching examination of all but one member, and the report represents the mature deliberations of four out of the five members. It must be stated at the same time that it does not pretend to be the unanimous opinion of the members. Rather than present a dissenting minute, a workable scheme has been brought out leaving each member free to press his own views on the several matters in which they are not quite unanimous. The most important part of the constitution, however, is the alteration of the creed. So far as I am aware there is no fundamental difference of opinion between the members. In my opinion the altered creed represents the exact feeling of the country at the present moment.

I know that the proposed alteration has been subjected to hostile criticism in several newspapers of note. But the extraordinary situation that faces the country is that popular opinion is far in advance of several newspapers which have hitherto commanded influence and have undoubtedly moulded public opinion. The fact is that the formation of opinion today is by no means confined to the educated classes, but the masses have taken it upon themselves not only to formulate opinion but to enforce it. It would be a mistake to belittle or ignore this opinion, or to ascribe it to a temporary upheaval. It would be equally a mistake to suppose that this awakening amongst the masses is due either to the activity of the Ali Brothers or myself. For the time being we have the ear of the masses because we voice their sentiments. The masses are by no means so foolish or unintelligent as we sometimes imagine. They often perceive things with their intuition, which we ourselves fail to see with our intellect. But whilst the masses know what they want, they often do not know how to express their wants and, less often, how to get what they want. Herein comes the use of leadership, and disastrous results can easily follow a bad, hasty, or what is worse, selfish lead.

The first part of the proposed creed expresses the present desire of the nation, and the second shows the way that desire can be fulfilled. In my humble opinion, the Congress creed with the proposed alteration is but an extension of the original. And so long as no break with the British connection is attempted, it is strictly within even the existing article that defines the Congress creed. The extension lies in the contemplated possibility of a break with the British connection. In my humble opinion, if India is to make unhampered progress, we must make it clear to the British people that whilst we desire to retain the British connection, if we can rise to our full height with it, we are determined to dispense with, and even to get rid of that connection, if that is necessary for full national development. I hold that it is not only derogatory to national dignity but it actually impedes national progress superstitiously to believe that our progress towards our goal is impossible without British connection. It is this superstition which makes some of the best of us tolerate the Punjab wrong and the Khilafat insult. This blind adherence to that connection makes us feel helpless. The proposed alteration in the creed enables us to rid ourselves of our helpless condition. I personally hold that it is perfectly constitutional openly to strive after independence, but lest there may be dispute as to the constitutional character of any movement for complete independence, the doubtful and highly

technical adjective "constitutional" has been removed from the altered creed in the draft. Surely it should be enough to ensure that the methods for achieving our end are legitimate, honourable, and peaceful. I believe that this was the reasoning that guided my colleagues in accepting the proposed creed. In any case, such was certainly my view of the whole alteration. There is no desire on my part to adopt any means that are subversive of law and order. I know, however, that I am treading a delicate ground when I write about law and order for, to some of our distinguished leaders even my present methods appear to be lawless and conducive to disorder. But even they will perhaps grant that the retention of the word "constitutional" cannot protect the country against methods such as I am employing. It gives rise, no doubt, to a luminous legal discussion, but any such discussion is fruitless when the nation means business. The other important alteration refers to the limitation of the number of delegates. I believe that the advantages of such a limitation are obvious. We are fast reaching a time when without any such limitation the Congress will become an unwieldy body. It is difficult even to have an unlimited number of visitors; it is impossible to transact national business if we have an unlimited number of delegates.

The next important alteration is about the election of the members of the All-India Congress Committee, making that Committee practically the Subjects Committee, and the redistribution of India for the purposes of the Congress on a linguistic basis. It is not necessary to comment on these alterations, but I wish to add that if the Congress accepts the principle of limiting the number of delegates it would be advisable to introduce the principle of proportional representation. That would enable all parties, who wish, to be represented at the Congress.

I observe that *The Servant of India* sees an inconsistency between my implied acceptance of the British Committee, so far as the published draft constitution is concerned, and my recent article[1] in *Young India* on that Committee and the newspaper *India*. But it is well known that for several years I have held my present views about the existence of that body. It would have been irrelevant for me, perhaps, to suggest to my colleagues the extinction of that Committee. It was not our function to report on the usefulness or otherwise of the Committee. We were commissioned only for preparing a new constitution. Moreover I knew

[1] *Vide* "The British Congress Committee and *India*", 20-10-1920.

that my colleagues were not averse to the existence of the British Committee. And the drawing up of a new constitution enabled me to show that where there was no question of principle I was desirous of agreeing quickly with my opponents in opinions. But I propose certainly to press for abolition of the Committee as it is at present constituted, and the stopping of its organ *India*.

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240. INNOCENT MISTAKE

In the last issue of *Navajivan*, Mr. Mahadev Desai gave what was, on the whole, an excellent report of the mammoth meeting held at Lucknow. In this report he gave an account of Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb's speech, a speech which was followed with great attention by everyone. A Christian named Douglas misconstrued the speech to such an extent that he has resumed legal practice which, embracing non-co-operation, he had abandoned and has now given up non-co-operation work. Others, too, have reacted to the speech in different ways. I know that Shri Mahadev Desai cannot follow the highly Persianized and Arabicized Urdu of the Maulana Saheb very well. As I understand the speech, he has committed an error in his report of it. The Maulana Saheb's speech had produced an entirely different impression on me. I reproduce it here as well as I can recollect it. The words cannot be attributed to the Maulana Saheb, since I took no notes of the speech. But I am sure that the thoughts are his.

> After Gandhiji's comments on the Kheri incident[1], I feel it to be my duty to say something. I do not know anything about politics; I do not want to make a speech, I wish to speak only as an *aalim*[2], and so I shall speak sitting [on my knees]. Men have said all manner of things about this assassination. Many of them understand nothing about the matter. I wish to give my opinion based on the tenets of my religion as I understand them. Some say that the murderer will go to hell. I cannot say this. Only God understands a man's heart. How can I know why and for what reason that man committed the murder? Islam permits, in no uncertain terms, the killing of one's enemy. It is impossible to decide who is innocent and who is guilty from among one's enemies. It is an accepted

[1] Assassination of Willoughby

[2] Literally, a learned man, here a man informed on matters of religion

principle that in war all persons of the enemy nation can be killed. Mr. Willoughby was a Kafir and belonged to the enemy nation. Had a jehad been proclaimed and had the assassin been legally killed, he would undoubtedly have been named a martyr. But we are not fighting a jehad just now. Gandhiji has shown us another path, and we know very well that in the present circumstances we shall not succeed in saving Islam by declaring a jehad; we do not have the strength for it. Gandhiji has shown us the way of non-co-operation, and we have accepted it. There are specific injunctions in the Koran supporting this. Even the Prophet had resort to non-co-operation for thirteen years. As I have put my faith in Gandhiji, quite a few Muslims are angry with me, but I can say that they do not understand me at all. I prefer the friendship of the Hindus to that of the Kafirs who have threatened the existence of Islam, and, for their sake, I consider it my duty to spare the cow. The Prophet himself had joined hands with idolators. So long as the Khilafat Committee and the *aalims* have not declared a jehad, we cannot draw the sword, and it is for this reason that I feel pained at Mr. Willoughby's murder. Had I known beforehand, I would have taken steps to prevent it. But to say this and express one's disapproval of the murder is one thing, and to declare that the murderer will go to hell is another. Only God can decide whether the murderer should go to hell or to heaven. All that we can say is that the assassination has given a set-back, to the Khilafat struggle and that we should prevent such acts.

This is what I understand Maulana Saheb's speech to have been. We can see from this that, unless shorthand notes are taken, it is very dangerous to report important speeches. Shri Mahadev's report has unwittingly done injustice to the Maulana Saheb. He has not proclaimed that the murderer was a martyr and I, at any rate, believe that such a statement would be a discredit to Islam. If a Muslim commits a murder for a good cause, even for the sake of the Khilafat, on his own responsibility without a jehad having been declared, he cannot, in my humble view, be looked upon as a martyr. That such a man would not deserve to go to hell is quite another matter and we can understand the point; but martyrdom is the special reward for a good deed. A deed which, we admit, may give a set-back to the Khilafat movement cannot make a martyr of anyone. I think it impossible, therefore, that the Maulana Saheb said in his speech that the murderer had become a martyr.

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The other mistake which I notice in Shri Mahadev's account is that he has reported the Maulana Saheb as preferring my behest to the injunction of the Koran-e-Sharif. No Muslim may follow the behest of even another Muslim, much less that of a Hindu, in preference to the injunctions of the Koran-e-Sharif. Just as the Vedas or the *Gita* are the final word for the Hindus, so is the Koran-e-Sharif for the Muslims. Besides, I dare not command an *aalim* like the Maulana Saheb; I cannot command even the Khilafat Committee. I can be, and am, only an adviser and no more.

Yet one more mistake remains to be pointed out. Shri Mahadev has reported the last sentence of the Maulana Saheb's speech as follows:

> But ever since I entered this struggle, nothing has been dearer to me than the Hindus and the cow.

I do not remember the Maulana Saheb having said this and I believe that he would not say it. All that he can say is that the Hindus now are dearer to him than others. Nevertheless, this mistake cannot be put on a level with the two mistakes mentioned above. The first mistake may encourage an ignorant person to commit a murder, and it is my firm conviction that this was not the Maulana Saheb's intention—he does not want it. The second mistake does injustice to the Maulana Saheb and also gives a cause to Muslims to feel hurt. The very idea that any Muslim should prefer the behest of a man to that of the Koran-e-Sharif is intolerable to an orthodox Muslim.

It is not necessary for me to point out to the attentive reader of *Navajivan* that in his note below the report Shri Mahadev has shielded himself and the Maulana Saheb in advance. He says:

> I have given above the Maulana Saheb's arguments in my own words. There may conceivably be errors in it, but I have given the speech as I understood it and recollect it. The occasion was so important and the matter was discussed in words so carefully weighed that, unless every word of the speech is reproduced, the report is bound to be inadequate in one way or another.

Shri Mahadev too had not taken down the speech verbatim. I have, therefore, drawn readers' attention to the inaccuracies I found in it. Others who heard the speech can certainly point out inaccuracies in my report and the Maulana Saheb alone can see the inadequacy of the reports of us all; if he wishes, he can certainly point out something. I must learn from this my responsibility as a journalist. It is not possible for any editor to check every line printed in his paper. Had I seen Shri Mahadev's report before it

was printed, I would certainly have altered it along the lines indicated above. But I am not prepared to find fault with Shri Mahadev either. A reporter has done his duty if he reports honestly and in good faith what he has heard or as he has understood it. Readers should bear in mind the difficulties of editors and reporters and read their papers with due corrections. If they do not do so, they would be doing great injustice to those who run the newspapers and quite certainly would not derive as much profit as they could.

Now remains Mr. Douglas who, as I have stated above, has withdrawn from the movement. He has been altogether hasty. The Maulana Saheb's description of Christians as Kafirs has hurt him. I can understand this. It would have been better if the term "Kafir" had not been used. The Maulana Saheb, however, had used it without malice and with reference to the British whom he regards, at present, as his enemies. In any case, Mr. Douglas should have ascertained from the Maulana Saheb the meaning of the term before taking the hasty step he did. Instead, he has been in too great a hurry to leave the movement and so I, at any rate, view his action with some suspicion. The Maulana Saheb's words were strong, no doubt, but I am convinced that they were not of the kind with which a man whose own heart is clean need take offence, and I am equally convinced that they were not intended to encourage assassination. In his speech the Maulana Saheb has merely explained what the Holy Book says and replied to the attacks on him.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 3-11-1920

241. SPEECH AT MEETING IN NASIK[1]

November 4, 1920

FRIENDS,

I shall not talk about many things in this holy place. On this occasion I am sorry that Maulana Shaukat Ali, who is like a brother to me, is not with me just now. He and his brother, Mahomed Ali, are at present engaged in important work in Aligarh and, therefore, their brother-in-law, Moazam Ali, a resident of Moradabad, who has just given up practice as a barrister, has accompanied me here.

[1] Gandhiji went to Nasik at the special invitation of Shrimad Shankaracharya of Karavirpeeth, who himself presided over the meeting.

All of you have probably heard of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the present President of the Congress. His great services and sacrifices in the cause of the Punjab are known to all. It is his and Pandit Malaviya's great efforts which saved the lives of thousands of innocent Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab. Even today, he is dedicated to the service of the country, having renounced a flourishing practice worth a lakh of rupees every month.

The events of the last ten months have convinced me that the Empire which rules us today is utterly Satanic. I call it *Ravanarajya.* The people have before them two convincing proofs of this. The outrages in the Punjab are probably unheard of anywhere. Secondly, the way this Empire has wounded the seven crore Muslims of India by betraying them on the Khilafat issue, no other government would have had the heart to do. What should the subjects of such a Satanic Empire do? Tulsidas has said that one must shun association with the wicked, the evil-minded—give up their company, break off friendly relations with them, non-co-operate with them, stop helping them. This is a kind of *yajna*, and we shall be able to purify ourselves, end *Ravanarajya* and establish *Ramarajya* only when we offer ourselves as oblation in this *yajna.* This *Ramarajya* is swaraj. Without establishing swaraj we cannot throw off the yoke of this Satanic rule.

How may we establish this swaraj? By cultivating love and regard among us, between Hindus and Muslims, by co-operation among ourselves. Until this Empire has repented its misdeeds, apologized for them, we must shun all dealings with it. We should not seek to destroy or bend this Empire by killing Englishmen or burning down their houses; we can gain our end by breaking off relations with it. If one hundred thousand people can make thirty crores feel helpless before them, the reason is that we ourselves are very much their slaves. We assume that, should the British leave, we would fight among ourselves and destroy one another. We must forthwith shake off this delusion. We must refuse to feel helpless before them. Instead of Hindus and Muslims uniting to kill, they should offer their own blood to secure freedom. I want you to see that this is the only way, that there is no other. We can fight Satan and vanquish him, reduce him to helplessness, not with his methods but with God's help and God's help is available only to him who has love in his heart.

We thus want to build on the foundation of self-sacrifice and for that purpose we must disown all ties with this wicked Empire, refuse its gifts and favours and everything else. Its titles, its schools and the jobs it offers must be totally unacceptable to us and we

must at once, without taking thought of consequences, turn our back on them in the same way that we would escape from a burning house. We cannot enlist in its army, either. Nor should we walk into its councils, the trap it has laid for us. I find some persons advancing the argument that the money with which the Government runs the schools is not its own, but the people's. If so [they ask], why should we leave these schools? I ask in reply how, once a robber has dispossessed you of your money, you can claim the money in his hand as yours. If, out of the wealth the robber has seized from you, he offers to return a part as gift to you, would you accept it? How can we accept a gift from one who has robbed us of our honour, who has committed the greatest robbery of all by endangering our religion? Our duty at the present hour is to withdraw from all association with the Government. We should not seek the help of its courts to settle our disputes and we should see to it that not a single voter votes for any candidate contesting election to the newly-introduced councils.

If we do this and, at the same time, understand the moral duty of following swadeshi, we shall have swaraj within a year, secure justice for the Punjab and on the Khilafat issue. Swadeshi is no minor matter. The country is today in a state of abject poverty, has no food to eat and no cloth to wear. I have seen large numbers of women who, for want of another garment to change into, are unable to have a bath. If we want that people should have at least two square meals a day and enough cloth on the body to cover their nakedness, every person in India will now have to embrace swadeshi and every woman will have to install the sacred spinning-wheel in her home and start spinning on it. It would not be right for us to use mill-made cloth, for such cloth is mostly used by those who are the poorest among us. To give up wearing English cloth and start using Indian mill-made cloth will actually mean our making cloth dearer for the poor. For this reason, we should wear garments made only from cloth produced by our weavers with yarn spun by the women in our homes. There is no cloth, I assure you, more sacred and more beautiful than this khadi which I wear. This is the only royal road to save India from her abject poverty. I pray God grant you the strength to take a sacred pledge, in this spot hallowed by the Ganga[1], to sacrifice your all

[1] The Godavari, which is called "The Ganges of the South" (दक्षिण गंगा)

so that India may become free, the wounds of the Muslims may be healed and justice done on the Punjab issue.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-11-1920

242. LETTER TO THE TEACHERS AND PUPILS OF GURUKUL

POONA,
Friday [*November 5, 1920*][1]

TEACHERS AND PUPILS OF GURUKUL[2],

I have your letter. How can I forget that the Gurukul has bound my children with bonds of love? What message can I send you? If I must, I will tell you: Do you keep off the sin of modernity?[3] Do you think of the downtrodden of India by spinning every day? Have you realized that plying the little spinning-wheel today is a great *yajna*?

No step along this path is ever wasted.[4]

Blessings from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : S.N. 7429

243. SPEECH AT MEETING IN DECCAN GYMKHANA, POONA[5]

November 5, 1920

I felt ashamed when I heard that the day before yesterday they had invited the Governor to this Gymkhana and had him distribute the prizes. I know the Governor to be a worthy man. While the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab had lost his head at the time of the Punjab outrages, this Governor had kept his and remained perfectly cool. If at all we wish to retain this Empire, we would have him as a Governor. Even so, I should have no dealings with him

[1] On this date, Gandhiji was in Poona.
[2] Residential educational institution founded by Shraddhanand near Hardwar
[3] The original is not clear.
[4] *Vide Bhagavad Gita*, II. 40.
[5] Extracted form Mahadev Desai's account of the tour

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at present since he has not resigned from Government service. How can a man like him remain in the service of an Empire which has the breath, not of God, but of Satan over it? If my revered master, Shri Gokhale, had been alive and held the post of a Governor, I would have told him that I would not go anywhere near a Governor who put up with the outrageous acts of an Empire like this. Even a perfect gentleman can do nothing while in the service of this Empire. Tilak Maharaj, who sacrificed his life fighting for swaraj, deserved to be a Viceroy. Even him, I would have refused to salute if he had agreed to serve as Viceroy in this Empire which has refused to apologize [for its misdeeds]. My fight is not against the British people but against the Empire. The latter talks big things but carries out nothing in action. It has turned its back on Cobden and Bright and accepted slavery with Satan. So long as things continue thus, we should refuse to have any dealings with it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-11-1920

244. SPEECH AT MEETING IN BHAVANIPETH, POONA[1]

November 5, 1920

Hindus and Muslims have been fighting to this day. We have merely talked about unity. What little friendship we show for one another has a political aim and does not spring from the heart. I would that now we cleansed our hearts and cultivated genuine love. But the things I see happening here between Brahmins and non-Brahmins make me shudder. I once spoke in Madras against Brahmins. It was a private meeting. There the problem of non-Brahmins is of a different character, and is a very acute one. Giving an example, I said that the Brahmins' treatment of the *Panchamas* was as Satanic as the treatment meted out by the bureaucracy [to us]. Since I was talking to Brahmins, I pointed out the wrong they do. It is most certainly Satanic to treat the *Panchamas* as untouchable. I said that, so long as we had not got rid of the Satanism in us, we were not fit to overcome it in others. Actually, my charge was not against the Brahmins but against the Hindu community itself. It was not against the Brahmins of today. The late Mr. Gokhale was a

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour

Brahmin and so was the Lokamanya, and they, too, used to assert that the [so-called] untouchables were the same as others and always said that, if we continued to treat them as untouchables, we would not be able to manage swaraj.

I did not refer to Maharashtra. The non-Brahmins have taken out of its context an expression I used in Madras only in reference to Madras, and have been misapplying it. Some of them even go so far as to say that they are not Hindus. Those, at any rate, have no right to concern themselves with the quarrel of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. To the non-Brahmins, however, I say that just as we would not rush into criminal proceedings against any Muslims if they should abuse us, so also should they give up thinking in such terms. Let them remember that, if they approach this wicked Empire for help against the Hindus, they will have to become slaves of the Empire itself. I request non-Brahmins to see that they do not falsely attribute any statement to me and give currency to it. I do not know what the Satya Shodhak Mandal is; it has been telling the people, however, that I am an enemy of *varnashrama*[1]. I assert that this is not true. All manner of false ideas have been propagated in my name. I am an orthodox Hindu—I am a *Vaishnava*; I have unshakable faith in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the Upanishads. I know the shortcomings of my holy books, but I am a staunch believer in *varnashrama*. Anyone who wants to, is welcome to profit from this fact and exploit my name. If Hindus create divisions, like that between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and go begging to the Government for protection, I want to tell them that they will get a good knocking on the head and will return empty-handed. Muslims have had this experience. To get the injustice to the nation undone, we have no choice but to unite, all of us.

* * *

I have heard that the Government wants to arrest us. We cannot blame it for this, if it is true. We seek to uproot the Empire. The Empire, then, has the right to arrest us. You have no right to observe a hartal. If you do, your action will mean that you are not ready for imprisonment. If some of you should go mad and burn houses or kill a few Englishmen, you would be making a serious miscalculation. Our country is not Egypt or Russia or Ireland. Ours is not an armed fight. Our weapon is non-cooperation. The Government believes that, if we are arrested, you

[1] The organization of society into four castes, each with a distinctive function, and the division of life into four stages

will all be cowed down and keep still. You can tell the Government that these are shrewd calculations it is making but that, when we are arrested, things will not turn out that way. If you readily take charge then of the non-co-operation movement which I am conducting, you will be able to secure our release. With the seal of swaraj in your hands, you will get all three of us out of jail. It should be for you to see that we are released. I would not like to be set free by them; I should like to be released by your hands, though not even by your hands if they are blood-stained. Be sure that, if my arrest is followed by bloodshed, that very moment my blood, too, will have been shed. I will then pray to God to give me the strength to burn myself in the flames kindled by your actions. I trust that my own community will not betray me. If it does, nevertheless, I will pray for death.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-11-1920

245. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, POONA[1]

November 6, 1920

I know that in all communities, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and others, it is the women who preserve dharma. The day they forsake dharma, it will be destroyed. Our Shastras say that a country in which the king and the women have abandoned dharma perishes. In our country, the women have not totally abandoned it, but the king has. Our country is governed in the same way as *Ravanarajya*—as the kingdom of a monster.

* * *

This Empire has made cowards of men. Had we not been cowards, had the women brought forth brave men, the atrocities [in the Punjab] would have been impossible. But alas! these days the men in our country are no longer men. I want the mothers in India to shed fear. So long as they do not rear brave men, India's deliverance is impossible. . . .[2] But how is this to be done? The country will produce brave men only when the women have courage in their heart, have *bhakti*[3] and faith, when God has become the lord of their heart and they have learnt to fear Him alone, and to fear no man. If we want to end *Ravanarajya*, we must have

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour
[2] Omission as in the source
[3] Seeking God through love and devotion

Ramarajya prevail. How can we hope to have the strength to bring this about so long as the women do not do *tapascharya* like that of Parvati[1] or Kausalya[2], do not follow dharma as conscientiously as Draupadi and Damayanti did? Till they do this, it is impossible that we shall have brave men.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-11-1920

246. SPEECH AT MEETING IN WAI[3]

November 6, 1920

The remark I made in Madras[4] has been twisted by non-Brahmins and is being used to serve unworthy ends. I humbly submit to you that it had no reference to this quarrel. Non-Brahmins even say that they will throw off the yoke of Brahmins. They also persecute the latter and harass them in all manner of ways. Surely, our Hindu culture does not permit such conduct towards anyone. It simply passes my understanding how any person brought up in this culture can bring himself to say that he is not a Hindu. I cannot conceive it, either, that any non-Brahmin should have hatred for Brahmins. I am a non-Brahmin, but I do not hate any Brahmin. I am a student of the *Bhagavad Gita* and I claim that for a sincere student of this work it is quite easy to eschew ill will and hatred. The *Gita* also teaches that, if we wish to conquer anyone, it should be with love. I appeal to non-Brahmins to give up fighting if they love Hindu culture. If the Brahmins have done them injustice, they may demand justice for the future. You should first be clear about what the Brahmins have done to you and then approach some Brahmin leaders to have matters set right. Brahmins are trying to reform the extreme practices and remove the shortcomings to be found in present-day Hinduism; they are unhappy about these. I am not speaking of those Brahmins who remain plunged in darkness and merely go on repeating the words of the Shastras; I speak of those whom non-Brahmins

[1] Daughter of the Himalayas and consort of Siva

[2] Rama's mother

[3] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour. The two parts of the speech were reproduced, one in the issue of 14-11-1920 and the other in the issue of 21-11-1920.

[4] *Vide* "Talk at Law College, Madras", 22-8-1920.

attack and tell the latter that by their hostility to these Brahmins they will be cutting their own throats.[1]

* * *

I co-operated for 30 years but, today, I have embarked upon non-co-operation. Why? Only because, as our Shastras say, we may co-operate with a man while there is some little measure of goodness in him, but when a man is obstinately determined to forget his humanity, it becomes everyone's duty to turn his back on such a one. Tulsidas, Tukaram[2], Ramdas[3],—all of them taught this same thing, that there can be no co-operation between a god and a monster, between Rama and Ravana. Rama and Lakshmana were mere boys, but they fought the ten-headed Ravana. This British Government of ours has thrust a sharp dagger into the Muslims' heart, has slighted Islam. Cruel things have been done to men and women and to students in the Punjab. To prevent such things from happening again, non-co-operation with the Government is the only way.

What is the meaning of the identification with others which the *Gita* speaks of? You have not cultivated such identification so long as the beatings to which men were subjected in the Punjab, the forcing of people to crawl on their stomachs and to rub the nose on the ground as they did so, the atrocities inflicted on students—so long as you do not feel that these things were done to you. It is said about Shri Samarth Ramdas Swami that once, when he saw someone being whipped, he felt it so much that sores appeared on his own back. It is because of this identification with others which Ramdas Swami had cultivated that he has become for us a man ever to be revered. If we do not feel that the injustice in the Punjab and that done to the Muslims have been done to us, how can we fight to defend Islam, to defend Hinduism?

Everyone makes mistakes but, on realizing that a mistake has been made, one apologizes for it. This Empire, on the contrary, after having made a mistake refused, in its pride, to acknowledge it and asked us to forget the cruel things done; this, therefore, was a wound worthy of a devil. Tulsidas has said that one should shun the company of the evil. It is on the strength of this teaching that I have been advising people to avoid association with this Empire. It will be enough if, while living in it, we refuse to accept any favour or help from it. Sita, living in the kingdom of Ravana, found

[1] From *Navajivan*, 14-11-1920

[2] & [3] Saint-poets of Maharashtra, contemporaries of Shivaji

it impossible to accept the delicious food sent by the latter or the services offered by the monster-women. Thus, by her severe *tapascharya*, she preserved her ideal of perfect chastity. If we would guard our character against defilement, there is no way but non-co-operation. Students hesitate to leave schools and colleges because they are worried what would happen to their education. I assure them that, if they stop receiving the education provided by this Satanic Empire in the same faith in which Janakiji[1] refused food sent by Ravana—she of course got food from Rama—then Rama and Lord Krishna will see to their education.

Students will ask where this Rama of mine is. Educated under the English system and reading history as taught in it, we learn to ask such questions. Our students are falling low, Western education has taught us Western ways, has taught us to cry "Shame!" on people. If you have no regard for Mrs. Besant, you may not attend her schools or go to her meetings[2], but neither Hindu culture nor Islamic culture teaches one to attend her meetings and then create disturbance there. Approval is not to be expressed by clapping hands or disapproval by crying "Shame!"; we can express either through action alone. If you want to employ non-co-operation, you should know what your Shastras teach. This is a holy war. We can defeat *adharma* through dharma, can prevent people from following the way of *adharma* by ourselves living according to dharma.

* * *

If you[3] become single-minded servants of the country, you will be able to render four times the service you render today. Our sannyasis used to be content to get food and no more, likewise, you, too, should embrace *sannyasa*[4] for a year, if not for a longer period, and so secure swaraj.

* * *

Hinduism contains the finest culture, it teaches that he is the true, the pure, Kshatriya who does not kill but knows how to die. The *Gita* has taught me one most important word, *apalayanam*[5]. He who wields the sword is likely some time to retreat. Not putting his trust in God, he trusts to his arms and, therefore, he

[1] Another name of Sita

[2] Reference to Mrs. Besant's meetings in Bombay and Allahabad; *vide* the following item.

[3] Addressed to lawyers in the audience

[4] Sannyasi's way of life

[5] Refusal to run away in fear

is unable to abide by the duty of *apalayanam*. I, for one, would certainly say that Prahlad and others like him did this duty and showed themselves to be pure Kshatriyas.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-11-1920 & 21-11-1920

247. SOME DIFFICULTIES

The way to swaraj is as difficult as it is straight. There are hills and ditches on the way. The mounds will have to be levelled down, the ditches will have to be filled up. If we do not break them, the hills will obstruct our progress, and so will the ditches if we do not fill them up.

Some of the events[2] which have occurred in Ahmedabad are painful. There were many who felt satisfied at having saved one of the goats which were to be slaughtered in sacrifice to Mother Kali. Had the goat been saved in the right manner, I would have felt very happy, but in saving the goat they hurt many human beings. For saving the goat, force was used against these. This is not Hinduism. The non-violence it teaches does not enjoin the saving of a goat by beating up or threatening human beings. The multitude of lions, tigers and wolves swallow up innumerable goats and other animals; we do not kill them to stop them doing so. A good many snakes sting and kill animals and human beings, but the Hindus not only abstain from killing them, they actually consider it a sin to kill them. On what grounds, then, can we use violence to save a goat?

Moreover, in a religious matter involving Hindus only, they took the assistance of a Muslim moulvi and through him the help of [mill-]workers. To me this seems to have been a great mistake. To avail ourselves of the strength of Muslims for such a purpose means our exchanging one form of slavery for another. The moulvi should have refused to interfere. He should have understood that it was no business of his to interfere in a religious quarrel which concerned the Hindus. One hears that the things the moulvi has been saying are also harmful to the community. This experience teaches us two lessons. We should not try to get anything done through force and we should not attend meetings called or listen to the speeches made by anyone not specially depu-

[1] From *Navajivan*, 21-11-1920

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Mehmedabad", 1-11-1920.

ted by bodies which we trust, such as the Khilafat Committee or the Swarajya Sabha. It is quite a different thing to attend meetings addressed by those whom we look upon as our opponents, in order that we may know what their arguments are. But it seems to me that, when we have not formed our own opinions, no one should attend a meeting merely through curiosity, saying, "A moulvi has come; let us go and hear him."

The truth is that there are some impostors who flourish these days by making speeches in the name of the Khilafat or the Swarajya Sabha. We should on no account go and listen to their speeches.

I have heard that a Hindi-speaking woman goes from place to place and, claiming to be my daughter, swindles people. I first got this information from Dwarka. Now I receive it from Sind. One man collected funds in my name and is already in jail. I have no daughter at all but, even if I had one, no one need help or trust persons simply because they happen to be my relations. This is no time to respect relationship; it is a time when one must know the man and his worth. Whatever the occasion, no person whom we do not know should be taken at his word simply because of his connections.

I hope that in a short time all the known public bodies will publish a list of their chosen speakers, so that we may always recognize one as such. As the non-co-operation struggle gains momentum, we shall have to save ourselves from all manner of impostors, ignorant orators and counsellors equally ignorant. A little mistake may conceivably lead us into serious difficulties.

We have to do many things, destroy the old and build new things in their place. New schools are to be opened, *panchas* have to be appointed, money is to be collected. We shall not be able to do all this unless we learn to discriminate between persons. On the one hand, we shall have to have trust, on the other be cautious. The great difficulty in our path is that we live like pebbles, we cannot work as a team. We lack the power to draw others to ourselves or be drawn to others. Where we do get drawn, it is out of blind faith. Faith is necessary, but faith must go with discrimination. To allow ourselves to be fooled by any person and start working —this is one difficulty.

The second fear is that we may spoil all our work by getting angry. There are two parties, the non-co-operators and the co-operators. In Ankleshwar, a certain co-operator used a harsh word and in reply a non-co-operator used a harsh word too. Had they gone further, the result would have been bad. This was only

a matter of a difference of opinion among ourselves. But, since the Government favours co-operation, that party has become a Government party as well. Suppose a member of the pro-Government party, with a view entirely to picking up a quarrel, uses some abusive word, we retaliate, and a scuffle ensues, even a murder, who will suffer? If the Government gets a pretext for using violence, I believe it will not fail to make use of it. The Government cannot shed blood no matter how free the views we express on swaraj. It will shed blood only when we ourselves first commit a murder, even if it be at the incitement of a Government agent. Swami Shraddhanand believes that, if we committed any mistakes in April [1919] in Delhi, it was because of incitement by such agents. Hence the easiest way for us is to restrain our anger despite any provocation. Abuse should not be repaid with abuse, beating with beating. Even in such matters, it is possible to overcome many obstacles by applying the method of non-co-operation. We should not go to a place if we feel we shall not have the strength to forbear. Mrs. Besant was insulted in Allahabad; I have heard that she was insulted in Bombay too. If we disapprove of Mrs. Besant's views, if we are even likely to be irritated by them, decency lies in not attending her meeting. To attend her meeting and then greet her with cries of "Shame!" or with other insulting slogans bespeaks lack of culture. A people without culture cannot have true swaraj. Lack of culture is incompatible with non-violence, with the renunciation of arms. There is no room for falsehood, lack of culture and impudence in the army of non-co-operation. If we do not take care to bear this in mind, we shall lose the game which we are almost at the point of winning. The fight of non-co-operation is not for giving expression to our anger but, by curbing it for generating such superabundant energy that no one can withstand it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-11-1920

CWMG XVIII

248. REQUEST TO PEOPLE

The non-co-operation movement is in full swing. The people are responding, more or less. Students are leaving their schools. Many candidates have given up their intention of entering legislatures. Some lawyers have given up practice. Swadeshi continues to make progress.

But the movement needs money as much as it needs popular enthusiasm. Money is especially needed at present for spreading education. I think without money it will be difficult to provide education. If, however, we can collect the money, the students' education will be a sufficient return.

Besides this, we have a number of other things to do, for which too we shall need money.

According to present estimates, we need five lakhs of rupees. If we have this sum to spend, we shall make a great success of our educational programme. We shall be able to give help, wherever needed, to the schools which become national schools and succeed in organizing properly the work of the university. If we are to make the university a shining success, our expenditure will have to be fairly heavy. Statements of expenditure will be published from time to time. It is estimated that four lakhs will be spent during the first year on education and the remaining expenditure of one lakh will be of a miscellaneous character.

I hope that even those who cannot join the movement in regard to the other programmes will do this at any rate: donate something and induce others to do the same.

I hope that even those who do not agree with the whole of the programme of non-co-operation will help the cause of national education at any rate.

These are *Diwali* days. The *Diwali* festival stands for the end of the demon's rule and the establishment of *Ramarajya*. It is my humble view that, so long as our country is in slavery, we cannot celebrate *Diwali* with all manner of things to enjoy. The best way to celebrate *Diwali* is to spend these days in activities which will hasten swaraj, help uphold the honour of our Muslim friends and heal a little the wounds of the Punjab.

If my advice is followed, we should save something from what we would otherwise spend on celebrating *Diwali*. This may also help the movement considerably. I hope every man and woman will join in this holy work. Let no one think that only

the rich can make donations. I want the rich to donate according to their capacity and the poor according to theirs. If we but get honest workers, we can easily collect as much as we need.

I hope no one will hand over this contribution to an unknown person.

All the contributions will be deposited with the Bombay branch of the Swarajya Sabha.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-11-1920

249. SPEECH AT SATARA[1]

November 7, 1920

Maybe you do not look upon Brahmins with reverence, but all the same they deserve to be respected for their *tapascharya*, their knowledge, their self-sacrifice and holiness. I would certainly hesitate to attribute any errors to the Brahmins who composed the Upanishads and other holy books, but I said, and I say it again, that even they, by sanctioning the practice of untouchability, had some share in Satan's work. You will not be able to save your own religion by abusing Brahmins and burning down their houses. If at all you claim to be Hindus, know that your conduct is un-Hindu. If you say you are not Hindus, I tell you that you have still another dharma to respect. I wish you well in your non-Hinduism. [I tell you this] just as I would tell Jains that they were welcome to think of themselves as non-Hindus but that, if they looked upon India as their country, they had another dharma to abide by—the swaraj-dharma. This dharma teaches you, if you wish to have swaraj, to be on good terms with Hindus. Who were Tilak, Gokhale, Ranade[2] and Agarkar[3]? Though Brahmins, they served the cause of non-Brahmins at the greatest cost to themselves. Tilak Maharaj bore sincere love to me, though I am a non-Brahmin. By indulging in violent contempt of a community which has produced men like Ramdas, Tulsidas, Ranade, Tilak and others, it is impossible that you can rise. By looking to the English for help, you will sink

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour

[2] 1842-1901; social reformer and author; judge of the Bombay High Court; one of the founders of the Indian National Congress

[3] 1856-1895; social reformer and rationalist from Maharashtra

deeper into slavery. You can ask Shaukat Ali what he gained from friendship with the Government.

You talk of resorting to non-co-operation against Brahmins but one must be pure in heart to be fit to employ the sacred term "non-co-operation". I speak of the British Empire as Satanic, but I can do so because I wish ill to no Englishman. If Lord Chelmsford, with whom today I refuse co-operation in any form, from whom I would not even accept water, were to fall ill, I would most certainly look after and serve him as I serve you. If you demand justice from the Brahmins, you must practise *tapascharya* like theirs. If you take up the sword, you yourselves will perish. I tell the Muslims the same thing. They will not succeed in making Islam free by drawing the sword. I think the sword will imperil it still further. I ask non-Brahmins to see first that India becomes free; they could then cut the throats of Brahmins if they so wished. I tell the Hindus, too, that they should get swaraj first and fight with the Muslims afterwards, if they want to. And the same thing to Muslims. The position today is that the Empire has been insulting 30 crores of you, perpetrating atrocities on you; to stop this, there is no way but non-co-operation with it and co-operation among ourselves.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-11-1920

250. TELEGRAM TO MAHOMED ALI[1]

[*November 8, 1920*][2]

SHAUKAT ALI GAVE ALL INFORMATION. ARRANGING TO SEND ANDREWS AND A BRILLIANT HARVARD GRADUATE AND KRIPALANI[3] OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY. MORE CAN BE SENT IF YOU NEED. HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS YOURSELF STUDENTS. HOPE FIRMNESS AND COURTEOUS PEACEFUL BEHAVIOUR WILL BE RETAINED THROUGHOUT THE CRITICAL PERIOD. I WOULD REMIND THE STUDENTS OF THE WISH EXPRESSED WHEN I FIRST HAD THE PLEASURE

[1] Sent to the addressee at Aligarh, congratulating him on the new Aligarh University

[2] Received on this date

[3] J. B. Kripalani (1888-); president, Indian National Congress, 1946; member of Parliament

OF MEETING THEM AT ALIGARH, THAT THEY IN ORDER TO PRESERVE HONOUR, DIGNITY, ISLAM AND INDIA, SHOULD ADOPT HIGH THINKING AND SIMPLICITY AS THEIR MOTTO. NEVER HAS OUR COUNTRY NEEDED TRUE FAKIRS AND HUMILITY AS NOW.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 9-11-1920

251. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

NIPANI,
[*November 8, 1920*][1]

CHI. MANI[2],

I was simply filled with wonder to see your work and your love for the country. Try to make a good collection during *Diwali*.

You must be attending on father, I am sure. I don't expect a reply from you this time.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Citing the example of sisters in Ahmedabad, I held out my hand before those in Poona. They showered gold bangles, rings, nose-rings and chains over me, and outdid the Ahmedabad sisters.

MOHANDAS

SHRI MANIBEHN
C/O VALLABHBHAI, BAR-AT-LAW
BHADRA
AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: *Manibehn Patelne*, p. 11

[1] Gandhiji was in Nipani on this date; *vide* the following item. The postscript evidently refers to the women's meeting which Gandhiji addressed in Poona on November 6.

[2] Daughter of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel; Congress worker, member of Parliament and vice-president, Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee

252. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, NIPANI[1]

November 8, 1920

I have carefully listened to Shri Marutirao and should like to tell the non-Brahmins here that what he has said is full of half-truths. A half-truth is always very dangerous. I do not suggest that Marutirao has deliberately made statements which he knows to be half-truths. We often, through misunderstanding, state and act on half-truths. Undoubtedly, there are Brahmins in this world who ask others to wash their feet and then drink that water, and among books which pass as holy with the Hindus there are some which play on people's ignorance; but we should use our reason to distinguish between truth and deception. It would be suicide to hate the entire Brahmin community and keep away from it simply because a few of them have told lies and misled the people with false Shastras. I should like to tell the non-Brahmins, on oath, that I have studied the Koran, the Zend-Avesta and the Bible according to the best of my ability. I have respect in my heart for all these religions and believe that every one of them has a good measure of truth in it. I believe, all the same, that no other religion values renunciation and self-control, as a form of *yajna* as much as Hinduism does. I want to tell the Hindus that we owe these ideas of *yajna*, of self-sacrifice, to none other than the Brahmins. No one else in this world has practised self-sacrifice in the same measure that the Brahmins have done and, even today, in this terrible *Kaliyuga*, no other community displays the same capacity for self-sacrifice and the same purity as the Brahmins do. I would, therefore, tell Marutirao and other non-Brahmins that the faults they point to are real enough; but, thinking about them, I remember an analogy. If there is any dirt in milk, it is easily noticed, while the filth in a dirty article is not so easily noticed. Non-Brahmins have set such a high ideal for Brahmins that any lapses on their part immediately attract attention. Personally, I would say that this very fact of small lapses of Brahmins being magnified is a testimony to their worth. I have not heard of any community in any country which has done *tapascharya* in the same measure as the Brahmins have done. And, therefore, I

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour. The remarks were in reply to a gentleman in the audience, who had criticised Brahmins.

tell my non-Brahmin friends to exercise discrimination in judging the faults of Brahmins, and not commit suicide by non-co-operating with them.

I know that Brahmins are a small number and the non-Brahmins are in a large majority. It is for this reason that a Satan of an Indian suggested that even the present-day British Government is a Brahmin government, for it rules over a nation of 30 crores of brave and heroic Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The British Government, however, keeps the 30 crores under its power with the help of the sword. The Brahmins of India do not wish to hold down the crores of non-Brahmins in that manner. Though a mere handful, they will be able to keep down the 30 crores wholly through their life of self-control. In the same way that we wish to fight this tyrannical Government with the power of self-control, the Brahmins have preserved their independence—their purity—by the holiness of their lives. I know that today Brahmins have forsaken their dharma and, therefore, I submit to the Brahmins of Maharashtra that, if their faith and *bhakti* revive, there will be no occasion for me to say anything. To non-Brahmin friends, I want to say, desist from acting in hatred of the Brahmins, as you do now, losing your patience and balance of mind. This need not be taken to mean that anything the Brahmins do may be ignored. I do not advise submitting to injustice at any time. Employing the same energy in doing our duty with which we seek to defeat this Empire, we can force justice from any community. Even a little child will say that the Brahmin dharma is free from the Satanism of the British Government. There is something in that dharma through which a mere child cultivating purity of mind and observing self-control, can become an emperor of emperors. Such is the Brahmin dharma that they revere any member of an untouchable community who becomes a saint. The Brahmins have plenty of defects, to be sure, and you may certainly point them out; but seek redress through a *panch*. The only right course for us is to acknowledge their services to the world and always co-operate with them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-11-1920

CWMG-XVIII

253. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BELGAUM

November 8, 1920

MY REVERED[1] SISTERS,

In this holy temple[2], I have been sanctified by the *darshan* of you all. What makes me especially happy is your having expressed eagerness to see my friend Shaukat Ali as well. We had all been tired and were resting for a while but, when I heard that you wanted Shaukat Ali also to be brought along, I sent for him. I see in this expression of goodwill an assurance of India's success, for I know that, so long as our Hindu women do not look upon Muslims as our brethren, the days of our misfortune will not be over. Sitting in this temple, I do not want to hurt your religious sentiments in any way. I am a *sanatani* Hindu, but I have learnt from Hinduism that one should not disrespect or despise the religion of anyone else. I have also realized that, till we have learnt to cherish love for people of all other religions and for all our neighbours, we shall not succeed in our efforts for the country's welfare. I have not come here to tell you that you should change and permit people to eat in the company of Muslims or marry among them, but I have certainly come to tell you that we should bear love to every human being. I pray that you teach your children to love members of other faiths.

I also ask of you that you understand the state of national affairs in the country. For this, you do not need to be highly educated or to read any big books. I want to tell you that our Government rules like a monster. The condition is the same today as in *Ravanarajya* of old; the Government has deeply wounded the feelings of our Muslim brethren, has perpetrated terrible atrocities on men, women and children in the Punjab and, even after all this, it does not acknowledge its error, does not repent; on the contrary, it asks us to forget the cruelties. That is why I liken this Government to the rule of a monster. Our men and women should now resort to non-co-operation with the Government, much like Sita's or Ramachandra's non-co-operation with Ravana. The latter held out inducements to Sita, sent her various good things to eat, but she disregarded them all and

[1] *Pratasmaraniya*, literally, worthy of remembrance in morning prayers
[2] Maruti temple

practised the most rigorous *tapascharya* to be free from the clutches of Ravana. Until she was free from his hands, she would wear no fine dresses or ornaments. Ramachandra and Lakshmana practised rigid discipline of the senses, spent their days in self-denial, eating only fruits and tubers, and both the brothers practised the strictest *brahmacharya*. I want to tell you that, while this tyrannical Government is on our back, none of you, whether man or woman, has a right to wear fine dresses or ornaments. So long as India has not become free, so long as the Muslims' wounds have not been healed, we need to live as fakirs. We should burn up our love of comfort and luxury in the fire of suffering. I entreat you, in the humblest words, to give up ways of comfort and practise severe *tapascharya*, to keep your heart and mind ever pure.

Fifty years ago, all our women—Hindu and Muslim—had the sacred spinning-wheel in their homes and every one of them wore hand-made cloth. I want to tell you, women, that our downfall began, that slavery came to be imposed on us, after we had abandoned swadeshi-dharma. All over the country people are dying of hunger and go naked for want of clothes. In these circumstances, every one of you should spin for at least one hour daily, in the name of India, and gift the yarn to the country. You are not likely to get fine cloth for some while, but you will get even fine cloth if you learn to produce fine yarn. However, so long as the country remains subject, we should not think of fine cloth at all, for, producing fine yarn requires much time and today in the country every minute is valuable.

* * *

I appealed for funds when speaking in Dakor and Ahmedabad. In Poona I did so only the day before yesterday. Some women, even little girls, took off and handed over to me their rings, bangles, nose-rings and necklaces. If I have succeeded in my aim, which has brought me here, of awakening in you the spirit of self-denial, you would not hesitate to take off all your ornaments for the sake of the country. The money realized from them will be spent by Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande on education and for promoting swadeshi. If any of you want to offer cash, give it for the country with the same feelings with which you put it here in this temple. India is like a poor cow in a butcher's clutches and it is for you and me to rescue her. Offering money to rescue a cow earns the same merit as offering a gift to a temple.

And one last thing I beg from you is this: give your blessings for the success of the cause for which Shaukat Ali, Gangadharrao and I are working. Let me also say that I do not want any sister

to take off and hand over her ornaments out of a false sense of shame. Gift something only if you feel in your heart that it is your duty, that it is a holy act, to do so. May God grant you purity and courage and inspire you with the desire to make sacrifices in the cause of the country.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-11-1920

254. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BELGAUM[1]

November 8, 1920

I cannot describe in words the impact made on me by the scene I witnessed in the Maruti temple. I had a similar experience in Poona. They showered both their love and their ornaments on us, having understood that I had asked for the ornaments for winning swaraj, for securing *Ramarajya*. Our millionaires have not given anything to equal this. They melt somewhat when we fall at their feet and beg them for donations. I needed to make no entreaty to the women. They gave me what I asked for, out of their own zeal and with all love. What they gave with love far exceeds even donations of crores.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-11-1920

255. WHAT TO DO ON THE 16TH OF NOVEMBER

In connection with this, Mr. Gandhi writes in *Navajivan*[2] as follows :

The 16th of November is somewhat of a day of trial for the people, because on that day members for the legislative councils will be elected throughout the Bombay Presidency. What will the voters do on that day? What is their duty?

1. I hope that no voter will go to the polling-booth to record his vote.
2. That all the voters will remain indoors.
3. In case a meeting is held away from the polling-booth, voters will attend it and express themselves against being represented on the council.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of the tour

[2] Of 7-11-1920

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4. The work of canvassing signatures and of asking voters not to vote will cease for 24 hours from the night of the 15th instant.

5. Volunteers too will not do anything on the 16th instant to dissuade voters from voting.

6. In short, those who choose to vote should have the day wholly at their disposal.

How can we hope to convert voters whom we have not been able to persuade till the 15th? Surely we do not want to prevent anybody from voting by physical force. There can therefore be no persuasion on the 16th.

Our campaign is one of educating public opinion. When we have succeeded in doing that, then and only then is swaraj within easy reach.

Young India, 10-11-1920

256. DIFFICULTIES IN OUR WAY

Our difficulties are of two kinds; those that are imposed from without and those that are of our own creation. The latter are far more dangerous, because we often hug them and are therefore reluctant to remove them. Thus, for instance, the disturbance created at Mrs. Besant's recent meetings at Bombay was of our own making. And it is easier to deal with a seditious meetings proclamation than the disturbance at Mrs. Besant's meetings. A prohibition of "seditious" meetings gives us strength. Disturbances created by us undoubtedly weaken our cause. The verbal rowdyism at Mrs. Besant's meeting was a type of violence. It was a distinct departure from the creed of non-violent non-co-operation. It may easily result in physical violence.

Those who created the disturbance ought to realize its seriousness for the sacred cause they have at heart. It is the very worst training we can give ourselves in swaraj. Swaraj presupposes mutual toleration of views, no matter how distasteful they may be to us. If the non-co-operationists refuse to listen to the other party's views, they lay themselves open to the same charge as the Government, which they complain comes to decisions without considering their view-point. Non-co-operation against the Government is based on, and is possible with, co-operation among ourselves. We must bring about as far as possible and consistently with our creed, harmony among ourselves. Rowdyism is hardly the way to do so. By their action at the meetings in question

non-co-operationists have still further estranged from themselves Mrs. Besant and her friends and followers. The loss is patent enough. They have certainly gained no new adherents by their rowdyism. In so far as the students were concerned in the insult offered to Mrs. Besant, they have discredited themselves at a critical period in their evolution. They are called upon, in the name of religion and country, to disregard the wishes even of their parents, should they dissuade them from leaving schools tainted with Government grant or affiliation. Such disregard is permissible only to sons and daughters who have cultivated the sense of scrupulous respect and obedience towards their parents and elders. That disobedience is a virtue only when it is resorted to in response to a higher call and has not a trace of bitterness, hostility, or resentment in it. It is a positive vice when it becomes thoughtless, insolent and rowdy. The one ennobles, the other degrades. And after all, do we not owe anything to Mrs. Besant's years, her past brilliant services, and her sex? The rising generation will commit suicide if it becomes ungrateful. India's gratefulness ought to ensure for Mrs. Besant a respectful hearing even when she opposes India's sentiment. She does so from pure motives. She thinks that we are in error, she is of opinion that we are retarding India's progress. Surely it is her duty to wean us from what she considers is our error. And it is our duty respectfully to consider what she says.

But I have been told that unless, at her meetings, an emphatic dissent is expressed, she would make capital of our supposed silence, and claim that there is a larger body of Indian opinion at her back than is really the case. Surely rowdyism is not the only way of expressing dissent. The best and the chosen way would be not to attend her meetings, unless we wish to go in order to be convinced. We need not swell her audience when we know that we do not approve of her views. The other way, if we must attend, is to enter our respectful dissent at the end of the meeting, or if we consider her remarks to be offensive to express our dissent by courteously walking out. A noisy demonstration is a sign of our weakness. A dignified withdrawal is a proof of our strength. Rowdyism is, as a rule, intended to cover a minority that wishes to break up a meeting. A majority conscious of its strength produces an eloquent and electrical effect both on the speaker, and his, or her, minority of followers.

It is true that this rowdyism is not a result of the movement of non-co-operation. It is a legacy of our past. We have been, to our harm, nurtured in the baneful traditions of the West in the

manner of conducting our meetings. Applause and shouts of dissent are essentially a Western institution. With the, for us, new method of *non-violent* non-co-operation, the old must go. The two cannot co-exist. If we are engaged in a duel between religion and irreligion, and if we truly represent the forces of religion, we shall have to give up even verbal violence and learn dignified ways of dealing with our opponents. It is through training in cool courage and self-sacrifice, discipline and faith in God, and therefore humility to the uttermost, that we shall conserve the honour of Islam and our country, and turn our opponents into admirers and fellow-workers.

Young India, 10-11-1920

257. IF I AM ARRESTED[1]

I have been constantly thinking of what the people would do in case I am arrested. My co-workers also have been putting this question to me. What would be the plight of India if the people took to the wrong path through love run mad? What would be my own plight in such a case?

Rivers of bloodshed by the Government cannot frighten me; but I would be deeply pained even if the people did so much as abuse the Government for my sake or in my name. It would be disgracing me if the people lost their equilibrium on my arrest. The nation can achieve no progress merely by depending upon me. Progress is possible only by their understanding and following the path suggested by me. For this reason, I desire that the people should maintain perfect self-control and consider the day of my arrest as a day of rejoicing. I desire that even the weaknesses existing today should disappear at that time.

What can be the motive of the Government in arresting me? The Government are not my enemy, for I have not a grain of enmity towards them. But they believe that I am the soul of all this agitation, that, if I am removed, the ruled and the rulers would be left in peace, that the people are blindly following me. Not only the Government but some of our leaders also share this belief. How, then, can the Government put the people to the test? How can the Government ascertain whether the people understand my advice or are simply dazzled by my utterances? The only

[1] In the source this was published with the indication: "Translated from Mr. Gandhi's article in *Navajivan*".

way left to them is to arrest me. Of course, there still remains an alternative for them and that lies in the removal of the causes which have led me to offer this advice. But intoxicated as they are with power, the Government will not see their own fault and even if they do, they will not admit it. The only way then that remains for them is to measure the strength of the people. They can do this by arresting me. If the people are thus terrorized into submission they can be said to deserve the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs.

If on the other hand the people resort to violence, they will merely be playing into the hands of the Government. Their aeroplanes will then bomb the people, their Dyers will shoot into them, and their Smiths will uncover the veils of our women. There will be other officers to make the people rub their noses against the ground, crawl on their bellies, and undergo the scourge of whipping. Both these results will be equally bad and unfortunate. They will not lead to swaraj. In other countries governments have been overthrown by sheer brute force, but I have often shown that India cannot attain swaraj by that force. What, then, should the people do if I am arrested? The answer now is simple. The people

1. should preserve peace and calmness,
2. should not observe hartals,
3. should not hold meetings, but
4. should be fully awake.

I should certainly expect

5. all the Government schools to be vacated and shut down,
6. lawyers to withdraw from practice, in great numbers,
7. settlement by private arbitration of cases pending before the law-courts,
8. opening of numerous national schools and colleges,
9. renunciation of all foreign cloth in favour of the exclusive use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments by lakhs of men and women, and selling or burning of any foreign cloth in stock,
10. none to enlist in the army or in any other Government service,
11. those able to earn their livelihood by other means to give up Government services, civil and even military,
12. contribution of as much as is wanted towards national funds,
13. title-holders to surrender titles in greater numbers,

14. candidates to withdraw from elections, or if already elected, to resign their seats,
15. voters who have not yet made up their minds, to resolve that it is sin to send any representative to the councils.

If the people resolve and carry this out, they would not have to wait for swaraj even for a year. If they can exhibit this much strength we shall have attained swaraj.

I shall then be set free under the nation's seal. That will please me. My freedom today is like a prison to me.

It will only prove the people's incompetence if they use violence to release me, and then depend upon my help to attain swaraj for them. Neither I nor anyone else can get swaraj for the nation. It will be got on the nation proving its own fitness.

In conclusion it is useless to find fault with the Government. We get what government we deserve. When we improve, the government also is bound to improve. Only when we improve can we attain swaraj. Non-co-operation is the nation's determination to improve. Will the nation abandon the resolve and begin to co-operate after my arrest? If the people become mad and take to violence and as a result of it crawl on their bellies, rub their noses on the ground, salute the Union Jack and walk eighteen miles to do it, what else is that but co-operation? It is better to die than to submit to crawling, etc. In fine, consider it from any point of view, the course suggested by me is the right one for the people to take.

Young India, 10-11-1920

258. TELEGRAM TO V. J. PATEL

November 11, 1920

V. J. PATEL
BANDRA

SWARAJ CLAUSE[1] CANNOT BE OMITTED.

GANDHI

From the original as delivered : C.W. 5991. Courtesy : All-India Congress Committee, New Delhi

[1] The reference obviously is to Article 1 of the Congress Constitution; *vide* "The Congress Constitution", 3-11-1920.

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259. TELEGRAM TO GIRIDHARILAL[1]

BOMBAY,
[*November 14, 1920*][2]

OBEY ORDER PROHIBITION. MOTILALJI NOT HERE. INFORM LAJPATRAI OTHERS.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1920, p. 1639

260. SPEECH TO STUDENTS, BOMBAY[3]

November 14, 1920

Mr. Gandhi addressing the audience as brothers and sisters said he was not going to give them a kindergarten lesson that evening, but would try to convince them of something important. First of all he wanted to tell the students that he did not want those students to boycott schools and colleges, who could not refrain from hissing a speaker whose views differed from theirs. That was *asatya*[4]. It would not be wrong to disobey even parents in the matter of boycott of schools and colleges after attaining *satya*[5] and purifying their inner selves. Those who could act against their conscience were not fit to adopt the principle of non-co-operation. As long as they were not able to purify their inner selves and abide by their conscience they were unfit for non-co-operation. After becoming true *brahmacharis* and after attaining to the right pitch of self-restraint they could even disobey their parents. There would be nothing wrong in it if they disobeyed their parents at the dictation of their conscience.

He was sure that those who hissed at the Excelsior Theatre the other day, acted against their conscience and they would soon repent for that. As for Mr. Nimbkar, he was sure that Mr. Nimbkar would express his regret in public in no time, because he knew that he had done something wrong. Until the students realized the principles of non-violence and non-hatred, they would be able to do no service to their motherland which they genuinely loved. The

[1] At Amritsar, in reply to his telegram which read : "Home Rule Conference fixed 19th-21st November. Seditious Meetings Act applied Amritsar City. Should obey postpone or break and hold Conference. Wire your and Pandit Motilal's opinion. Lajpatrai and Kitchlew in favour."

[2] Reproduced in Bombay Secret Abstracts, alongside a report of Gandhiji's speech to students on November 14.

[3] At Shantaram Chawl

[4] Untruth

[5] Truth

speaker then asked them to remember that his non-co-operation was "non-violent non-co-operation". His non-co-operation had no similarity with the non-co-operation movement of Ireland or Egypt, though the motive was nearly the same. He did not like to adopt such methods in India. Both Ireland and Egypt preached violence while he was against it. The use of the sword, or force or abuse against an opponent was morally equally culpable and they all amounted to violence. In India they could not use any of these devices for it was against the nature and religion of Indians to abuse an opponent. It is an act of violence to abuse an opponent and so long as they would use violence their goal of swaraj would be remote from them. The speaker again asked them to purify their inner selves and appealed to the students to free themselves from such false notions.

The second thing he wanted to tell them was that their present Government was based on the worst principles. Their rulers had first cheated them and were now trying to quieten them by so many honeyed and false statements. After the massacre in the Punjab, they had even today, Lord Chelmsford at the head of the Government of their country and O'Dwyer in a high position. He said no man could conscientiously co-operate with such a Government. If the Britishers sincerely admitted their mistake and begged their pardon, Indians would have forgiven them unhesitatingly. But instead of doing that they were adding fuel to the fire by flagrantly breaking the responsible pledge given to the Indian Mohammedans. Of late, they had asked the Indians to forget the unfortunate tragedy, but even now they do not show an attitude of repentance nor do they admit their fault in clearer terms.

The speaker now asked the audience if it was not sufficient to show that their Government was a callous Government and whether it was not right on their part to boycott all schools and colleges controlled by such a Government. The late Lokamanya Tilak had explained to them more than once from that very platform how wicked-minded their Government was.

Continuing Mr. Gandhi said, there were some who said that it was a folly to withdraw students from the Government colleges without making sufficient provision for national colleges and schools. But the speaker asked when a man saw a snake under his bed would he look out for another bed before leaving the former one? The speaker advised the students to leave schools and colleges without bothering themselves unduly about the future. In his opinion the idea of passing B.A. and M.A. with the hope of obtaining service, was also greatly responsible for their present slavery.

Concluding Mr. Gandhi told them that the present universities and colleges had produced more slaves than scholars. Now they must destroy these slave-producing institutes and the only measure was non-co-operation with the Government and the boycott of their institutions. But he again reminded them that their non-co-operation must be non-violent. If they could all became non-violent non-co-operators, then swaraj would be within their reach within a year.

After Mr. Gandhi took his seat Mr. Nimbkar said that he was convinced after what Mr. Gandhi had said, that he had committed a mistake in not obeying the ruling of the chairman, while Mrs. Besant was speaking in the Excelsior Theatre and he sincerely repented for that.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-11-1920

261. INAUGURAL SPEECH AT GUJARAT MAHAVIDYALAYA[1], *AHMEDABAD*

November 15, 1920

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I have done a good many things in my life; some of them I feel proud of, though some others I regret. A few of them were very responsible undertakings. But I should like to state here—I am sure I am guilty of no exaggeration—that nothing I have done so far can stand comparison with what we are about to do today. I am aware of a great risk in this undertaking, but not because I fear that it may prove harmful to the nation; what pains me, or rather the incongruity I feel, is this, that I am not fit for the task I have undertaken. I do not say this as a matter of formality, I speak from the heart. If I knew that the present undertaking related to education in the real sense of the term, this preface would not have been necessary. This Mahavidyalaya is not being established with the sole object of imparting education; it [also] aims at helping the student to acquire a means of livelihood and when, in this respect, I compare it with Gujarat College and other similar institutions, I simply shudder.

In this, too, I am not exaggerating. What comparison is possible between Gujarat College and other similar colleges, on the one hand, and this small Mahavidyalaya of ours? To my mind, of course, it is great, but I am afraid that in your eyes, as you com-

[1] Literally, an institution of higher learning. The Mahavidyalaya was a constituent college of the Gujarat Vidyapith which had been established as a national university without a Government charter. Gandhiji was appointed chancellor for life. Many more institutions, colleges and schools were afterwards affiliated to or recognized by the Vidyapith, the total number of students in these institutions standing at 30,000 in 1923.

The activities of the Vidyapith were interrupted for temporary periods in consequence of the Civil Disobedience Movements of 1930 and 1932 and the Quit India Movement of 1942. It is now one of the national universities with a charter from the Government of India and seeks to promote Gandhiji's ideal of craft-centred and service-oriented education.

pare this Vidyalaya with the colleges you have in India, this Mahavidyalaya[1] probably appears an Anuvidyalaya[2]. You are very likely thinking in terms of brick and mortar. Of this, to be sure, I see more in Gujarat College. While on the train I was all the time thinking what idea I should put before you today so that you might dismiss from your mind this comparison in terms of brick and mortar. It pains me that I have not been able to think of any. I have never in the past put myself in such an embarrassing position. It is an accident that I find myself in such a position today. What is self-evident to me, I cannot make so to you. How can I prove to you that what you take to be deficiencies are no deficiencies? By drawing attention to them, thanks to his frankness, Kishorelal[3] has made my task easy. Despite these deficiencies, please think of this undertaking as a momentous one. May God give you the same faith in it which I have. I cannot create such faith in you for my *tapascharya* has not been adequate for the purpose. I must admit my inability. I have done nothing in the field of education on the strength of which I can convince you that this is the greatest of all great undertakings. In the present circumstances in the country, what we are about to embark on is the only right course. Why compare buildings?

Today, not an inch of the ground is ours. Everything belongs to the Government. This land, these trees, everything belongs to the Government, even this body, and I have now begun to doubt whether our soul also is ours. Placed in this pitiable condition, why go looking for good buildings to house our Mahavidyalaya? How can we afford to wait till we had found men of great learning? Even if the most ignorant of ignorant men, a mere simpleton, were to come forward and could succeed in convincing us that our *atman* had been starved, that this country had lost its light—its knowledge of things of the spirit—I would appoint him as the principal. I am not sure that you would be ready to appoint a shepherd as principal and so we have had to find Shri Gidwani[4]. I have not been attracted by the position he occupied. Perhaps you do not know him apart from that position. I should, however, like you to adopt a different criterion, seek another touchstone, for judging the worth of this Vidyalaya. If you test it on the common touchstone, it will seem to be brass but it will be found to be gold if you test it on the touchstone of character.

[1] & [2] *Maha*, great; *Anu*, small

[3] Mashruwala, Registrar of the Vidyapith

[4] Acharya A. T. Gidwani, principal, Ramjas College, Delhi. For names of other members of the staff, *vide* Appendix III.

The coming together of [talented] men for educational work here is like the holy confluence of rivers. We have men of character assembled here. Fine men from Sind, Maharashtra and Gujarat have banded together here. How could we have, ordinarily, secured this?

I shall first address my prayer to the sisters and brothers who have come here for the function. You are witnesses to the establishment of this Mahavidyalaya. If there are any among you who feel that what is taking place is a farce, I would ask them not to be so conscientious and sit through the function. They should remain only if they wish to give their blessings. With the blessings of you all, the Mahavidyalaya will earn a name as a great institution. But they should not be blessings merely uttered with the lips; bless it from your heart. This you can do only by offering your sons and daughters to the institution. People in India have plenty of capacity to contribute money. In no field is progress held up for lack of funds. It is held up for want of men—of teachers or leaders, or if a leader is forthcoming, for want of pupils, i.e., soldiers. It is my belief that, if the leader is worthy, there will be no lack of soldiers. A carpenter will not quarrel with his tools, however bad they may be. He will handle the bluntest of them with the utmost ease. Likewise, if the leader is a real artisan, whatever the quality of the material, he will produce gold from it, will produce gold from the country's clay. This is my prayer to the principal.

You, principal and teachers, have been inspired by one ideal only in joining this institution. You have undertaken to secure freedom through the miracle not of learning but of character, secure it not by meeting the Government, sword against its shining sword, but with peaceful, spiritual effort—howsoever imperfect it be—against its aggressive, Satanic way. We want just now to sow the seed of freedom and afterwards we will water the plant and rear it into a tree. This tree can be raised only through character, with pure, spiritual strength. So long as the principal and the teachers go on working with their eyes on this one aim, we shall never be put to shame. May God justify in your experience the faith which is mine. Were it not for this unshakable faith of mine, I would not at all have accepted the sacred position of chancellor. I am ready to live and die for this cause, thinking that to die in this cause is to live; it is because I know that this is also true of you that I live among you and have accepted this exalted position.

If the principal and the teachers do their duty, what need I tell the students? I shall not indulge in ignoble running down of

students. They are but the sky and reflect their surroundings. They have no fraud or hatred or hypocrisy in them. They let themselves be seen as they are. If they have no energy for determined effort, no truthfulness, if they do not know *brahmacharya* or do not practise non-stealing or non-hoarding, if they lack the virtue of non-violence, the fault is not theirs. The fault lies with their parents, with the teachers, with the principals and with the Government. Or, rather, in this matter, why should I blame the Government? Only yesterday I told the students in Bombay that, if the saying "As the king, so the subjects" is true, it is equally true to say "As the subjects so the king"; in fact, the latter alone is true. The people should be blamed first. Their weaknesses are reflected in the students in a concentrated form and, therefore, may be clearly observed in them. If that is so, let us all, parents, the principal and the teachers, do everything necessary to be rid of these weaknesses.

Every home in the country is a university—is a Mahavidyalaya with the parents as principals. By neglecting their duty in that respect, they have forsaken their dharma. We have not understood the foreign culture, have not weighed its virtues and shortcomings. We have merely borrowed it, or, rather, stolen it since we pay nothing for the loan. How can India rise through such borrowed culture?

We are establishing this Vidyalaya, not with an educational, but with a national aim in view. Advising that students be taught to cultivate strength and character, I have been saying everywhere that in the measure we succeed with them we shall make ourselves fit for swaraj in the country. Swaraj cannot be secured in any other way. No amount of money we can spend or strength of character we can employ to ensure the success of such colleges will be enough.

This is a time not for words but for action. I have placed my thoughts before you as they came. I asked of you what you could give. Now I shall ask something of the students as well. There is no doubt at all that they have in them the courage which takes risks. I shall not look upon them—upon those who have already joined—as mere students and, therefore, I will not treat them as being free from responsibility. Those who have registered their names here are half teachers. It is they who have provided the foundation for the Mahavidyalaya. It is on them that the structure of the institution has been raised. Had they not joined, this Mahavidyalaya could not have been started. They also, therefore, share equal responsibility. You are equal partners in this and,

if you do not play your part well, no efforts on the part of the teachers will succeed or, at any rate, succeed completely. Students who have left their colleges should understand why they have joined here and what they should expect to gain. May God grant them the strength to go on with their work, no matter how long this grim war continues. If they do, I am sure that, even if they are a mere handful, this Mahavidyalaya will shine forth and be a model institution for the whole country.

The reason will not be that Gujarat has wealth or that it has learning; it will be, rather, that non-co-operation had its origin here. The seed was sown and watered here, the required *tapascharya* was performed here. Do not think from this that I am a conceited man to speak in this manner, or that all the *tapascharya* has been mine and the seed was sown by me. I merely gave the *mantra*, I fulfilled the function of a *rishi*, if a *Vanik*'s[1] son can do so.

I have done nothing more than this. The planting was done by my co-workers. It is because their faith was greater than mine that we have succeeded. I claim the knowledge which comes from direct perception. Even if the gods came down and tried to persuade me to the contrary, my faith would not be shaken. As surely as I see, with my eyes, the trees in front of me, so surely I know that there is no salvation for India except through non-violent non-co-operation. As for my co-workers, however, they have believed this through logic or reasoning or accepted it on faith.

Neither in India nor in any other part of the world is anyone guided solely by his own experience. Some have the experience while others work on in faith.

My co-workers have laid the foundation. Many of them are Gujaratis; there are Maharashtrians, too, but, having been in Gujarat, they have become half or three-quarters Gujaratis, or, perhaps, more Gujaratis than the Gujaratis themselves. They have made this a weapon of shining strength. We have not yet seen all its miraculous power. Within six months, you will see more of the miraculous power of this programme for which young girls handed over their bangles to me. But the source of it all—the visible image—is this Mahavidyalaya. Hindus are worshippers of images and we are proud of being so. This image has its various limbs: one of them is the chancellor and that is myself. The teachers, the principal and the students are other limbs. I am, myself, an old man, a withering leaf, and busy with other

[1] Same as *Vania*

work. The falling away of such a leaf as I am can do no harm to a tree. The principal and the teachers, too, are no more than leaves, though green leaves as yet. In a short while, they also will grow old and, perhaps, fall off. The students, however, are the branches of this beautiful tree and it is on them that principals and teachers will grow as leaves.

I request them to put the same faith in their teachers as they do in me. Should they, however, see that the principal or any of the teachers is weak, let them burn him to ashes with the fire which was Prahlad's and go ahead with their work. This is my prayer to God and my blessings to the students.

I shall end with a prayer to God and I want you all to say "amen" to it. Join me in my prayer, all of you, with a pure heart, "God! Make this Mahavidyalaya of such worth that through it we may win the freedom for which we offer prayers day and night and grant it that, through that freedom, not only India but the entire world, in which India is but a dot, may be happy."

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-11-1920

262. SPEECH TO STUDENTS, AHMEDABAD

November 15, 1920

RESPECTED PRESIDENT, STUDENTS, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

Our respected principal has reminded us of the pledge that the nation took at the instance of the Congress in Calcutta and told us that it should be fulfilled. Together with this pledge, I wish to remind you of another pledge as well, and it seems to me that this other pledge is of greater importance than the one taken by the Congress. Last year I went to the Punjab, and there we had unanimously decided that the Hunter Committee should be boycotted. We spent many days in discussion before coming to this decision. Pandit Malaviya advanced many arguments and reminded us of our weakness; we had also taken into account the fact that our enthusiasms were generally short-lived; that our leaders might be put behind prison-bars—all this was taken into consideration. And yet, all those who had assembled there—including, first, myself, second, Pandit Malaviya, third, Pandit Motilalji and, fourth, Mr. Andrews, and some others—all of us together passed a resolution advising boycott of the Hunter Committee. I remind you first of this pledge. At that very time, I had given the

warning that, if people took this pledge, they would have to publish their own report and that, if the alleged atrocities were proved, they would have to secure justice even at the cost of their lives, that, if it was found necessary to sacrifice the country, we would have no choice but to do so. At that time, my warning notwithstanding, the pledge was dear to the people. It is even more important to remember this pledge than the one taken at the instance of the Congress, for it has been said in criticism of the Congress pledge that the people were given no time to think it over, my oratory having dazzled everyone into accepting it. The second criticism is that for the first time Muslims attended the Congress in large numbers and their numerical strength gave the resolution the necessary majority. This is certainly not what happened. The fact is that votes were counted province-wise and in this, with the exception of two provinces, all the rest passed the resolution with a majority. Nevertheless, it is possible that not all the people gave thought to this resolution and, therefore, you may not, if you so desire, give weight to this pledge; though anyone who has respect for the Congress and who has no conscientious objection against acting on its resolution should carry out this pledge too with determination. The Punjab pledge, on the other hand, was taken with deliberate purpose. It was taken in complete calmness of mind, at a time when the excitement had died down, after due deliberation and in full consciousness of the risks. Men for whom you have respect and who are your leaders are determined to uphold the honour of the Punjab, for whose sake we are fighting. I wish to remind you of this pledge.

And now I ask those students who have not enrolled themselves in this national college—what do you want? Do you want freedom for India? Do you want to have your own culture or slavery to foreigners? I do not have a single word for you if you are prepared to put up with foreign domination. Gujarat College provides you with large playing fields and you can play games there; it has learned professors for you. It will be a long time before this college can provide a laboratory like what they have there. You will not get such facilities here. However, you are not less prisoners in Gujarat College for being provided with handcuffs made of gold and set with gems. If, on the other hand, you believe that independence is absolutely necessary for keeping alive one's spirit, you should leave Gujarat College, whatever the facilities it provides, and get yourselves enrolled in this college in spite of the handicaps you may have to suffer. I wish not to rouse your feelings but to awaken your reason, to make you aware of your duty, to put your

reason in communication with mine. If you still believe that, as long as you study in Government colleges you should not even think of independence, that entertaining such thoughts amounts to disloyalty, you are free not to leave Government colleges. One should speak well of the Government so long as one is being educated by it. But this Government has behaved arrogantly, it has inflicted atrocities on us, it has robbed the people of their spirit and attacked our religion—after all this, could we wish the Government well? And can we say that the Empire is so just that the sun never sets on it? If we cannot wish this, then we should flee from the Government. Every religion teaches us that nothing is as sinful as betraying one's religion. It is for this reason that I wrote once that to be educated in Government colleges is like cutting down the very branch that one is sitting on. So I ask those students who have not yet left Government schools and colleges to examine their heart again and again. If you feel that this rule ought to be brought to an end, our strength, our courage lies in leaving at once the schools and colleges of that Government.

Our respected principal has pointed out that co-operation in some matters is unavoidable, while in some others we can immediately withdraw it. It would be right to disown one's country itself in order to dissociate oneself from things of a certain nature. I do not deny that the time may even come when this will become necessary. But we shall not go into this as such a time has not yet come. We should do sufficient *tapascharya* to serve our present purpose. If one could purify one's mind or cure oneself or a disease as well as one desired by fasting for a day, then one would be a fool to fast for two days. If the *tapascharya* we have undertaken is sufficient for our purpose, then we need do no more. This same answer applies to [the question of] co-operation in respect of telegraph, railways, etc. That co-operation which robs us of our spirit, or that through which we willingly accept gifts from the Government, should be withdrawn immediately. Attending Government schools and colleges involves co-operation of this nature. Fortunately, we have the national college now. It is not everywhere that you will find a principal and professors such as we have. I do not wish to compare them with the professors of Gujarat College in Ahmedabad. In a short while things will improve of themselves. The students who have not left the Government College so far because there was no national college are not in the same predicament now. They cannot ask any longer what would happen if a new college was not opened. They should forthwith get themselves enrolled in this college.

A student of the medical college asked me what they should do if they wished to join non-co-operation. There are two categories of medical students. Those among them who pay their own fees should leave tomorrow. But I do not advise those who study with scholarships from the Government, and who have given an undertaking to return the sum within a specified period or to serve the Government for a certain number of years, to leave the college immediately. I cannot give them money out of the funds collected from the public. If they can secure their freedom by their own efforts by raising the sum from some other source and paying it up to the Government, it is their duty to do so. But I have on my hand the more urgent problem of the students who pay for their education from their own pockets. Whether or not we have other facilities for learning medicine, we must refuse that education which we think deprives us of our freedom and, giving up all desire for it until such time as the required facilities are available, take up some other occupation. If our people become spiritless, what will they be able to do even after they have been educated? I do not condemn the love of education. It is but right that a young man should have such love. But we should not sacrifice our country, our religion, for its sake.

"That is true education which leads to freedom." That alone is true education which enables us to preserve our dharma. This is the motto accepted by our university. The idea has appealed to me very much: "That is true education which leads to freedom." That which liberates is education. Liberation is of two kinds. One form of liberation consists in securing the freedom of the country from foreign rule. Such freedom may prove short-lived. The other kind of liberation is for all time. In order to attain *moksha*, which we describe as our *paramadharma*[1], we should have freedom in the worldly sense as well. He who is ridden with many fears cannot attain the ultimate *moksha*. If one would attain this, would achieve the highest end of human effort, one has no choice but to attain that *moksha* which is nearest to one. That education which delays our freedom is to be shunned, it is Satanic, it is sinful. Whatever the quality of the education given in Government schools and colleges, it is to be shunned because the Government which imparts it is Satanic and deserves to be shunned.

I shall now tell you, students, about how you should act towards your parents and whether or not it is proper for you to disobey them. It is your highest duty always to give them the best

[1] The highest dharma

obedience. However, the voice of your conscience is more important even than the expressed wishes of your parents. If this voice tells you that their words proceed from weakness, that your duty as men requires you to leave Government schools or colleges, leave them even against the wishes of your parents. But who can plead this voice of conscience? I repeat what I have said many times in the past, that he who is full of humility, he who has always given obedience, he who has understood and followed the moral law, he alone may disobey. He who has given the first place in his life to the duty of compassion, who has gained control over his senses by observing the rule of *brahmacharya*, who has not let either his limbs or his soul be polluted, who has observed the vow of non-stealing, who has not been guilty of hoarding material possessions, such a one alone can say, "This is what my conscience tells me." Do not merely echo Gandhi's voice when you approach your parents. Approach them at the command of your own inner voice and, prostrating yourselves before them full-length, tell them that you will not be able to obey their wishes.

A student told me that he had disobeyed his parents and left the Government College, but now they do not want him to join the national college. I advised him to obey them most certainly on this point. If any parents feel that the education given in the national college will be harmful and if they wish, therefore, to prevent their children from getting it, they have a right to do so and it is the duty of the latter to obey their wishes in the matter. Parents may keep children away from anything new which they feel is not good for them. They may not compel the children to carry a load of refuse. Each student must decide for himself what his dharma requires in this matter and then do what he considers to be his duty, despite opposition by his parents or the Government. Unless we act in this manner, the country cannot advance.

I shall now tell you of an incident which took place in Bombay. Some students raised cries of "shame, shame". A friend named Shri Nimbkar was among those who took part in this shouting. At the Bombay meeting[1], I dwelt on this insult to Mrs. Besant. I do not want to see any student who has pledged himself to non-co-operation violating peace. Everyone who joins non-co-operation must accept its three conditions. The first condition is that you should ever keep before you the need for peace, telling yourselves always that you are not to violate it, not to abuse anyone or lose your temper, not to strike anyone or cry out

[1] *Vide* "Speech to Students, Bombay", 14-11-1920.

"shame, shame". Until one is capable of acting in this way, one cannot join this movement. I told Shri Nimbkar that he had violated peace. However much he had been pained by the conduct of Mrs. Besant, Shri Purushottamdas[1] or Shri Setalvad[2], it was not right for him to raise cries of "shame". The right thing for him was to keep silent or quietly to leave the meeting. Shri Nimbkar was convinced of what I said and, in the presence of the whole meeting, expressed regret for his action and displayed his courage. He is a truly courageous man who admits his mistakes and feels sorry for them. By doing this, Shri Nimbkar has advanced himself.

Similarly I ask of you—of those who attend Gujarat College and of those who have enrolled themselves in this college—that you do not forget your dharma. There are three conditions involved in the pledge of non-co-operation. The first is peace. Non-co-operation should be peaceful, should have nothing to do with the sword. The tongue can be a sword and so can the hand, just as much as a sharpened piece of steel. The second condition is discipline or self-control and the third is sacrifice. We can offer ourselves as sacrifice only if we are pure. One cannot become pure except through self-sacrifice and, until you have become pure you should not leave college. There are about sixty students here today. The Vidyapith will carry on its work with these—will carry on even with five. If its foundation is pure, on that foundation swaraj will be established. One who has not purified himself will not add to the purity of this sacred foundation but, instead, bring disgrace to it. And so I say to those who wish to be admitted to this Mahavidyalaya that, if they do not intend to abide by the three conditions involved in non-co-operation, they had better keep away from it.

To the parents who are present at this meeting, I say: You were present at the National Congress and raised your hands to pass its resolutions; you should have faith in the Congress, should fully realize your responsibilities. Do not give a cruel blow to your sons and daughters, do not strike a blow at India. If your sons and daughters wish to perform a sacrifice, do not prevent them from doing so, but bless them and send them to this national Mahavidyalaya with your blessings. If you refuse to do this, you will bring shame upon yourselves and upon Gujarat and will show Gujarat's weakness and, thereby, India's weakness.

[1] & [2] Purushottamdas Thakurdas and Chimanlal Setalvad; liberal leaders

In the past, Gujarat has never taken such active part in politics. It has now decided henceforth to be active in politics. May it remain firm in its decision and so bring glory to itself and to the whole of India. Though you may not have truthfulness and courage in you, if your children have these qualities, be sure that you foster them. I conclude with a prayer to God to give you the strength to do so.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-11-1920

263. SPEECH ON MCSWINEY[1], *AHMEDABAD*

November 16, 1920

A meeting was held yesterday evening on the Sabarmati sands to express sorrow at the death of Alderman McSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork. Mr. Gandhi presided.

Mr. Gandhi paid a high tribute to the Lord Mayor and related his noble qualities. He was a young man and invited death by getting himself elected Mayor. He died not believing in violence. He was, however, wrong to resort to a fast in order to secure his release. Mr. Gandhi had received through Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for publication a poem composed by a brave Irish girl, eulogizing him [McSwiney]; but Mr. Gandhi had not yet published it, because this fasting would set a bad example.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-11-1920

264. LETTER TO L. N. SAHU[2]

[After *November 16, 1920*]

MY DEAR SAHU[3],

I am not publishing your letter in *Young India* because it covers a subject which requires local investigation and special track work.

From a draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 7335

[1] An Irish patriot who passed away after a 65-day fast unto death for the emancipation of Ireland. A resolution paying homage to him was passed at the Nagpur Congress session in December 1920.

[2] In reply to a letter dated November 16, 1920, from the addressee forwarding for publication in *Young India*, a translation of an Oriya article which appeared in *Samaj*, an Oriya weekly of Puri.

[3] Of the Servants of India Society

CWMG-XVIII

265. *A TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE*

The *communique*[1] issued by the Government of India on the non-co-operation movement may be regarded as its first triumph of a striking order. For the Government have decided *in view of its non-violent character* to refrain, for the time being at any rate, from repressing by violence what they consider to be an unconstitutional movement. The Government, as well as the people, may be congratulated upon this wise decision; and I have not the slightest doubt that, if the movement continues to be purged of all violence, whether in deed or in word, it would not only be impossible for the Government to resort to repression, but also to resist the ever-growing volume of public opinion against it, when that opinion is backed by well-directed acts of renunciation of Government patronage or support, on a national scale.

But the *communique* is careful to hold out the mailed fist, if the leaders of "moderate" opinion fail to check the onward march of non-co-operation. It is interesting to recall the exact wording of the threat.

> "How long," the *communique* ends, "with due regard to their ultimate responsibility for the public safety, the Government will be able to maintain that policy" (i.e., non-repression) "will depend largely on the success, which attends the efforts of the moderate citizens to check the extension of the movement and keep its dangers within bounds."

Thus repression is to replace reason and argument, if non-co-operation becomes effective to the extent of making it impossible for the Government to exist whilst refusing to retrace its steps and repent of its crimes against India. For it must be noticed that the danger here feared is evidently not of violence but of the loss of the existence of this Government. If my analysis is correct the Government are wickedly playing with the "moderates" and with India. If they mean well let them make an irrevocable announcement in the clearest possible terms that, so long as the movement remains non-violent, they will not interfere with it even though it demands, and may result in, complete independence. That they will have to make that announcement sometime or other I have no doubt, if we, the non-co-operators, are able to keep the movement free from violence. But the announcement made when

[1] In *Gazette of India Extraordinary* dated November 6, 1920

they are driven to it by irresistible public opinion will have lost all its grace.

The rest of the *communique* is quite in keeping with the traditional policy of the Government. It is full of the usual self-adulation and misrepresentations about non-co-operators. It is wrong, for instance, to say that those who have been repressed have been so dealt with for their departure from the principle of non-violence. I challenge the Government to produce from the speeches or writings of those who have been imprisoned any instance of incitement to violence. The language of the defendants has sometimes been reckless, even exaggerated, but the records available to me of the trials of some of them show that there has been no violence preached by the speakers concerned. There is very little that the speakers have said which I would not have said myself. It is equally untrue to say that those who have been punished have been so dealt with for "tampering with the loyalty of the army or of the police", unless a public appeal to recruits, not to sell themselves as mercenary levies for robbing other countries of their independence, amounts to such incitement. The Seditious Meetings' Proclamation in the Punjab and the action taken against some non-co-operation papers is an eloquent repudiation of the statement that the Government

> have been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press at a time when India is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realization of the principle of self-government.

The misrepresentation about the leaders of the movement and the cheap sneer at their supposed desire to seek martyrdom is beneath notice. The Government ought to know what a relief it is to the Ali Brothers and myself to learn that, at least for the present, they do not propose to imprison us. Everybody knows that the danger of an outbreak of violence is the greatest if we are imprisoned. I am aware that this is a humiliating confession. If the people were truly strong and self-reliant, they would remain unperturbed by our or any leaders' imprisonment. So long, however, as the blighting influence of the awe of the Government lasts, so long must there be this fear of an insensate outbreak of violence on the part of the people of this unhappy land, when they are deprived of the assistance and service of those in whom they believe.

The Government's third argument, in favour of the exercise of their self-restraint, is the most specious, and calculated to entrap the unwary. They describe non-co-operation as

> a visionary and chimerical scheme, which, if successful, could only result in widespread disorder, political chaos, and the ruin of all those who have any real stake in the country.

In this one sentence we have the Satanic character of the Government. They must know that successful non-co-operation means orderly and peaceful destruction of the present system of the Government, and *its replacement not* by disorder and chaos but by political order of the first magnitude, and protection of every legitimate interest in the country—not excluding that of the European merchant who desires to earn an honest living in India. Mention of the "real stake" is a wilful insult to the masses of India, and a mischievous incitement to the monied classes to range themselves against the masses. Have the masses no stake in India? Are they not the only people with any real stake in the country? The monied classes, if the worst happened, could even migrate from the country. The masses know no other home save the few yards of earth-space which they possess in this land of sorrow and tears.

It lies ill in the mouth of the framers of the resolution to say "that the appeal of non-co-operation is to prejudice and ignorance", when they are aware that from every platform the appeal is made for self-sacrifice, self-purification, and discipline. The misrepresentation of satyagraha is no less wicked. The experience was indeed bitter during that eventful month of April, but the recollection in the minds of the people of official misdeeds during those days will remain an evergreen. India will never forget how a wicked administrator in the Punjab sought to crush an innocent and pure movement by every means, fair or foul. The wonderful awakening of the people of India to a sense of the wrong then done, and to a sense of their duty, gives the lie direct to the implications of the sentence on satyagraha.

The resolution in question is an appeal not merely to our ignorance and avarice, but it is an appeal also to our helplessness. For this document proceeds:

> The full consummation of their hopes would leave India defenceless alike against foreign aggression and internal chaos, all the benefits of a stable Government and undisturbed peace, the results that have been obtained by the orderly progress of India for more than a century and the still greater results which, it is hoped, will attend her advance under the Reform scheme, her material prosperity and her political progress, are all to be sacrificed to the irresponsible caprice of a few misguided men.

In my humble opinion this paragraph is, indeed, the most mischievous, the most misleading, and to borrow the phraseology

of the Government, "the most immoral". If the argument advanced is sound, India must ever remain in a defenceless condition without the British bayonet. I cannot imagine for India a prospect more gloomy, more immoral, and more unworthy of a nation, that only a century ago was capable of putting in the field more sturdy warriors than all the soldiers that can be mustered together today by any three powers of Europe, barring Russia. What severer condemnation can be pronounced upon the British Government than that, for the commercial greed of the British nation, it has emasculated a whole people ? The framers must be aware that the full consummation of our hopes means an India with the whole of her population having one mind, one purpose, self-contained and self-reliant, producing enough for all her daily wants, and therefore well able to stand a blockade by all the naval powers of the world combined. This may all be a day-dream but that is the exact meaning of "the full consummation of our hopes", and I should very much like the gods to witness a duel between the powers of all the world pouring into India—not to punish her for any offence given by her, but in order to trade with her at the point of the bayonet; and the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Poorbhias, the Mussulmans, the Rajputs, and all the other military races of India voluntarily fighting for their hearth and home. If I am told that there never will be in India such unity of purpose and mind, I must say that there never will be swaraj for India, and therefore true freedom and true progress—moral and material. It was Canning who wrote that under the Indian sky a cloud no bigger than a man's thumb might any moment gather such dimensions as to flood a whole country if it burst. I have implicit faith in the ability of my countrymen to hope that all the bitter experiences of the British rule, at present lying sub-conscious in the *minds* of the nation, may any moment take definite shape in the nation recognizing the necessity of unity and self-sacrifice, such as to compel either repentance and a real change of heart, or withdrawal, on the part of the British Government.

I must refrain from burdening this article with any refutation of the charges of immorality, etc., regarding my advice to the student-world. The pages of this journal have made clear to its readers the ethics of the fundamental position taken upon this question. I must close this lengthy article with noticing the absence of the only thing that can stop the inevitable progress of non-co-operation, viz, a full and satisfactory revision of the Khilafat terms and complete satisfaction about the Punjab. When, and if, the British nation respects the wishes of India on these two points, co-

operation will replace non-co-operation, and swaraj within the Empire will be the most natural consequence.

But till that clear repentance comes, in spite of all the resolutions and all the repression that may be resorted to by the Government, so far as I can read the national mind, non-violent non-co-operation will and must remain the creed of the nation that has grown weary of camouflage, humbug, and honeyed words.

Young India, 17-11-1920

266. BRAHMINS AND NON-BRAHMINS

When I wrote in *Young India* on the non-Brahmin question in Maharashtra, I little realized that the non-Brahmin case was largely, if not entirely, a political matter, and that the complaint was not so much against the Brahmins as a class by the non-Brahmins as a class, as by some educated non-Brahmins against the Nationalists who were mostly Brahmins. Non-Brahmins include the Lingayats, the Marathas, the Jains and the "untouchables". The latter, however, have a separate grievance against the other non-Brahmins, in that they are isolated as much by the non-Brahmins. The case for the educated non-Brahmins is again not common to all. It may however be stated in the following terms:

1. Educated non-Brahmins do not possess the same political power that the Brahmins possess. The latter have the largest number of Government posts, and seats on representative bodies, although the former are numerically by far the strongest.
2. Some Brahmins debar the Lingayats from the inner sanctuary of temples, which the latter claim as their own; and this false (in their estimation) claim is supported by the Brahmins in general.
3. The Brahmins treat all non-Brahmins as Shudras, and treat them precisely as the British treat all Indians.

In my opinion the non-Brahmin case is exceedingly weak and is certain to disappear from the public life of Maharashtra, if the Brahmins of the Nationalist party carry out the Congress non-co-operation programme in its entirety.

The movement owes its vitality, not to the religious or the social disability, but to the political ascendancy of the Brahmins, which the latter undoubtedly enjoy by right of merit. That grievance must vanish if the Nationalist Brahmins, having evolved larger views about swaraj, taboo all Government posts and boycott the councils and nominated seats on municipalities. It is clear to me, that the Government in accordance with its confirmed policy will play the non-Brahmins against the Brahmins even without

the knowledge of the former, and endeavour to prolong its lease of life by fostering quarrels between the two, and holding out political inducements to the non-Brahmins.

It is clear, too, that the Brahmins will take the wind out of the non-Brahmin sail, and make that opposition innocuous by a right renunciation of every form of Government patronage. The reason why the question has assumed a more acute form is that non-Brahmin leaders are trying to influence the electorate in their favour, and are telling the electors that the non-Brahmins being weak, they must seek the British alliance. Brahmin leaders are naturally trying to influence the same electors and dissuade them from using their vote. This gives rise to bad blood but not more than when the moderates and the nationalists are fighting. The most painful part of the situation, however, is that the non-Brahmin leaders, who claim to represent the masses and to feel for them, by their co-operation with the Government, or by seeking to better their condition by Government aid, will actually tighten the hold of the Government on the masses. And by their countenancing the Government aid they will make more difficult the remedy of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. The non-Brahmin policy is thus demonstrably suicidal. Whatever their grievance against the Brahmins or the Nationalists, their remedy certainly does not lie through alliance with a Government, whose creed is economic exploitation of the masses, and to that end also their emasculation. For this refusal to right the Punjab, and partly even the Khilafat wrong, is based upon the policy of keeping up the British prestige at any cost. One lakh of Englishmen cannot keep under subjection thirty crores of human beings merely by brute force.

But it can, and does, consolidate its power, by making them progressively helpless, in a most subtle manner. I venture therefore to warn the non-Brahmin leaders against the danger of the co-operation with the Government which is bound to hurt the very cause which they seek to espouse. They will not better the economic condition of the masses by gaining a few Government posts, or by being elected legislative councillors.

Judged by the economic standard, thirty-five years of our political activity have resulted in disaster. The masses of India today are less able to stand the ravages of famine and disease than they were fifty years ago. They are less manly than they were at any period in the history of the nation.

The impending calamity of the non-Brahmin leaders running into the arms of the Government for the supposed betterment of

their political condition can easily be averted by the great Brahmin party. It is intelligent, it is strong, it has the traditional prestige of authority. It can afford to stoop to conquer. A wholehearted acceptance of the non-co-operation programme does provide an automatic solution. But it is not enough.

Bitterness will still remain, unless the Brahmins extend the hand of fellowship to those who feel weak and injured. Complaints were made about nationalist papers in the Karnatak using offensive and haughty language towards non-Brahmins; of Nationalist Brahmins otherwise also belittling them and treating them with contempt. Their ignorant non-Brahmin countrymen have a right to expect courtesy and considerateness from comparatively more enlightened Brahmins. The mass of non-Brahmins are still untouched by the anti-Brahmin prejudice. I have faith enough in the Maharashtra Brahmin to know that he will solve the non-Brahmin question in a manner befitting the traditions of Hinduism of which he is trustee.

Young India, 17-11-1920

267. THE GUJARAT NATIONAL COLLEGE

Never have I felt my position as embarrassing as I felt it at the time of inaugurating the Gujarat National College.[1] I knew that it marked a silent and peaceful revolution which my audience might not understand or appreciate. I felt too that the National College would suffer in comparison, if brick and mortar or academic distinction were to be the test. It was hardly possible to have a *national* building, when a Government, which claimed to be the ultimate proprietor of all our earthly possessions, had ceased to be the mouthpiece of the nation, and had even forfeited its confidence—yet the new college has in it possibilities which it is impossible to forecast. May it be the seed of national freedom! Its success will depend upon the combined efforts of the teachers and the scholars. Without any literary merit, I have accepted the office of chancellor, and performed the inauguration ceremony, because I believe in non-co-operation being the only remedy for national regeneration, and because I believe that the staff of the College and members of the senate are truly imbued with the same belief.

[1] *Vide* "Inaugural Speech at Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, Ahmedabad", 15-11-1920.

I have approached my task in prayerful humility. May God protect the new University and the College!

Young India, 17-11-1920

268. THE SIKH LEAGUE

Babu Kalinath Roy, the talented editor of *The Tribune* has kindly sent me an extract from a press letter received by him from a Sikh correspondent[1], for my comments. The extract runs as follows:

> Mahatma Gandhi told some of the Sikh gentlemen who went to remonstrate with him on the 21st October last on the pernicious effects of his propaganda on Sikh masses, that his propaganda of non-co-operation was non-violent, that there were no doubt visible signs that the movement was likely to become violent among the Sikhs, that he would strongly urge the Sikhs to remain non-violent both in word and deed; but that if despite his warning the Sikhs become violent, he shall not regret if the British authorities crushed them by force. He shall then let them be annihilated without letting either Hindus or Mohammedans come to their help, for it shall be by the sacrifice (*ahuti*) and total extinction of an element which is likely to become violent that the propaganda of non-violent non-co-operation will succeed.

Babu Kalinath Roy after quoting the foregoing says:

> The writer adds that at a meeting of the Sikh League these words were duly repeated as having been used by you and that you who were present, did not contradict the report. The letter has, I am further informed, been published by the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore.

The above remarks are, I suppose, intended to discredit me. Now the conversation referred to was long, lasting nearly an hour. Some of the remarks made by me during the conversation have been torn from their setting and put together as though I had made them in the manner and the order given. The fact is that the conversation was carried on partly in Hindustani and partly in English. My remarks were addressed to several members of the deputation. The latter had come to urge me not to put the idea of non-co-operation before the Sikhs, especially as I had myself witnessed the violent attitude of some members of the League. I told them in the course of my replies to several questioners that I did not like the attitude of some of the Sikhs present at the meet-

[1] Sewaram Singh

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ing, and that it filled me with grief. I told them also that if I was permitted to speak I would warn the audience against the danger of violence, that it would be suicidal to do violence to co-operators and seek to make them non-co-operators by compulsion. I told them too that the non-co-operators would be courting destruction if they committed violence, for the British would in that event have an opportunity of destroying the whole of the community. I certainly told my hearers that, so far as I could, I would dissuade both Hindus and Mohammedans from helping any campaign of violence, and that I would not in this struggle against the Government be deterred by the fear of such a calamity as has been described to me.

The summary of my remarks given by the writer thus hardly does justice to me. I may state that I do not know the writer nor have I seen the letter from which Babu Kalinath Roy has taken the extract. I do recollect a speaker at the Sikh League reproducing the conversation. His speech was in Gurmukhi and in so far as I understood him I think he correctly represented the gist of my remarks.

Young India, 17-11-1920

269. MR. DOUGLAS REPLIES

TO
THE EDITOR
YOUNG INDIA

SIR,

With reference to Mr. Gandhi's article[1] under the heading "Lucknow Speeches" reprinted in *The Independent* of the 10th instant from your paper, I request you will extend me the courtesy of your columns, as in a manner Mr. Gandhi has challenged me to "clear up my position". . . .

Mr. Gandhi complains that I did not protest at the meeting of the 15th October, and that I did not complain to him subsequently. As to protesting at the meeting, I left the meeting in a state of disgust, and judging from the present mood of audiences at political meetings, it is open to serious doubt whether I would have obtained a hearing if I had got up to take exception to the speeches of the learned Maulanas. As to complaining to Mr. Gandhi, the matter concerned me and my future conduct, not merely as a non-co-operator but as a Christian, and however great a respect I may have for Mr. Gandhi, I refuse to admit him

[1] Of 3-11-1920

as my guide and to take counsel with him as to my conduct as a Christian.

Mr. Gandhi further complains to having been misreported in one respect, but that obviously refers to the report of his speech by Mr. Mahadev Desai, and not by me, as the juxtaposition of the context is somewhat unfair to me. I mention this to avoid confusion.

Now to the speeches of the Maulanas and my withdrawal from the non-co-operation movement in consequence of those speeches. The gist of my letter of the 21st October is that a Christian was referred to as a Kafir and his murderer as a *shahid*[1], and that in my opinion this amounted to the condonation of such a murder. The use of the word Kafir is admitted, but says Mr. Gandhi in his answer that Bishop Heber spoke of Hindus as heathens, and in many a Christian church to this day, a whole race of mankind is spoken of contemptuously. An argument of this nature savours of advocacy, and I am surprised that a man of the eminence of Mr. Gandhi should have gone so wide off the mark. The speeches of the 15th October at Lucknow were not delivered from a temple, mosque, or church, they were delivered from, if I may be permitted so to describe it, the national platform, a platform to which Mr. Gandhi in several of his writings exhorts the Indian Christians and Jews to come, and these speeches were not of some obscure though devout Moulvis, but were those of the protagonists of this movement, and in a meeting held for the propagation of this political creed. Mr. Gandhi has not touched that portion of my letter in which I said that the murderer was referred to as *shahid*, nor does he say in his article that that word was not used without the slightest fear of any belated contradiction from any quarter. I assert this term was employed by Maulana Shaukat Ali, whom Mr. Gandhi openly calls his lieutenant in this movement. Having failed to comprehend the significance of this, it is not astonishing that Mr. Gandhi should consider my attitude incomprehensible. But this is the vital point. The place was the national platform, the occasion was for the preaching of the doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation, the speakers were the Muslim leaders of this movement and the upshot of their speeches was that, though they did not approve of this murder from the mundane point of view, but from the religious aspect because the person murdered was a Christian, the murderer being a Mohammedan was *ipso facto* a *shahid*. I request Mr. Gandhi to ponder over this, that if a murderer is described as a *shahid*, if it has any meaning it is this, that the murder was a meritorious act, having committed which the murderer becomes a *shahid*, and notwithstanding any subtle protestations to the contrary, the example of the *shahid* is held up for public esteem, to be

[1] Martyr

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emulated by his co-religionists, if they have any aspirations to religious reward. It would require an intellect of an unusually astute order not to perceive in this a condonation of the murder. Though it is not for me to enter into the merits of this question from a religious point of view, I maintain that these speeches amounted to a condonation of murder, to put it very mildly, to disapprove of murder on worldly grounds in one breath and in the next to uphold it on religious ones, is not only sophistical to a degree, but is hopelessly inappropriate from the non-violent non-co-operation platform and on the lips of the leaders of this movement. And when the leaders of a propaganda violate one of the cardinal basic principles of it, only two courses are open in my opinion to the dissenting followers, either to withdraw in protest if they are in a minority, or if they are in a majority to dislodge such leaders from their position. I being a Christian was in the first position and I took the first course, and it is for the public and Mr. Gandhi to decide what action to take if they really disapprove of those speeches and do not desire to temporize with an awkward situation by merely finessing with words. Mr. Gandhi puts me the question "Do I now not want swaraj or redress for the Punjab?" My answer is, certainly, I do, but I am equally convinced I am not going to get them in the company of such Muslim leaders, who to suit this particular occasion, preached violence neatly disguised in the garb of their religion, and to repeat myself it is impossible for me in these circumstances to continue to be a participator in a movement the Muslim leaders of which entertain such notions of a cold-blooded murder of a Christian as such.

On my part this is the last word on this subject.

H. P. DOUGLAS

Lucknow
November 12, 1920

I need hardly say that Mr. Douglas has missed the mark. He may not work *his* non-co-operation with a Mussulman or any Mussulman. But may he co-operate with an unrighteous government because he finds his co-workers equally to be unrighteous? In so far as Maulana Shaukat Ali is concerned, I am inviting him to state his own position.

Young India, 17-11-1920

270. SATYAGRAHA AND THE SUPPRESSED CLASSES

TO
THE EDITOR
YOUNG INDIA

SIR,

In commenting on my letter in your leading article[1] of the 27th October, you have virtually admitted my principal contention that "we Hindus should wash our own blood-stained hands before we ask the English to wash theirs" to borrow your own powerful phraseology. But are you not practically asking the English to do so? You admit that mine is "a proper question seasonably put". Does it not strike you, then, that the present political movement which you have started is, to say the least, a bit premature? You further say, "that we have become the Pariahs of the Empire which is, in Gokhale's language, the retributive justice meted out to us by a just God." If that is so, does it not follow that we cannot permanently achieve our political ideals unless and until we remove the root cause or causes of that same "retributive justice" and that even if your present movement succeeds (which goodness forbid) in ousting the British and establishing independence, it will not be worth an hour's purchase? For as our revered poet-laureate Dr. Tagore says in his book on "Nationalism", "no enduring political freedom can be built in this country on the quicksands of social slavery", and further, "the real problem in this country is social and not political". I know you too were of this opinion some time ago. I distinctly remember to have read in one of your speeches in the early days of your work here, that if only we Indians remove our internal evils and social handicaps, self-government will come to us without our seeking or asking for it. I am profoundly sorry that you have changed your opinion since then. I regard it as nothing short of a national calamity. But I pray you not to misunderstand those of us who still hold the same view. It is because they still sincerely hold this view that the suppressed millions and the non-Brahmins of Madras and the Deccan, who represent the masses of the people in these parts, have so resolutely set their faces against your political non-co-operation movement which, in their judgment, is like putting the cart before the horse. They are not traitors to the country of their birth as you seem to think. Knowing them in a way in which you do not know them, I may assure you that they are no less

[1] Entitled "'Depressed' Classes"

sincere and patriotic than you yourself. They fervently believe that on the whole the British raj is the best for the time being, and that even if you succeed in establishing Indian independence tomorrow, it will be lost in no time to the Afghans or the Japanese, if it is not wrecked and broken to pieces on the rock of caste as it has been more than once in our long and chequered history. They, therefore, intend to make democracy safe for India before India achieves democracy—safe from internal enemies as well as external foes. That is why they, while thanking you for inviting them to join your movement, will thank you still more if you give it up and join them in their noble endeavours of making India a fit and lasting home for democracy. Phrases as "slaves of slaves" and "the greater includes the less" are, no doubt, admirable dialectics which might conceivably deceive the shallow, superficial reader, but they sound hollow in the ears of all practical-minded folk. And it is neither correct nor fair to say, that the Government will be a hindrance in your way if you decide to work for the uplift of the suppressed millions. Why, they no less than we would thank you for it! Is it too much to hope you will see your "error of judgment" yet and turn your attention to the task of social amelioration which, to quote from your old speeches, is the surest and the best way of winning swaraj for India?

Yours truly,

4-11-'20 S. M. MICHAEL

I gladly publish this reply. Evidently Mr. Michael is not a regular or careful student of *Young India*. If he were he should have known that non-co-operation is a process of purification. He will find when swaraj is established by the method of non-co-operation, that there will be no Pariah or non-Brahmin problem left to be solved. I adhere to my statement that amelioration of radical social evils meant an attainment of swaraj, but I did not then realize that the British Government was the greatest of all the social evils with which society was cursed. This Government must therefore perish if it does not repent, as surely as Hinduism must perish if it does not purge itself of the blot on itself in the shape of untouchability. My difference with Mr. Michael is of the same type as with the Hindus who do not see the Satanic character of untouchability. Mr. Michael does not see in the present system of Government the growing degradation of the nation to which he belongs. It may therefore be right for him to tolerate the British Government. It is sinful for me to do so in its present state. And I am now engaged in employing the same remedy against the present system of Government, as I have applied against the system of untouchability in Hinduism. Mr. Michael has strayed from his subject

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in talking of the Afghan invasion. He would forgive me if instead of answering this new objection, I refer him to the pages of this journal.

Young India, 17-11-1920

271. SPEECH AT OPENING OF SCHOOL[1], *MALAD*

November 17, 1920

He at the outset expressed regret for not being able to come there at the appointed time. He had very short time at his disposal as he had to return to Bombay shortly and he would tell them as briefly as possible whatever he had to say. He was sorry that he had received a complaint from some blacksmiths and carpenters that the proposed school was being started with the object of minimizing their importance. He very much regretted that there should have been so much class hatred manifest among their community. He advised the proprietors of the school to carry on their work with vigour and he wished them Godspeed. He valued conscience more than anything else and if they had an honest difference of opinion, they should not mind it.

In conclusion, he advised them to learn to stand on their own legs in everything, and to attain this, they had to preach and practise non-co-operation. India required national education and not the education given in Government schools.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-11-1920

[1] For teaching blacksmith's and carpenter's work

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

V. J. PATEL'S NOTE ON DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS

BOMBAY,
September 22, 1920

While I agree, generally speaking, with most part of the draft instructions contained in the report I feel I should be failing in my duties as a member of the Sub-committee were I to endorse them wholesale in solemn silence. I therefore write this separate note explaining my views on some of the points dealt with in the report.

1. I regret, I cannot see my way to accept the suggestion contained in the report that the Congress has approved of Mr. Gandhi's full programme of non-co-operation and that having adopted the first stage for immediate application it has merely to determine later on the pace for the remaining three stages. My reasons briefly are : (1) The Congress did not as a matter of fact discuss the merits or demerits of the remaining three stages of Mr. Gandhi's programme. The issue was not directly raised, debated and determined upon. (2) In my opinion approval by the Congress of all stages of Mr. Gandhi's programme would offend against the first article of the Congress constitution which restricts the Congress to the use of all "constitutional means" for attainment of self-government. The stage which involves resignation of Government employees particularly those in the Military department can hardly be deemed "constitutional". I should be perfectly prepared to support any proposal for the substitution of the word "peaceful" for the word "constitutional" in the first article. But unless the necessary change is made in the "constitution" Congress cannot approve all the stages of Mr. Gandhi's programme.

I therefore respectfully submit that All-India Congress Committee should delete the paragraph in the report which contains the suggestions in question.

2. Boycott of Government functions, etc.

Perhaps the omission of instructions in the report on this item is due to inadvertence. The following are the lines on which instructions under this item should be prepared :

(1) Deputations and public meetings to ask Durbaris to have their names removed from the list. (2) Deputations and public meetings to be organized on the occasion of a Levy, Durbar or such other functions in order to urge upon persons likely to attend them, the necessity of abandoning the idea organized by Government, local body, association, or any private individual in honour of an officer of Government, similar steps should be taken to induce people not to

attend such function.[*sic*] Deputations and public meetings should also be organized to request local bodies, associations, or private individuals not to give any address to any officer of Government or hold or organize any function in his honour.

3. Gradual boycott of Government schools and colleges.

I cannot accept the interpretation in the report of the adjective "Gradual" in this clause. I fail to understand how the All-India Congress Committee can advise immediate withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges in face of the introduction of the adjective "Gradual" by the Congress, an adjective which did not find place in the clause as originally proposed by Mr. Gandhi. In my opinion the All-India Congress Committee could only adopt one of the two courses mentioned below in order to give effect to this part of the Congress Resolution: (1) An All-India propaganda for the withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges *pari passu* with the establishment of national institutions. Such a propaganda must necessarily require huge funds and call for incessant activities and yet it will not be possible, I am afraid, to show any tangible results for a long time to come. (2) Concentration of all our efforts in making an experiment of the establishment of national education and simultaneous withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges in some select area e.g., Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. Under such a scheme, it is possible to show definite results within reasonable time and if the experiment is found successful, other ports of India will soon follow the example.

4. Boycott of British courts.

Here too I cannot accept the meaning given to the word "Gradual" in the report. Vigorous propaganda throughout the country preaching to the masses the desirability of referring their dispute to arbitration simultaneously with the establishment of arbitration courts will yield results better than any propaganda for immediate withdrawal of lawyers from British courts would do. Better still I would recommend the concentration of our efforts in this direction in some select areas and making the experiments as thoroughly as possible. In the meantime lawyers all over the country should be asked to contribute a quota of their income to the National Fund. From this Fund, lawyers who desire to suspend their practice and devote their full time to public affairs may be maintained.

5. Boycott of councils.

I am of opinion that for some time to come at any rate we must concentrate all our energies and efforts in making the boycott of councils as complete as possible. We must create an impression and this we can do by concentrating on any one of the items of our programme. In order that the non-co-operation movement may take root, grow, develop and ultimately succeed, we must act in such a way as to show some tangible results of our activities in the near future. This can be best done by taking up in initial stages only one item and working it up as thorough as we can. This being my view,

I have suggested above that the work in connection with the boycott of schools and courts should be localized to select areas in order that we might be able to put forth sufficient efforts to make the boycott of councils as complete as possible. I would therefore like to supplement the instructions contained in the report on this item by following suggestions : (1) Public meetings should be held immediately in all constituencies and resolutions passed asking candidates to withdraw. (2) Even after elections are over continuous propaganda by way of deputations and public meetings in order to bring pressure to bear on the candidates returned to resign their seats. (3) Voters with whose votes a constituency has returned a member should be repeatedly approached and asked to influence the members to resign.

6. In the form embodied in the report to be signed by the voters I would suggest one alteration. The last sentence should be dropped and the following words substituted. "We do hereby declare further that we do not desire to be represented on any legislative bodies unless they are established under a constitution for full "swaraj" that is complete responsible Government in order to enable us to secure justice in the matters of the "Khilafat", "the Punjab" and the like.

7. Boycott of foreign goods.

I cannot endorse the view that this clause is an unfortunate interpolation due to a misapprehension. No doubt the phraseology of the clause is too sweeping and will in all probability be devised at the next Congress. In the meantime, it is the duty of every non-co-operator to give effect to the recommendation as far as practicable. Perhaps the All-India Congress Committee might give instructions recommending the boycott of certain specified goods of British origin to start with.

8. Publicity Boards.

I strongly feel that in our struggle for freedom full publicity of our activities from time to time not only in United Kingdom, but also in America is absolutely essential. This was the opinion of Lokamanya and it is also the opinion of Lala Lajpat Rai. One noticeable feature of the Egyptian Nationalist Movement was its extensive foreign propaganda. My interviews with the Irish and Egyptian Nationalists during my stay in England this year have convinced me that without simultaneous publicity in foreign countries [our efforts] will not yield results they otherwise would. I therefore unhesitatingly recommend that simultaneously with our activities in the field of non-co-operation in this country two strong Publicity Boards should be immediately established, one to be located in London and the other in New York. I append herewith a copy of the issue of the Egyptian Circular dated November 15th, 1919, to give the members of the All-India Congress Committee some idea of the kind of publicity work carried on by the Egyptian Nationalists.

Finally I should like to say a word or two which I should have said in the earlier part of this note. On the question of boycott of titles, etc., the

draft instructions contained in the report are all right so far as they go. But they should in my opinion be supplemented on the following lines :

(1) All Indian newspapers should in future in all their writings drop all references to titles and the title-holders should be addressed or referred to as Mr. or Esquire.

(2) No Indian newspaper should in future publish in their columns any Honours' list or any nominations by Government.

(3) Indian Public in addressing title-holders should drop all references as in the case of newspapers.

V. J. PATEL

From a photostat : S.N. 7266

APPENDIX II

MAHADEV DESAI'S NOTES OF GANDHIJI'S SPEECH AT LAHORE

The following is an English rendering of brief notes of Mr. Gandhi's Lahore speech[1] contributed by Mr. Mahadev Desai to *Navajivan* of the 4th instant :

Mr. Gandhi referred mainly to the imprisonment of Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan in his speech. He said that the Moulvi had already secured his liberty by going to jail, while we were still slaves. He repeated with special stress the words of the Moulvi that this Empire would collapse, and added that the Government was sure to be uprooted if it did not give us justice in the Punjab and Khilafat matters; and that it was the duty of all Indians to do their might towards its overthrow, keeping themselves within the paths of truth and justice; because to destroy this oppressive Government was to obey the word of God.

He further said that "there are two ways by which we can see Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan. One is that he should apologize for his words and be acquitted; but that he will never do. The second is that we should enter the jail. Sikhs, Hindus, Mohammedans, whoever have the strength to do what he did, can secure his acquittal by entering the jail. But those who will request the Government to set him at liberty will thereby commit a national crime. I called the Sikhs brave. They have shed their own blood for the sake of this Government. Other races are brought into submission with their help. It is due to them that hundreds of Arabs and Egyptians have been cut down. And today how are the Sikhs rewarded for all their bravery? Ask that of Sardar Goharsingh of Shekhupur. If the Sikhs would do their duty by their Hindu and Mohammedan brethren, they would surely bring about the release of Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan and also swaraj."

[1] *Vide* "Speech on Non-co-operation, Lahore", 19-10-1920.

Mr. Gandhi further said that he was deeply pained by the remark of a fakir during the speech of Maulana Mahomed Ali, that so long as materials are not ready for the use of the sword, we can do nothing but harm ourselves by resorting to the sword. He was altogether opposed to the use of the sword and expected that the Maulana would agree with him in the end. Murder of one Englishman would result not in our independence but in thousands of Jallianwalas. Even an encounter with arms would necessitate training and sacrifice. He then dilated upon the necessity of self-control with special stress upon the conquest of the senses, and in conclusion advised the audience to demand justice from the Government in the Punjab and Khilafat matters, and failing to receive that to paralyse the Government by renouncing all connection with it. They should either get Zafar Ali Khan released or enter the jails themselves.

Young India, 24-11-1920

APPENDIX III

STAFF OF GUJARAT MAHAVIDYALAYA, AHMEDABAD

Principal	Asudomal Tekchand Gidwani
Religious Teacher	Vinayak Narahar Bhave
Gujarati Teachers	Ramnarayan Vishwanath Pathak and Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh
Sanskrit	Ramachandra Balwant Athavale and Rasiklal Chhotalal Parikh
English	The Principal and Pranjivan Vishwanath Pathak
Mathematics	Maheshwar Shankar Godbole
History	Lala Jugalkishore Agrawal, M.A.
Economy	Jekishan P. Bhansali, B.A., and Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar
Logic	Sitaram Pandurang Patwardhan
Pali and Magadhi Languages and Old History of Gujarat	Muni Maharaj Jin Vijayaji

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CHRONOLOGY

(*July 1—November 17, 1920*)

July 1 : Gandhiji wrote to Press on interim report of South African Commission regarding repatriation of Indians.

July 2 : Wrote to N. C. Kelkar on draft constitution of Congress. Public meeting held at Bombay to protest against Hunter Report. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar presided.

July 4 : In *Navajivan* article Gandhiji detailed steps for starting of non-co-operation from August 1.

July 6 : Churchill announced, in House of Commons, Army Council's conclusion that Gen. Dyer was guilty of error of judgment and that he should not receive any office under Crown.

Before *July 7 :* Gandhiji issued Press statement on non-co-operation and sent cable to Mahomed Ali at London.
Non-co-operation Committee issued statement on methods and programme on non-co-operation.

July 7 : In Bombay, Gandhiji spoke at women's meeting. In *Young India* pleaded for boycott of Prince of Wales' visit.

July 8 : Debate on Hunter Committee Report began in House of Commons.

July 11 : Gandhiji appealed to Gujaratis in *Navajivan* article "Gujarat's Duty" to take the lead in non-co-operation. In another article he asked them to contribute money for Shantiniketan. His message on non-co-operation was read out at Rajakiya Mandal meeting, Nadiad.
Wrote to Press on South African appellate Court's judgment in favour of Dadoo.

July 13 : In Bombay, spoke at public meeting to consider Indian situation in East Africa and Fiji.

July 14 : In article in *Young India*, replied to criticisms of Mrs. Besant and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

July 15 : In Jullundur, spoke at meeting appealing to Hindus and Muslims to support non-co-operation.

July 16 : In Amritsar, spoke at non-co-operation meeting under auspices of Khilafat Committee.

July 17 : In Lahore, spoke on Khilafat and non-co-operation.

July 18 : In Lahore, spoke on boycott of reformed councils.
All-India Muslim League's Council condemned findings of majority in Hunter Committee Report.

July 19 : In Rawalpindi, Gandhiji spoke on Khilafat.
Dyer debate in House of Lords.

July 20 : In Gujarkhan, Gandhiji spoke on communal unity and Khilafat.

July 21 : Instructions of Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, for hartal on August 1 published.
In *Young India*, Gandhiji wrote on "The Music of the Spinning-wheel".

July 22 : In Karachi, spoke at Khilafat meeting.

July 23 : In Hyderabad (Sind), spoke at Khilafat Conference.

July 24 : Sent telegram to A. V. Thakkar not to go to British Guiana before finishing famine relief work in Orissa.
Addressed students at Sind National College.
Supported non-co-operation resolution at Khilafat Conference.

On or before *July 25 :* Sent telegram to Caliphate Workers' League, Delhi, not to violate Seditious Meetings Act.

July 25 : In Hyderabad (Sind), delivered public lecture at Citizens' Association.

July 28 : In *Young India*, replied to Montagu on the Khilafat agitation.
Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali sent Khilafat Day message to Madras Presidency.
In Bombay, Gandhiji addressed non-co-operation meeting.

July 31 : B. G. Tilak passed away in Bombay.
Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali issued Non-co-operation Committee's directions in a message on observance of Khilafat Day on August 1.

August 1 : Third Khilafat Day—Gandhiji inaugurated non-co-operation movement.
Wrote letter to Viceroy renouncing Kaisar-i-Hind and other medals.
Addressed meeting in Bombay under auspices of Central Khilafat Committee.

August 2 : Mahomed Ali and other members of Khilafat delegation arrived in Bombay; given public reception under Gandhiji's presidentship.

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August 4 : In *Young India*, Gandhiji paid tribute to Tilak and replied to manifesto against non-co-operation by Sir Chandavarkar and others.

August 11 : Left Bombay on tour of South India.
Explained non-violent non-co-operation in article, "The Doctrine of the Sword" in *Young India.*

August 12 : Arrived at Madras.
Interviewed by *The Madras Mail* representative on non-co-operation.
Addressed public meeting at Madras Beach on non-co-operation programme.

August 13 : Spoke on non-co-operation at Juma Mosque, Triplicane, Madras.

August 14 : Visited Ambur and Vellore.

August 15 : Spoke on rights and duties of labour at meeting under auspices of Central Labour Board.

August 16 : Spoke at Kumbakonam.
Spoke at Nagore.

August 17 : Spoke at Trichinopoly.

August 18 : Spoke at Calicut.

August 19 : Spoke on non-co-operation at Mangalore.

August 20 : At Salem.

August 21 : In Bangalore, addressed meeting at Idgah.

August 22 : In Madras, addressed students of Law College.

August 23 : In Bezwada spoke at Municipal Travellers' Bungalow compound.

August 25 : Reached Bombay.

August 26 : Reached Ahmedabad.

August 27 : In Ahmedabad spoke at Gujarat Political Conference.

August 28 : Moved resolution on non-co-operation at Gujarat Political Conference.

August 29 : Spoke on boycott at Gujarat Political Conference.

August 31 : Took pledge to wear khadi for life.

September 1 : In *Young India*, replied to Montagu and the Viceroy, and wrote on the Gujarat Political Conference.

September 4-9 : Special session of Indian National Congress at Calcutta. Resolutions adopted regarding non-co-operation, Hunter Committee Report and British Cabinet's attitude on Punjab atrocities.

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September 5 : At Congress Subjects Committee meeting, Gandhiji moved resolution on non-co-operation.

September 7 : Replied to critics at Subjects Committee meeting.

September 8 : Gandhiji's resolution on non-co-operation carried by majority at Calcutta Congress.

All-India Muslim League passed Gandhiji's resolution on non-co-operation.

September 9 : Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press of India on Indians abroad.

Spoke at special A.I.C.C. meeting at Calcutta to consider action on non-co-operation resolution.

September 10 : Interviewed Motilal Ghose, editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

September 14 : Patel resigned his seat in Viceregal Council.

September 17 : In Shantiniketan, Gandhiji spoke to inmates.

September 22 : A.I.C.C. Sub-Committee consisting of Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru and V. J. Patel issued report on draft instructions for Congress organization.

Before *September 25 :* All-India Home Rule League with Gandhiji as president issued circular letter for carrying out special Congress resolution on non-co-operation.

September 25 : Gandhiji sent to Chairman, A.I.C.C. draft of Congress Constitution.

Gandhiji's letter to every voter on duty of voters published.

On or after *September 27 :* Gandhiji sent message to countrymen in East Africa.

September 28 : In Ahmedabad, addressed students of Gujarat College, on boycott of schools and colleges, V. J. Patel presiding.

September 29 : In Ahmedabad, spoke at teachers' meeting.

October 6 : In Surat, spoke to students and teachers.

M. A. Jinnah and 19 others resigned membership of Swarajya Sabha in protest against its new Constitution.

October 8 : Gandhiji spoke at Rohtak.

In Bombay, Gandhiji's message to Indian women was read out at Bhagini Samaj meeting celebrating his birthday.

October 11 : In Moradabad, Gandhiji spoke at U.P. Conference.

October 12 : In Aligarh, met students.

October 14 : Spoke at Kanpur.

October 15 : Spoke at Lucknow.

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October 17 : In Bareilly, spoke in reply to address by municipality.

October 18 : Spoke at Amritsar.
Met students of Khalsa College.

October 19 : In Lahore, spoke on non-co-operation.

October 22 : Spoke at Bhiwani Conference.

October 24 : Wrote letter to trustees of Aligarh College.
Wrote on All-India Home Rule League reconstituted as "Swarajya Sabha".

October 25 : Wrote to M. A. Jinnah regarding resignation from Swarajya Sabha.

October 27 : *Young India* published Gandhiji's letter "To Every Englishman in India".
In Dakor, Gandhiji addressed public meeting and women's meeting.

October 31 : In Ahmedabad, spoke at women's meeting.

November 1 : Spoke at Mehmedabad.
In Nadiad, addressed public meeting and met municipal councillors.

November 2 : In Broach, spoke at public meeting.
In Ankleshwar, spoke at opening of Lokamanya National School.

November 3 : Wrote in *Young India* on Congress constitution.

November 4 : In Nasik, spoke at meeting, Shrimad Shankaracharya of Karavirpeeth presiding.

November 5 : In Poona, spoke at meetings in Deccan Gymkhana and Bhavanipeth.

November 6 : Addressed women at Poona.

November 7 : Gandhiji's article "If I am Arrested" and "What to Do on the 16th November" published in *Navajivan.*
In Satara, Gandhiji spoke at public meeting.

November 8 : In telegram congratulated Maulana Mahomed Ali, on new Aligarh University.
In Nipani and Belgaum, spoke at public meetings.

November 14 : In Bombay, spoke at student's meeting.

November 15 : In Ahmedabad, delivered inaugural speech as chancellor, Gujarat Vidyapith.

November 16 : In Ahmedabad, paid tributes to McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, at condolence meeting.
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