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# CONGRESS AND ITS FUTURE

By  
M. K. GANDHI

Compiled by  
R. K. PRABHU

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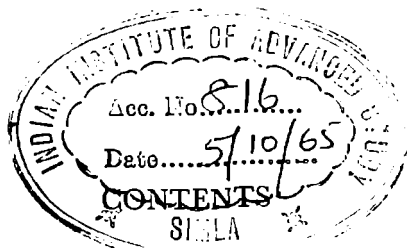


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CHAPTER I  
A RETROSPECT

The Congress is...the oldest political organization we have in India. It has had nearly 50 years of life, during which period it has, without any interruption, held its annual session. It is what it means—national. It represents no particular community, no particular class, no particular interest. It claims to represent all Indian interests and all classes. . . . It was first conceived in an English brain. Allan Octavius Hume we knew as the father of the Congress. It was nursed by two great Parsees, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji, whom all India delighted to recognize as its Grand Old Man. From the very commencement the Congress had Mussalmans, Christians, Anglo-Indians, I might say all religions, sects, creeds, represented upon it more or less fully. . . . We have had Mussalmans as presidents of the Congress, and Parsees undoubtedly. I can recall at least one Indian Christian (president). . . . We have had women as our presidents, Dr. Annie Besant was the first, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu followed. We have her as a member of the Working Committee also; and so, if we have no distinction of class or creed, we have no distinction of sex either. . . . Above all, the Congress represents, in its essence, the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its seven hundred thousand villages, no matter whether they come from

what is called British India, or what is called Indian India.

From Gandhiji's speech at the 2nd Round Table Conference in London.

*Young India*, 1-10-1931, pp. 276-77

Congress alone claims to represent the whole of India and all interests. It is no communal organization; it is a determined enemy of communalism in any shape or form. Congress knows no distinction of race, colour or creed; its platform is universal. It may not have always lived up to that creed. I do not know a single human organization that live up to its creed. Congress has failed very often to my knowledge. It may have failed more often to the knowledge of its critics. But the worst critics will have to recognize, as it has been recognized, that the Indian National Congress is a daily growing organization, that its message penetrates the remotest village of India, that on given occasions the Congress has been able to demonstrate its influence over and among the masses who inhabit its 7,00,000 villages.

From Gandhiji's speech at the 2nd Round Table Conference in London.

*Young India*, 24-12-1931, p. 407

The Congress became successful for the simple reason that it was inaugurated by the most selfless and cultured people that could be found in that age. They made themselves the representatives of the people and captured their imagination by reason of service and self-sacrifice. They were from the people and of the people.

*Harijan*, 18-2-1939, p. 12

CHAPTER 2  
CONGRESS IN OFFICE

How will Congress ministers discharge themselves? Their chief, the president of the Congress, travels third class. Will they travel first? The president is satisfied with a coarse Khadi *dhoti*, *kurta* and waistcoat. Will the ministers require the Western style and expenditure on the Western scale? Congressmen have for the past seventeen years disciplined themselves in rigorous simplicity. The nation will expect the ministers to introduce that simplicity in the administration of their provinces. They will not be ashamed of it, they will be proud of it. We are poorest nation on earth, many millions living in semi-starvation. Its representatives dare not live in a style and manner out of all correspondence with their electors. The Englishmen coming as conquerors and rulers set up a standard of living which took no account whatsoever of the helpless conquered. If the ministers will simply refrain from copying the governors and the secured Civil Service, they will have shown the marked contrast that exists between the Congress mentality and theirs. Truly there can be no partnership between them and us even as there can be none between a giant and a dwarf.

... The Congress ministers, if they will retain the simplicity and economy they have inherited since 1920, will save thousands of rupees, will give hope to the poor and probably change the tone of the Services. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that simplicity does



not mean shoddiness. There is a beauty and an art in simplicity which he who runs may see. It does not require money to be neat, clean and dignified. Pomp and pageantry are often synonymous with vulgarity.

*Harijan*, 17-7-1937, p. 180

A conscientious minister has no time for receiving addresses and honours, or for making speeches in return for fulsome or deserved praise. Nor have they time for interviewers whom they do not invite, or who they think are not going to help them in their work. In theory, a leader of democracy holds himself at the beck and call of the public. It is but right that he should do so. But he dare not do so at the sacrifice of the duty imposed upon him by the public. Ministers will cut a sorry figure if they do not master, or are not allowed by the public to master, the work entrusted to them. An education minister has to have all his wits about him if he is to evolve a policy in keeping with the requirements of the country. An excise minister will prove a disastrous failure if he does not attend to the constructive side of prohibition. And so will a finance minister who, in spite of the handicap created for him by the India Act and in spite of the voluntary surrender of the Excise Revenue, will not balance his budget. It requires a juggler in figures to be able to do so. These are but illustrations. Every ministerial office requires almost the same vigilance, care and study as the three I have mentioned.

It would have been easy for them, if they had simply to read and sign papers put before them by the permanent Service. But it is not easy to study every document and think out and originate new policies. Their gesture of

simplicity, necessary as it was as a preliminary, will avail them nothing if they will not show requisite industry, ability, integrity, impartiality, and an infinite capacity for mastering details. It would be well, therefore, if the public will exercise self-restraint in the matter of giving addresses, seeking interviews or writing to them long epistles.

*Harijan*, 9-10-1937, p. 290

### CHAPTER 3

## MINISTERSHIP, NOT A PRIZE

I have been receiving several letters from different provinces, protesting against the exclusion of their or their friends' names from ministerships and asking me to intervene. I do not think there is a single province from which such complaints have not been received. In some such letters dire results, including communal riots, have been threatened, if the excluded person's claims are not considered.

In the first instance let me say that I have not intervened in any single case in the selection of ministers. I have no right, having completely withdrawn from the Congress, to intervene in such matters, even if I had the wish which I have not. My participation in Congress affairs is confined to tendering advice on the issues involved in office acceptance and on the policies to be pursued in the prosecution of our march to the goal of Complete Independence.

But it seems to me that my numerous correspondents who have been writing voluminously think that ministerships are prizes for past services and that certain Congressmen can demand their inclusion. I venture to suggest to

them that ministerships are avenues to service, which those who are called to it, should render cheerfully and to the best of their ability. There can, therefore, never be a scramble for these offices. It would be decidedly wrong to create ministerships for the sake of conciliating interests. If I were a prime minister and I was pestered with such claims, I should tell my electors to choose another leader. These offices have to be held lightly, not tightly. They are or should be crowns of thorns, never of renown. Offices have been taken in order to see if they enable us to quicken the pace at which we are moving towards our goal. It would be tragic, if self-seekers or misguided zealots were allowed to impede the progress by imposing themselves on prime ministers. If it was necessary to have assurances from those who have ultimately to clothe ministers with authority, it is doubly necessary to have assurances of understanding, of loyalty beyond suspicion and of willing obedience to discipline. The grim fight in which the country is engaged cannot be won if Congressmen do not show in their conduct a sufficient measure of selflessness, discipline, and faith in the means enunciated by the Congress for the attainment of the goal.

Thanks to the Karachi Resolution, ministerships under the Congress aegis have no pecuniary attraction. I must say in parenthesis that considering Rs. 500 as if it was the minimum instead of the maximum was a mistake. Rs. 500 was the last limit. Had we not got used to the excessive scale of salaries imposed upon the country, we would have regarded Rs. 500 to be excessive. The Congress scale has been generally, for the past seventeen

years at least, Rs. 75 per month. In its three great constructive all-India departments, national education, Khadi and village industries, the authorized scale has been Rs. 75. These departments contain men who are good enough, so far as ability is concerned, any day to be ministers. They have distinguished educationists, lawyers, chemists and merchants, who, if they were so minded, could easily command over Rs. 500 per month. Why should the fact of becoming a minister make the great difference we see? But the die is perhaps cast. My remarks represent my personal opinion. I have too high a regard for the prime ministers to question their judgment and wisdom. No doubt they thought that this was the best in the circumstances facing them. The point I wish to make, in answer to my correspondents, is that these offices have not been taken in view of the emoluments they offer.

And then they have to be given to those only in the party who are best able to discharge the duty to which they are called.

And lastly, the acid test is that the choice must commend itself to the members of the party to whom the prime ministers owe their nomination. No prime minister can for one moment impose a man or woman of his choice on the party. He is chief because he enjoys the full confidence of his party as to ability, knowledge of persons, and other qualities that mark out one for leadership.

*Harijan*, 7-8-1937, p. 204

CHAPTER 4  
MINISTERIAL SALARIES

Why should a minister draw Rs. 1,500 and a *chaprasi* or a teacher Rs. 15 per month? But the question cannot be solved by the mere raising of it. Such differences have existed for ages. Why should an elephant require an enormous quantity of food and a mere grain suffice for the ant? The question carries its own answer. God gives to each one according to his need. If we could as definitely know the variations in the needs of men as those of the elephant and the ant, no doubts would arise. Experience tells us that differences in requirements do exist in society. But we do not know the law governing them. All therefore that is possible today is to try to reduce the difference as far as possible. The reduction can be brought about by peaceful agitation and by the creation of public opinion. It cannot be done by force or by *dura-graha* in the name of Satyagraha. The ministers are the people's men. Their wants even before they took office were not those of *chaprasis*. I would love to see a *chaprasi* become worthy of holding the office of minister and yet not increase his needs. It should also be clearly understood that no ministers need draw up to the maximum of the salary fixed.

It is worth while pondering over one thing that arises out of the questions. Is it possible for the *chaprasi* to support himself and his family on Rs. 15 per month without taking bribes? Should he not be given enough to keep him above temptation? The remedy for this is

that as far as possible we should be our own *chaprasi*. But even so if we need them we must pay them enough for their requirements. In this way the big gulf that exists between minister and *chaprasi* will be bridged.

It is another matter as to why the pay of the ministers has been raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1500 p.m. But this is nothing as compared with, and does not solve, the main problem. With the solution of the latter it will *ipso facto* be solved.

*Harijan*, 21-4-1946, p. 93-94

The question of the hideous inequality between the rich and the poor and the lower services and the higher is a separate subject requiring drastic and well thought out method and could not be merely incidental to the lowering of the salaries of the few ministers and their secretaries. Both subjects require to be dealt with on merits. The question of salaries could be and should be easily disposed of by the ministers concerned. The other is a much vaster subject requiring a thorough overhauling. I would any day agree that the ministers should tackle the subject in their own provinces without delay and that the lower ranks should before everything else have their salaries fully reconsidered and increased wherever necessary.

*Harijan*, 9-6-1946, p. 176

CHAPTER 5  
PARTIES IN THE CONGRESS

There are many parties in the Congress. We are not all of the same opinion. There is indiscipline in the Congress. I know it is inevitable in a mass organization which is growing from day to day. If it is all indiscipline and no discipline, the organization is on the downward path. Let it not be said of you that you come to the Congress although you do not believe in non-violence. How can you possibly sign the Congress pledge with violence in your breasts? I want complete obedience to the policy of non-violence. While the policy lasts, it is the same as though it was a creed, for so long as it holds good it is as good as a creed. My creed holds me for life; yours so long as you hold it. Resign from the Congress, and you are free from it. Let us be clear regarding the language we use and the thoughts we nurture. For, what is language but the expression of thought? Let your thought be accurate and truthful, and you will hasten the advent of Swaraj even if the whole world is against you. You will have won Swaraj without having to spend nine million pounds a day or without burning a single home. If you are true to your policy, I am sure that without doing any of these things you will build up the majestic edifice of freedom.

From Gandhiji's speech at A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay on 15-9-1940.

*Harijan*, 29-9-1940, pp. 305-06

Q. The growth of parties in the Congress is having a very adverse effect on the Congress organization. What is the remedy?

A. There can be only one party in the Congress, i.e., that of Congressmen and no other. That is not to say that there is no room in the Congress for individuals or groups holding different opinions. I do not believe in dead uniformity. "All men are born equal and free" is not Nature's law in the literal sense. All men are not born equal in intellect, for instance, but the doctrine of equality will be vindicated if those who have superior intellect will use it not for self-advancement at the expense of others, but for the service of those who are less favoured in that respect than they. Today there are all sorts in the Congress. That is why I have suggested the removal of the words "peaceful and legitimate" from the Congress objective. That need not mean abandonment of truth and non-violence by Congressmen. The object is only to purge out hypocrisy. It jars. Let those who believe in the doctrine of the sword openly avow it. To take the name of non-violence when there is sword in your heart, is not only hypocritical and dishonest but cowardly. Our non-violence *vis-a-vis* the British Government has been the non-violence of the weak. Otherwise, why should there be all these wrangles among ourselves? We try to justify the disorganization and chaos in our midst by pointing to the example of "squatters" in England, forgetting that blind imitation will not help us. There is nothing more demoralizing than fake non-violence of the weak and impotent. If we had the requisite non-violence in us, our public



life would be characterized by utmost toleration. There will then be room for as many parties as there are opinions. Differences of opinion would be an indication of healthy independence of mind which is the law of life, not party intrigues and party strife. The latter are incompatible with independence.

*Harijan*, 6-10-1946, p. 338

#### CHAPTER 6

### CORRUPTION IN CONGRESS RANKS

This office-holding is either a step towards either greater prestige or its total loss. If it is not to be a total loss, the ministers and the legislators have to be watchful of their own personal and public conduct. They have to be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion in everything. They may not make private gains either for themselves or for their relatives or friends. If the relatives or friends get any appointment, it must be only because they are best among the candidates, and their market value is always greater than what they get under the Government. The ministers and the legislators of the Congress ticket have to be fearless in the performance of their duty. They must always be ready to risk the loss of their seats or offices. Offices and seats in the legislatures have no merit outside their ability to raise the prestige and power of the Congress. And since both depend wholly upon the possession of morals, both public and private, any moral lapse means a blow to the Congress. This is the necessary implication of non-violence.

*Harijan*, 23-4-1938, p. 88

All that is wanted is the will to clear the Congress of Augean stables. But if the heads of Congress committees are indifferent or supine, the corruption cannot be dealt with. "If the salt loses its savour wherewith shall it be salted?"

*Harijan*, 22-10-1938, p. 299

Rome's decline began long before it fell. The Congress, which has been nursed for over fifty years by the best brains of the country, will not fall the moment it has begun to decay. It need not fall at all, if the corruption is handled in time.

In my opinion the greatest work before the Congress will be to deal with this fourfold process of decay. We are yet far from our goal. We shall be no nearer it, if we are not sure of our means and their meaning and implications. When the real time comes we shall be found wanting. . . .

Though there is non-violence enough among the masses, there is not enough among those who have to organize the masses. Even as a banker cannot run a bank, if he has nothing in his chest, so can a general not lead a battle, if he has no soldiers on whom he can rely implicitly.

. . . What is more, if God so wills it, I feel I have enough strength and energy in me to lead a battle much more strenuous than any I have fought. But there are Saharas in the way. I have mentioned one which Congressmen can see, touch and handle. The Congress would not be harmed by my having lifted the curtain and exposing our ugliness to the public gaze. It would be harmed if knowing the truth I hid it from the public.

*Harijan*, 28-1-1939, p. 444

I would go the length of giving the whole Congress organization a decent burial, rather than put up with the corruption that is rampant.

*Harijan*, 27-5-1939, p. 137

If the Congress wants to continue as a people's organization, the ministers cannot live as *sahib log* nor use for private work facilities provided by government for official duties.

*Harijan*, 29-9-1946, p. 333

#### CHAPTER 7

### NEED FOR STRENGTHENING AND PURGING CONGRESS

One thing is certain. The Congress organization needs strengthening and purging. On the Congress register there should be, not merely a few lakhs of men and women, but every adult male or female above the age of 18, no matter to what faith they belong. And these should be on the register in order to receive a proper training or education in the practice of truth and non-violence in terms of the national struggle. I have always conceived the Congress to be the greatest school of political education for the whole nation. But the Congress is far off from the realization of the ideal. One hears of manipulations of Congress registers, and of bogus names being put in for the purpose of showing numbers. When the registers have been honestly prepared there is no attempt to keep in close touch with the voters.

*Harijan*, 20-11-1937, p. 340

Let us understand the functions of the Congress. For internal growth and administration, it is as good a democratic organization as any to be found in the world. But this democratic organization has been brought into being to fight the greatest imperialist power living. For this external work, therefore, it has to be likened to an army. As such it ceases to be democratic. The central authority possesses plenary powers enabling it to impose and enforce discipline on the various units working under it. Provincial organizations and provincial parliamentary boards are subject to the central authority.

The Congress is the very antithesis of Fascism, because it is based on non-violence pure and undefiled. Its sanctions are all moral. Its authority is not derived from the control of panoplied black-shirts.

Its authority is derived from that non-violent attitude. It is the only purely non-violent political organization of importance, to my knowledge, throughout the world.

*Harijan*, 6-8-1938, p. 209

## CHAPTER 8 CHOICE BEFORE CONGRESS

Violence at Congress elections, they say, is on the increase. It looks as if Congressmen are not able to digest the power that has come to the Congress. Everyone wants to have a share in the spoils of office. And so there is an unhealthy competition to capture committees.

This is not the way to win Swaraj, nor is it the way to work the office programme. The holding of any office in the Congress Government must be in the spirit of service without the slightest expectation of personal gain. If A is satisfied in ordinary life with getting Rs. 25 per month, he has no right to expect Rs. 250 on becoming a minister or obtaining any other office under the government. And there are many Congressmen who are taking only Rs. 25 per month in voluntary organizations and who are well able to shoulder ministerial responsibility. Bengal and Maharashtra are teeming with able men who have dedicated themselves to public service on a mere pittance and who are well able to give a good account of themselves no matter where they are put. But they are not to be tempted to leave the fields they have chosen, and it would be wrong to drag them out of their invaluable self-chosen obscurity. It is true all the world over, and more true perhaps of this country, that as a rule the best and the wisest men will not become ministers or accept positions under governments. But I have digressed.

We may not always get the best and the wisest men and women to run Congress Governments, but Swaraj

will become a distant dream if the ministers and other Congressmen holding offices are not selfless, able and incorruptible. We are not likely to have such men if Congress committees become job-hunting arenas in which the most violent would win.

How to preserve the purity of the organization is the question. Anyone who subscribes to the credal article of the Congress and pays 4 annas can demand registration as a member. Many sign the Congress pledge without believing in the necessity for observing truth and non-violence as conditions of attainment of Swaraj. Let no one cavil at my use of the expressions, 'truthful and non-violent' as synonymous with 'legitimate and peaceful'. From the very commencement of the Congress constitution I have used those adjectives without challenge. The word non-violence was first introduced by me in the resolution on non-co-operation carried in Calcutta by the Congress. Can anything be untruthful and yet be legitimate, violent and yet be peaceful? Be that as it may, I claim that those who commit a breach of these two primary conditions, no matter by what adjectives they are known, can have no place in the Congress organization so long as it is governed by the present constitution.

Similarly those who do not use Khadi as habitual wear have no place in any Congress committee. This condition should apply also to those who do not carry out vital resolutions of the Congress, A.I.C.C or the Working Committee. My prescription would be that those who commit a breach of any of these conditions should automatically cease to belong to the Congress.

It may be urged that the remedy is too drastic. It is, if it is regarded as a punishment. If it is the automatic result of a particular act or omission of a person, it is no punishment. I know that thrusting my finger into a furnace will surely burn it and still I thrust it; my suffering is no punishment, it is the natural consequence of my action. Punishment depends upon the will of the judge. Natural consequences are independent of any person's will.

It will be urged that under these conditions the Congress will cease to be a democratic organization, it will become a close corporation. \

I hold a wholly contrary view.

Democracy of the West is, in my opinion, only so-called. It has germs in it, certainly, of the true type. But it can only come when all violence is eschewed and malpractices disappear. The two go hand in hand. Indeed, malpractice is a species of violence. If India is to evolve the true type, there should be no compromise with violence or untruth.

The million men and women on the Congress register with violence and untruth in their breasts would not evolve real democracy or bring Swaraj. But I can conceive the possibility of ten thousand Congressmen and women who are cent per cent true, and free from having to carry the burden of innumerable doubtful companions, bringing Swaraj.

Let us reflect upon the past a little. Over fifty years ago a handful of men and women took it into their heads to meet together and represent and speak in the name of the dumb millions. Time has proved the

validity of their claim. Since then the prestige of the Congress has risen not in proportion to its numbers, not in proportion to the display of intellect on the platform or in committee rooms, but it has risen in proportion to the ability of Congressmen to suffer and sacrifice themselves for the nation. No one will deny that when in 1920 the Congress definitely became a democratic, duly elected body having a large number of voters on its rolls, it found itself possessed of new power only because it deliberately adopted, truth and non-violence as its means of reaching its goal. And even at the present day, the Congress has quite an insignificant number of men and women on its register compared to the tremendous power it wields. The reason to my mind is that it shows a measure of sacrifice, cohesion and discipline unequalled by any other organization in India. . . . It is my deliberate conviction based on closest observation that we can secure all we want, within much less time than perhaps any one of us imagines, simply by showing high efficiency and equally high honesty in every one of the Congress activities.

\*                    \*                    \*

With all earnestness I can command I, therefore, plead with every Congressman who believes in his pledge to make his choice: either to apply the purge I have suggested, or if that is not feasible, because of the Congress being already overmanned by those who have lost faith in its creed and its constructive programme on which depends its real strength, to secede from it for its own sake and prove his living faith in the creed and programme by practising the former and prosecuting the



latter as if he had never seceded from the Congress of his ideal. If one or the other thing is not done, I see grave danger of the Congress collapsing by the weight of its own weaknesses.

It has given me no pleasure to pen these lines. But having felt the urge, I would have been untrue to the Congress if I had not uttered the warning. It is the voice of the silence. For the reader should know I took silence over a fortnight ago for an indefinite period. It has given me peace I cannot describe. And it enables me to commune with Nature.

*Harijan*, 3-9-1938, p. 242-43

#### CHAPTER 9

### LAW AND ORDER UNDER CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Civil liberty is not criminal liberty. When law and order are under popular control, the ministers in charge of the department cannot hold the portfolio for a day, if they act against the popular will. It is true that the assemblies are not sufficiently representative of the whole people. Nevertheless the suffrage is wide enough to make it representative of the nation in matters of law and order. In seven provinces the Congress rules. It seems to be assumed by some persons that, in these provinces at least, individuals can say and do what they like. But so far as I know the Congress mind, it will not tolerate any such licence. Civil liberty means the fullest liberty to say and do what one likes within the ordinary law of the land. The word 'ordinary' has been purposely

used here. The Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, not to speak of the special powers legislation, contain provisions which the foreign rulers have enacted for their own safety. These provisions can be easily identified, and must be ruled out of operation. The real test, however, is the interpretation by the Working Committee of the power of the ministers of law and order. Subject, therefore, to the general instructions laid down by the Working Committee for the guidance of Congress ministers, the statutory powers limited in the manner indicated by me must be exercised by the ministers against those who, in the name of civil liberty, preach lawlessness in the popular sense of the term.

It has been suggested that Congress ministers who are pledged to non-violence cannot resort to legal processes involving punishments. Such is not my view of the non-violence accepted by the Congress. I have, personally, not found a way out of punishments and punitive restrictions in all conceivable cases. No doubt punishments have to be non-violent, if such an expression is permissible in this connection. Just as violence has its own technique, known by the military science, which has invented means of destruction unheard of before, non-violence has its own science and technique. Non-violence in politics is a new weapon in the process of evolution. Its vast possibilities are yet unexplored. The exploration can take place only if it is practised on a big scale and in various fields. Congress ministers, if they have faith in non-violence, will undertake the explorations. But whilst they are doing this, or whether they do so or not, there is no doubt that they cannot

ignore incitements to violence and manifestly violent speech, even though they may themselves run the risk of being styled violent. When they are not wanted, the public will only have to signify its disapproval through its representatives. In the absence of definite instructions from the Congress, it would be proper for the ministers to report, what they consider is violent behaviour of any member of the public, to their own Provincial Congress Committee, or the Working Committee, and seek instructions. If the superior authority does not approve of their recommendations, they may offer to resign. They may not allow things to drift so far as to have to summon the aid of the military. In my opinion, it would amount to political bankruptcy, when any minister is obliged to fall back on the military, which does not belong to the people, and which, in any scheme of non-violence, must be ruled out of count for the observance of internal peace.

*Harijan*, 23-10-1937, p. 308

Congress ministers themselves are of the people and from the people. They have no secrets. They are expected to be in personal touch with every public activity including the student mind. They have at their disposal the whole of the Congress machinery which, as the interpreter of the popular will, is surely more than the law, the police and the military. Those who have not that machinery to back them are spent bullets. For those ministers who have the Congress at their back, the law, the police and the military may be said to be a useless appendage. And the Congress is nothing if it is not an embodiment of discipline. Therefore,

with the Congress in power there should be voluntary, not forced, discipline everywhere.

*Harijan*, 2-10-1937, p. 280

## CHAPTER 10 CONGRESS AND KISANS

[Soon after his release from prison Prof. N. G. Ranga saw Gandhiji at Sevagram and had two interviews with him on 29-10-'44 and 28-11-'44 respectively. It was understood on both sides that the interviews were not for publication. As, however, parts of those interviews appeared in the Press, Syt. Pyarelal, under instructions from Gandhiji, released to the Press the following full notes of the talks:]

### I

At the first interview Prof. Ranga presented Gandhiji with a long written questionnaire. His questions and Gandhiji's replies were as under:

*Prof. Ranga*: You say that the earth rightly belongs or should belong to the peasant. By this, do you mean only that the peasant ought to gain control over the land he cultivates or that he should also gain effective voice and power in the society and over the State in which he is obliged to live?

If the Kisans are to have only land and not effective political power, their position will be just as bad as in Soviet Russia where political power has been monopolized by the proletariat dictatorship while peasants were first allowed to gain some holdings and later were deprived of those holdings in the name of collectivization of land.

*Gandhiji*: I do not know what has happened in Soviet Russia. But I have no doubt that if we have

democratic Swaraj, as it must be if the freedom is won through non-violence, the Kisan must hold power in all its phases, including political power.

### **State-controlled Trusteeship**

*Prof. Ranga:* Am I right in interpreting your statement that "land should not belong to the absentee landlord or zamindar" and that ultimately the zamindari system has to be abolished, of course through non-violent means?

*Gandhiji:* Yes. But you should remember that I visualize a system of trusteeship regulated by the State. In other words, I do not want to antagonize the zamindars (and for that matter any class) without cause.

*Prof. Ranga:* When you say that a peasant has "so to work as to make it impossible for the landlord to exploit him," does it include apart from the Satyagrahic campaigns the legislative administrative reforms that peasants may oblige the State through the exercise of their franchise and political influence to improve their individual and collective conditions and minimize the powers of the landlords?

### **Kisans and Political Power**

*Gandhiji:* Civil disobedience and non-co-operation are designed for use when people, i.e., the tillers of the soil, have no political power. But immediately they have political power, naturally their grievances, whatever their character, will be ameliorated through legislative channels.

"But he might not have all that political power," you will perhaps say. My reply is that if Swaraj is attained

by the effort of the whole people, as it must be under non-violence, the Kisans must come into their own and have the uppermost voice. But if it is not so and there is a sort of a workable compromise between the people and the government on the basis of a limited franchise, the interests of the tiller of the soil will need close watching. If the legislature proves itself to be incapable of safeguarding Kisans' interests they will of course always have the sovereign remedy of civil disobedience and non-cooperation. But as I said as early as 1932 in connection with Chirala Perala, ultimately, it is not paper legislation nor brave words or fiery speeches, but the power of non-violent organization, discipline, and sacrifice that constitutes the real bulwark of the people against injustice or oppression.

### **Kisans and Congress**

*Prof. Ranga:* You suggest that the existing Kisan organizations should be reformed where necessary. I quite recognize the need for Congressmen who have been working among Kisans to re-orientate the general political attitude of the Kisan class organizations so that they will recognize the need for a united political leadership for winning our national freedom. I am also convinced that the National Congress provides for us all — especially for peasants — the most effective weapon and leadership to win freedom. But is there any harm if we organize peasants into a “Kisan Congress” which accepts the political leadership of the Congress?

*Gandhiji:* There may be gross self-deception in this presentation. When I said that the Kisan Sabhas should be reformed, I meant that up till now Kisan

Sabhas have been formed not to wrest power from the government but to capture the Congress. That applies to the students and labour organizations too.

### **No Rivalry**

*Prof. Ranga:* You are partially right. That was so in the past. But we have now completely abandoned that idea. Since you made your statement on the subject in 1929 the thing was completely given up. We have adopted the word Congress not in a spirit of rivalry but because we want to be identified with the Congress. We will have double membership. Every member of the Kisan Congress will also be enrolled as a member of the National Congress.

*Gandhiji:* Then why not run the Congress? Why set up an independent and parallel organization? Don't you see when Kisan Sabhas are bonafide organizations they are the Congress? Today only a fraction of India's population is represented on the Congress register.

Congress aspires to represent the whole nation. It claims by right of service to speak even for those not on its register. When it becomes a fully national organization *de jure* as it is today by moral right, the bulk of its membership will naturally consist of the Kisans and they will be in a position to dictate its policy.

### **Accepting Congress Leadership**

*Prof. Ranga:* The trouble is that some of our Congress colleagues think we are ousting them from their legitimate position of power and privilege. They may not be prepared to welcome our existence or trust our bona fides. We want to avoid conflicts within the Congress by willingly accepting the political leadership of the

Congress. For executing our economic programme we want to have a separate class conscious organization which will derive power both for itself and the Congress from its contact with the masses. Unless we do that, others will come and confuse the Kisans.

*Gandhiji:* Here you have involved yourself in a fallacy. You should work to make the Congress fully representative of the Kisans. Unless we get down to this fundamental thing and work from bottom upward there will be no Swaraj. Every Congressman must make up his mind to make the Congress an honest organization, and therefore a Kisan organization. As for rights they should follow as a natural corollary from the performance of service. Otherwise, there is only usurpation.

### **Parallel Organization Harmful**

*Prof. Ranga:* You have tried for the last twenty-five years to rebuild the Congress organization and you know the result. I along with others must plead guilty for my share in the responsibility for failure. I must confess we have not got the confidence that we shall be able to so behave and act that the Congress will in the end become a Kisan organization. Our fear is that by following your line of action, in spite of ourselves, we shall allow ourselves to be exploited by vested interests. The very fact that the Birlas and their like are today prepared to give you shelter and you accept it from them prevents radical reform. Therefore, though I shall feel the wrench I shall feel unable to work on your lines.

*Gandhiji:* Then you admit that whilst you will work under the aegis of the Congress, you will at the



same time run a parallel, independent organization. My mind runs in a straight line. I do not understand this zigzag. This can only lead to trouble when Congress becomes an effective organization. I am thinking of the millions of our down-trodden countrymen who do not know what to hope and what not to hope.

A parallel organization will only further confuse their minds. It would be more logical to keep out of the Congress altogether.

*Prof. Ranga:* We enter the Congress but we do not fight for position and power. Can you not treat us on the same footing as the Ahmedabad Labour Union?

*Gandhiji:* Well, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. It will all depend on the spirit in which it is done. I have already expressed my apprehension. It is for you to remove it. You can model your organization after the Ahmedabad Labour Union. All the Labour Union members are on the Congress register. They are under the discipline of the Congress. Yet they are a power in the Congress and in the Municipality. You should confine yourself to Andhra alone. All Kisans should be automatically on your register. But the purpose of enrolment should be educative, to make the Kisans Congress-minded and politically conscious.

*Prof. Ranga:* I am glad you are laying special stress on adequate wages which will assure a minimum and decent standard of living for the landless peasants. Do you not also recognize the need for achieving minimum prices for agricultural produce which will assure labouring proprietors a decent and minimum standard of living?

*Gandhiji:* Of course I do.

## **Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja-Raj**

*Prof. Ranga:* The Bombay A. I. C. C. Resolution assures the masses that the power in the National Government and Swaraj India ought to belong to the toilers on the fields, in factories and elsewhere. Can we say that the spirit of the resolution means that the Congress, therefore, stands for the achievement of Democratic Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja-Raj after the attainment of Swaraj?

*Gandhiji:* Not only after but before also. The Congress stands for Democratic-Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja-Raj.

*Prof. Ranga:* Do not your new instructions envisage the development of Kisan organization from village upwards, to provide for peasant leadership and co-operative action, but working in harmony with the local National Congress Committee and their leadership? I may say that the Haripura session of the Congress has recognized the right of Kisans to have their own class organizations. But we are anxious, in the light of these four years' experience, that Congressmen shall take the lead in organizing Kisans into their own unions so that there can be real unity and co-operation between Kisan organizations and Congress Committees.

*Gandhiji:* Kisan organization and Congress organization are to me convertible terms. National Congress organizations to be true have either to be a Kisan organization or nothing else.

## **Landless Agricultural Labour**

*Prof. Ranga:* Can we organize landless agricultural labour into their separate unions wherever there are

workers to undertake such responsibilities in order to win for them the barest economic and social justice? I do not envisage such unions in rivalry with the local peasant unions but as a supplement to them.

*Gandhiji*: Yes, but as part of Congress re-organization work.

*Prof. Ranga*: Your instructions do not specifically mention the need for awakening and organizing the Hill Tribes and people of backward areas known as the Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas. These people number easily thirty millions all over India and they are subject to many disabilities and they need our help very badly. May we take it that Congressmen have to spare their energies to organize these people into their unions?

*Gandhiji*: Certainly. The aboriginal is as backward as the Harijan and more neglected. He calls for all the humanitarian service that Congressmen are capable of. Unfortunately very few Congressmen have taken to it.

### **Peasants and Satyagraha**

*Prof. Ranga*: Can our peasants and their organizations undertake Satyagraha campaigns against any oppressive measures or policies of a landlord or a Revenue authority, i.e., after all possibilities for settlement by negotiations through good offices of the local Congress Committees have failed? We are aware of the 1939 Bombay A. I. C. C. instructions regarding such campaigns and we accept that when there is National Government with which Congress co-operates, peasant unions as well as local committees have to seek the guidance of the Provincial Congress Committees as to

when and how to start and conduct such Satyagraha campaign.

*Gandhiji*: They would be fools if they did not do that.

### **Flag Question**

*Prof. Ranga*: What flag do you recommend for peasant unions and handloom weavers' unions and such other unions which agree to accept National Congress leadership?

I may inform you that we have decided to drop the Red Flag and adopted the National Flag, with the typical class or professional emblem such as the plough or loom placed in one corner in addition to the Charkha which occupies already the central place.

*Gandhiji*: I don't mind. To differentiate you can have your class emblem by the side of the national emblem.

*Prof. Ranga*: Do you not recognize the need for all the colonial peoples to try to come nearer to each other, learn from each other's experience in their fight for freedom and help each other?

*Gandhiji*: "Colonial people" is a badly chosen expression, "Oppressed races of the earth" expresses the idea better. "Colonial" in the English language means whites who have migrated to the Colonies.

*Prof. Ranga*: Are we right in thinking that your stand against world imperialism is intended to benefit as much the African, Chinese, Red Indian and other non-white masses as 400 millions of India?

*Gandhiji*: My correspondence with Government while under detention shows that most clearly.

### **Colonial Peoples' Freedom Front**

*Prof. Ranga:* May we have your blessings for our attempt to build up the "Colonial Peoples' Freedom Front" and thus develop a research, propaganda and ideological platform with merely advisory and informative functions? I may inform you that several of our friends and your admirers in England, Africa and West Indies, such as Reginald Reynolds, Miss Stock Kunyatta, George Padmore, have already been working on your lines for the emancipation of the colonial and coloured peoples.

*Gandhiji:* I want to say 'yes'. But I want to understand its implications.

*Prof. Ranga:* The greatest social problem of the modern world is the exploitation of the vast masses of agricultural people by the industrial peoples and countries through the unequal exchanges imposed upon the former by the latter through their control over the world markets and finance and imperialist machinery. Are we right in thinking that you stand for the abolition of this process of exploitation of the producers of primary commodities and agricultural masses of the world?

*Gandhiji:* Root and branch.

*Prof. Ranga:* Are we right in thinking that ours is only a part of the general struggle of colonial peoples against world capitalism and imperialism and that India is the vanguard in world movement of colonial and agricultural masses for freedom, economic and political?

*Gandhiji:* I hope so.

## Congress and Food Councils

*Prof. Ranga:* Is it not our duty to allow Congressmen to join and work in local food councils and such other quasi-official organizations now that every detail of a person's life has come within the price-controls, grain procurement and requisition and acquisition and rationing activities of Government, provided we feel satisfied that we can render some effective help to our masses or prevent mischief?

*Gandhiji:* Yes. They ought to be allowed if they can do so without loss of initiative and independence and can really render effective help.

*Prof. Ranga:* What shall those peasants do whose Gandhi-Irwin salt privileges have been unjustly withdrawn or curtailed?

*Gandhiji:* They should take the salt if it comes within the clause.

*Prof. Ranga:* Do you not recognize the need for students and their "Students' Congress" to understand, popularize and act upon the ideology of the I.N.C. consistently with their responsibilities as students?

*Gandhiji:* Of course they should study and understand all that. I have set forth the limitations in my "Hints".

## II

At the second interview Prof. Ranga placed before Gandhiji two alternative proposals for the re-organization of Kisan Sabha and their co-ordination with the Congress organization. They were:

to include in the Kisan councils that may be formed one third representation from corresponding

Congress Committees. This would secure for them the co-operation and the advice of the Congress.

(a) to adopt Congress Kisan membership as a basic membership for the Kisan organization.

(b) to constitute Kisan councils out of rural delegates to the Congress Committees elected as per the present constitution. Such Kisan councils would be part of the Congress Committees while retaining their separate corporate existence for dealing with the problems relating to the Kisans.

(c) In addition to Congress members some non-Congress but not anti-Congress members also might be taken on the Kisan councils to provide a suitable representation.

He felt that the first formula would be more acceptable than the second to most Kisan Sabhaites. The final clause in the second formula too had the same object in view, namely to make it acceptable to them.

*Gandhiji:* But this is a variation upon what you suggested last time. Then you suggested that Kisan Sabha will have no member who is not a member of the Congress also.

*Prof. Ranga:* We want to have in our organization some non-Congress Kisans also who are not anti-Congress but for various reasons could not afford to join the Congress.

### **Congressmen's Fear**

*Gandhiji:* Why do you want that? You said that you did not want anything in opposition to the Congress. So, if you have for your members only Congressmen the Kisan organization will deal with matters relating to the

rights of Kisans as against landlords and employers. It won't deal with political questions. I thought that I could reconcile myself to it. I said, I approached it with hesitation while it was for you to dispel my doubts. So you better stick to your original proposal.

*Prof. Ranga:* It has been forcibly brought home to us that Congress people feel nervous about this double membership. So I thought that the Kisan Sabha had better be renamed as a distinct body. Our workers are used to that idea. I have been able to persuade them that so far as politics is concerned we must accept Congress leadership. The idea is that after the Congress elections are over, the rural delegates will form themselves into a Kisan council. This Kisan council will deal with matters relating to the Kisans and for politics accept the lead of the Congress.

*Gandhiji:* My suggestion is this. You have your own organization where you register all the Kisans. As soon as the Kisan becomes your member, he becomes also a Congress member. Matters particularly bearing on the Kisans and their relationship with the landlords etc. are then tackled by your organization while political matters will be tackled by the Congress.

### **One Anna Membership**

*Prof. Ranga:* In that case may we retain one anna for the Kisan council out of the Congress membership fee of four annas?

*Gandhiji:* You can do that subject to Congress approval. This would mean that Congress allows a gratuity of one anna to you for doing this special work. If



I were at the head of Congress affairs I would certainly allow it.

*Prof. Ranga:* In the meantime may we start with one anna membership from now on the clear understanding that those who are now enrolled are to become members of the Congress as soon as the Congress organization again begins to function? Or we can take five annas from each member now and out of it keep four annas in trust for the Congress.

*Gandhiji:* I am afraid you cannot do it today. You must do it openly or not at all. Do not collect four annas Congress membership fee in advance. I will suggest a better plan which I recommended to Shrimati Rama Devi. Have a register of workers only. Don't have Congress members just now.

### **Congress Seva Sangh**

*Prof. Ranga:* Can't we have something like a Seva Sangh, an 'ad hoc' body of Congress workers but not Congress members, to carry out Congress work?

*Gandhiji:* Yes, you may do that. But seeing that ours is a non-violent body their work will only be to carry on the fifteen-fold constructive programme. That will avoid tussle with the Communists also. Today you are not working for power but as Congress servants. If you carry on your work silently and unostentatiously you become irresistible. No one will come in unless he wants to work with you. There will be no eloquence or press publicity to attract power-seekers.

*Prof. Ranga:* Eloquence by itself, I admit, is no good, but has it not its use when coupled with solid public work?

### Work is Eloquence

*Gandhiji*: Work by itself is eloquence. Here there are workers in Khadi Vidyalaya, Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Grama Seva Sangh, working themselves to death. They make no speeches. They speak to the villagers through their activity.

*Prof. Ranga*: As regards the Communists they have done a lot of harm so far as Kisan work is concerned and as a result have become very unpopular. There are two Kisan organizations in Andhra, one Congress-minded, the other Communist. So far as we are concerned we keep the Communists out of our organization.

*Gandhiji*: You won't be able to keep out anybody out of primary membership by merely making rules. But you can keep out trouble if you work on the lines I have indicated.

*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 15-1-1945

## CHAPTER 11

### THE CONGRESS IDEAL

So long as the Congress creed stands as it is, every Congressman to be true to his creed is pledged to oppose and condemn in thought, word and deed every act of political violence.

*Young India*, 12-6-1924, p. 197

Unless the Congress can produce proud, defiant, self-respecting, sensitive, selfless and self-sacrificing patriots who would count no cost too great, there is, for this poor country of ours, for a long time to come, no Swaraj in which the poorest can participate. You and I

may get a larger share in the spoils of exploitation, but I am sure you will refuse to call that Swaraj.

*Young India*, 26-6-1924, p. 210

The Congress must progressively represent the masses. They are as yet untouched by politics. They have no political consciousness of the type our politicians desire. Their politics are confined to bread and salt—I dare not say butter, for millions do not know the taste of ghee or even oil. Their politics are confined to communal adjustments.... We must first come in living touch with them by working for them and in their midst. We must share their sorrows, understand their difficulties and anticipate their wants.... We must identify ourselves with the villagers who toil under the hot sun beating on their bent backs and see how we would like to drink water from the pool in which the villagers bathe, wash their clothes and pots and in which their cattle drink and roll. Then and not till then shall we truly represent the masses and they will surely respond to every call.

*Young India*, 11-9-1924, p. 300

Congress cannot represent mutually antagonistic interests. Its existence presupposes mutuality of interest and effort.

*Young India*, 2-4-1925, p. 115

The Congress is no preserve of any single individual. It is a democratic body with, in my opinion, the widest intelligent franchise the world has ever seen. For it gives statutory recognition to the dignity of labour. I wish it was the sole test. It accommodates all shades of opinion save violence and untruth.

*Young India*, 25-6-1925, p. 222

A true Congressman is a true servant. He ever gives, never wants service. He is easily satisfied so long as his own comfort is concerned. He is always content to take a back seat. He is never communal or provincial. His country is his paramount consideration. He is brave to a fault because he has shed all earthly ambition, fear of death himself. And he is generous because he is brave, forgiving because he is humble and conscious of his own failings and limitations.

*Young India*, 19-11-1925, p. 400

Let the Congress be ever so democratic, but democracy must not brag and bluster, a passport to receiving service from people. If *vox populi* is to be *vox Dei*, it must be the voice of honesty, bravery, gentleness, humility and complete self-sacrifice.

*Young India*, 19-11-1925, p. 400

The conception behind the Congress constitution was to make it the most representative and authoritative body in all India, and by its commanding voluntary obedience on the part of millions, automatically, almost imperceptibly, to replace the sham enslaving assemblies and councils and the other foreign machinery masquerading under the name of representative bodies.

*Young India*, 5-1-1928, p. 5

The president of the Congress must be a man, not one commanding respect from a safe distance, but one who represents in every fibre of his being the sum total of what the nation stands for.

*Young India*, 12-9-1929, p. 300

Organizations, like men, if they are to command respect and grow, must have a sense of honour and must fulfil their promises.

*Young India*, 23-1-1930, p. 29

The Congress will today, if it had the power, raise every starving peasant to a state in which he can at least get a *living* even equal to a millionaire's. And when the peasant is fully awakened to a sense of his plight and knows that it is not *kismet* that has brought him to the helpless state but the existing rule, unaided he will in his impatience abolish all distinctions between constitutional and unconstitutional, even violent and non-violent means. The Congress expects to guide the peasant in the right direction.

*Young India*, 30-1-1930, p. 36

Conversion is our motto, not coercion. Coercion is an offspring of violence. Conversion is a fruit of non-violence and love.

*Young India*, 26-3-1931, p. 49

The Congress, which aims at securing full justice for the famishing millions, cannot favour capitalism. But the Congress, so long as it retains non-violence as its basic policy, cannot resort to usurpation.

*Harijan*, 13-8-1938, p. 216

## CONGRESS CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO DIE

[The following statement was issued by Gandhiji from New Delhi on 27-1-1948]

Indian National Congress which is the oldest national political organization and which has after many battles fought her non-violent way to freedom cannot be allowed to die. It can only die with the nation.

A living organism ever grows or it dies. The Congress has won political freedom, but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom. These freedoms are harder than the political, if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular. All-embracing constructive work evokes the energy of all the units of the millions.

The Congress has got the preliminary and necessary part of her freedom. The hardest has yet to come. In its difficult ascent to democracy, it has inevitably created rotten boroughs leading to corruption and creation of institutions, popular and democratic only in name. How to get out of the weedy and unwieldy growth?

The Congress *must* do away with its special register of members, at no time exceeding one crore, not even then easily identifiable. It had an unknown register of millions who could never be wanted. Its register should now be co-extensive with all the men and women on the voters' rolls in the country. The Congress business should be to see that no faked name gets in and

no legitimate name is left out. On its own register it will have a body of servants of the nation who would be workers doing the work allotted to them from time to time.

Unfortunately for the country they will be drawn chiefly for the time being from the city dwellers, most of whom would be required to work for and in the villages of India. The ranks must be filled in increasing numbers from villagers.

These servants will be expected to operate upon and serve the voters registered according to law, in their own surroundings. Many persons and parties will woo them. The very best will win. Thus and in no other way can the Congress regain its fast ebbing unique position in the country. But yesterday the Congress was unwittingly the servant of the nation, it was Khuda-i-Khidmatgar — God's servant. Let it now proclaim to itself and the world that it is only God's servant—nothing more, nothing less. If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power, it will find one fine morning that it is no more. Thank God, it is now no longer in sole possession of the field.

I have only opened to view the distant scene. If I have the time and health, I hope to discuss in these columns what the servants of the nation can *do* to raise themselves in the estimation of their masters, the whole of the adult population male and female.

*Harijan*, 1-2-1948, p. 4

## HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

[The following draft of a new constitution for the Indian National Congress was prepared by Gandhiji on 29th January, 1948, a day before his death. Being his last piece of writing it may be taken as his "Last Will and Testament".]

Though split into two, India having attained political Independence through means devised by the Indian National Congress, the Congress in its present shape and form, i.e., as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendancy of civil over military power is bound to take place in India's progress towards its democratic goal. It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons, the A.I.C.C. resolves to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh under the following rules with power to alter them as occasion may demand.

Every Panchayat of five adult men or women being villagers or village-minded shall form a unit.

Two such contiguous Panchayats shall form a working party under a leader elected from among themselves.

When there are one hundred such Panchayats, the fifty first grade leaders shall elect from among



themselves a second grade leader and so on, the first grade leaders meanwhile working under the second grade leader. Parallel groups of two hundred Panchayats shall continue to be formed till they cover the whole of India, each succeeding group of Panchayats electing second grade leader after the manner of the first. All second grade leaders shall serve jointly for the whole of India and severally for their respective areas. The second grade leaders may elect, whenever they deem necessary, from among themselves a chief who will, during pleasure, regulate and command all the groups.

(As the final formation of provinces or districts is still in a state of flux, no attempt has been made to divide this group of servants into Provincial or District Councils and jurisdiction over the whole of India has been vested in the group or groups that may have been formed at any given time. It should be noted that this body of servants derive their authority or power from service ungrudgingly and wisely done to their master, the whole of India.)

1. Every worker shall be a habitual wearer of Khadi made from self-spun yarn or certified by the A.I.S.A. and must be a teetotaller. If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form in his own person or in his family and must be a believer in the ideal of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions and equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

2. He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction.

3. He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these.

4. He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.

5. He shall organize the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts.

6. He shall educate the village folk in sanitation and hygiene and take all measures for prevention of ill health and disease among them.

7. He shall organize the education of the village folk from birth to death along the lines of Nayee Talim, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

8. He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters' roll are duly entered therein.

9. He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification, to acquire it for getting the right of franchise.

10. For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time, he shall train and fit himself in accordance with the rules laid down by the Sangh for the due performance of duty.

The Sangh shall affiliate the following autonomous bodies:

1. All-India Spinners' Association.
2. All-India Village Industries Association.
3. Hindustani Talimi Sangh.
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