THE
COLLECTED
WORKS
OF
MAHATMA
GANDHI

XLVII
(1931)

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

VOLUME FORTY-SEVEN



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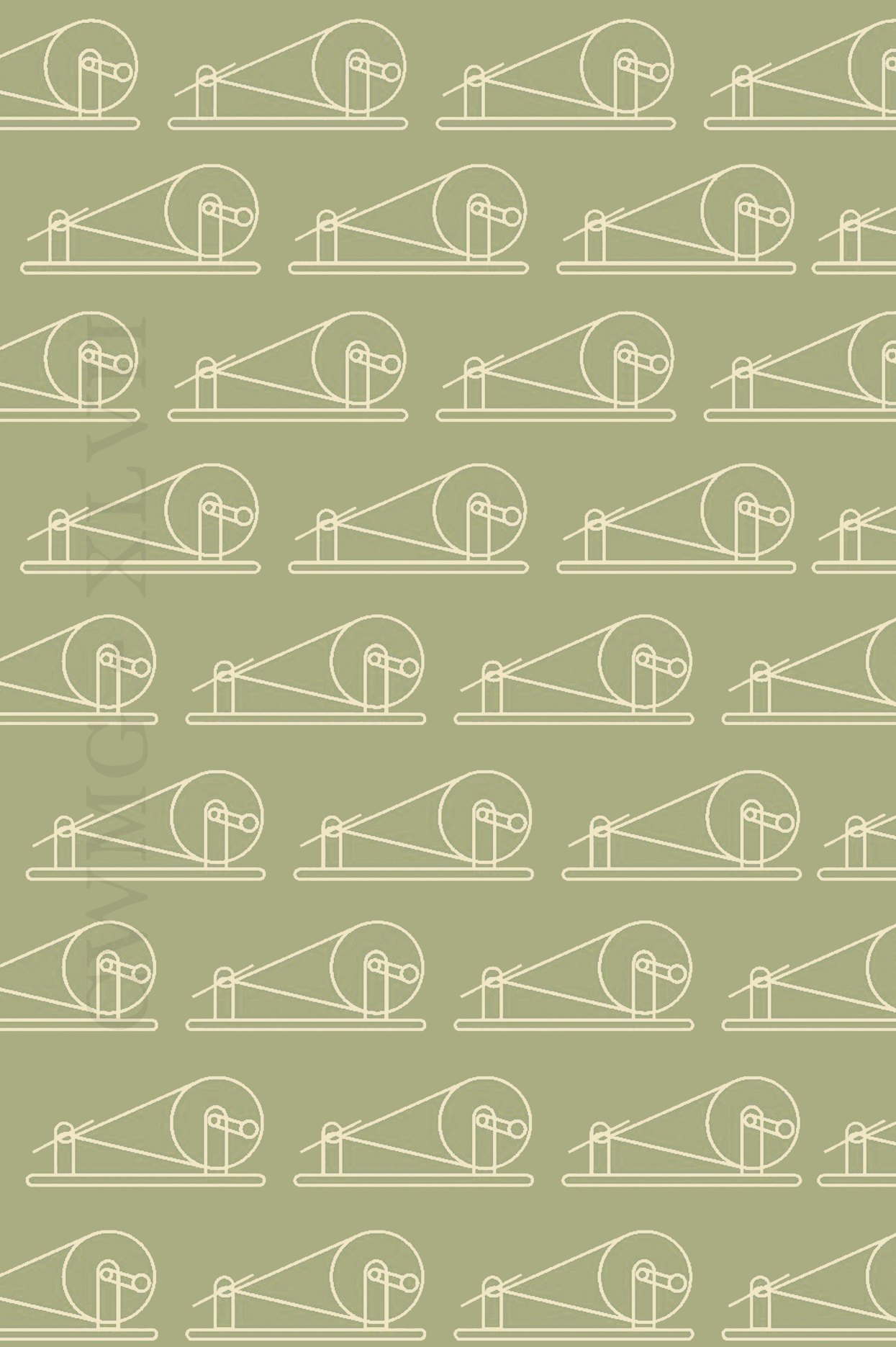
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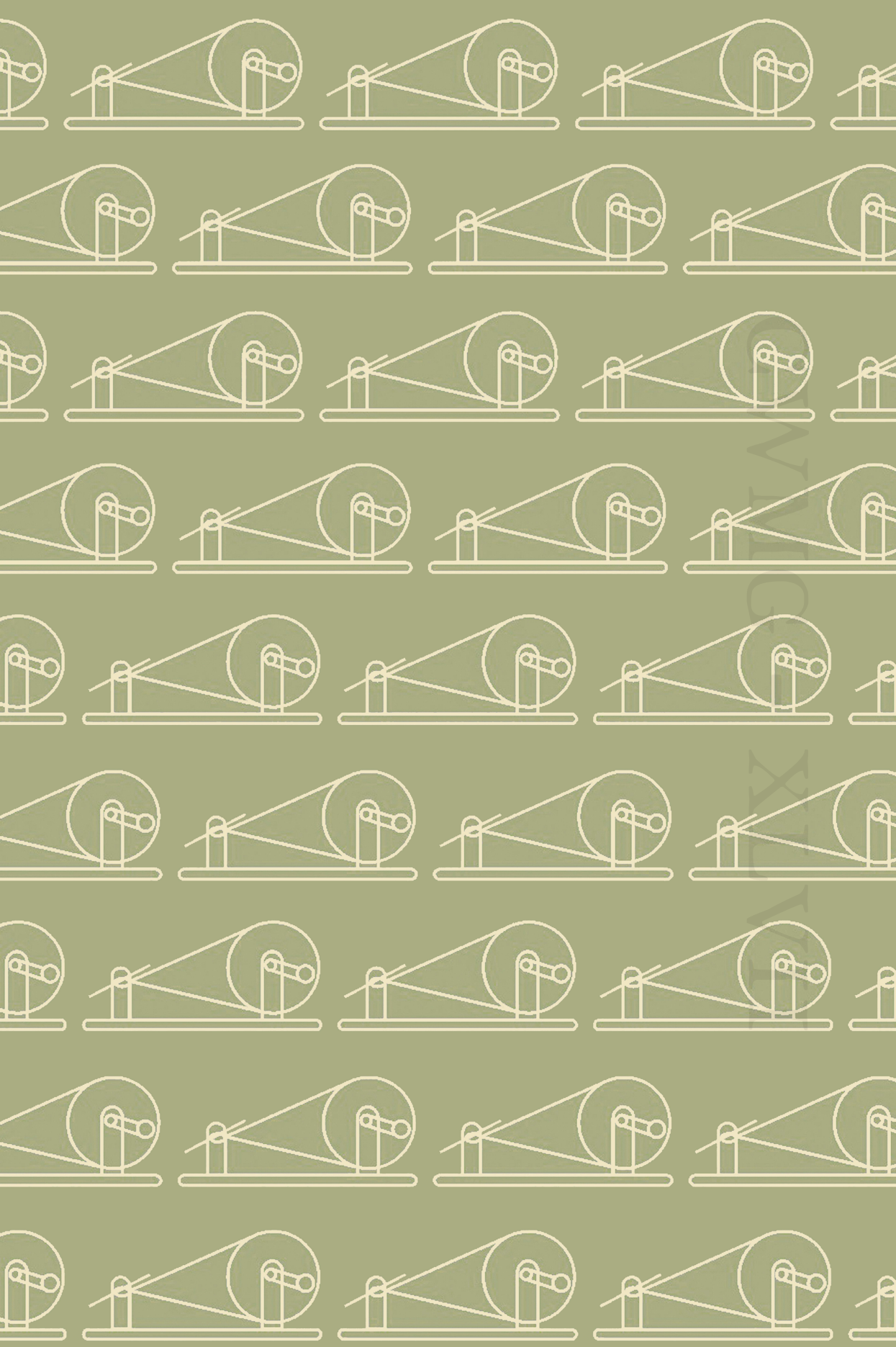
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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XLVII

(June - September 1931)

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BEFORE EMBARKING ON S. S. "RAJPUTANA", August 29, 1931

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MAHATMA GANDHI

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

The difficulties over the implementation of the Delhi Settlement reached the breaking point in the period covered in this volume (June 18 to September 11, 1931), and Gandhiji was forced to ask the Viceroy to inform the British Government that he had decided not to attend the Round Table Conference in London. However, last-minute discussions between the Viceroy and Gandhiji in Simla, spread over three days, resulted in a working compromise which enabled Gandhiji to take the Down Frontier Mail just in time to reach Bombay and board the s.s. *Rajputana* on August 29. His reluctance to attend the Conference on the ground of absence of Hindu-Muslim accord had been overruled by the Congress Working Committee, and when, therefore, he found his path cleared by a convenient formula, he decided to go though not without a profound sense of uneasiness in his heart. "When I think of the prospects in London," he wrote in an article for *Young India* dictated in the train, "when I know that all is not well in India, that the second Settlement is bereft of all grace and is charged with no pleasant memories, there is nothing wanting to fill me with utter despair" (p. 369). But being a born optimist, he explained in a Press statement, he was hoping against hope. "My faith is in God", he said, "and He seems to have made my way clear for me to go to London" (p. 384).

On the basis of accumulating evidence Gandhiji had begun to suspect that members of the Civil Service were "hindering the working of the Settlement" or even "wilfully breaking it" (p. 56), and it looked "as if the Government was at war with the Congress" (p. 115). In Gujarat, the trouble spots were Borsad and Bardoli where Gandhiji had practically encamped himself to ensure the observance of the truce terms by the cultivators. The local authorities, however, resented the mediatory role of the Congress and insisted on dealing direct with the cultivators, relying upon coercive processes to recover land-revenue dues instead of availing themselves of the co-operation of the Congress. The Commissioner, Gandhiji said, "never pardoned the Congress for presuming to represent the peasantry. Had he had his way, it is likely that he would rather have collected what he could through coercion than received all but a few thousand of the current dues in Bardoli and Borsad through the Congress agency"

(p. 320). It was evident that the authorities were not willing to recognize "the fact that the power is passing to the people" and to acknowledge "that the Congress represents the people" (p. 321).

This unwillingness or inability of the local authorities to adjust themselves to the changed temper of the people led to serious conflicts in the U.P. and the North-West Frontier Province. In the former Province, there was acute economic distress in the countryside and the peasantry found it impossible to pay their annual dues. The large-scale evictions which followed gave rise to widespread unrest, and the Congress, under Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership, took up the cause of the *kisans*. The Government, while professing sympathy with the peasants, were concerned with protecting the interests of the zamindars and resorted to wholesale gagging of Congressmen and intimidation of *kisans* through hundreds of notices (p. 109). To the argument that evictions were lawful, Gandhiji replied that there was "something wrong in a system which allows of so many evictions" (p. 371). And he further reminded the Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey: "With the tremendous awakening that has taken place all over India there is a sensitiveness to wrongs which was not felt 12 months ago" (p. 371). To deal with the wrong, Gandhiji advised the Governor to send for Jawaharlal Nehru and establish direct touch with him. But this was exactly what the Civilians could not bring themselves to do.

In the North-West Frontier Province, a new order of political workers had emerged during the civil disobedience campaign of the previous year, the Khudai Khidmatgars led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. After the Settlement, Khan Saheb had come and stayed with Gandhiji and intimate contact with him had convinced the latter that he implicitly believed in non-violence (p. 13). But the local authorities seem to have been alarmed by the manifestations of political unrest in this sensitive region, and Khan Saheb complained to Gandhiji that severe repression was continuing even after the Settlement (p. 160). The Government, however, gave Gandhiji their own version of the conditions in the Province. He, therefore, decided to send his son, Devdas, on a mission of peace, after assuring the Viceroy that he would be asked "to refrain from making any speeches or accepting any addresses" (p. 178).

The crisis was precipitated by the action of the Collector of Surat in Gujarat who, while Gandhiji had gone to Simla in the middle of July to meet the Viceroy to find a solution of the mounting conflicts between the Provincial authorities and the Congress, had started coercive processes to force full payment of

revenue dues from the peasants of Bardoli. Gandhiji was extremely upset when he learnt about these on his return. " . . . I was unprepared for the terrible events of the past ten days" (p. 198), he wrote to the Collector, and intimated that unless proper satisfaction was given he would regard "the Settlement and the implied faith having been broken by the Government and regard myself as free to take such action as may be necessary to protect the interests of the people whom the Congress represents" (p. 199). Telegraphing the substance of the letter to the Home Secretary, Government of India, Gandhiji said the matter involved his personal honour since he had openly told the people at public meetings that if they paid according to their ability no coercion would be used against them (p. 200). Gandhiji also wrote to the Home Secretary, Government of Bombay, seeking the Governor's intervention "if he can enter into my feelings" (p. 201). The Government took more than two weeks to reply. It rejected Gandhiji's contention and stated categorically: "Neither the Government nor the Collector have ever accepted the position that the collection of land revenue should be dependent on the advice of the Congress, . . . the decision as to whether particular persons can or cannot pay must rest with the Collector" (p. 446). Gandhiji found this position impossible for the Congress to accept. His conclusion was that "great civilians here do not want me to attend Conference or if they do they do so under circumstances which a national organization like Congress can never tolerate" (p. 289). Gandhiji held that between the people and the Government the Congress was an intermediary, and he feared "that it is because the Government do not wish to recognize this natural consequence of the Settlement that Government has broken on the Bardoli matter" (pp. 312-3). "Bardoli therefore was for me the acid test" (p. 322). "A debtor who cannot pay interest is never going to pay the capital", Gandhiji had said earlier to a friend (p. 221), explaining why he thought his going to London would be of no use if the things arising out of the Settlement were not put right.

The Congress Working Committee endorsed on August 13 Gandhiji's decision not to attend the Round Table Conference. Events moved swifty thereafter, and the entire correspondence between the Government and Gandhiji, together with the Congress "charge-sheet" against the Government, was released for publication. Probably under the pressure of public opinion, the Viceroy and Gandhiji met again in Simla from August 25 to 27 in a desperate effort to reach an agreement. The negotiations seem to

have been none too smooth. At one point we even find Gandhiji getting a little impatient and writing to Emerson: "In my opinion there is ample room for discussion and accommodation if we mean the same thing. If we do not, the sooner the agony of suspense ends the better" (p. 359). Ultimately, a not very satisfactory compromise solution was worked out seeking to reconcile the widely divergent points of view of the Congress and the Government, and Gandhiji left immediately for Bombay on the evening of the 27th, greatly relieved that the suspense was over. "One stage in the journey is reached", he wrote to the Viceroy from the train. "I know that I have caused you endless worry. But the only consolation I can derive for myself and give to you lies in the fact that I have given myself no less worry and anxiety" (p. 365). The Viceroy sent in reply "his blessings and all good wishes" (p. 366).

Gandhiji had not taken the earlier decision to cancel the London visit without an inner struggle. He seems to have looked forward to it for personal reasons and was "grieved to arrive at the decision not to go", but "deep down I have the feeling that it was the best thing and that the time was not ripe for me to go to London" (p. 294). While coming to the decision, he told C. F. Andrews, "I had Sastri, Polak and above all Muriel, in my mind. But duty knows no personal ties" (p. 294). Gandhiji was also disappointed that he would not be meeting Romain Rolland, but believed "it was God's will that I should not go" and cherished the hope that "some day, somehow we shall meet in the flesh" (p. 297). If thus the decision not to go had not been an easy one, the decision to go was not so either. Gandhiji was going as the sole representative of the Congress, and for a moment he seems to have been overwhelmed with a sense of his helplessness. "But just before the way became clear for me to go to London," he wrote in an article for *Young India* entitled "Alone, Yet Not Alone" dictated in the train taking him to Bombay, "and more when the way was opened at 7 p.m. on the 27th, my weakness burst upon me as never before, and I have not got over it even as I dictate these lines. . ." (p. 368). But he was sustained by his faith in God. "I must go to London with God as my only guide", he continued, and added: "One has therefore to appear before Him in all one's weakness, empty-handed and in a spirit of full surrender, and then He enables you to stand before a whole world and protects you from all harm" (pp. 368-9). Writing to Rajagopalachari, Gandhiji said: "When I think of myself with all my limitations and ignorance I sink in utter des-

pair but I rise out of it immediately, as I think and feel that it is God within Who is moving me and using me as His instrument. He will give me the right word at the right moment'' (p. 372). That did not mean, he added, that he would make no mistakes. ''But I have come to believe that God as it were purposely makes us commit mistakes if only to humble us'' (p. 372).

Gandhiji repeatedly stated that he was going to London without much hope of success for his mission. ''My expectations of the Conference are zero'', he said in a statement to *Al Ahram*, ''if I am to base them on a survey of the horizon'' (p. 397). He had, if he had not been prevailed upon by the Congress Working Committee to go, a mass-oriented plan of action calculated to win the substance instead of the shadow of swaraj. As he had declared times without number, for him political power was not an end in itself but a means of bettering the conditions of the masses. He would not have the nation ''look to England or Simla or Delhi for swaraj. The right course for the people is to rely on themselves. . . . if we win anything it will be through our own strength and in the measure of our strength'' (p. 352). Holding that real swaraj could be gained ''without political power and by directly acting upon the powers that be'' (p. 2), side by side with constructive work, he would have the Congress fight for redress of the concrete grievances of the masses in all parts of the country; such popular struggles would, he felt, unite the masses across communal or regional lines as no paper pacts among leaders could do. ''Let the communal-minded Hindus and Muslims and others'', he said in a Gujarati article, ''share a little power with the British under that Constitution. . . . The Congress instead of asking for power from that Government will demand the things for which they want power and, if they are refused, it will fight through satyagraha'' (pp. 425-6), for he was convinced ''that whatever is needful and can be gained by political power can perhaps be more quickly and more certainly gained by satyagraha'', (p. 2) which was a more potent form of direct action than adult suffrage.

Gandhiji discovered, to his pleasant surprise, that fifteen out of the twenty clauses in the Fundamental Rights Resolution passed at the Karachi Session of the Congress in the preceding March could be implemented by the people themselves without State assistance. If, he argued, ''we do not do the things we ought to today, when the power comes to us we shall be found unready for them'' (pp. 235-6). ''A popular State can never act in advance of public opinion'', he explained further. ''If it goes

against it, it will be destroyed. Democracy disciplined and enlightened is the finest thing in the world. A democracy prejudiced, ignorant, superstitious will land itself in chaos and may be self-destroyed'' (p. 236). He, therefore, wanted the Congress and the people to concentrate their energies on constructive and self-purificatory tasks, and opposed the methods of terrorists on the ground that ''the capacity to run the Government of the country on behalf of the people and for the people . . . will not come simply if the British leave or are killed'' (p. 208).

Gandhiji was aware of the fundamental difference of outlook between himself and the majority of Congressmen. For him non-violence was an article of faith, whereas the Congress had accepted it as a policy and even so adhered to it only half-heartedly. ''I cannot get rid of the conviction,'' Gandhiji said while commenting on the attempted assassination of the Acting Governor of Bombay, ''that the greatest obstacle to our progress towards swaraj is our want of faith in our policy'' (p. 232). He reminded Congressmen that they shared responsibility for the deeds of the misguided youth. ''Those who commit murders are also our brethren'', he said, adding, ''When we claim to represent them we also must accept the responsibility for what they do'' (p. 261). Gandhiji was still more distressed by the violence of communalism. During the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay on August 8, while referring to a recent manifestation of communal intolerance Gandhiji almost broke down and explained, ''I am feeling unnerved and seem to have lost all power'' (p. 274). Even this feeling of helplessness Gandhiji turned into a source of spiritual strength, for it enabled him to realize the truth of the Tamil saying: ''God is the Help of the helpless.'' ''This realization'', he believed, ''will show us a way out of the present impenetrable darkness. . . .'' (p. 286).

Gandhiji's letters to C. F. Andrews and Mirabehn reveal the nature of the bond that united him to them. Andrews seems to have appealed to Gandhiji to relax the boycott of British cloth out of compassion for the sufferings of the workers of Lancashire. Gandhiji, while arguing that the ''remedy for unemployment in England is not thoughtless generosity of India but a complete realization by England of the awfulness of exploitation of people'' (p. 15), could fully enter into Andrews's feelings. ''As is your wont'', Gandhiji told him, ''you are distressed over what your eyes see and ears hear. . . . My heart goes out to the unemployed. It goes out to you in your terrific moral struggle'' (pp.47-8). Mirabehn's mother was ailing in England and was

slowly sinking. Gandhiji, however, did not urge her to go to London to see her. "True love consists", he told her, "in transferring itself from the body to the dweller within and then necessarily realizing the oneness of all life inhabiting numberless bodies" (p. 111). Writing to her on receiving the news of her passing away, Gandhiji said: "I read your suppressed grief in every line of your letter", and while sympathizing with her grief as "very human", he urged her to eradicate it (p. 128). But, he told her in another letter, there was "no reason for suppressing from me your grief if it is there. These things are not remedied immediately there is intellectual conviction" (p. 204). For Gandhiji, the cause of service had always precedence over personal attachment. He had been, he told Mirabehn after sending her away from him, " on a bed of hot ashes all the while I was accepting your service. You will truly serve me by joyously serving the cause" (p. 49).

Gandhiji adopted this personal approach even to his political opponents. At the end of the Simla talks, he wrote to Emerson to tell him "how grieved I felt in Simla over what appeared to me to be your obstructive tactics. . . . The securing of a constitution is nothing to me compared to the joy of discovering human contacts by which one could swear". Gandhiji added, however: "I shall soon forget the sad memories of the past three days and I know you will forgive me if I have unwittingly misjudged you" (p. 374).

Gandhiji based even political decisions not on mere expediency but on some ethical principle or other. Explaining his attitude in regard to satyagraha in Indian States, he said: "It is a law of life that some good work being done at any point in an environment is bound to have its effect on the rest of it" (p. 154).

His letters to the Ashram inmates offered in every case positive help and encouragement. To Gangabehn he wrote : "The intellect has less value, the heart has more. And the heart is something which everyone has" (p. 72). In a letter to Chhaganlal Joshi he listed the many merits of Premabehn and added: "It is true that she has defects. But is there anyone among us who has none?" (p. 207) To Premabehn herself he confessed his inability "to do justice" and explained: "I have assumed the role of your father and mother and, therefore, I can give you but one-sided advice. A satyagrahi . . . never demands justice. Justice means 'measure for measure'. Satyagraha means truth even against cunning, non-violence against violence, forbearance against anger and love against hatred" (p. 217).

The speeches at the prayer meetings on board the s.s. *Rajputana* are of special significance. The first carries Gandhiji's practical testimony on prayer which, yearned for as indispensable food for the soul, yielded the incomparable gift of illumination and inner peace (p. 394). The second, setting out to recommend "a simple, childlike faith . . . which is also a token of humility", sums up with unsurpassed clarity and certitude the *advaitic* conviction, "If I exist, God exists" (p. 399).

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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 generally 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 an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not Gandhiji's have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations of these are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary 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 supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References in footnotes to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to documents and M.M.U. to the reels of the Microfilm Unit available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

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

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1. *SUBSTANCE NOT SHADOW*

The public are entitled to know why after having made repeated declarations to the contrary the Working Committee had passed the resolution[1] requiring me (other conditions being favourable) to attend the Round Table Conference, if thereto required, for the presentation of the Congress position.

Ordinarily a member of the Working Committee could not tell the public of discussions behind its resolutions, their defeated amendments or counter resolutions. But in the present case the Working Committee has made an exception and authorized me to take the public into confidence in order that I might clear my position and also explain that of the Working Committee.

It was my essentially democratic nature which, in spite of my very strong objection, impelled me to submit to the resolution. One may not make a principle of every objection and, if not carried, block the way by threatening to retire from an institution or by refusing submission to the opinion of the majority. I therefore fought the Working Committee, reminded it of my repeated public and private declarations and moved informally a resolution myself which I thought was far more consistent and desirable in the national interest. But I could not carry with me the majority who thought that not to attend the Conference by reason of the failure of a communal settlement would be to play into the hands of the enemy and expose the Committee to unnecessary misrepresentation.

Though there is much to be said for the majority view, I regard mine to be safer and more truly in consonance with the Lahore resolution on the communal question.[2] There was, in my opinion, sound reasoning behind my declaration that I should not attend the Round Table Conference if there was no agreed

[1] On June 9. It read: "The Working Committee hope that the efforts that are now being made to secure honourable and satisfactory settlement of the communal problem will meet with success. The Committee is of opinion that, even should these efforts unfortunately fail, in order to avoid any possibility of the Congress attitude being misunderstood in any shape or form, other conditions being favourable, Mahatma Gandhi should represent the Congress at the R.T.C., if thereto required, for the presentation of the Congress position."

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLII, p. 359.

settlement of the communal question. Absence of it would mean absence of unity and absence of unity would deprive the national demand of the strength required to secure its acceptance.

My proposition therefore before the Working Committee was that agreed settlement failing, the Congress should give up the hope of winning a swaraj constitution by the way of the present Round Table Conference and should wait till all the communities were satisfied to adopt a purely national solution. The Congress could meanwhile further consolidate its position and work with greater concentration for the masses including all the communities and thus make the toilers of all the other communities regard the Congress as theirs as the Hindus do.

This does not mean giving up the struggle for freedom.

It all depends upon what we mean by and want through *purna* swaraj. If we mean an awakening among the masses, a knowledge among them of their true interest and ability to serve that interest against the whole world and if through *purna* swaraj we want harmony, freedom from aggression from within or without and a progressive improvement in the economic condition of the masses, we can gain our end without political power and by directly acting upon the powers that be. One form of direct action is adult suffrage. The second and more potent form is satyagraha. It can easily be shown that whatever is needful and can be gained by political power can perhaps be more quickly and more certainly gained by satyagraha. If such is the case and if, in spite of all, [the] attempt to secure an honourable settlement of the communal question fails it is obvious that we should give up the attempt to secure a swaraj constitution at the present moment. It is better and quicker to wait till the Congress has become equally popular with the other communities than to attempt to force swaraj through highly artificial surroundings. If the Congress means what it says, it cannot be long gaining the adherence of all the other communities. Meanwhile the Congress must fulfil its mission of representing the starving millions by fighting for their relief, if it cannot do so by gaining power then by gaining that relief through the government existing at the moment. Whilst discussing this probability with English friends, I was reminded that this position was hardly fair, not to take the power to make the reforms and to force the hands of those who cannot carry on the administration if they grant the reforms, in their opinion only so called. I pointed out the fallacy underlying the rebuke. The Congress is ever ready to take the power if it is given to it but the Congress is too weak to seize power from unwilling hands in the artificial

surroundings of the Round Table Conference and that in the absence of real unity between the chief actors, the communities.

The Congress wants the substance not the shadow. It can therefore wait for the shadow of power, it cannot wait for the substance of freedom which the dumb millions so badly need and can understand.

I have placed before the public the main part of the argument I placed before the Working Committee. It failed to convince its majority. It may fail therefore to convince too the majority of the public. Nevertheless my position will probably be the same as now if and when the Conference fails to meet the Congress position.

But having accepted the resolution of the Working Committee, I shall faithfully carry it out and work at the Conference with all possible zeal, if I am destined to attend it. I should not reject real power if it *is* real. I should put my whole soul into working for it. But I have wisdom and patience enough to wait for it if necessary and know that such waiting may be a process of hastening.

Young India, 18-6-1931

2. *NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES*

The head master of Tilak Vidyalaya thus rebukes me:[1]

I gladly publish the letter if only to advertise the very good work of the national school of Nagpur. As for the Tilak University, I am not sure that I omitted to mention it on the occasion referred to. My speech was not previously prepared. It had to be delivered extempore. Whatever names I took were merely illustrative and not exhaustive. I can certainly recall many national institutions which rendered great service during the struggle. My object was to show the very marked contrast between the Government institutions and the national ones and to show that every anna spent in the latter was an anna spent for swaraj. I showed too that in the nature of things it could not be otherwise. However badly managed the Congress may be, it is still that and that alone which can usher in swaraj and not a Government department.

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. It complained of Gandhiji's failure, in his speech at Gujarat Vidyapith (*vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 406-9), to mention the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith of Poona and the Tilak Vidyalaya of Nagpur and their contribution to civil disobedience movement; *vide* also Vol. XLVI, "Letter to M. G. Datar", p. 228.

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It is once more a question of swadeshi *v. videshi*[1]. The English paraphrase is: 'a good Government is no substitute for self-Government'.

Young India, 18-6-1931

3. *COLOUR BAR IN EDINBURGH*

The Honorary Secretary, Edinburgh Indian Association, writes:

> It will be recalled that in 1927 all the cafes, restaurants and dance halls, imposed the colour ban, but after representations being made to various authorities a compromise was reached and soon after the ban was raised, again this year two cafes in Edinburgh have renewed the colour ban. These two cafes (Strand Cafe and Cafeteria) refuse to admit coloured students as a whole without any reasons. Edinburgh Indian Association approached the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and the Students' Representative Council of Edinburgh University, but so far no action has been taken by them and the colour ban still continues.

The Hon. Secretary does not say why the two Cafes have restored the ban or why it was originally introduced. Denial of the use of refreshment rooms in the West is an inconvenience of which we in India can have no adequate conception. Intense public agitation is the only way to deal with this prejudice. The Edinburgh Indian Association will do well to supply the public with full facts.

Young India, 18-6-1931

4. *HINDI IN THE SOUTH*

It was a good sign that at the same time as the Tamil Nadu Conference a Hindi Prachar Conference too was held. The people of the Southern Presidency are under promise to send for the next year Congress delegates who would speak and understand Hindi. If we were not living in artificial conditions, the people living in the South will not consider the learning of Hindi as a strain on them, much less a superfluity. It is surely more necessary for them to learn Hindi than for the Hindi-speaking population to learn the Southern languages. There are two speaking and understanding

[1] Foreign

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Hindi against one speaking the Southern languages in all India. There must be for all India a common language of inter-provincial contact in *addition to*, *not* in the *place of*, the provincial language or languages. It can only be Hindi-Hindustani. Some who altogether dismiss the masses from their minds would regard English not merely as an alternative but the only possible medium. This proposition would be unthinkable but for the hypnotic influence of foreign domination. For the masses of the South who must take an ever-growing part in national affairs, what can be easier—learning Hindi which has many words in common with their languages and which at once gives them access practically to the whole of the North or learn English a wholly foreign tongue spoken only by a select few? The choice really depends upon one's conception of swaraj. If it is to be of and for only the English-knowing Indians, English is undoubtedly the common medium. If it is to be for and of the starving millions, of the illiterate millions, of the illiterate women, of the suppressed untouchables, Hindi is the only possible common language. Those who think like me will therefore welcome the report of the great progress made by Hindi during the past twelve years of the existence of organized propaganda. Here is the record of work during the period:

Number of those who have	taken to the study of Hindi	4,00,000
„ „	„ acquired a working knowledge of it	2,50,000
„ „	„ appeared for our examinations	11,000
„ „	„ passed the examinations	10,000
„ readers	published by the Sabha in its own press	3,00,000
„ „	sold	2,50,000
Varieties of books	published	35
(All of them have gone through numerous editions, one through 12.)		
Number of centres at which	Hindi has been taught so far	400
„ „	working now (total)	150
„ „	„ under direct control	25
„ „	where examinations were held in Feb. '31	113
„ teachers	trained so far	250
Total funds	raised and spent so far	Rs. 2,50,000
„ „	„ from North India	Rs. 1,55,000
„ „	„ from South India	Rs. 95,000

Let us hope that during this year of grace the progress will be still more rapid and that the finance will be found wholly by

the South. It will be a test of the desire of the South to learn the national language and to make India one indivisible whole.

Young India, 18-6-1931

5. *NOTES*

Swaraj for Ceylon

A Ceylon correspondent asks the following strange questions[1]: I do not know that Ceylon is a bankrupt island or that it is necessarily bankrupt because it does not manufacture all its own cloth or grow all the grains it eats. But assuming that Ceylon is as the correspondent describes, it has[2] all the greater reason for being free. Possibly Ceylon's economic condition is bad, if it is bad, because of its dependence. I cannot conceive of a single occasion when slavery or dependence can be preferable to swaraj or freedom.

So far as India's help is concerned, when India is free, whether she will or no, her freedom will automatically spur Ceylon to deliverance, if it does not actually bring it. India's freedom must mean more freedom to her neighbours and even other countries in the East as her slavery or dependence means a hindrance to their growth. Disease among neighbours can never be an advantage. And a diseased continent like India must be a perpetual menace to her neighbours. Dependence is perhaps the greatest disease. Mere physical illness is any day preferable to the illness of the soul. The latter brings in its train all kinds of physical afflictions and worse.

Young India, 18-6-1931

[1] Not reproduced here. The first question was whether an economically dependent country should seek swaraj; and secondly, whether India would help Ceylon in attaining freedom.

[2] The source has "is".

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6. *JAPANESE OR BRITISH?*

That from the economic standpoint (and that is the only standpoint important for the millions) boycott of Japanese cloth is much the most important is clear from the following letter[1] from Sjt. H. P. Modi, President, Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

If therefore there is any laxity on the part of boycott workers, they will remember that emphasis on boycott of British cloth would be of no avail whatsoever from the economic viewpoint. Incidentally one can see how British cloth has been hit by Japanese cloth.

Young India, 18-6-1931

7. *LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI*

BORSAD,
Before Morning Prayers, June 18, 1931

CHI. KUSUM,

I had not understood your message, but I did understand your letter and felt unhappy. The very fact that there was no letter from you suggested that you were running away from me. Whether or not you should do that depends on you. Be wise and wake up. You can come here any day you wish to.

We shall be leaving this place on the 23rd. I shall have to go to Bombay for two days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1822

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had pointed out that the most serious competitor of the Indian textile industry was Japan rather than Great Britain and that competition from Japan was as serious a menace to the Indian industry as it was to Lancashire trade.

8. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter of the 10th inst. enclosing copy of a letter from Messrs Ramjilal & Bros[1]. If the facts stated by them are correct, I quite agree with you that picketing should be suspended. I am therefore writing[2] to the local Congress Committee to investigate the matter, telling them that unless they can satisfactorily prove the relevant allegations made in Messrs Ramjilal's letter are incorrect, picketing should be suspended. I enclose copy of my letter for your information.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

9. LETTER TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE, CAWNPORE

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I enclose herewith copy of a letter received by the Central Government from Messrs Ramjilal & Bros. If the allegations about picketing are correct, it is a clear case for immediate suspension of picketing. Unless, therefore, you can satisfactorily disprove the allegations made in the 2nd and subsequent paragraphs of the

[1] Importers and dealers of foreign piece-goods, who had complained of harassment and coercion by Congress pickets

[2] *Vide* the following item.

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letter, you will, I hope, suspend picketing at once. I would like you to wire[1] to me what action you propose to take.

Yours sincerely,

THE SECRETARY
LOCAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CAWNPORE

Copy to Mr. Emerson.

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

10. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

June 18, 1931

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I trust your truthful nature too well to be shocked by anything you say. But your thoughts are cloudy and confused. But we cannot discuss the thing today. There is no hurry. Perhaps the things will be clear because of your search and because of your promise to do what I have advised for the sake of discipline though not from conviction. Often an honest acceptance of discipline has brought conviction. And so may it be with you. You did well in writing to me so frankly.

Let me correct one belief of yours about me. You say, "I know that you are too pure for sex-consciousness yourself." I wish this was a true certificate. I am sorry to have to disillusion you. I am trying to lose that consciousness. But I have not lost it. Loss of that consciousness cannot be relative; it must be absolute. I do not know any historical instance. It is difficult, I know, for history to record such instances.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9631

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 43.

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11. LETTER TO V. K. SADAGOPACHARIAR

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I hope that you will vigorously defend the case in the court and take all the legal steps that will be necessary in order to vindicate your position. I am doing all I can at this end but when the allegation is that there is a breach of the Criminal Law, I am helpless. My function comes into operation only when a breach of any part of the Settlement can be proved. In this case therefore, unless picketing, admitted to be peaceful, is prohibited, the Settlement cannot be utilized to obtain relief.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SYT. V. K. SADAGOPACHARIAR
PRESIDENT, TALUK CONGRESS COMMITTEE
TIRUTTANI (CHITTOOR DT.), S. INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 17308

12. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Shah Mangaldas Harilal Gandhi, Fanaswadi, 2nd Lane, Dadisheth Agiari Lane, Harilal Maneklal Gandhi's Flats. This gentleman is Shah Harilal Maneklal Gandhi's son. One Surajbehn regarded Shri Harilal as her father. He has all her money. His present condition cannot be described as good. Surajbehn tells me that at one time it was very good. I have written to Shri Harilal and told him that it was not at all proper to keep a widow's money in a private firm, and that he should deposit it in the Bank

[1] In a letter to C. Rajagopalachari which is not available, Gandhiji advised him about the details of the action to be taken. The latter had placed these before the Governor and hoped that favourable orders would be issued.

of India and send Surajbehn a receipt in her name. I enclose his reply. It is possible that there is no risk about the money. But I feel worried. Request Shri Mangaldas to see you, or you yourself should call on him, and ask him what the position is. Get all the facts and see if you can persuade him to deposit the money in the Bank. It is to be deposited in Surajbehn's name. Her jewellery is also in their custody. If possible, get that, too, in your possession, or secure the Safe Deposit receipts for it, which are in their possession. You will not immediately require a letter of authority from Surajbehn. But wire to me if you require one and I will send it. In any case arrange to see Mangaldas immediately.

I am going there on the 24th to see those English friends.[1] I shall be accompanied by Vallabhbhai.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2889

13. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

June 18, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

What I had in mind was that you should get the money from the Vidyapith, but you should get your demand examined and approved by Kakasaheb. Draw up a report and state the case as you understand it, and send it to Kakasaheb saying that you are sending it to him for his scrutiny. Are you sure you cannot postpone the plan now that everything is uncertain?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9325. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Letter to W. E. Lucas", p. 385; also "Young Europeans", 2-7-1931.

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14. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, CONGRESS COMMITTEE, TIRUTTANI [1]

[Before *June 19, 1931*][2]

Gandhiji has asked picketers not to disobey the order as that would amount to a breach of the Truce terms on the part of Congress, but he promises to correspond with the Home Secretary, Government of India.

Meanwhile Gandhiji has asked Tiruttani Congressmen to send him a copy of the order and details regarding picketing movement in Tiruttani.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-6-1931

15. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Here are copies of letters received by Syts. Morarji Desai and Durlabhji Desai, ex-Deputy Collectors for both of whom the Central Government had advised the Bombay Government to give pension or gratuity in lieu of pension. You will remember that this was arranged because you had suggested to Lord Irwin that it would be embarrassing for Provincial Governments to restore officials of high rank to their original position. I remember your having told me during our conversations in Simla[3] that the Bombay Government had difficulty about giving anything to the two officials concerned. But I was unprepared for the letter according to the enclosed copy. Both these gentlemen had applied not for grace but in terms of the Settlement. May I therefore ask you to advise the Bombay Government to carry out the Settlement in respect of these two officials?

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In reply to his question whether the local Magistrate's order prohibiting picketing of liquor shops should be disobeyed

[2] The report appeared under the date-line "Madras, June 19".

[3] On May 13, 1931

16. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I do not know whether you obtained legal opinion regarding confiscated guns. Complaints are being received from many places that these guns are not being restored. In most of these cases, so far as I can see, the guns were possessed for defending owners and their property against wild beasts. I have several such cases from Karnatak.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

17. LETTER TO CAPTAIN BARNES

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR CAPTAIN BARNES[1],

I thank you for your very full letter. I was sorry to learn that your health had broken down. I hope however that you will be completely restored very soon. Your letter was redirected to me from Sabarmati and so I got it just after Khan Saheb had left me. He was with me quite a few days and for the first time I came in intimate contact with him. My experience of him is that he is a very sober and truthful man believing implicitly in non-violence. Your letter however gives a different picture of him. As he is still within reach I am sending a friend with a copy of your letter for explanation and if there is anything further to tell you I shall write again.

Could you please send me a copy of the drama referred to by

[1] Sub-Divisional Officer for the Charsadda sub-division of Peshawar District in 1930; he wrote to Gandhiji on June 14, 1931 describing Abdul Ghaffar Khan's speeches as "inflammatory".

you with translation or without, if you cannot easily send me a translation.

Yours sincerely,

CAPTAIN BARNES
HAMALA COTTAGE
NATHIAGALI, N.W.F.P.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

18. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

Private AS AT SABARMATI,
June 19, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your two letters, both of them quite like you. Here is my answer to the moral questions you have placed. It is perfectly true that I would have prohibition of foreign cloth by one blow if I could manage it and would not feel that there was the slightest trace of violence in it. At this conclusion I arrived in 1889 and '90 when I was studying in London and keenly following the controversy between total prohibitionists and temperance reformers. The former were led by Sir Wilfred Lawson who contended that all public houses could be closed without any compensation being paid to the keepers. The temperance party which was really the party financed by the public-house keepers put up a strong and successful fight for compensation and graduation. If a man is making a living out of wrongdoing he gains no prescriptive right and therefore is entitled to no compensation or consideration when his business is stopped whether by the State or by his customers refusing to deal with him. It is irrelevant to consider what would happen to the many labourers who might be engaged unconsciously in helping the wrongdoer. The assumption at the back of this argument is that wrong must be righted at any cost and that the harm that may temporarily seem to result to the wrongdoer and his dependents is only apparent and that in the end he and they are all the better for it. If such was not the case, many a reform would become impossible. Of course it is open to you to say that you will not put foreign-cloth trade on a level with liquor or opium trade. But this is a matter of opinion.

If I was bolstering up the Bombay mills in any shape or form it would undoubtedly be violence. But my conscience is quite

clear on that point. I am not only not bolstering up the Indian mills but I am fighting them in many matters. My intervention has resulted in steady improvement of the conditions of labour. If these mills interfered with khaddar I should desire their boycott just as strongly as that of foreign mills.

The remedy for unemployment in England is not thoughtless generosity of India but a complete realization by England of the awfulness of exploitation of people, violently brought under subjection by her, and consequent radical changes in her conception of the standard of life and a return to simplicity. Has generosity, in respect of a man more fortunate than himself, any meaning for the man who is living in a state of chronic starvation?

The South African analogy you have quoted is improper. What you regard as generous action was really necessary action in terms of non-violence. In order to show that my fight was not intended to embarrass the Government or to seize power I was bound in pursuance of non-violence to suspend the struggle[1] in order to show that I had no sympathy with the Europeans who were bent on embarrassing the Government to the point of making it so powerless as to enable them to seize the reins themselves. Occasions here for what you would call generosity occurred at the time of the Delhi Settlement[2] and are occurring whilst the Settlement is being worked and it would delight your heart if you knew how every such occasion has been fully availed of. And even with reference to the present unemployment in England, many a generous gesture is possible but none is possible if it means continuance of injury to India or fresh injury. If England ceased to think imperially, if India came to her own and instead of being a dependency of England became a real partner or ally, England could get preferential treatment in hundreds of things, which an awakened India on her road to prosperity would require from the West. If therefore Lancashire cannot keep all its labour going through spinning and weaving mills working for other markets, it should find out some other use for it. Lastly, remember that even if there was no boycott of foreign cloth and open competition Japan would outdistance Lancashire as it is already doing.

I have your cable. Of course if I came to London my movement will be in your hands and I would gladly go to Lancashire as early as you would want me to.

[1] In 1914, during the European railway workers' strike; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 322-3.

[2] Gandhi-Irwin Pact; *vide* Vol. XLV, Appendix VI.

I quite agree with you that your name should remain in the background as much as possible.

What undignified controversy over my part in the Boer War. I had to give the facts to Reuter & *The Statesman*.[1]

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 969

19. LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

I thank you for your letter[2] of the 18th instant.

You may publish any of my correspondence. I am glad that the lady[3] says that there is no ground now for complaint. But I cannot help repeating in fairness to the parties complained against that they have never admitted the charges made against them and they have courted the fullest inquiry. My own position has always been never to bolster up such charges because I have found by experience that large movements like ours can only be kept pure by exposing every weakness among workers.

Yours sincerely,

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
FORT, BOMBAY

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Telegram to *The Statesman*, Delhi", p. 383 and "Interview to Associated Press", p. 386.

[2] Regarding alleged harassment by pickets at Ghatkopar

[3] Mrs. Contractor

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20. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I don't have time to write much today. The information about Manjula causes me anxiety. She has got over so many illnesses before now that she will probably get over this one, too. We should do our best for her treatment. If Mahavir wants to join the Vidyapith, let him. Read my letter to him. Sitla Sahay asked me to send my letter to him through you, and I am doing so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

21. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letters. I understand what you say about Dwarkanath. I am in correspondence with him.

We should not pay the premiums on Sorabji's policy. I see little possibility of our getting back the original sum. I can think of no remedy against this.

Has Jamna completely recovered now? Was it that she took too large a dose of the medicine through mistake, or was it the fault of the vaid?

Panditji wanted to talk to me about the students. He believes that the arrangement by which Premabehn teaches Gujarati is not right. It is not sufficient either. He, therefore, requested that Shivabhai should be employed. You acceded to the request but put him in the office. He had also much to say against Premabehn's temper. The reading-room remains closed while she is in it, so much so that it is not opened even for Maganbhai. After hearing all this, I merely said that, if I intervened in the Ashram

affairs just now, it would amount to my living in it, but that, when necessary, I might give some guidance. I, therefore, advised him to discuss the whole matter with you and solve the problem. I think you should have a frank talk with him. He is a straightforward man. If he has not talked to you about all this, you should use this letter and discuss the matter with him and reassure him. You may consult me if necessary.

Champa must have arrived there today. I have advised her to stay in the Ashram. If she does not do that, let her stay in the red bungalow or anywhere else. Some special arrangement will have to be made about Shashi's education. It would be best if you could secure the services of a good lady teacher. Consult Kakasaheb. Savitabehn, too, may be able to guide you. Balvant, Champa's brother, wants to be permitted to live in the Ashram. I have told him that he may do so if he agrees to obey the rules. He is also eager to stay with Krishnan Nair. I have written to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave this place on the 23rd and spend the 24th and the 25th in Bombay. I then return to Bardoli on the 26th. This last is not definite.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

22. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I had your letter. Take Indu under your loving care. That boy is pining away without his mother. The thing is that you should, like a mother, keep a watchful eye on all boys and girls. To any woman who wishes to serve as a mother, they are her children. Many women may act as mothers to the same children. If, therefore, any other woman feels such love in her heart, we should be happy about it. It is but right that she should feel such love. At any rate you should try to awaken it in other women.

Whenever you feel upset and worried, let me know. Never lose heart. Try and get to know personally the men and women who have recently joined. Remember that you are also a member of the Managing Committee.

You have taken a rather difficult vow in regard to your food. Since you take milk, no harm will follow. Keep me informed about the effects on your health.

Cultivate the acquaintance of Amtulbehn. She seems to have a very pure heart.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne, pp. 54-5; also C.W. 8777. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

23. LETTER TO VICEROY

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter of the 17th instant. So far as I am personally concerned I am concentrating on implementing the Settlement by the Congress, practically to the exclusion of every other activity.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
SIMLA

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/9/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

24. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have your letter of 16th June enclosing extract from an account received from the Madras Government regarding picketing. It does make bad reading if the report is true. But what I am receiving almost daily from Madras from workers who are thoroughly reliable eye-witnesses makes me distrust the reports that you are receiving. But I know that this takes us no further. So far

as the Congress is concerned I want it to implement the Settlement to the fullest extent. I therefore make an offer. Will you advise local governments to appoint a Board of Enquiry consisting of a nominee on their behalf and a nominee on behalf of the Congress to conduct a summary enquiry into the allegations on either side, and wherever it is found that the rule of peaceful picketing has been at all violated picketing would be entirely suspended, the Government undertaking on its part to stop prosecutions wherever it is found that they have been undertaken in spite of peaceful picketing. And if my suggestion does not commend itself to you, you will perhaps suggest something better and more acceptable. Meanwhile I am enquiring into the specific charge mentioned in your letter.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9369. Courtesy: India Office Library

25. *LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

With reference to your letter enclosing extract from a report dated 19th May from the District Magistrate, Surat, I now send you a translation of the statement that Naran Dulabh[2], the party named in the extract, has made.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/9/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix I.

[2] Who had agreed to lease his land to Dhanjishaw Erachshaw, liquor seller, but, finding that village opinion was adverse, had decided not to lease the land

26. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL K. CHHAYA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

I have your letter. I know that there has been a long-standing bond between your family and me. My letter to Jamnadas asking him to go and see you was in answer to your previous letter. You may see me here at Borsad on Tuesday. A bus for Borsad is always available at the Anand railway station.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2602

27. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have read the resolution about Bhagat Singh which you sent. Dev, too, had sent a copy at your suggestion. I did not like it at all. The word "today" has affected the value of the resolution. The addition of "today" may suggest that even today the meeting has no faith in non-violence. Even those who do not look upon non-violence as an unalterable article of faith need not feel it necessary to add "today".

I shall arrive there not on the 24th but on Thursday, the 25th. I at any rate will travel by Gujarat Mail. If you wish, you may discuss this matter further with me then.

Read the accompanying letter about Chaunde Maharaj and inquire into the matter if necessary.

Rajendrababu should give up the idea of going to Bihar at present. Has Radhika come there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2890

28. LETTER TO PADMA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I have your letter. I cannot understand why Vasumatibehn should try to get your private notebook. Nobody is entitled to take anything belonging to somebody else without the latter's knowledge. I am inquiring about the matter. Do not, however, take it very much to heart. You should be generous. Your chief aim should be to improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6121

29. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

BHAI NANABHAI,

If people, despite gentle persuasion, persist in disregarding the khadi rule persons like Deshpande should resign and give all their time to the propagation of khadi. In such circumstances, one can serve the Congress even from outside.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6682

[1] *Vide* "Notes", pp. 60-1, sub-title, "Duty of Disciplinarians".

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30. LETTER TO PARASRAM MEHROTRA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. PARASRAM,

I had your letter. Why do you ask whether or no I have confidence in you? If I had none, could I have exhorted you to make big sacrifices? Yet, I may tell you that I cannot pronounce you free from restlessness. Can you spin 250 yds. in an hour on the *takli*? The pictures you have sent are highly objectionable.[1] All of them deserve to be burnt up.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I will look into members' spinning.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7489; also C.W. 4966. Courtesy: Parasram Mehrotra

31. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter and the reply to Lindsay's letter. I shall go through the reply and suggest if anything yet remains to be said.

It is good that khadi is being hawked. Here is my message:

"If swaraj means food for the poor, can any aspirant for swaraj, man or woman, use any cloth other than khadi? Khadi, though costly, costs less because we have to make do with less of it than the quantity of other cloth that we would otherwise consume."

You have mentioned "hawking of khadi and propagation of swadeshi". What do you mean by the latter phrase?

It will be fine if the Bose and Sen Gupta affair is settled.

[1] In the pictures Gandhiji had been represented as Lord Krishna and the other leaders as five Pandavas.

That the Working Committee has passed a resolution[1] does not mean that my going has been finally decided. For one thing I have received no invitation and even if I do receive one, many obstacles lie in the way. The Provincial Governments have grown very slack in the implementation of the Delhi Pact. I have no enthusiasm left for going to England. Read carefully my article in *Young India*[2] and also the one to be published tomorrow in *Navajivan*. I have come exactly to that view now. That way alone lies the well-being of the people, not otherwise. I have some slight doubt regarding the last two words, but even that is growing fainter now.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 7890. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

32. MY NOTES

NUDITY AND SOCIETY

An article on this subject has appeared in *Jain Mitra*. Its author, Jain-Nyaya Tirtha Paramesthidas, has asked me to reply to the article; I wished to express my view in this issue, but in spite of best effort I could not find the necessary time. I hope to reply to it at the earliest opportunity.[3] As the problem is not of immediate importance, I have had naturally to give priority to other more urgent matters.

STUDENTS[4]

A student writes:[5]

I hear that such undertakings are demanded in other provinces also. I will not discuss here the question whether this involves a violation of the Settlement but this raises another question which requires discussion. Why should parents give such an undertaking; and if they do, what would be its value? It is likely that the authorities will act wrongly in many things which lie outside the terms of the Settlement. When that happens, one's duty lies

[1] On June 9 at Bombay; *vide* footnote 1, p. 1.

[2] "Substance Not Shadow", pp. 1-3, which was reproduced in *Hindi Navajivan* of the same date. For the Gujarati article, *vide* the Addendum.

[3] *Vide* "Digambar Sadhus", 5-7-1931.

[4] *Vide* "Notes", pp. 59-60, sub-title, "Self-respect above All".

[5] The letter is not translated here. It enclosed a guarantee form to be filled in by guardians that their wards would not participate in political activities.

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not in acquiescing in such action or co-operating with the authorities but in not co-operating with them. No one should interpret the Agreement to mean that the people should now give up resistance to authority and sit back with folded hands. An agreement may clarify certain things, but may not clarify some others. The people should certainly not sacrifice their self-respect in matters not so clarified. Hence I would certainly advise parents or students not to give such undertakings if they are demanded from them and if for that reason the latter cannot attend Government schools, they should stay away from them. All persons thus concerned should remember that the present uncertain state will not last long. Before the beginning of the next year at the latest, we shall have known whether the Congress demand is going to be accepted. There is no need to say what should be done in case it is rejected.

Freedom about Salt

Can we carry salt from a village where it may be manufactured and sell it in surrounding villages where it cannot be?

If the villages are so near that one can reach them on foot one can certainly sell there the salt manufactured by oneself.

Does the Simla Notification make any difference to the law hitherto in force that, within 10 miles of the coastline, no one could stock more than one Bengal maund of salt?

There can be no such law though I had heard of a notification to that effect having been issued. The latest notification issued should be understood to cancel all previous notifications that may be inconsistent with it. The correct position is this: According to the Agreement one may stock the salt needed for one's consumption or manufactured by oneself within the limits of one's village and intended for sale in places which one can reach on foot.

Can one stock salt for sale? Fishermen need more salt in the month of Bhadrapad. Can one stock enough salt for them and sell it to them at that time?

The answer to this is included in the reply above.

Can we make in Government land the pits and beds for manufacturing salt? Or should we make them in our own?

Such pits can be made wherever salt can be manufactured. As for private land the owner's permission would be required, and hence the Agreement implies that pits may be made in Government land or one's own.

Irreligion in the Name of Religion

There is a village, named Raghvanaj in Matar Taluka. It is well known that under Thakkar Bapa's supervision, wells for *Antyajas* are being dug at many places in Gujarat, and one such well is being dug at Raghvanaj. The person supervising the work there had sent to Thakkar Bapa a report, the following extract from which deserves to be pondered over by all Hindus.[1]

This is the height of tyranny. I do not blame the Dharalas much for the incident. The blame lies with the so-called high-caste Hindus. The Dharalas are merely acting under the influence of the atmosphere which the former have created. In wielding this whip of my pen, I have little hope of waking up the Dharala men and women, but I do certainly hope to be able to wake up Congress workers and the readers of *Navajivan*. In such a situation, the Congress workers who come to know of it should themselves take up the spade and start working, explain the meaning of dharma to Dharalas and others who may be oppressing the *Antyajas* and teach the latter to shed fear and to be self-reliant. All this can be easily done as soon as we get ready to work with our own hands. But we would do so only if we feel revolted by such oppression.

Millions Smoked Away

A correspondent from Calcutta writes as follows:[2]

It is not very likely that my writing on the subject would end the present waste of millions on smoking. But, apropos of this letter, I may remark here on a phenomenon which I have been observing. We seem to have become indifferent in keeping up the reforms which had spontaneously spread during the satyagraha movement. The inference to be drawn from this is alarming. If we behave well only while we are fighting and lapse into slackness as soon as the intoxication of battle is over, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to preserve swaraj after it is won. In that case, would it not be desirable that the struggle be prolonged? Perhaps such a conclusion is not altogether justified, but I certainly fear that it may be in the interest of the country that the struggle should continue sufficiently long so that the people may acquire the capacity to preserve swaraj. The fight ended before we had acquired strength enough to assimilate the

[1] The passage is not translated here. It described how Dharala masons were punished for working alongside Dhed volunteers.

[2] The letter is not translated here. It said that cigarettes, boycotted during the struggle, were coming back into use.

reforms brought about while it was going on. May I hope that readers who have become indifferent in this matter will draw the appropriate lesson from this, shake off their indifference and wake up others as well? To those who realize that the satyagraha fight is a fight for self-purification, every day is a day of battle or, if you like, of peace, for the effort for self-purification should not be relaxed even for a moment.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-6-1931

33. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Here is another letter from Syt. Chatur Behari Lal Andley. You know best whether it is of any importance.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Encl. 1

SYT. J. C. KUMARAPPA
65 ESPLANADE ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 10096

34. LETTER TO NATHAM MUSLIM ASSOCIATION, ABIRAMAM

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
June 21, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your telegram[1]. I know that Indian life is in danger in Burma, but what can be done from here? You have to make such effort as you can on your side and wherever safety is threatened you should migrate to safer places. And in order that some

[1] It read: "Lives, properties of innumerable innocent Indians in Burma still in great danger. Massacre reported daily. Pray persuade authorities take immediate necessary steps to restore peace and harmony."

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action can be taken at this end, you should send full particulars of loss of life and how the loss occurred. Are the Burmans in the villages hostile to Indian trade and Indian residence? Are our people well-behaved towards them? If you will give me all these particulars it might be possible to create public opinion here.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 2-7-1931

35. LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

BHAI KASHINATH,

I got your letter.

I certainly intend to write something about the Digambar Jain Sadhus.[1] I am thinking what I can write.

I had a talk with Haribhau, too, about your decision to leave. I understand your reasons. You two cannot save yourselves from falling. The fact is that you have already fallen.

He who curbs the organs of action but allows the mind to dwell on sense-objects,—such a one, wholly deluded, is called a hypocrite.[2]

Here we should understand *vimudhatma* to mean merely that the person lacks true knowledge and that, therefore, his outward self-control is of no value. The man who lets his mind dwell on lustful thoughts cannot be regarded a *brahmachari* simply because he refrains from physical gratification. In other words, one must banish from one's mind all evil thoughts which may arise in it. Anyone who wants to succeed in this effort would take the necessary steps, which you never did. Now you should recognize the lack of self-control in you both, live humbly as an ordinary married couple and practise only such self-control outwardly as you can do mentally as well. Think over the meaning of the *bhajan*: "Unless the mind is free from desire, renunciation cannot endure." Do not feel that I am reproaching you. Rest assured that I have only tried to open your eyes to the truth so that you may wake up.

[1] *Vide* "Digambar Sadhus", 5-7-1931.
[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 6

I am enclosing a note[1] saying that the sums which you owe to *Navajivan* and the Ashram should be written off. You may use it. I think that this was a mistake on your part. You should not have incurred debts in that way. Instead of borrowing money and then seeking exemption from repaying the loan, at the very time of drawing the money you should have asked for so much more by way of honorarium. We ought not to value in terms of money the work done for a public cause. I write this for the sake of purity in our dealings. Only if we maintain the highest standards of purity in our practical affairs can we come out of our abject condition of mind. He who never feels inwardly poor is richer than even the richest millionaire.

I am going to Bombay from here on Wednesday. Both of you may come before that if you wish to. You may, however, save your time and money, if you can be satisfied with my blessings conveyed to you through a letter from here. We haven't yet learnt the lesson of simplicity. This charge applies to nearly everyone. The fault lies with the circumstances. I have always had plenty of money at my disposal, so that I have not succeeded in exercising strict control in its use. I have therefore often wished how good it would be if people stopped giving us money and we did not even know how we would get our next meal. Read again my article[2] in *Navajivan* on this subject.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5281

36. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

Write off the sums which the account books show as due from Bhai Kashinath. He has not the means to pay them.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, pp. 160-2.

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37. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYANJI,

I read your humorous but painful letter, containing the account of all that happened in Kashmir in connection with the flag. The sketch is very interesting and reveals the deplorable conditions in the Indian States. It was your insistence on a written order that saved you. It is evident an ordinary man, had he carried the flag, would have been arrested. Let us see what this Round Table Conference accomplishes.

Yes, Kotak is doing good work in Kashmir.

Door to door propaganda is required for the boycott of foreign cloth. That is more effective than picketing and the result is more or less permanent.

Should not Dr. Ansari do something about the quarrels in Delhi? You may suggest this to him.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5622

38. LETTER TO PADMA

June 21, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I am writing this reply on the blank portion of your letter, but I will not use the whole sheet. You must take careful measures and improve your health completely. If you wish, you may go and live with Sarojinidevi[1], after obtaining the permission of Sitla Sahay[2] and also of Narandas. But you must get all right before leaving the Ashram. You are bound to get well if you take regularly the medicine prescribed for you. Your handwriting has improved a lot. With a little more effort, it will be still better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6122

[1] Addressee's mother
[2] Addressee's father

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39. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

BHAI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. If the superior officer does not listen to you and redress the injustice, I would advise you to put up with it for some time. Perhaps after a few days I may be able to advise you to take further steps in the matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8992

40. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. It was Panditji who told me about Maganbhai. I certainly thought that there must have been some misunderstanding on his part over other matters as there was over this. But Panditji speaks out what he has in mind and then thinks no more about it. That is a great virtue in him.

Mahadev told me that Manju was perfectly all right now.

The Punjabi vaid seems to charge rather high fee. If, however, his medicines are effective, why should we not let ourselves be treated by him and pay him his fees? Do not allopathic doctors sometimes charge Rs. 1,000 for a day? Some of them give free service to us. This vaid thought that, if he could charge others, he could certainly charge us too. If he is an honest vaid, we should not mind his fee. He does not charge for a visit separately, but charges for visits and medicines together. Allopathic doctors charge for them separately.

Shivabhai had a talk with me about his wife. Even if he cannot come, I see that we have no choice but to admit his wife. If she becomes too much of a problem, inform Shivabhai. It

would be better if she stays with Gangabehn or with some other woman of equal standing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

41. LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. LALJI,

So I have a letter from you at last. Do not be so lazy again. Write to your father and tell him plainly that you do not wish even your engagement to take place just now. Improve your handwriting. Write to me regularly every week. How much do you weave daily now?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3293

42. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. You are doing right in giving your address in every letter. You should not feel worried but do your duty in the given circumstances. If you can come away early, you can stay with me for many days. Nothing is yet certain about my going to England, but, even if I go, I shall not be able to take you with me, however much I may wish to do so. The work which I have to do there will not permit me to do that. Moreover, the expense of taking you with me will be far too much. That would not become people like us who are trying to live simple lives. If, however, you come away from there to stay with me, why need you return? While I am away, you will live in the Ashram. You are bound to keep good health there. All that is necessary is that you should come away soon.

CWMG - XLVII

For some time, Rajendrababu will stay hereabouts. Afterwards, he will certainly return to Patna. But that will be after some time yet.

The Committee will meet on July 7.

I am in Borsad, but you should write to me to the Bardoli address.

[*Blessings*] *from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3415

43. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. You have given enough details. I think it would have been good if you had come and seen me. I could follow Kisan's[1] letter. Write to her and tell her that I liked it.

Gangabehn's eagerness to teach the girls all she can is quite sincere and is also admirable. I should like to give her all possible help in strengthening it. You, too, should help her.

Panditji has much to complain against you.[2] Go to him and listen to all that he has to say, and reply to his complaints courteously. It will be difficult to find an inmate of the Ashram as sincere as Panditji. Win him over. Why should he have reason to complain against you? You are by nature harsh, curt, reserved. This much is true. I don't think that these are serious defects, but they are bound to create difficulties. You should, therefore, try to overcome them. Straighten out matters with Panditji immediately.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Up to the 24th, letters should be directed here. On the 25th and the 26th, I shall be in Bombay. On the 27th, most probably I shall be in Bardoli. But it is not certain.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10257; also C.W. 6705. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] A friend of the addressee; she had worked hard in Bombay during the civil disobedience movement.

[2] The addressee in her book, *Bapuna Patro*, explains that her insistence on discipline and her intolerance and discourteous behaviour towards elderly inmates of the Ashram had caused much resentment.

44. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

This letter will be brought to you by one Mahadev Mailar and his wife, Sidhudevi. Mahadev was an inmate of the Ashram. He was married at an early age. He observes complete *brahmacharya* and tells me that his wife, too, understands the importance of the vow. Mahadev works in an Ashram which is being run in a place called Hosari. He and his wife will ultimately settle in that Ashram. Just now, they wish to learn Hindi. They will learn other things, too, but they are especially eager to master Hindi. See what arrangements you can make for them. Personally, I think you can enlist the services of that crazy fellow Parasram. Though crazy, he has clung to us. I don't feel like shifting him from Kanpur, but we may do that if necessary. It is certainly desirable that the Ashram should have perfect arrangements for teaching Hindi.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have told Mahadev that, if his wife is found to be of no use to the Ashram, she will have to leave. We shall have to bear the expenditure on them. They, on their part, are of course willing to work so that the Ashram is not out of pocket on their account.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

45. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[*June 22, 1931*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

There is only one point in your letter which calls for a reply. In what context did I tell Soman that he might take his meals separately from others? I don't remember having told him this,

[1] From the contents, the letter seems to have been written a day before the letter to the addressee dated June 23, 1931; *vide* p. 40.

CWMG - XLVII

but I will carry out whatever he remembers that I told him. The general rule is what you state it to be. Janakibai is a pious woman. We should keep her in the Ashram as long as she feels happy in it. If you think it proper, show this to Bhai Soman. What does he do these days?

Mahavir's fever must have left him.

Mirabehn and Gaur Gopaldas intend to go to the Ashram. Mirabehn now realizes that her place is in the Ashram or wherever there is some work to do. She is convinced of this and wishes to live accordingly. That is why she is going there. Assign her any work you think proper. Make whatever arrangements you do on the understanding that, if I have to go to England, she will accompany me. If I have to go, it will be in the middle of August.

I am intentionally sending Gaur Gopal there. He is a youth of a very straightforward nature. You must have come to know that he belongs to a zamindar family. Make him as comfortable as you can and assign to him any work you think proper. See that he acquires proficiency in Hindi and learns to card and spin well. I should like him to complete the whole course in weaving. Arrange his work in such a way that he gets some time for reading.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mirabehn will leave by the Kathiawar Mail tomorrow. It arrives there at 7.30 or 8 a.m. She will hire a tonga from the station to take her to the Ashram. If Ranchhodbhai or somebody else agrees to go to the station and take her in a car to the Ashram, that will save her time. Get Mirabehn's room vacated for her. Balvant and Gaur Gopal will probably be travelling with her.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9 : Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. I, pp. 263-4; also C.W. 8176. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

46. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I expect much from you at this time. If you wish to cultivate oneness with all the women and see that the girls make great progress, you should, instead of undertaking too many tasks, be content with a few and give more time to general supervision. If you try to do every small thing yourself, you will not be able to exercise general supervision. You should also give up thinking about new plans of work and the ambition to jump high. At present you have quite a large number of grown-up women and girls under your charge. If this field of the Ashram activities is perfectly organized, the Ashram will overflow with women and girls. Think that your family is of unlimited size.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 55; also C.W. 8778. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

47. ADVICE TO FARMERS, BORSAD

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

Answering various questions put to him, Mahatma Gandhi said that everyone who could afford should pay all dues, including past dues and taqavi. By affording, he meant ability to pay without borrowing and without selling their belongings. He had, from the moment he entered Borsad, made it clear to the authorities and in his personal conversation with the Collector, that it was on that basis that he proposed to work and offer help and it was on that basis that the lists were prepared and payments made.

He was happy to see that all but Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 had been paid and he had been given an assurance that this sum also would be paid up in two or three days. There was now, therefore, no question of further calls upon them during the present year. He had, however, written to the Collector, asking him

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to furnish the names of those whom he might suspect of having withheld their correct position from him. He would be severely disappointed if he had been misled by any of the landholders.

He warned them and told them that if there were any whom they knew, they should bring their names to his notice and induce them to pay land revenue. Regarding village officers who were still awaiting reinstatement, he said that he was in correspondence with the authorities and hoped to have a satisfactory decision about them.

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi exhorted Patidars[1], who had taken prominent part in the struggle, to get rid of untouchability and treat other backward communities, such as Dharalas and Barias, as themselves.

Asked what they should do regarding their confiscated lands sold to third parties, Mahatma Gandhi said that he hoped still to secure all such lands, but if the so-called purchasers came to take possession no opposition should be offered them. If they were still in possession, they could till the land but they should realize that they ran the risk of having to lose labour and seed if they were called upon to give up possession, which they would have to do. Whilst no one should work on such land on behalf of purchasers, no molestation should be offered against those who wished to work.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-6-1931

48. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

Monday [On or after *June 22, 1931*][2]

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. Since you are so far away, I am helpless. I am decidedly of the opinion that you should give up your intention of joining the Congress and should cling to your work. Many others besides you have taken up similar work at my instance. It would surprise and pain me if you cannot observe even this measure of self-restraint. However, follow your own inclination.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1823

[1] A community in Gujarat, consisting chiefly of peasant farmers

[2] *Bapuna Patro–3: Kusum Desaine* places this letter after the one dated June 18, 1931; June 22 was Monday.

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49. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I forgot to get Sardar to wire though we talked for one minute. You did well to send a reminder. I have now written. You may expect a wire from Bardoli tomorrow or the day after.

BAPU

ADHYAPAK J. C. KUMARAPPA
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 10097

50. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

June 23, 1931

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your joint letter (only three lines from Sushila). Corruption you will find everywhere. The reformer and public worker should do what he can to remove it, himself remain untouched by it, and cease worrying. However, personally I do believe that persons like you would get better support in India and so be able to do some work. But now that you have gone back there, you should stay on for some time and, if you wish to wind up the work, do so properly before you come away. It would certainly be good if *Indian Opinion* continues. But rather than that it should pass into the hands of persons who may not run it well, it had better stop. Everything that exists is bound to perish sooner or later. Let *Indian Opinion*, then, meet its end at your hands. Meet Kallenbach, Omar Sheth and others, and do what you think proper after discussing the matter with them.

You should plan to return here when the struggle is resumed. It seems certain that it will be resumed next year, though I will make every effort to see that it does not become necessary. Don't decide anything in haste or excitement.

It is a painful thing that Sorabji should refuse to pay even the policy premiums. The Ashram cannot pay them. Do not

mind if the premiums already paid are lost. Now that Jalbhai also is there, see if you can persuade the two brothers and make them pay the premiums. Is any surrender value of the policy payable, or nothing at all? What is Sorabji's financial condition?

Nothing is yet certain about my going to England. Ramdas and Nimu have gone to Almora to enjoy the climate for a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4785

51. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

CHI. RAMA,

I got your letter.

The Sisodara programme is all right. Vimu must have returned there now. Has she grown? What did she do all these months? Ask her and write to me what she dictates.

I am going to Bombay today for two days. I have asked Mirabehn to go to the Ashram. She has stayed quite long with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5331

52. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

June 23, 1931

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

If influential workers in Limbasi[1] take the lead and permit *Antyajas*, opposition from the few would subside of itself. But they must be real workers, and not merely workers in name. Why not call the people of the village together and tell them that you would disband the Ashram? If the people don't let you, there is no need to hurry; if they agree, then too there is no hurry. But it would be good if they say yes. Our work would get publicity.

My statement that looking for another place of work would mean *parigraha* was intended to apply to all. Are not all Ashram

[1] A village in Matar taluka, Kaira

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residents under the vow of *aparigraha*? I mentioned only the ideal. If a person who is disinclined for some reason to return to the Ashram finds himself without work at a given place, he may certainly look for it elsewhere.

I read your letter to Mahadev about the headman. What can we do in the case? It should be proved that he cannot pay. I cannot do that from here and so a letter from here can have no effect. If you write to me from there, giving evidence regarding his condition, or if I get such a letter from somebody else, I may possibly be able to do something in the matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8993

53. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I sent some letters today with Mahadev Mailar. This will be brought by Mirabehn.

Did Kaka see Mathew? If the latter gives some time to the Vidyapith, he will earn respect there. If, however, he does not like the idea, it may be dropped. When I return from Bombay, I will send for him and know from him what he wants.

Mahavir's fever seems to have continued for quite some time. If Mahadev's wife can get trained, both seem ready to work. We should have, but don't have, a good full-time teacher of Hindi. I will try again to make some arrangement.

Write to Ratubhai and tell him that Chhaganlal and Lilavati cause much pain to the Doctor. If he has still any control over them, he should try to do something in the matter. I have written a strong letter to Chhaganlal and Lilavati. I don't know what effect it will have.

Keep a watch over Balvant. Exact hard work from him. Make some arrangement for his education, too. I know that it is easy to make such suggestions, but that it is difficult to carry them out. I want you to do only as much as you can. It is not out of my mind that you have very few workers.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I suppose I informed you that the Ashram will have to bear the boarding expenses for Balvant. Gaur Gopaldas will arrive there tomorrow morning. He will leave this place with me in the evening. He will spend the night at Anand and arrive there in the morning.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

54. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

When I asked whether the construction could not be postponed, I meant the proposed extension. I suggest that it may be postponed till the end of this year, if possible.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9326. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

55. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 20/[23], 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have got the message which I sent with Mahadev concerning Narahari's request. I have come to the conclusion that we need not send anyone at present for picketing.

Manju seems to be safe now. Read my letter to Hariyomal. Persuade him to take milk.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am starting from here on the the 24th and not on the 23rd.

[PPS.]

Tuesday [*June 23, 1931*]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Why did Shankarbhai leave? With whom does Shanta live? How is Kusum?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

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56. *LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, CENTRAL PROVINCES*

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR SIR,

I write this letter regarding the case of Syt. Gopal Anant Ogale[1] who was sentenced on the 2nd of April 1931 to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 124 I.P.C. I have gone through the article and the translation put in as Exhibit in the case and I venture to submit that in terms of Cl. 13 Sub-section 1 of the Settlement Syt. Ogale is entitled to discharge because in that article there is no incitement to violence. That there may be sedition in the article, it will be admitted, is irrelevant so far as the Settlement is concerned. For the sake of protection I understand that the case is under appeal but I suggest that the clause referred to of the Settlement is unequivocal. As there is no incitement to violence and as he was arrested during the civil disobedience movement he is entitled to discharge.[2] Indeed, it seems to me that as soon as the Settlement was published, the prosecution should have been withdrawn under Cl. 12 Sub-section 1 of the Settlement. As the matter relates to a citizen's liberty I request prompt attention and early reply.

Yours sincerely,

THE CHIEF SECRETARY
CENTRAL PROVINCES GOVERNMENT
NAGPUR (C.P.)

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Then Editor of *Maharashtra*, Nagpur

[2] The reply to this letter, *inter alia*, states: "The Governor in Council has no doubt that the case in question is not covered by the Agreement. . . . None the less before your letter was received the Governor in Council, as an act of grace, had instructed the Government Advocate, . . . and Mr. Ogale was released on the 29th June last."

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57. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You will remember the complaint[1] you sent me about Cawnpore and about which I agreed that if the particular allegations were true, it is a distinct breach of the Settlement. I had therefore written to the Secretary. Here is his wire[2] in reply. I shall send you his letter also when it arrives.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

58. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Here is a copy of a precis of an important case in Meerut. The precis is so admirably prepared that it makes easy reading. I do suggest that it is a terrible thing that a cultured man like Syt. Shital Prasad Tayal[3] should not be reinstated. I do hope that you will intervene in the matter. You will observe that the incumbent alleged to be permanent did not take up the post and

[1] *Vide* p. 8.

[2] It read: "Your letter eighteenth. Allegations entirely baseless. Picketing perfectly peaceful Letter follows."

[3] A teacher in Meerut Cantonment who had been dismissed for taking part in the Congress session at Lahore and collecting funds for khadi. The addressee in his reply dated July 10 declined to reopen the case.

the temporary man was made permanent two months after the Settlement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/21/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

59. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter[1] of the 19th inst. with reference to the question of fire-arms. I will not, for the time being, trouble you with any further argument though I dissent from the view taken by you. I shall watch the working of the instructions issued to the local governments. I take it that I am free to make use of the contents of the Memorandum in my correspondence with local governments on this question. I shall not make use of it till I hear from you.[2]

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Which stated: " . . . You refer to the modification in the original draft of clause 16 of the Settlement of March 5th. My recollection is that, so far as arms are concerned, the change was made not to cover the case of arms of which the licenses had been cancelled, for these were clearly illegal possessions, but in regard to the seizure of licensed arms taken in the course of searches and in regard to which no offence had been committed under the Arms Act or otherwise. I am quite clear that in this connection the present issue was not raised, since I have always realized that the basic question was that of a re-grant of cancelled licenses. . . ."

[2] The addressee wrote back on July 4, 1931: "You are certainly free to quote the Memorandum. . . ."

60. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

May I remind you about several letters regarding the Settlement to which answers are long overdue? They cover important matters and I would be grateful if you could let me have early replies. Meanwhile I have to draw your attention to the fact that with reference to the restoration of forfeited *watans*[1], undertakings are required before restoration. I send you a copy in connection with one such *watan*. The other parties are:

Messrs Hanamant Ramchandra Deshpande of Bilgi,
G. C. Joshi of Guledgud,
Hanumantrao Desai of Andamurnal, Taluk Bagalkot.

These undertakings in my opinion are in breach of the Settlement and they should be waived as they were in Gujarat in connection with Mukhis[2].

Whilst I am dictating this letter, I have a letter from Barsi town from Mr. D. V. Sulakhe. His is a case of confiscation pure and simple. He has sent a petition to His Excellency, but he has not been given any reply. The petition of which I have a copy sent to me bears date 16th March.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

R. M. Maxwell, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Hereditary land grants or cash allowances for performance of service
[2] Village headmen

61. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

In your letter the other day you said that the non-Dharala population of Ras was fully entitled to protection at the hands of the Government and that you were enquiring into the complaints made by me to you. You will agree with me that no assurance on paper can possibly bring relief to those who are actually being injured. The only relief they can see and feel is when the injury ceases. Unfortunately the same injury that I complained of seems to be continuing. This time in order to verify so far as it was possible the complaints made by the residents of Ras I sent Syt. Mahadev Desai to make a local investigation. The enclosed is his report. You will see therefrom that the hedges of the poor cultivators are still being destroyed. Valuable babul trees are being cut down and wood taken away. I understand from Mr. Perry that, for fear lest the Dharalas might be molested by the Patidars, additional police still continued to be posted. I wonder if the police is able to afford any protection to the Patidars and others. But whether the function of this additional police is or is not to protect the non-Dharala population of Ras, will you please let me know whether the Government intend to protect the Patidars of Ras from continuous molestation or whether they are to look after themselves in the best manner they can. I shall be away from Borsad for two days, possibly three. May I ask for immediate attention to the complaints and may I know when I may expect reply to my letter about the Mukhi?

Yours sincerely,

K. B. BHADRAPUR, ESQ.
COLLECTOR OF KAIRA DT.
KAIRA

A.I.C.C. File No. 3, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

62. *LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS*

As at Sabarmati,
June 24, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. I shall look forward to Mrs. Polak's book[1]. I know it will revive old and pleasant memories and it will tell me of things I have perhaps altogether forgotten.

It is a good thing that your two books[2] are reaching the proper people.

As is your wont you are distressed over what your eyes see and ears hear. This time it is the terrible unemployment in Lancashire and what you see and hear acts as an effective barrier against perceiving the truth. I have seen from extensive experience the truth of a legal maxim which says: "Hard cases make bad law." Many legal maxims are also sound moral maxims as this one is. I can say with perfect detachment although I am immersed in the Indian turmoil that the way you suggest is not the way to help Lancashire. If it was wrong any time for Lancashire to impose its cloth upon India by hook or by crook it is wrong also today and more so because India has become conscious of the wrong. And if India now refuses to be party to the wrong, surely she won't be adding wrong to wrong but she would be assisting the process of undoing the wrong done by Lancashire. That the labourers were not conscious of the wrong that was being done is no justification for the wrong itself being sustained by the party wronged, that is, India or anybody else. The proper course is to show the labourers how they have been unconsciously assisting the wrong done by Lancashire to India and therefore how necessary it is to retrace the step. The first thing to do therefore is, if Lancashire cloth cannot be sold outside India, to find some other employment. What that can be it is difficult for me to say. I do not know how England itself is clothed. Why should not the same machinery be used for preparing the clothing of the kind required by England or better still, why should not the machinery be scrapped and the unem-

[1] *Mr. Gandhi: The Man* (1931) with a foreword by C. F. Andrews
[2] *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (1929) and *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story*(1930)

ployed take to handicrafts? I know these are vague ideas without any basis for them but I have given them to show which way my mind is working.

Let me help you by putting before you another fact. Foreign-cloth boycott has created a kind of atmosphere. Its effect upon Lancashire is nothing so serious as it is made out. In the first place do you know that before the boycott became a live thing Lancashire sent to India only 12% of her output of piecegoods? Have you studied the illuminating figures[1] published in a recent issue of *Young India* showing conclusively that Lancashire had to fear not so much Indian boycott as the ever-growing Japanese competition? My heart goes out to the unemployed. It goes out to you in your terrific moral struggle. But I cannot be helpful in the way you suggest. Of that I am quite clear. That there is a way out I have no doubt and probably if I came to London, after a study of the situation on the spot I should be able to suggest some practical solution. And if I came at all I would certainly do as you want me to, first of all proceed to Lancashire and see the unemployed face to face.

But I am not at all sure that I shall be able to go. As yet of course there is no invitation. The Settlement is causing me much anxiety. The local governments are not playing the game. Lathi charges too are now and then resorted to. Jawaharlal sends me bitter complaints from Allahabad. But I shall see what is possible when the time for sailing comes. Jawaharlal cannot accompany me unless he forms part of the deputation. I do not think it would be advisable though of course if he was in London his presence would relieve me of a great deal of responsibility. Malaviyaji and Ansari are a certainty. They are most likely to be invited apart from the Working Committee and so is Mrs. Naidu. I note you will house me with Muriel.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 970

[1] *Vide* "Japanese or British?", p. 7.

63. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 24, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

You are on the brain. I look about me and miss you. I open the charkha and miss you. So on and so forth. But what is the use? You have done the right thing.[1] You have left your home, your people and all that people prize most, not to serve me personally but to serve the cause I stand for. All the time you were squandering your love on me personally, I felt guilty of misappropriation. And I exploded on the slightest pretext. Now that you are not with me, my anger turns itself upon me for having given you all those terrible scoldings. But I was on a bed of hot ashes all the while I was accepting your service.[2] You will truly serve me by joyously serving the cause. "Cheer boys cheer, no more of idle sorrow."

Love.

BAPU

Bapu's Letters to Mira, p. 156

64. LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

Some students from your college have come to me for advice regarding your refusal to admit to the college certain students who had taken part in the civil disobedience movement. Without entering into a discussion of the Delhi Settlement, may I suggest that at the present moment it would be hardly proper to refuse admission to the students who took part in the movement? Is it not a fact that the whole of the student world was stirred

[1] The addressee had gone to the Ashram.

[2] Concerning this, Mirabehn says: "The struggle was terrible. I too was on a bed of hot ashes because I could feel that Bapu was. This was one of the occasions when, somehow or other, I managed to tear myself away."

to the very depths by the national awakening, and whether they took any direct part in the movement or not there is no doubt that they were all filled with the spirit of the time. For the sake of peace therefore I would urge you to withdraw your orders and admit all the students without imposing any conditions. I have given my opinion[1] to the students which I have published in *Navajivan* that any undertaking given by the students as to non-participation in any future struggle or regret about participation in the past would be wholly inconsistent with self-respect. I would also go further and say, what I have not said in my opinion referred to above, that it would also be inconsistent with the students' inmost belief. I hope you would not consider this letter a presumption.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS
GUJARAT COLLEGE
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 817

65. LETTER TO N. D. KOWALI

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[2] The persecuted men can certainly go to court. In any case they must not submit to any tyranny and be content to remain outside the caste. After all we want to break down false and injurious caste barriers.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SYT. N. D. KOWALI
DADAR, BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 3273

[1] *Vide* "My Notes", pp. 24-5, sub-title, "Students".

[2] The addressee had written to Gandhiji about the excommunication of two Kshatriya families.

66. LETTER TO J. J. SINGH

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your lucidly written letter of June 5th.[1] I agree in the main with all you say. The rumour about my wearing European costume if I went to London is as ill-founded as my rumoured visit to America. All the same I appreciate the motive lying behind your letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 27-4-1969

67. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. Your explanation does not absolve you from blame. My point is that it is wrong to criticize one State in the territory of another. Such criticism involves violence. You should think over all that I have said to you from the point of view of non-violence. If you think that the principle of non-violence itself is an error, my argument loses all force.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2845. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

68. SLAVE COMMUNITIES

We have the untouchables, the shame and curse of the Hindu society. But we have also other communities whom we—the so-called higher classes—treat almost as slaves and keep in quarters designed for our cattle. Representatives of one such community

[1] *Vide* "A Countryman's Advice", 9-7-1931.

have addressed a letter which I condense as follows:[1]

> We are representatives of the Rajwar community living in the districts of Gaya, Patna, Monghyr and Palamau, in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. . . .
>
> On refusal to give *begar*[2] the zamindar forthwith begins a suit for arrears of rent, gets decree, puts the *jot*[3] to auction and evicts the tenant from the land in his possession.
>
> A Rajwar child, no sooner he reaches his 6th or 7th year, becomes almost the property of his parents' landlord; he is made to tend the landlord's cattle and do all sorts of odd jobs. . . . In fact he leads the life of a slave, a mere chattel of the landlord.
>
> For working from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Rajwars are paid at the rate of 3 seers of unhusked rice per diem and no wages in cash are ever paid to them. . . .
>
> The Rajwar children are not allowed to be sent to the primary schools and the teachers too are not allowed to teach the boys by the landlord.
>
> Whenever there is any theft or larceny or dacoity or any crime whatever in the locality where this community is living, the first suspicion and the first brunt of the police enquiry must be borne by it, although there may not be the slightest evidence for the same. . . .
>
> We have already submitted these memorials to the District Magistrates of Gaya and Patna, and to the Chief Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Government but we have not as yet learnt what steps the respective authorities have taken. We hope that you will do something to ameliorate our condition.

The letter is written for the representatives and probably also prompted by some unknown reformer among them. It is signed by about twenty-five representatives. What however matters is not who wrote it but the statements made therein, if they are true.

They are highly likely to be true in the main. For such treatment is not an isolated phenomenon of Bihar. Almost all the provinces have these backward, suppressed, slave communities. They are no heritage from the British. We have had them for ages and all the greater shame on us for that.

We may plead a thousand excuses for their existence in the days gone by. But in these days of enlightenment, awakening and

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] Forced labour
[3] Holding

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insistence on swaraj, we have no excuse for tolerating the atrocity. Congress workers have to take up the cause of these communities wherever they are found. They should try to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of those who 'own' these men and women. Swaraj is the sum total of all the activities that go to build up a free and vigorous nation conscious of the strength that comes from right doing. The existence of slave communities is a terrible wrong and must therefore be a hindrance in our march towards the goal.

Young India, 25-6-1931

69. A GENTLE REBUKE

C. Rajagopalachari's eagle eye sees everything that appears in print about the drink evil. He saw a report of my very innocent speech at the village of Maroli[1] where the other day I laid the foundation of a weaving institute. I had there attempted to show the connection that exists between factory labour and drink and said how Mithubehn Petit had, whilst doing prohibition work, discovered that if the people who ceased to visit the liquor shops she picketed were to be permanently weaned from drink, they should have some ambition provided in life, some work found for them during their idle hours. I then showed how she found such occupation in hand-spinning and weaving. I further went on to show that if people had to do excessive labour, they would want some stimulant and illustrated it by an experience from my own life when during the Boer War I had to issue from the commissariat rations of rum for those bearers who were used to drink and who pleaded with me for rum which, they said, would enable them to bear the fatigue and resume next day's march. Of course, this was a superstition. But superstitions die hard.

Rajagopalachari feared that the report that he had read would be distorted to yield all kinds of meanings favourable to the opponents of prohibition. His fear has been justified. I have received embarrassing congratulations on my conversion to sanity. They embarrass me because I am not conscious of the conversion imputed to me. I feel like a man who falsely reported to have died reads his obituary notices and blushes to have the virtues he never knew he had possessed.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Speech at Maroli", pp. 366-7.

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Let me therefore re-declare my faith in undiluted prohibition before I land myself in deeper water. If I was appointed dictator for one hour for all India, the first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops, destroy all the toddy palms such as I know them in Gujarat, compel factory owners to produce humane conditions for their workmen and open refreshment and recreation rooms where these workmen would get innocent drinks and equally innocent amusements. I would close down the factories if the owners pleaded want of funds. Being a teetotaller, I would retain my sobriety in spite of the possession of one hour's dictatorship and therefore arrange for the examination of my European friends and diseased persons who may be in medical need of brandy and the like at State expense by medical experts and where necessary they would receive certificates which would entitle them to obtain the prescribed quantity of the fiery waters from certified chemists. The rule will apply *mutatis mutandis* to intoxicating drugs.

For the loss of revenue from drinks, I would straightway cut down the military expenditure and expect the Commander-in-Chief to accommodate himself to the new condition in the best way he can. The workmen left idle by the closing of factories, I would remove to model farms to be immediately opened as far as possible in the neighbourhood of the factories unless I was advised during that brief hour that the State could profitably run the factories under the required conditions and could therefore take over from the owners.

Young India, 25-6-1931

70. TERRIBLE IF TRUE

I take the following from a complaint about picketing:

> In rural areas there is definite evidence that everything short of physical violence has been resorted to by volunteers. Would-be customers are obstructed, abused and generally harassed, and toddy shop renters have been put to considerable loss and in some instances have been so discouraged that they have ceased to get trees marked for tapping and closed their shops rather than suffer further indignities. The Congress office in Tellichery issued summonses to the principal renters to appear before them and few had the courage to disobey. Those who appeared were summarily told to close their shops, and when they asked for compensation they were told that Congress would do nothing for them.

If these complaints are true this picketing should be suspended immediately. Though as soon as I had this complaint I wrote inquiring about the allegations, I thought it was better for the sake of workers in general to publish the complaint. It may be mentioned that somewhat similar complaints have been received regarding cloth-picketing too. I can but repeat the warning[1] I have issued in these pages that it would be better for the Congress, better for the cause of prohibition, whether of intoxicating drinks and drugs or foreign cloth, that we ceased picketing altogether than that there was the slightest departure from the terms of the Delhi Settlement. If picketing cannot remain peaceful, it should be abandoned altogether.

It is being discovered that the more effective method is to pay house to house visit and meet the drunkards, opium-eaters or foreign-cloth users in their own homes and explain to them the evil of the use of any of the three things. There may be also addresses at street corners and distribution of leaflets. *Prabhat pheries*[2] too can do this propaganda through swadeshi and anti-drink and drug songs. Foreign-cloth boycott may also be assisted by door to door hawking of khadi, registering orders and organizing the weaving of self-spun yarn. Such levelling up [of] the atmosphere cannot but affect the use of drinks and drugs and foreign cloth.

The Other Side

But how if these charges are in the main or wholly untrue. I know that in Gujarat there is a tendency growing up to molest peaceful picketers and, what is more mischievous still, there is going on an unrestrained sale of liquor at odd hours and in odd places under cover of the law. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari who is the General Secretary of the Temperance League in the place vacated by Mr. Anderson and who is a politician only because he is a social reformer is convinced that in the South a deliberate policy of repression of strictly peaceful picketing has been launched in the shape of faked prosecutions and physical interference. From Ludhiana, Ambala, Muttra and elsewhere come authentic reports of lathi charges and the like. I have deliberately refrained from publishing these statements of which the various organizations have furnished me with a full record. Besides this, there are complaints pouring in about other matters. I can only give the assurance to the public that not one of these has escaped my

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI "Notes", pp. 184-5, sub-title, "Picketing".
[2] Early morning processions

attention. But I cannot carry on a public propaganda at the same time that I am carrying on delicate negotiations with the Central Government from and through which I expect to gain relief in most of, if not all of these cases.

Meanwhile I must ask all Congress workers to be patient. They must not allow themselves to be provoked into civil disobedience. It is never the first, it is always the last resort. We must exhaust all the intermediate processes before we can take up that last sovereign remedy. Whilst the Settlement lasts, we have the law-courts too, open to us. I know that at best they bring us poor comfort. But, such as they are, they may not be passed by, even as we may not pass by, the respective departments of the executive Government for seeking relief. Happily nowadays we have all over India lawyers who give their services to the Congress organizations free of charge. Wherever therefore these facilities exist, Congress organizations should avail themselves of them and try to obtain such relief as is locally possible. They must not embark on civil disobedience without first obtaining the permission of the Working Committee. It is to meet very shortly[1] and I promise to place it in full possession of all the complaints and take directions from it. Our safety and honour today demand a meticulous performance by us of all the conditions of the Settlement.

But I would appeal to the provincial governments and the members of the Civil Service to come to the rescue. I must not conceal from them and the public the suspicion based on the evidences before me that they are in many cases hindering the working of the Settlement where they are not wilfully breaking it. Let it not be proved what is being said of them that some of them want the Settlement to break to pieces. Let it not be said of them that they destroyed the edifice that Lord Irwin gave anxious days and anxious nights to build up. Let them realize that the Settlement is a solemn contract not between two individuals but between two organizations, hitherto fighting, now seeking to co-operate. They may not distrust the Congress workers and treat them as if they were enemies even as the Congressmen may not, whilst the contract persists, distrust every official act.

Young India, 25-6-1931

[1] It met in Bombay from July 7 to 12.

71. A MARTYR

Whilst the Working Committee was deliberating in Bombay during the early part of the month, there was a public meeting in Dongri at which there was an uproar and at which a youth was fatally stabbed. The news of the death was brought to the Working Committee. It created a sensation but at the time it was thought that some unknown unidentifiable person had died. On returning to Borsad I had a letter from Sjt. Kishorelal Mashruwala who deploring the tragedy gave me some details about the deceased. I thereupon asked him to procure fuller details which I now have.

Brave and good Pannalal was only 22 years old when he received the fatal stab on that fateful night from one of the excited Mussalman crowd. Accompanied by his father and younger brother, Pannalal had gone to the Dongri meeting specially to hear Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was among others advertised to speak at the meeting. After they had heard the Khan Saheb the father hailed a victoria and they got in. Being khaddar-clad they were taken for nationalist leaders. A howling crowd surrounded them. Stones were rained on them. All of them were hurt. Pannalal's left eyebrow was bleeding. Nothing minding, in order to lighten his father's sorrow, he made light of his wound. Suddenly there came into his left ribs a deep stab. Blood gushed from the wounded side. Out came the entrails. Pannalal bore it all bravely and asked to be taken to the hospital where he said his wound would be dressed and all would be well. Alas! all was not well. In spite of all the attention given to him the brave young man died the next day.

He was born of wealthy parents. His father Maganlal Zaveri is a flourishing jeweller, much trusted and respected for his honesty. His uncle is the Chief Judge of the Jodhpur High Court. The deceased leaves a young widow to whom he was married only eighteen months ago. The parents, having come under the influence of the national movement, simplified the life of the family and sent Pannalal to the national school. After having studied up to the sixth standard he left studies to help his father in business. But Pannalal never left national work. He was one of the party that raided the Wadala Salt Works and came in for

lathi blows. He always joined the dangerous processions which were the feature of those days. Pannalal has lived by dying. My congratulations to the parents for having had such a worthy son. Let death and especially a death such as this leave no sting behind. The body has been reduced to ashes but out of the ashes will rise true unity among us. If we do not resent this death and would give many more lives if need be, I know that true unity will not be long in coming.

As for the widow let me hope that their love for their son will prompt the parents to give her the education the girl widow may desire or be fitted for and that they will give her every encouragement to remarry when she grows to maturity. Let them, if they have drunk in the spirit of the age, shed the superstition that a widow is the property of the husband's family to remain as their slave. A widow must have the same right as a widower and must be taught to know that she has the same free choice as men.

And of the Mussalmans who approve of such murders? Surely, the cause of Islam or the cause of peace which the word 'Islam' means, has not been advanced by the murder. It cannot be right to take innocent life; Pannalal had given no provocation. How I wish Pannalal's murder would open the eyes of those whose heart approves such murders and who make them possible. Is it not possible to arrange a joint meeting on the very spot where the murder took place and to declare that whether we could evolve a common formula regarding the political issue or not, such murders would be made impossible. Such a meeting is not impossible as, so far as I am aware, Pannalal's people have forgiven the wrong and the Congress Committee purposely avoided a public funeral in order that passion might not be inflamed. We ought to be able to hold public meetings anywhere and fearlessly express views even though they may be unpalatable in [a] particular neighbourhood.

Young India, 25-6-1931

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72. SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS

THE EDITOR, "YOUNG INDIA"

SIR,

In the village Pipri, Tehsil Purwa, District Unao, a raid is said to have been made on the tenants by the zamindars of the village along with the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Pt. Chandra Mohan Nath and an armed guard on 30th May, 1931. . . .

It may however be said to the credit of the tenants, however illiterate they may be, . . . they are perfectly non-violent, and not a single example can be cited in which the tenants might have resorted to the methods of violence even for self-defence.

VISHWAMBHAR DAYAL TRIPATHI
M.A., LL.B.
President, District Congress Committee

UNAO

I publish this very serious letter[1] with only inconsequential alterations. It is undoubtedly libellous, if the allegations are not true. I shall gladly publish any explanations that the zamindars or the Sub-Divisional Magistrate may wish to give. The matter demands immediate inquiry, if the allegations are substantially correct, the Zamindars' Association should take up the matter and deal with the zamindars. I may add that I wired to the writer if he could support the allegations and he promptly wired back in the affirmative.

Young India, 25-6-1931

73. NOTES

SELF-RESPECT ABOVE ALL

I have letters[2] from several provinces saying that the education authorities are imposing conditions on the return of students who had left their schools or colleges during the struggle. A circular of which a copy has been sent by one of the correspondents requires parents to give guarantees that their children will not take part in politics. These correspondents ask me whether these conditions are consistent with the Settlement.

[1] From which only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* "My Notes", pp. 24-5, sub-title, "Students".

Without entering into that question for the time being, I have no hesitation in saying that neither students nor parents if they have any self-respect left in them should accept such conditions. What will it profit the students or the parents if they have to lose their souls to gain the questionable advantage of a public education and a certificate? There are the national institutions open to the students. If they do not like these, they can study at home. It is a gross superstition to suppose that knowledge can be obtained only by going to schools and colleges. The world produced brilliant students before schools and colleges came into being. There is nothing so ennobling or lasting as self-study. Schools and colleges make most of us mere receptacles for holding the superfluities of knowledge. Wheat is left out and mere husk is taken in. I do not wish to decry schools and colleges as such. They have their use. But we are making altogether too much of them. They are but one of the many means of gaining knowledge.

Oh, Those Addresses

Manibehn, Sardar Vallabhbhai's daughter who does secretarial work, wardrobe keeping and nursing for her father and therefore always travels with him plaintively asks:

> Why do the people give Father so many addresses, when he wants money? You know better than I do that he has nowhere to lay his head on. He has no house or chests to keep the many addresses he receives. He has no safes in which he can keep costly caskets and gifts. For me it becomes positively a burden to take charge of these addresses and gifts. I would like people not to give addresses and gifts to any Congressmen. Their service must be its own reward. But in any case, will you not ask them to spare Father. Let them refrain from giving him the addresses he does not need, let them give him the money he needs for the very work they expect him to do and so much admire.

I need add nothing to these sentiments beyond heartily endorsing them and commending them to those who would invite the Sardar to their places.

Duty of Disciplinarians

An Akola correspondent asks:[1]

> If even elected officials in a Congress organization do not carry out the rule of khadi laid down in the constitution, what is one to do who believes in strict adherence to the rules?

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Nanabhai I. Mashruwala", p. 22.

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The question is more easily asked than answered. The decision would depend upon so many surrounding circumstances. Therefore it is possible only to give a general guidance which it may be necessary to depart from as new and varying circumstances arise.

Assuming that the member believing in khaddar out and out finds that the majority do not observe the rule, that he has drawn their attention to the breach, that he has drawn the attention of the chief officials also and fails to find any satisfaction, he should by way of protest retire from the elected body to which he belongs. He will simply remain a four-anna member without exercising his right of voting. But outside the organization he will preach discipline without being bitter towards those who are lax in observing it. He will also do such Congress work as commends itself to him if he can do so without incurring the displeasure of the powers that be in the Congress organization. A vast amount of constructive work can be done without one being a member.

Why Don't They Spin

A correspondent bitingly writes:

> When you address meetings you ask people to spin for the sake of your *Daridranarayana*[1]. If anyone asks for your autograph, Bania-like, you impose the condition that he or she should spin! Then what prevents you from asking Congress members on so many committees to spin? Why do they not all spin by way of encouragement to others? Or is spinning to be reserved for non-Congressmen or at best for four-anna members but not for the chosen ones of committees?

I apologize to the writer. Only let him remember that whereas I cannot always give spinning demonstrations before big audiences, I give actual demonstrations before members of committees. And is not an ounce of practice more than tons of preaching? But the writer is perhaps right in his sarcasm. There are hundreds of Congress committees if not thousands. I do not speak to all of them through my spinning. It would certainly be a good example and would add imperceptibly but materially to the wealth of the country if the thousands of members of these committees would spin regularly for at least half an hour. If these figures were tabulated and published from week to week, it will fill the atmosphere with the spirit of industry, sacrifice and khadi, the emblem of *Daridranarayana*. Boycott of foreign cloth

[1] God in the form of the poor

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through khadi will then be accomplished much earlier than the most sanguine among us dare expect. But will they? "They spin not, neither do they toil."[1]

Young India, 25-6-1931

74. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

AS AT BORSAD,
June 25, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

I have your astonishing letter of 23rd inst. I had written to you that the complainants had no evidence whereby they could fix the blame on the Dharalas. Nor had I asked for any prosecutions. What I had asked for was a preventive measure and if you tell me that where complainants cannot trace the guilty parties the Government will leave them to their fate I shall take the answer. But I was unprepared for the gratuitous statement that it is not beyond suspicion that the damages might have been self-inflicted to fasten the crime on the Dharalas. You will permit me to say that sentiments like this amount to putting a premium on crime. Does it not strike you as unthinkable that the Patidars should engage in self-destruction for the doubtful purpose of proving the Dharalas guilty? Nor am I able to see what earthly purpose they can serve by cutting all their hedges in order to fasten any crime on the Dharalas. If you have at the back of your mind the Dharala Mukhi of Ras I must tell you that it was not the Patidars who made the suggestion that the presence of a Dharala Mukhi was probably responsible for the cutting of these hedges. In any case the case against the Dharala Mukhi stands on an independent footing. It is as I hold part of the Settlement whereas it would be open to you to say that the granting of protection to the Patidars is no part of the Settlement and I would not be able to challenge a position of that description.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 3, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *St. Matthew*, VI. 28.

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75. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
June 25, 1931

To a question put about his participation in the Federal Structure Committee [Gandhiji replied:]

If I attend the Round Table Conference, I shall possibly attend the Federal Structure Committee also.

Asked whether he had finally decided to go to the London Conference and when he was likely to start, Gandhiji said that the Working Committee would decide all those questions for him. His theory and views had been exploded and he would willingly obey whatever the Committee asked him to do.

Asked whether the situation in Gujarat was satisfactory, after hesitating for a while, Gandhiji replied that the situation was not satisfactory. But he had been corresponding with the Government of India. Incidentally, he mentioned that he had been receiving reports from all over India forwarded by reliable trusted workers like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, that a deliberate policy of repression of strictly peaceful picketing, in the shape of faked prosecutions, physical interference and lathi charges was hindering the working of the Settlement. None of these complaints had escaped his attention, and he could not publish them as he was carrying on delicate negotiations with the Central Government from and through which he expected to gain relief. He hoped that things would not assume serious proportions as to endanger the Truce. He had one word to say to Congressmen, that the safety and honour of the. Congress demanded meticulous performance by the Congressmen of all the conditions of the Truce.

Gandhiji proposed to place the Working Committee in full possession of all the complaints.

Gandhiji profoundly regretted the failure of the efforts in Bhopal to effect a settlement between the two sections of the Muslim group. It was a very unfortunate incident. The Working Committee would discuss what next should be done in view of the failure.

Gandhiji was confident that the Foreign-cloth Export Scheme would prove a success and the scheme did not amount to a breach of the Truce as alleged by certain interested parties.

Is the contention made by a new political school of thought to the effect that the Congress, by accepting the Truce, accepted the principle of Federation as enunciated in the last R.T.C. true? If so where does the Congress resolution of Independence passed at the Lahore Congress and reiterated at Karachi stand?

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A. This question need not be answered.

The Hindu, 25-6-1931

76. DISCUSSION ON FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT[1]

BOMBAY,
June 25, 1931

Mr. Gandhi said he was aware of the position, but it was an article of faith with him that the use of any foreign manufactured articles in the composition of cloth turned out by Indian mills was detrimental to the interests of the masses. He explained his view at some length and regretted his inability to deflect from the course [in spite] of any disadvantage, which might accrue to the industry, which he thought would only be of a temporary character.

Gandhiji however realized very fully the menace of Japanese competition, and said he would leave no stone unturned to deal with it effectively. The Congress policy was certainly not intended to merely restrict imports from Lancashire, but all imports of foreign cloth, and he would direct particular attention to the growing menace from Japan. If and when a satisfactory settlement was reached, Japanese competition might be dealt with by means of a special tariff. The whole position was one which would have to be seriously considered in the nearest future.

The Hindu, 26-6-1931

77. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY

June 26, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi first congratulated the women of India and particularly the women of Bombay for the great and heroic part they had taken in the last fight. They had shown unparalleled courage and their capacity to suffer and make supreme sacrifices in the cause of the country was fully tested. When Gandhiji started on his pilgrimage to Dandi[2] he had entrusted to the women of India a twofold mission. Firstly the women of India must help the

[1] With H. P. Mody, Chairman of the Mill-owners' Association, S. D. Saklatwala, and Lalji Naranji. The discussion turned on the increasing imports of Japanese piece-goods, particularly artificial silk goods. It was pointed out that while the industry was being asked to give up the use of artificial silk yarn, Japanese imports of this class of goods were increasing at an alarming rate, disorganizing trade not merely in artificial silk goods, but also in other varieties.

[2] On March 12, 1930; *vide* Vol. XLIII.

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nation to exterminate all foreign cloth and secondly they must help to enforce total prohibition. Gandhiji entrusted this task to the women, having full faith that it would be carried out. What the women had achieved by selfless work and during such a short time was far beyond his most sanguine hopes.

The women of India, proceeded Gandhiji, had enhanced the prestige of the whole nation. They were the cynosure of all eyes. The whole world looked up to them with admiration for their patriotism. But that was not enough. The praise that was showered on them by the world must encourage them to look forward to their future work with greater faith and zeal.

They should with more vigour carry out the work entrusted to them during the fight. They should persuade dealers in foreign cloth as well as consumers to shun foreign cloth. They should beg of those who are addicted to drink to give up the vice and they should induce the dealers in liquor to stop the evil traffic. During the last fight men and women volunteered their services for this work but now this task had become more onerous and difficult. There was both laxity in work and lack of workers.

The need for a regular and disciplined army of workers was therefore all the greater. They should not be disappointed by the results of their efforts. If they had complete faith in their mission and believed that they were going to succeed, it would not only be possible to exterminate foreign cloth from India but also root out the drink evil in a short time. But this kind of work required discipline and united efforts. He noticed among the audience a few women wearing the orange colour saris but a majority of them did not wear this emblem. This colour was symbolic of the dedication of their services in the cause of the country. It also indicated that they were members of the local organization of women which carried out the mission of boycott and prohibition.

My appeal to you women, therefore, is to come out and adopt this symbol of the orange colour sari and join the band of those brave and selfless women whose services are pledged to the country.

He then sounded a note of warning to such of the women who took to khaddar during the last struggle but were now tempted to go in for foreign fineries. It had been brought to his notice that a few Khoja[1] women who had taken part in the movement and had become converts to the gospel of khaddar were now showing an inclination to buy foreign cloth. This was not the case with Khoja women alone but Hindu women also. If they had the slightest regard and pity for the millions of their countrymen who were facing starvation and worse they should cease patronizing foreign cloth.

They should prefer either khaddar or India-made cloth to the exclusion of all foreign cloth. But he would point out that Indian mill-cloth was meant for those to whom the message of the starving millions had not reached

[1] A Muslim community

and for such persons who were not of Congress persuasion. But every Congressman and woman and everyone who believed in the Congress creed must adopt khaddar and khaddar alone even to the exclusion of mill-cloth.

No doubt the use of mill-cloth would benefit a few lakhs of workers living in industrial towns, a few thousands of shareholders and a smaller number of agents and directors. But there were seven lakhs of villages in India and 30 crores of poverty-stricken peasants in them. Should one place the interest of 30 crores of peasants first or a few lakhs of industrial workers? Their duty should be to relieve the poverty of the 30 crores of peasants by patronizing khaddar and khaddar alone.

Mahatmaji thought that the best education for girls and women was not the kind of university education that they were getting in schools but that they should be taught thoroughly to master the art of spinning and carding. The message of the charkha must be popularized throughout the length and breadth of the country and women were best fitted for the propagation of this message. If every woman learnt to spin and cultivated the habit of wearing only self-made khaddar clothes they would go a long way in winning their freedom. [Concluding, Gandhiji said:]

In khaddar alone lies your salvation and in your salvation lies the salvation of your country.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1931

78. SPEECH TO 'DEPRESSED' CLASSES DEPUTATION[1]

BOMBAY,
June 26, 1931

Gandhiji said in reply to the address:

Don't call me a Mahatma, but call me a Bhangi.

He said that he appreciated the title "Pioneer of Scavengers", once given to him by a European friend rather than the title "Mahatma". He promised the deputationists that everything that he would urge at the Round Table Conference would be in the interest of their community and the country in general. He would not promise that the very same formula suggested by the deputation will be placed before the Conference but if a better one suggested itself to him he would give it preference. As regards providing educational facilities to the 'depressed' classes, Mahatmaji would like to do much more than was suggested to him.

[1] Which met Gandhiji at Mani Bhavan, Bombay. It consisted of 30 delegates led by P. Baloo who whole-heartedly supported joint electorates with reservation of seats, and advocated division of the community into three groups, namely, Mahars, Chamars and the rest of the 'depressed' classes.

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But Gandhiji was himself not sure whether the present Settlement with the Government was a temporary settlement or permanent one. If it was a permanent one and swaraj was achieved, then many of the problems concerning the 'depressed' classes could be at once tackled. Of this much he was sure, that owing to the great awakening of the people the stigma of untouchability would soon disappear altogether from the country.

Mahatmaji wanted to say how much the Congress had been doing for the uplift and general advancement of the 'depressed' classes. After the question of untouchability was taken up by the Congress, it had spent more than 20 lakhs of rupees for starting ashrams and schools for 'depressed' classes and untouchable classes where free education was imparted. There was a network of ashrams in Gujarat where 'depressed' class boys were taught free.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1931

79. TELEGRAM TO DESAI[1]

[On or after *June 26, 1931*][2]

DESAI
CARE CONGRESS
BHIWANI

YOU MAY ACCEPT UNDERTAKING MAKING IT CLEAR THAT NO SALE FOREIGN CLOTH WOULD BE ALLOWED EVEN AFTER R.T.C. UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17323

80. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[After *June 26, 1931*][3]

CHI. NARANDAS,

How could I, while in Bombay, attend to your letters?
Do whatever you think proper now as regards Soman.
Try to comfort Gangabehn as much as you can.

[1&2] Two telegrams were received from the addressee, one in Bombay and the other at Bulsar. The telegram dated June 26, 1931 read: "Can we accept undertaking stoppage sales foreign clothes till result Round Table Conference."

[3] In the printed source this has been placed among the letters of 1931. From the reference to Soman, it seems this letter was written some time after the letter to the addressee dated June 22, 1931. Gandhiji was in Bombay on June 25-26.

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I understand about Bhagwanji. I think in the long run he will see his dharma.

It is stuffy everywhere.

There is no time to write more. It is 10.15 p.m.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The other letters I hope to write tomorrow. Now it is 10.30.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, p. 273; also C.W. 8188. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

81. TELEGRAM TO DESAI[1]

VAPI,
June 27, 1931

YOU CAN AGREE BUT GIVE CLEAR INTIMATION NO LIKELIHOOD AFTER CONFERENCE BOYCOTT BEING LIFTED.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

82. SPEECH AT UDVADA[2]

[*June 27, 1931*][3]

You are known all the world over for your large-hearted charity; you are renowned for your enterprise; you have distinguished yourselves by the great patriots you have given to the country—Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw Wacha. How ugly it sounds when one mentions in the same breath that you have distinguished yourselves by being dealers of toddy and liquor? Don't say the shopkeepers would be ruined if they gave up the shops. You have magnificent trusts and charities and the handful of Parsi liquour-sellers in Gujarat can easily

[1] The addressee's telegram read: "Merchants ready sealing stocks till result Round Table Conference and abiding by Congress mandate even after that period. Can we agree this language? If this solution accepted many unpleasant issues averted. Reply."

[2] Holy place of the Parsis in Pardi Taluka

[3] Gandhiji spent a day in Pardi Taluka while returning from Bombay to Borsad.

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be turned to other occupations. But you must take the courage in both your hands and wipe out the stain.

Young India, 2-7-1931

83. LETTER TO H. T. SORLEY

BORSAD,
June 28, 1931

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your exhaustive letter of 23rd inst. No. 43-14/30[1]. It will be impossible for me to get hold of the purchaser of the *muchwa* and induce him to part with the thing he has got admittedly so cheap. The sale of the *muchwa* being after the Settlement, was clearly in breach of it and was due to the negligence of the official at Surat. The only proper course in my opinion is to pay the owner the market price of the *muchwa*, which, I understand, is Rs. 200. But I have no evidence in support of my statement beyond the one made by the owner. There should be no difficulty in ascertaining the market price. I hope that the course suggested by me would be adopted without delay. The poor owner naturally has to suffer loss whilst he remains without a *muchwa*.

Yours sincerely,

H. T. SORLEY, ESQ., M.M.I.C.S.
COLLECTOR OF SALT REVENUE, BOMBAY

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

84. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BORSAD,
June 28, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter and your postcard. I am glad the notice under Sec. 144 in Rae Bareli has been withdrawn. It was undoubtedly due to your clear letter to the Chief Secretary. By the time you reach Bombay for the Working Committee, the Committee should be ready to give definite guidance.

[1] In which the addressee had proposed that his department "will consider the question of refunding the amount of Rs. 50 realized in the auction sale to the present owner of the *muchwa* [a small boat] if the latter is willing to return the *muchwa* to its original owner, and provided the Central Board of Revenue agree to this compromise suggested by me. . . ."

I am quite convinced that in order to complete our case it is necessary for you to ask the Governor to see you. In seeking the interview you will tell him that you want to leave no stone unturned to see that the clear position is placed before the highest authority in the province. You may bring nothing from the Governor but our position will surely be the stronger for your having made the attempt to see him and to secure fulfilment of the Settlement. We shall lose nothing by your offering to see him and seeing him if he accepts the offer.

You might have seen in *Young India* what I wrote about the happenings in Unao District.[1] I am going to write again on the material supplied by you and others.

It was unfortunate that the Working Committee had to be postponed. Vallabhbhai was strongly against going to Allahabad in the present circumstances there. I think too that what with Cawnpore and the other excitement in U.P. it was better that Allahabad was avoided for the time being.

BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 97-8

85. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

BORSAD,
June 28, 1931

CHI. MAHAVIR,

Probably the cause of your not keeping well at the Ashram lies in yourself. I believe that we can train the body to adjust itself to any place. The main factor is food. Through experiments one can find out what food suits one in a particular season. There is no doubt, moreover, that much depends on one's mind. Hence, if you are very eager to go and live in the Vidyapith, you may go there after obtaining the permission of Narandasbhai and Chhaganbhai. You may stay wherever you think you will keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6230

[1] *Vide* "Serious Allegations", p. 59.

86. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

This time you have written after a pretty long interval. I expected you to say in the letter what you saw at Visnagar and what inquiries you made, and give similar other information about the place. You may still do so. How do you keep?

What is Padma's complaint regarding her diary? She seems to have been very much offended. Let me know what the facts are.

Ba tells me that Dahibehn has gone to Broach and from there will go to Udvada.

I will agree with anything you decide. I only wish to see you peaceful and steady in mind and healthy in body. You are bound to attain that state sooner or later. I am indeed happy that you are ceaselessly striving towards that end.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9325; also C.W. 572. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

87. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

June 29, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got both your letters. You seem to feel worried and upset. If you are very much worried, come over for a day.

"Never lose heart"[1] means that, if we get unhappy experiences in society or do not succeed immediately in our undertakings, we should not give way to despair but should remain cheerful and go on doing our work. This is what is meant by never losing heart.

By saying you are a member of the Managing Committee, I tried to remind you of your responsibility and your powers. You

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Gangabehn Vaidya", p. 18.

can say in the Committee what you wish to and persuade it to accept your proposal.

What I expect from you is this. Even if others lose heart, you should not. Swallow all bitter draughts, go ahead and do the work expected of you. This is what I want from you. All my expectations of you concern strength of heart and not intellectual ability. The intellect has less value, the heart has more. And the heart is something which everyone has.

"Do not try to jump too high"[1] means that, instead of planning big things, you should try to improve what we are already doing. If you are impatient to take up new things, the task on hand will suffer. In my thoughts, I am always there. But how can I come away? I must finish the task that has come to me unsought.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 56; also C.W. 8779. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

88. STATEMENT ON BAN BY SACHIN STATE[2]

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

Let the public know that the change of venue[3] has nothing to do with the order. Neither Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel nor I knew anything about it when the change of venue was decided upon. The date and venue had to be changed for the convenience of, and at the request of Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam and Mr. Mohamed Alam. Nevertheless, I am sorry for the order.

Some States do not seem to realize that at present there is agreement between the Government and the Congress. Such an order might therefore easily embarrass the Government which to the State is the paramount power. Indeed, Dumas was thought of merely for its being a seaside resort. Nobody dreamt that the Working Committee meeting in the cool air of the sea near Dumas would harm Sachin. However, I am thankful that the accident of the change of venue has prevented an awkward situation

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Gangabehn Vaidya", p. 36.

[2] Gandhiji issued this statement following an order of the District Magistrate, Sachin State, prohibiting the meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

[3] From Dumas in Sachin State to Bombay

arising. I hope, however, that order means no more than overzeal on the part of the District Magistrate of Sachin.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-6-1931

89. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. It is now nearing 10.30 p.m. But I must give you a line. I am glad you are settling down. You have gone there just in time. Do come nearer Gangabehn. She is troubled at heart. You will be also helpful to Father Elwin.

You will be pleased to know that Surajbehn has adopted the 1/2 sari. At first I did not notice the change. Write to her a brief note.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 9666; also C.W. 5432. Courtesy: Mirabehn

90. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

BORSAD,
10.30 p.m., June 29, 1931

MY DEAR MATHEW,

Do now come and pass a few days with me.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1549

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91. LETTER TO GANGABEHN AND NANIBEHN JHAVERI

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN AND NANIBEHN,

As it is 10.30 p.m., I will not write much. In the circumstances supposed in Nanibehn's question, our duty is to be quiet. The responsibility of what happens after we have advised others, does not rest on us. The lesson that the *Gita* teaches is that we should leave the result to God. We are only His servants carrying out His orders. Sing the song: "Let me be your servant."

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3116

92. LETTER TO PADMA

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I got your letter. It is 5 o'clock in the morning. My complaint against you is that you do not take proper rest and so get fever. You ought to take perfect rest, lying in bed all the time. If you do so, you will soon get well. Why don't you listen to me and do this?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6123; also C.W. 3475. Courtesy: Prabhudas Gandhi

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93. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have your letter of 23rd inst. setting forth objections raised against the recent resolution of the Working Committee on boycott of foreign cloth. I have re-read the resolution in the light of the objections raised and I have come to the conclusion that the objections are based on an insufficient reading of the resolution and ignorance of the previous history of the Congress policy in the matter. Long before the civil disobedience campaign and ever since the Bengal Partition days, boycott of foreign cloth and especially British cloth and general British goods became the policy of the Congress. In 1920 boycott of British goods was dropped at my instance and replaced by boycott of foreign cloth on predominantly economic grounds and ever since it has so remained. Whilst I was in Yeravda jail between 1922 and '24 a resolution adopting boycott of British goods was passed at one of the sessions of the Congress and since then, boycott of foreign cloth and boycott of British goods have run on parallel lines. During the last struggle these assumed an aggressive political character and became practically merged. As a result of the Delhi Settlement, boycott of British goods was discontinued and the effect of discontinuance was so immediate that within a week of the Settlement orders for British machinery and other goods were freely sent. Boycott of foreign cloth however remained not as a political weapon but as an economic necessity. Thus complete prohibition of the sale of foreign cloth as an economic necessity has been the settled Congress policy since 1920. It was torn from its original anti-British setting. A mere pursuit of this policy can in no sense be interpreted to mean interference with the liberty of action of the individual unless the policy was enforced through violent measures. But the history of the methods adopted by the Congress since the Settlement, I think, furnishes sufficient evidence to show that both the letter and the spirit of the Settlement have been adhered to in the vast majority of cases by Congress organizations and prompt measures have been taken wherever any departure from peaceful methods has been detected.

Objection has been taken to the use of the word 'permit' in the resolution in question. Of course the word has reference only to those who put themselves under Congress discipline and so long as the Congress retains the influence it has over the people, the use of the word 'permit' is not only legitimate but necessary if the Congress resolutions are to convey the intention of the authors. So long as the Congress policy remains what it is, it is not open to Congress organizations to permit all those under their influence importation of foreign cloth even if individuals desired it.

As to disciplinary action the words of the resolution are surely quite clear. Disciplinary action contemplated is "against the Committee or the individual as the case may be" and Committee or the individual means only a Congress Committee or its individual members. That all the obligation that is imposed by the Congress is purely moral and devoid of any violence is abundantly clear from the fact that breaches of pledges given to the Congress continue to be reported, the Congress remaining helpless. At the same time it is to be confessed that in a majority of cases the moral authority of the Congress is felt and accepted by the people.

Lastly, I entirely endorse your remark that "it is most undesirable that there should be any ground for misunderstanding as to the attitude of the Congress in this matter." And I assure you that members of the Working Committee are most anxious to avoid any misunderstanding, their desire being, for the good name of the Congress if for nothing else, to be meticulous in the performance of all the obligations undertaken on behalf of the Congress in the Delhi Settlement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/6,1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

94. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter of 24th inst. intimating the withdrawal of the salt concession in two areas of the salt range, namely, Nurpur Gorge and Kalabagh,[1] I confess that I am taken aback by the news. I think the local officials could have warned the people and waited for the warning to take effect. The withdrawal seems to have been so abrupt and peremptory. I am however myself making enquiries in the matter and shall let you know the result. Of course I entirely agree with you that the use of any transport other than human is not to be countenanced.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

95. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

In the enclosure to my letter of the 24th inst.[2] regarding the picketing in Cawnpore the Secretary now writes correcting the date on which the photograph was taken as 5th of May instead of middle of March.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] The addressee had stated in his letter that the people had abused the concession granted to them and removed enormous quantities of salt on camels and donkeys.

[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 8.

96. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

This letter is an appeal to you as a Punjabi. There is a prisoner who has served over 19 years' imprisonment whose name is Pandit Jagat Ram[1]. My youngest son who was arrested in Delhi as a civil resister and sentenced to two years' imprisonment was in the Gujarat jail in common with several other civil resisters. He tells me that Pandit Jagat Ram is a most inoffensive man, has no anarchical tendencies. His father died on the 22nd inst. His mother and brother died before his father. There is only the widow left. Several representations, I hear, have been made to the Punjab Government. No one knows why Pandit Jagat Ram has not yet been discharged. This case has no connection with the Settlement. I simply bring it to your notice so as to make an appeal to your humanity and to ask you to use your good offices with your friends in the Punjab Government if you think that you could, without difficulty, use them. I am not worrying you with the details of the case which are well known to the Punjab Secretariat.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8679; also A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Chief lieutenant of Lala Hardayal in America; *vide* "An Old Political Prisoner", p. 120.

[2] The addressee's reply, *inter alia*, stated: "The Government of India feel that this is not a case in which they are justified in interfering with the discretion of the local Government, and particularly, having regard to the present state of the terrorist movement in India."

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97. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

Syt. S. B. Joshi of Poona sends me a copy of a petition sent by him to His Excellency on 21st ultimo. On the 23rd April 1930 owing to the civil disobedience campaign he tendered his resignation as temporary supervisor in the Rohri Canal, No. IV division. As a result, his name was put under a general ban which it appears was declared against all such people. I enclose herewith a copy of the ban. In my opinion this ban should have been removed long ago in terms of the Settlement. Will you kindly let me know the intention of the Government in the matter?[1]

Yours sincerely,

R. M. MAXWELL, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931, Part II. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

98. LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

I thank you for your letter of 25th instant, in reply to mine. I understand that you have admitted all students but seven. There is therefore, I presume, no question of want of accommodation. So far as the internal discipline is concerned I suppose that what you regard as indiscipline was more or less common to the majority of students. But what perhaps you have in mind is that the seven students were ring-leaders. I suggest that, if it was

[1] The addressee replied on July 21 that the Government were cancelling the order which barred S. B. Joshi permanently from Government service.

right to take the other students, it would be wrong to keep out the ring-leaders. The Delhi Settlement makes no such distinction between the leaders and the rank and file. I would urge you, therefore, to take the remaining students and avoid a possible crisis.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS, ESQ.
PRINCIPAL, GUJARAT COLLEGE
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 819

99. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 30, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter.

If I come there I shall tackle all the several matters which you mention about Lancashire mills compared to Bombay mills. I may deal with portions of your letter in *Young India.*

The difficulty about my going to London is still there. To get anything done by the Government just now is like drawing a live tooth. But bit by bit difficulties are being removed. I believe that the Viceroy is sincerely anxious that I should go but I do not think he is able to give much relief.

Yes, the limit of five articles of food and the taking of meals before sundown applies to India alone. In London, therefore, if the system needs it, I shall be able to take more varied food. But so far as milk is concerned cow's milk and buffalo's milk are taboo, and naturally therefore products of these two milks.

Love.

MOHAN

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOWER STREET
LONDON W.C. 1

From a photostat: G.N. 973

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100. LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI[1]

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

Your letter on my recent article[2] on the Working Committee resolution gave me much pleasure. I thought that it was important enough for a public reply through the pages of *Young India*. You will therefore find it in *Young India*.[3]

You have referred to a previous letter. It has not yet reached me. It may be that owing to constant shifting it is following me from post office to post office. If it is of any importance please send me a copy.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SYT. S. SATYAMURTI
2/18 CAR STREET
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 9721. Courtesy: Government of Tamilnadu

101. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

I understand from the Government of India that people in Nurpur Gorge and Kalabagh have been removing salt on a scale not warranted by the Settlement, i.e., on camels and donkeys. No such transport is permissible. People may carry for their own use or sale to the poor people in the neighbourhood on their own backs and walk the distance. No riding for sale is permissible. As a result the Government inform me that the concession has

[1] A photostat of the original of this letter was exhibited at the Gandhi Darshan Exhibition held at New Delhi in 1969-70.

[2] *Vide* "Substance Not Shadow", pp. 1-3.

[3] *Vide* "Power Not an End", pp. 90-2.

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been withdrawn from these two areas. Please enquire and let me know at once, if necessary by wire, what has actually happened.

Yours sincerely,

KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN SAHEB
UTMANZAI, CHARSADDA (DT. PESHAWAR)

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

102. LETTER TO KRISHNA GOPAL

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR LALA KRISHNA GOPAL,

I have your telegram. I have moved in the matter.[1] I do not know what success will attend my effort. Please say nothing in public about this. I may deal with the case[2] in *Young India* next week unless Pandit Jagat Ram is sooner discharged.

Yours sincerely,

LALA KRISHNA GOPAL
SIALKOT (PUNJAB)

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

103. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. You should oppose the idea of your going to Calcutta. Tell them frankly that you improve in health when you come to the Ashram. It shows that the only cure for your disease is congenial atmosphere. If you can firmly explain this, all your problems will be solved.

Vidyavati keeps ill. I do not understand the reason.

I keep good health. The diet continues to be the same. Rajendrababu is with me. He is all right now. All of us will

[1] *Vide* "Letter to H. W. Emerson", p. 78.
[2] *Vide* "An Old Political Prisoner", 9-7-1931.

go to Bombay on the 7th, and will be there for three days. The address is: Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3416

104. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

BORSAD,
June, 30, 1931

If I succeed in reaching London, and if I am invited to visit Lancashire, I would certainly put aside all other work and visit Lancashire and there place before the leading men the Congress position and remove the terrible misunderstanding that has gathered round the policy of the Congress in connection with the exclusion of foreign cloth. Assuming that the Congress position is otherwise accepted, I anticipate no difficulty in making proposals that would be beneficial in their operation both to England and India.

The Hindu, 1-7-1931

105. TELEGRAM TO M. G. DATAR[1]

[On or after *June 30, 1931*]

HEADMASTER
T. V.[2] NAGPUR

DHARMADHIKARI SHOULD DEFEND. SEND FULL PARTICULARS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17329

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of June 30, which read: "Dharmadhikari teacher our Vidyalaya and Secretary C.P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee arrested yesterday for sedition for speech at Kisan Conference in C.P. Hindi. Dharmadhikari says he did not in any way break Truce terms by his speech. Your article "Terrible if True" in *Young India* 25th June. Requires your definite advice whether Dharmadhikari should defend in court. Kindly wire immediately. . . ."

[2] Tilak Vidyalaya

106. TELEGRAM TO CHATURBHUJ MOTIRAM[1]

[On or after *June 30, 1931*]

CONFLICTING WIRES CONFOUND ME. YOU MUST COMPOSE DIFFERENCES OR APPROACH CONGRESS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17330

107. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

BORSAD,
Unrevised *July 1, 1931*

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter. Don't expect any donation from Ahmedabad. What I would like you to do is to discuss the whole thing with Mr. Birla. You should also find out ways and means of interesting the middle class Bengalee and the zamindar class in the khadi work as also in the amelioration of all the poor people. Why should there be no response from the Bengalees either for khadi or for famine relief? There is something wrong about the method of work here. You should do this work through *Rashtrabani*[2]. The poison that you see about you will be neutralized only by the most correct conduct on our part. It needs utter self-effacement. I wanted to talk about all these things to you when we met, but it was no good. Bombay is about the worst place for me to hope to have any quiet chat with anybody. There is an endless stream of visiting friends whom I must not repel. But if you are in any way dejected or despondent you must come to me without fixing the time-limit and hang on till we have, in leisurely fashion, thrashed out every conceivable problem that we could think of.

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of June 30 from Bhiwani, which read: "Signed pledge according your orders. Sealed cloth. Nekiram prohibiting sales millcloth placing four volunteers opposite each shop. Suffering losses. Breach peace likely."

[2] Bengali weekly edited by the addressee

It is good that the *Atma Katha*[1] is in demand. Do you understand Gujarati so well as to be able to translate directly from it? If anybody else asks for permission to translate the *Atma Katha*, I don't need to refer him to you. I will flatly refuse permission. I have a vague recollection that Anil Babu of Shantiniketan did get from me the permission years ago.

I am glad that your weight and strength are increasing. Remember the verse[2] about fasting in the verses of the second chapter of the *Gita* that we sing every evening. Fasting is good enough up to a point. But if we are nervous about our perception of Truth and Ahimsa, the moment we begin to satisfy real hunger, we have reached the danger point, and our ascribing a better perception of Truth and Ahimsa to fasting or semi-fasting may be pure hallucination. Hard work must be consistent with hard and clear thinking. Conversely, hard and clear thinking I hold to be impossible if a person has become physically a perfect wreck. A healthy mind in a healthy body is a correct maxim.

Love.

BAPU

SYT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
15 COLLEGE SQARE
CALCUTTA

From the original: C.W. 7891. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

108. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BORSAD,
July 1, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter of 27th June, redirected from Bardoli. Possibly you did not know that from Bombay I had come back to Borsad because it has been necessary for Vallabhbhai and me to divide our work. Danger is being averted by constant presence and vigilance. But any day there might be a burst-up in Borsad. I have had difficult experiences of working settlements in South

[1] *An Autobiography*; *vide* Vol. XXXIX.

[2] "When a man starves his senses, the objects of those senses disappear from him, but not the yearning for them; the yearning too departs when he beholds the Supreme"—II. 59.

Africa and even getting the poor head broken[1] in rendering a cent per cent account from our side, and then had to get myself arrested in making the Government render a tolerably good account of themselves. But I thought that I had forgotten all about working settlements. Now, however, I am reviving old memories and many of the experiences are being repeated. My great satisfaction however is that whether war or settlement, the nation must go forward if we remain faithful servers.

I like all your letters to the Chief Secretary. I do hope that the Governor will consent to see you.

Here is a complaint against you. Please keep the typewritten sheet and return it to me if you write about it or bring it with you and you will tell me all about it when we meet.

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 98-9

109. A LETTER

BORSAD,
July 1, 1931

BHAI . . . [2],

Narandas must have written to you about . . .'s[3] misconduct. I know the news must have pained you. I had built castles in the air about . . .[4] but all my hopes have come to nothing. I completely failed to understand her character. I now advise you to call her back home immediately and marry her to whomsoever she wishes to marry. I had three or four excellent candidates for her hand, but now we cannot give her to any of them. The girl is so untruthful that it is impossible to say whether she will make any man happy. Please don't be angry with her. Treat her with love. Ultimately, that alone will happen which has been ordained for her and us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3242

[1] On February 10, 1908 Gandhiji was beaten up by Mir Alam and his companions; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 75-6.

[2], [3] & [4] The names have been omitted.

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110. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

July 1, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

You did right in writing the letter which you did. Others will also do what . . .[1] and . . .[2] did. Do not get frightened. The times are such and our experiment is full of risks. However, no big task is ever achieved unless one is ready to take risks. We wish neither to condemn our experiment nor denounce *Antyajas*[3]. We should rather believe that our *tapascharya*[4] is insufficient and our purity imperfect. We will try to become purer, to become worthier servants and shall go forward.

Yes, it was almost decided to give . . . in marriage to . . . , but it was good that the evil was discovered in time. I had expressed the opinion that both . . . and . . . should leave.

Face such situations with patience. We wish to, ought to, behave like a vaid who, after ministering medicine to a patient, forgets both and takes up another patient.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 6: G. S. Gangabehnne, pp. 56-7; also C.W. 8780. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

[1] & [2] The names in this and the following paragraph are omitted in the source.

[3] Literally, 'last born', the untouchables

[4] Self-suffering as moral discipline

CWMG - XLVII

111. LETTER TO YUDHVIR SINGH

BORSAD,
July 1, 1931

BHAI YUDHVIRJI,

I like your intention of publishing Urdu translation of *Young India* and *Navajivan*. And I understand that no advertisements or other articles will be accepted for your journal and only translations of articles in the above mentioned journals will appear. This letter must not mean that I am accepting any responsibility for your paper or the authenticity of its translations[1].

I wish success to your enterprise.

Do forgive me for the delay in replying.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 9310. Courtesy: Dr. Yudhvir Singh

112. SUPERSTITIONS DIE HARD

Mr. Henry Eaton writes from California:[2]

This letter betrays two superstitions. One of them is that India is unfit to govern herself because she cannot defend herself and is torn with internal dissensions. The writer gratuitously assumes that if Britain withdraws Russia is ready to pounce upon India. This is an insult to Russia. Is Russia's one business to rule over those peoples who are not ruled by Britain? And if Russia has such nefarious designs upon India, does not the writer see that the same power that will oust the British from domination is bound to prevent any other domination? If the control is handed to India's representatives by agreement, there must be some condition whereby Britain will guarantee protection from foreign aggression as a penance for her conscious or unconscious neglect during all these past years to fit India for defending herself.

[1] A block print of this appeared in the first issue of *Urdu Navajivan*, 25-7-1931; *vide* also "*Urdu Navajivan*", Before 11-9-1931.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here.

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Personally, even under agreement, I should rely more upon the capacity of the nation to offer civil resistance to any aggressor as it did last year with partial success in the case of the British occupier. Complete success awaits complete assimilation of non-violence in thought, word and deed by the nation. An ocular demonstration of the success of nationwide satyagraha must be a prelude to its worldwide acceptance and hence as a natural corollary to the admission of the futility of armament. The only antidote to armament which is the visible symbol of violence is satyagraha the visible symbol of non-violence. But the writer is oppressed also by the fear of our dissensions. In the first place they are grossly exaggerated in transmission to the West. In the second place, they are hardened during foreign control. Imperial rule means *divide et impera*. They must therefore melt with the withdrawal of the frigid foreign rule and the introduction of the warmth-giving sunshine of real freedom.

The second superstition is harder still. I mean that about the spinning-wheel. This is shared by some even in India. The writer begs the question when he calls the method of machinery enlightened and that of the hand ignorant. It has still to be proved that displacement of the hand by the machine is a blessing in every case. Nor is it true that that which is easy is better than that which is hard. It is still less proved that every change is a blessing or that everything old is fit only to be discarded.

I hold that the machinery method is harmful when the same thing can be done easily by millions of hands not otherwise occupied. It is any day better and safer for the millions spread in the seven hundred thousand villages of India scattered over an area nineteen hundred miles long and fifteen hundred broad that they manufacture their clothing in their own villages even as they prepare their own food. These villages cannot retain the freedom they have enjoyed from time immemorial, if they do not control the production of prime necessaries of life. Western observers hastily argue from Western conditions that what may be true of them must be true of India where conditions are different in so many material respects. Applications of the laws of economics must vary with varying conditions.

The machinery method is no doubt easy. But it is not necessarily a blessing on that account. The descent to a certain place is easy but dangerous. The method of the hand is a blessing, in the present case at any rate, because it is hard. If the craze for the machinery method continues, it is highly likely that a time will come when we shall be so incapacitated and weak that we

shall begin to curse ourselves for having forgotten the use of the living machines given to us by God. Millions cannot keep themselves fit by games and athletics. And why should they exchange the useful, productive, hardy occupations for the useless, unproductive and expensive games and exercises? They are all right today for a change and recreation. They will jar upon us when they become a necessary occupation in order that we may have the appetite for eating the food in the production of which we had no hand or part.

Lastly, I do not subscribe to the belief that everything old is bad. Truth is old and difficult. Untruth has many attractions. But I would gladly go back to the very old Golden Age of Truth. Good old brown bread is any day superior to the pasty white bread which has lost much of its nutritive value in going through the various processes of refinement. The list of old and yet good things can be endlessly multiplied. The spinning-wheel is one such thing, at any rate, for India.

When India becomes self-supporting, self-reliant and proof against temptations and exploitation, she will cease to be the object of greedy attraction for any power in the West or the East and will then feel secure without having to carry the burden of expensive armament. Her internal economy will be India's strongest bulwark against aggression.

Young India, 2-7-1931

113. POWER NOT AN END

Sjt. Satyamurti writes:[1]

> I write to you about the article "Substance Not Shadow" by you, in the *Young India*, of the 18th June. The first sentence which causes me some doubt and anxiety is, "My proposition therefore before the Working Committee was that agreed settlement failing, the Congress should give up the hope of winning a swaraj constitution by the way of the present Round Table Conference and should wait till all the communities were satisfied to adopt a purely national solution." Does this not mean a charter for extreme communalists to go on obstructing? . . .
>
> But the sentence which causes me grave anxiety is that which ends as follows: "We can gain our end without political power and by directly acting upon the powers that be." I would add the following sentences also from your article in order to make my doubts clear to you. "One form

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

of direct action is adult suffrage. The second and more potent form is satyagraha. It can easily be shown that whatever is needful and can be gained by political power can perhaps be more quickly and more certainly gained by satyagraha." I venture to join issue with you. I was always and am today under the impression that what the Congress wants is political power more than anything else. And, concretely speaking, prohibition can be more easily brought about by State action than by peaceful picketing. Khaddar and swadeshi cloth can be spread better and more quickly by State action than by peaceful picketing, and the necessary reforms embodied in the Karachi resolution on Fundamental Rights can be enforced only by a swaraj Government.

In any case, I do not see why the nation should not concentrate all its energies today, upon the gaining of political power.

To me, political power is the substance, and all other reforms can and ought to wait. . . .

I am thankful for this letter. It enables me more clearly than I have been able to explain my position.

My implicit faith in non-violence does mean yielding to minorities when they are really weak. The best way to weaken communalists is to yield to them. Resistance will only rouse their suspicion and strengthen their opposition. A satyagrahi resists when there is threat of force behind obstruction. I know that I do not carry the Congressmen in general with me in this what to me appears as very sensible and practical point of view. But if we are to come to swaraj through non-violent means, I know that this point of view will be accepted.

Now for Sjt. Satyamurti's second difficulty. To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation is necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state therefore there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realized in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that that Government is best which governs the least.

If then I want political power, it is for the sake of the reforms for which the Congress stands. Therefore when the energy to be spent in gaining that power means so much loss of energy required for the reforms, as threatens to be the case if the country is to

engage in a duel with the Mussalmans or Sikhs, I would most decidedly advise the country to let the Mussalmans and Sikhs take all the power and I would go on with developing the reforms.

If we were to analyse the activities of the Congress during the past twelve years, we would discover that the capacity of the Congress to take political power has increased in exact proportion to its ability to achieve success in the constructive effort. That is to me the substance of political power. Actual taking over of the Government machinery is but a shadow, an emblem. And it could easily be a burden if it came as a gift from without, the people having made no effort to deserve it.

It is now perhaps easy to realize the truth of my statement that the needful can be 'gained more quickly and more certainly by satyagraha than by political power.' Legislation in advance of public opinion has often been demonstrated to be futile. Legal prohibition of theft in a country in which the vast majority are thieves would be futile. Picketing and the other popular activities are therefore the real thing. If political power was a thing apart from these reforms, we would have to suspend latter and concentrate on the former. But we have followed the contrary course. We have everywhere emphasized the necessity of carrying on the constructive activities as being the means of attaining swaraj. I am convinced that whenever legal prohibition of drinks, drugs and foreign cloth comes, it will come because public opinion had demanded it. It may be said that public opinion demands it today but the foreign Government does not respond. This is only partly right. Public opinion in this country is only now becoming a vital force and developing the real sanction which is satyagraha.

Young India, 2-7-1931

114. KISAN'S TROUBLES IN THE U.P.

The reader will recall the allegations published last week[1] against a zamindar of a village in Unao. This time I have more serious news involving Government officials in the instigation of zamindars and taluqdars. Here are copies of two authentic confidential circulars[2] to zamindars signed by the Deputy Commissioner of Rae-Bareli.

[1] *Vide* "Serious Allegations", p. 59.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

Confidential
D.O. 12/6

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
RAE BARELI,
June 19, 1931

MY DEAR . . . .[1]

It is proposed to prosecute certain agitators of the . . .[2] police circle. I shall be obliged if you will kindly give all possible help to . . .[3] police.

Will you please issue instructions accordingly to your agents, i.e., managers, ziledars, etc.?

Any objectionable activities of the Congress or Kisan Sabha or Panchayats directed either against Landlords or Government, should be likewise reported at the . . .[4] thana.

You should direct your employees to act promptly and energetically and fearlessly in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

D.O. No. 11

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
RAE BARELI,
June 19, 1931

MY DEAR . . . .[5]

I find that the balance outstanding against you on account of *kharif* arrears and *rabi* demand excluding Remissions granted by Government is Rs. . . .[6] This is a very large amount. In view of the special difficulties of the year, I have already allowed you sufficient time. I shall be grateful, if you will kindly pay up at least half of this balance by the end of this month—the rest thereafter as soon as possible. . . .

These circulars clearly betray hostility towards the Congress and Kisan Sabhas and invite the taluqdars to strong action against the *kisans*, promising Government help to them in their measures. We all know what such circulars mean. They imply much more than the words mean. They imply freedom to the addressees to do as they choose.

And why are these circulars confidential ? Is there anything for the U.P. Government or the Deputy Commissioner to be ashamed of? Or are they confidential because the circulars are a veiled incitement to violence ? In my opinion the circulars constitute a clear breach of the Settlement. These circulars explain why the following extraordinary notice[7] was served on Congress workers in that district.

At the time of writing I have information that this notice has been withdrawn. This notice would have meant complete stop-

[1] to [6] Blank as in the source

[7] Not reproduced here. The District Magistrate, Rae Bareli, had ordered the Congress workers to abstain from speaking or writing anything on the agrarian or political situation of the district.

page of all Congress activities, as if the Government was at war with the Congress. It was a gross and glaring breach of the Settlement. For better or for worse there is at present peace between the Government and the Congress. And the Provincial Governments and district officials are bound to respect it. If they do not like it, or if they think that the Congress is not playing the game, they should ask the Central Government to denounce the Settlement. I may inform the reader that even with reference to this order so manifestly contrary to the Settlement, I had advised that, till I had the opportunity of approaching the Central Government and the Working Committee had decided, no one should disobey the order. I am glad therefore that the U.P. Government have withdrawn the order. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had drawn in forcible terms the attention of the U.P. Government to the order.

This withdrawal should be followed by the withdrawals of the confidential circulars and the policy they adumbrate. When I was in Nainital, I was reliably informed that the U.P. Government's policy was not to take sides. They had instructed district officers to observe perfect neutrality between the zamindars and the *kisans*. But this policy has evidently been revised as will appear from the following condensed summary[1] of a report before me.

I have omitted some painful details of this painful story of a broken pact.

To complete the picture I may mention that I have seen copies of notices served perhaps by the thousand on *kisans* warning them that they will incur the liability to prosecution if they had dealings with particular Congressmen.

And all this after the descent of the Deputy Commissioner from Nainital whereto he had been summoned to see H.E. the Governor! I hope that there is no connection between the studied terrorism which the foregoing narrative proves and the Nainital visit. Be that as it may, there should be no haste on the part of Congressmen, there should be no breaches of orders till the Working Committee has considered the situation. It meets on the 7th instant and will consider the extraordinary situation that is developing in several provinces.

Young India, 2-7-1931

[1] Not reproduced here. It described how the Settlement was being violated and the villagers oppressed and terrorized in the Rae Bareli District.

115. YOUNG EUROPEANS

It was a matter of pleasure to me as I know it was to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to meet the young Europeans in Bombay the other day. Several young Europeans have formed themselves into a group for the purpose of studying the Indian situation and then forming their own conclusions and taking their due share in moulding public opinion. As behoves earnest students, these gentlemen have eschewed all publicity for their proceedings. They invite to their social dinner representatives of all parties and hear their views and ask questions where further elucidation is necessary. They pass no resolutions, have framed no policy. They approach questions with an open mind. These friends deserve congratulations and encouragement in their praiseworthy endeavour. I venture to suggest to them that if they will come to a decision early, if they intend to affect the present political situation, it is necessary for them to classify the subjects for study and appoint from among themselves certain members who would specially study those particular questions and in that connection interview those who represent different parties which bring their influence to bear on them. All this undoubtedly means strenuous work. But it is necessary if the studies are to bear fruit in the near future.

Young India, 2-7-1931

116. TELEGRAM TO ROHIT MEHTA

BORSAD,
July 2, 1931

ROHIT MEHTA
VALLABHBHAI ROAD
AHMEDABAD

YOUR PRESENCE HERE NECESSARY TOMORROW FOR REPLYING PRINCIPAL'S LETTER[1] JUST RECEIVED.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

117. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

BORSAD,
July 2, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

Here is a statement about further destruction of property in Ras. In spite of repeated assurance from you no impression seems to have been produced upon the miscreants whoever they may be. If the police are doing their duty, I cannot see how the mischief-makers can escape detection in a small place like Ras. The Patidars feel helpless because of the restraint put upon them by the Congress authorities. Left to themselves I have no doubt that they are capable of protecting themselves and their property but that means internecine quarrelling which I want to avoid if it is at all possible. I take your assurances at their face value and expect that there would be no further mischief. But repeated disappointments will shake all faith in those assurances.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Principal Shirras had said in it that the presence of the five students which had "in the past been disturbing to the work of the college would result in similar disturbance in the future. . . . I am confirmed in my impression from the notices recently spread in the college under the signatures of two of them, and from the similar notices in the vernacular Press. . . ." For Gandhiji's reply to this letter, *vide* "Letter to G. Findlay Shirras", 3-7-1931.

118. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
July 2, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

Your letter is such as would shock a man. But can anything disturb one whose skin has become thick? . . .[1] should take . . .[2] away. We cannot look after her. I also feel that . . .[3] should leave the Ashram.

If you think of any other course, let me know. The conduct of both has been intolerable. . . .[4] is more to blame. Let the two marry, if they wish to. The marriage cannot, of course, take place in the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

119. TELEGRAM TO CONGRESS OFFICE, VELLORE

[On or after *July 2, 1931*][5]

YOUR WIRE. SEE RAJAGOPALACHARI.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17335

120. TELEGRAM TO SWADESHI SABHA, AHMEDABAD

[On or after *July 2, 1931*] [6]

NINTH WILL SUIT BUT HOUR CAN BE FIXED ONLY ON REACHING BOMBAY.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17336

[1],[2],[3]&[4]The names have been omitted.

[5] The telegram was sent in reply to one from the Congress office, received on July 2, 1931, which read: "Picketing liquor shops. Government objecting more than five volunteers per shop though ten entrances. Pray order."

[6] The telegram was sent in reply to the Sabha's of July 2, which read: "Regret compelled put off meeting tomorrow due to Kasturbhai's unexpected absence from Ahmedabad. Kindly wire if Thursday 9th morning will suit you meeting in Bombay."

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121. TELEGRAM TO RAMJASMAL JOHARMAL AND OTHERS

[On or after *July 2, 1931*][1]

SENT FULL WIRE[2] YESTERDAY PT. NEKIRAM.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17338

122. LETTER TO SIR ERNEST HOTSON[3]

BORSAD,
July 3, 1931

I thank you for your letter[4] of the 30th ultimo, which was redirected to me at Borsad. I would gladly serve on the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference, if the way is open for me to sail for England in time. Will you please inform His Excellency the Viceroy that the working of the Delhi Settlement is causing me great anxiety and is taking up practically the whole of my time to the exclusion of many other important things I would gladly attend to if I was free? I am inundated with complaints from fellow-workers, which go to show that the Settlement is not being satisfactorily implemented by local officials. I shall treat this correspondence as confidential.

Young India, 27-8-1931

[1] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's received on July 2, 1931, which read: "In spite your clear telegram picketing not withdrawn by Pandit Nekiram. No sales allowed. Suffering heavily. All have signed pledge your instructions. Sealed stocks."

[2] Not available

[3] Acting Governor of Bombay

[4] *Vide* Appendix II.

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123. LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS

BORSAD,
July 3, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of 30th ultimo as also for the correction about non-admission of students. I have now seen two of them and they tell me that they are not aware of their having created any disturbance in the work of the college unless you have in mind the strike[1] that took place in the college and in which practically the whole college was involved. They tell me that if they have been guilty of any conduct which would be considered dishonourable or which would amount to insubordination they are prepared to make proper amends. They assure me that they have never desired or promoted any indiscipline in the college. They have undoubtedly held strong nationalistic views as they do even now. They took an energetic part in the national movement. What they tell me is that so far as their conduct in the college is concerned it was free from any reproach. I understand too that there is nothing to be said against their private character, which I personally, as one having had a great deal to do with students during the past nearly 40 years of public life, attach the greatest importance to. They tell me too that they have issued no notice to which any exception can be taken. I would therefore thank you to let me know the definite charges which you have in mind and which impelled you to refuse them admission. I would also thank you to furnish me with copies of the notices you hold to be objectionable.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G. N. 821

[1] Which commenced on January 3, 1929; *vide* Vol. XXXVIII.

124. LETTER TO PADMA

BORSAD,
Silence Day [*July 3, 1931*][1]

CHI. PADMA,

I got both your letters. In one you ask for coloured paper and in the other a little piece from your letter paper. Why do you fall ill repeatedly? Can you not discover the cause?

Are there any irregularities in your diet? Let me know when you get a reply from the U.P.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6126

125. LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS

BORSAD,
July 4, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

I thank you for your further letter of 3rd instant. It was good of you to have taken in Syt. C. H. Desai and I would like you to extend the same liberal treatment to the other students.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G. N. 824

[1] Gandhiji was in Borsad between June 28 and July 5, 1931. Silence Day fell on July 3.

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126. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

BORSAD,
July 4, 1931

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

It is good you wrote the letter. I am writing to Sir Cowasji. I believe in the saying, "Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves." However, what preparations need I make? As a servant, I have only to deliver the Master's message. If those to whom the message will be addressed listen to it, all will be well in the end. But shall we ever see such a fortunate day? How can there be rains without thunder and lightning? There is yet neither thunder nor lightning, nor even a cloud. Tell me, now, what I should study. Just now I cannot give my mind to problems of the constitution. Tell Lilavati that it is fixed on the lace of the Madura sari. Rajagopalachari has now become her advocate. After writing a long essay to him on the subject of the lace, I am writing this to you. Lilavati should show me the lace when I come there. Rajaji has raised a nice question and asked for my verdict in the matter.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 7516. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

127. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

[Before *July 5, 1931*][1]

I would rather stay at your settlement[2] than anywhere else, for there I will be living among the same sort of people as those for whom I have spent my life.

The Hindu, 6-7-1931

[1] The letter was released by Reuter from London on July 5.

[2] Kingsley Hall, a welfare workers' settlement in the East End, London

128. KATHIAWAR POLITICAL CONFERENCE

At its Bhavnagar session this Conference imposed on itself a restriction not to criticize the affairs of one State in the territory of another State.[1] Some had not quite liked this self-restraint, but all had willingly or unwillingly accepted it. There are now rumours of a move for the removal of the restriction.

The argument in favour of the removal is this: When we accepted the restriction, we did so because of the people's weakness; but the time has now changed and hence the restriction should go.

If the Kathiawar Political Conference wishes to remove the restriction, it has a full right to do so. I think either the Conference should be convened to lift it or the Executive Committee should run the risk of exceeding its constitutional authority and rescind the Resolution passed at the Conference. It would become the duty of the Executive Committee to act in that manner when its members definitely feel that public opinion demands such a step and that it must be taken immediately.

Here, however, I wish to discuss only the necessity or otherwise of that self-restraint. I think that the restraint was not a sign of weakness, but was, and even today is, a mark of civility. It was certainly inspired by a recognition of the condition of the Princes. It is the duty of the Conference to take account of their condition and the fact that it did so was a sign of its practical wisdom. It stands to lose nothing through that restraint and much to gain.

Anyone following the path of non-violence and truth would willingly observe the restriction. I would, therefore, go so far as to say that a satyagrahi would observe it not merely because such is the Resolution of the Kathiawar Political Conference but also because it is necessary in itself.

It is malicious propaganda to criticize the evils of State A in the territory of State B. It is cowardice to do so. Bravery lies in going to State A and exposing its evils there. As A and B are on friendly terms, B would be in a difficult position if A is criticized in B's territory. Without sufficient reason, a satyagrahi

[1] It was at the fourth Conference at Porbandar on January 22, 1928 that Gandhiji moved from the chair a resolution adopting the restriction; *vide* Vol. XXXV, p. 483.

would not put any person into an embarrassing position. It may, however, be argued that when it is not possible to go to A's State to criticize him, there should be some place where it could be done. The reply to this is simple. As the Indian States are subject to the authority of the British Government, all such subject States can be criticized, and are criticized, in British Indian territory.

Hence, even after the experience of so many years, I cling to my view: The self-restraint imposed at Bhavnagar is just as necessary now as it was then. To a satyagrahi it is binding whether or not he belongs to the Conference. If the time has truly changed, we ought to be strong enough to go to the State concerned and compel it to remedy the evils. What courage do we show by criticizing the evils of a State outside its borders?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-7-1931

129. INDIAN STATES AND SATYAGRAHA

I have two letters lying with me. One is addressed to me and the other is addressed to Kishorelalbhai who has sent it to me for reply.

The following is the substance of the letter addressed to me:

> You stop the satyagraha which has been going on in A, in B you blame those who started it, in C you advise them to slacken its pace and in D you permit an inexperienced leader to start it. Instead of putting yourself in such a false position, why don't you advise people to stop satyagraha altogether for the present and take up khadi work only and through it acquire fitness for satyagraha?

The long letter addressed to Kishorelalbhai is full of anger:

> The Congress seems to think that it can treat us, workers in the Indian States, as it likes. During the struggle, we suffered beatings and went to jail. Now that there is a Settlement, we are treated as mere dirt. Our letters are thrown into the dustbin by the secretary. If we wish to show our spirit, it will adversely affect the Settlement between the Congress and the Government! It does not matter if the authorities of the States crush us. When a brave person like Fulchandbhai shows his courage, such orders are issued as would kill his spirit. What sort of principle is there behind all this? What sort of a Settlement is this? Shall we ever be able to win swaraj in this manner?

I have summarized this long letter from memory. The correspondent's anger seems pardonable. He has suffered and in the heat of excitement has made no effort to understand the position carefully.

I take the first letter first. It is true that I gave four seemingly contradictory opinions in regard to four different sets of circumstances. But really speaking they are not contradictory. Life's experiments are like chemical experiments. In a chemical experiment, if the quantity of one ingredient is increased or decreased different results follow. If even a drop of one more substance is added an altogether new compound results. In the same way in life owing to differences in the characters of workers and local conditions, the situation changes and different opinions are given. If this were not so, life would cease to be life and be reduced to a mechanical process. What matters is whether the different opinions are based on the same principle.

In the cases in which the satyagrahis were subject to my control and in which my name was being used, I had to bear in mind the different situations and give opinions accordingly, and they were right. In the fourth case the person had taken a pledge to offer satyagraha. He did not belong to any organization. He relied on his own strength. The only drawback in his action was that he had been hasty in taking the pledge. If at all, he alone would suffer because of that. In these circumstances, how could I, when my opinion was asked, commit the sin of persuading him to violate his pledge? How could I discourage him? The only right I had was to examine his pledge and say whether it violated any moral principle. I therefore expressed the view that there was no moral flaw in the pledge itself and that it was his duty to carry it out.

The principle is this: A pledge of satyagraha, which is not against non-violence and the consequences of carrying out which are likely to be suffered only by the person taking it, must be kept at any cost, even if that person had not thought about the consequences and had not consulted anybody and had relied on his own strength. There have been countless such brave, unknown satyagrahis in the world. No one builds monuments in their honour, their names are not recorded in history, nor are their actions reported in newspapers. Their names are recorded in God's book and we may be sure that it is because of their strength that the world endures. Anyone who obstructs them in their work is not a wise man. He is sunk in the pit of ignorance and, trying to be overwise, obstructs manly effort.

The principle looks admirable when thus explained, but I have to face difficult moral issues every hour in my life in trying to follow it in practice and guiding my co-workers according to it. Following the rule that where there are no other trees a castor oil plant is as good as a tree, for want of a leader with greater wisdom, I act as a judge and go on issuing orders to my co-workers. My experience is that my views have not harmed either my co-workers or the public. Both have advanced. My co-workers have often felt unhappy while following my opinions but many of them have also realized that their suffering was ultimately for their good.

The Settlement between the Congress and the Government has no connection with the Indian States. There was no struggle in the States, and so none of the conditions of the Settlement apply to them. Even if the Government wanted to do so, it had no right to bind them. So, in principle, neither the Rulers nor the subjects are bound by the Settlement in any way. It puts no check on either. The subjects can offer satyagraha or resort to civil disobedience.

But to have such a right is one thing and to exercise it is quite another matter. Whether in a given case satyagraha is justified and those who wish to offer it are qualified to do so can be decided only after considering the circumstances of the case. When my co-workers ask for my advice, I have to guide them, and I tell them that though they had a right to offer satyagraha, the time or the occasion was not suitable.

Generally speaking my opinion today is the same that I have expressed before. If the subjects of Indian States are satisfied with such reform as can be secured peacefully and engage themselves in constructive work, they will get all the sooner the status which they desire. I am convinced that when British India has won swaraj, most problems of the Indian States will be automatically solved.

It is very sad that there are very few constructive workers in the Indian States. I feel no hesitation at all in saying that one who has not done some constructive work has not learnt the first lesson of satyagraha. According to me constructive work means the spinning-wheel and khadi, eradication of untouchability, propaganda against the drink-evil and Hindu-Muslim unity. One whose heart is not filled with the spirit of service and with love, how can he offer satyagraha? Even in British India, the number of such workers is small. It is smaller still in the Indian States. That is why I feel reluctant to advise satyagraha in those States.

This article is not meant for those who do not feel bound to ask or follow my advice. He who by his very nature is non-

violent, who is a born satyagrahi, who loves truth with all his being and is the very image of service, such a person deserves to be revered by the whole world. I need not say that he does not require my advice and is qualified to offer satyagraha whenever he wishes to do so.

But to those who are full of anger and pride and whose ego is very strong, who cannot think clearly because of excitement, I will definitely say—"Please wait". If they take a hasty step even unintentionally, its result is bound to be bitter. Whatever self-restraint is observed now will also disappear and the future generations which will suffer from the tyranny of false satyagraha will curse us and blame satyagraha itself. Hence every thoughtful person should know the limits of satyagraha. Those who do not do so should stop using the name of satyagraha and then act as they wish. The world will know where they stand. But the things which are done in the name of satyagraha and which are unworthy of it will confuse and perplex the people and they will not know what path to follow.

Now the second letter. Most of the answer to it is contained in what I have stated above. The Congress has never come in the way of movements in the Indian States. It has not stopped anyone from offering satyagraha in them. If anyone has stopped any such movement, it is I. But in every case there was a reason for my doing so.

Those who took part in the last satyagraha movement have not obliged the Congress or any individual. If at all, they have obliged themselves. It was the duty of every Indian to take part in it. Political rule has divided India into four parts, British India, Indian States, Portuguese India and French India. But Nature has made it one. The rulers may distinguish between one part of the country and another but in fact we are one country. If the most important part becomes independent, wins swaraj, the other parts will automatically become strong. If, therefore, all of us, whether we live in the Indian States or outside, use all our strength in the British part and win swaraj, a good many reforms will come about automatically in the Indian States. On the contrary, if we offer untimely satyagraha in the Indian States and waste people's strength on them, swaraj will recede farther from us.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-7-1931

130. 'DIGAMBAR' SADHUS

I have received many letters of criticism for the views which I have expressed about nakedness. Some of the correspondents have written in anger too. I have also been advised to withdraw my remarks, as the feelings of Digambar Jains have been hurt.

I had written my article[1] with a purely religious motive. Such articles should not be withdrawn even to soothe the feelings of friends. If they are withdrawn, it will not be possible to discuss religious issues in a friendly manner. I have stated that Sardar's words are not law. When we have won swaraj, everything will be done according to peoples views. Laws which hurt religious sentiments will not be permitted. It will, of course, be necessary to consider what is religious sentiment. That also will be decided by the courts. People like me can only discuss such questions and create public opinion. I, therefore, request the Digambar Jains to discuss this subject in an objective manner and permit others also to discuss it in that manner.

I am so partial to Jainism that many people think that I am a Jain. When, in a meeting of Jains whom I did not know, I had to explain that I was not a Jain in order to refuse an honour which I did not deserve, the Jain friends in my circle were surprised and shocked. I have regard for the Digambar sect. I have read some of their religious books. As an ideal, I like the naked state. I have deliberately let my children move about naked. Hence everyone should take it for granted that my views on the subject have been expressed in a friendly spirit and for the protection of dharma. I may be wrong in holding these views. Those whose reason does not approve of them may, therefore, certainly reject them. But they should not get angry with me. Anger hinders a proper understanding of religious or other ideas and should, therefore, be eschewed. I now come to the main issue. The criticism[2] in the issue of *Jain Mitra* of *Ashadh Vad* 4 is inspired by a sincere motive. It includes the substance of what others have said and so I will content myself with a reply to it. Those who have not read that article may find it difficult

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, pp. 257-8.

[2] By Paramesthidas; *vide* "Notes", p. 24, sub-title, "Nudity and Society".

to understand my answer, and I therefore request them to get that article and read it.

Digambar sadhus may be pure-minded. But I cannot accept the claim that all of them are so. I believe that no one should claim to be a sadhu. The fact that a person is a sadhu should be self-evident to others. A person is not a sadhu if it is necessary to prove or claim that he is one. A true sadhu requires no protection. Digambar sadhus should represent the highest state which a sadhu can attain. Why should they require anyone's help to uphold their status? Such an ideal Digambar sadhu needs no protection from the law or from a court. It is surprising that such natural innocence should even attract the attention of others. But in the present age, it need not be surprising that such a person does draw the attention of others and if he has to appear in a court or is sent to jail, he should regard that as a God-sent opportunity to demonstrate the greatness of the Digambar ideal.

There are real sadhus and fake ones too. There is no limit to the number of the latter. Who will differentiate between the two? Should we not stop anyone moving around naked? Will no harm result if we do not? It is not true to say that a person with an impure mind cannot remain naked. Once you disregard social restraints, why should an impure-minded person not abandon decency? Why should anyone feel ashamed of remaining naked even when he may be impure? The advocates of nudity as a normal state think that there is no harm if men and women remain naked even though they may have impure thoughts. They also hold that the attraction of sex is the normal condition for human beings and that, if nudity increases such attraction, there is nothing wrong in it. If the sex urge is a normal condition, then its gratification should also be accepted as normal. So there is nothing wrong in remaining naked. That is the view of these lovers of sense-pleasures, who believe in the religion of enjoyment. Are those Digambar Jains who have regard for decency and believe in self-control ready to support this view? Are they ready to see society turned into a scene of sensuality? Would they like to be responsible for such a state of affairs? I am sure they feel disgusted even as they read this. Thus, if they go deep into the matter, they will see that it is our duty in this age to observe the custom of covering the private parts. The Digambar sadhus, therefore, should wear a codpiece for a little while out of regard for society, or, if they move naked, they should be ready to suffer for doing so and not raise an outcry about it. If we believe in the necessity of social restraints, then, irrespective of whether or

not we are Jains, we cannot follow the ideal of nudity in practice. If we try to make exceptions, we invite difficulties and therefore we should make no exception.

"Why do we let children move naked? Does anyone force a child not to remain naked?" There is a fallacy in this comparison. A child is by nature innocent. Out of crores of sadhus, hardly one attains such a state after a long discipline. Everywhere in the world children remain naked, but even among sadhus the naked state is exceptional. In a child, impure thoughts are impossible but all the sadhus are not free from them. A blind person can make out a child, but even those who can see can hardly distinguish a true sadhu from a false one. So the example of a child remaining naked does not help us in coming to a decision in this matter. On the contrary, it shows that nakedness, which befits a child, does not only seem improper when we have grown out of childhood but is positively shameful.

For these reasons, though I worship the ideal of nakedness for a pure sadhu, I do believe that the leaders of Digambar sadhus should think more deeply on this matter and find out a way for those sadhus who move about in public to cover themselves. By doing so, they will safeguard dharma and win greater respect for sadhus. Even if they cannot find such a way, an outcry over the issue will certainly do harm.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-7-1931

131. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
July 5, 1931

Assuming that you are getting *Young India*, I am not sending you copies containing special reference to acts of provincial Governments in breach of the Settlement. It gave me joy to read in the newspapers today, that the two confidential letters[1] addressed to taluqdars by the Deputy Commissioner, Rai Bareli, had been withdrawn. But that, good as it is, is surely not enough. Wholesale gagging of Congressmen, their arrests, hundreds of notices on *kisans* bode ill, and make me extremely nervous as to the situation. These ill omens are enforced by bad news from the provinces. Some of these matters I have brought to your notice. I am not feeling much

[1] *Vide* "Kisan's Troubles in the U.P.", pp. 92-4.

better here either, though I am putting off the agony by exercising the greatest patience, and continually seeing local officials. I do not know whether you can help to improve the situation. The only remedy I can think of is the appointment of the Arbitration Board I have proposed. There is such an accumulation of matters to be decided.

Young India, 27-8-1931

132. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

As at Sabarmati,
July 5, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

Mr. Bhadrapur, the Collector of Kaira, writes to me with reference to my application for the reappointment of the old Mukhi of Ras that the Matadars will not be reappointed. I take this to mean that not only will not the old Mukhi be reappointed but also that no Mukhi will be appointed out of the old Matadars. Mr. Bhadrapur is not clear whether Government orders also mean that the present acting Mukhi will not be removed. My reading of the Settlement is that wherever the present acting Mukhi is not a desirable man or is not permanently appointed, the old Mukhi if he resigned owing to civil disobedience should be reappointed. The Collector Mr. Perry even offered to reappoint the old Mukhi if I would consent to the retention of the present Dharala Mukhi as a co-Mukhi. I could not consent to any such arrangement as it would mean sowing discord between Patidars and Dharalas. If these orders are not revised an impossible situation wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the Settlement will arise, and the Patidars will be penalized for having dared to offer civil disobedience. I hope, however, that the Government has no desire to penalize the Patidars. In virtue of the Settlement, therefore, I ask for a reconsideration of the orders and removal of the present Mukhi who, I have already shown to the Collector, is undesirable and who is not permanently appointed within the meaning of the Settlement, and for reappointment of the old Mukhi.

Yours sincerely,

R. M. Maxwell, Esq.
Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay
Ganeshkhind, Poona

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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133. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised

BORSAD,
July 6, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

I have all your letters. Mother is slowly going. It will be well if the end comes soon. It is better to leave a body one has outgrown. To wish to see the dearest ones as long as possible in the flesh is a selfish desire and it comes out of weakness or want of faith in the survival of the soul after the dissolution of the body. The form ever changes, ever perishes, the informing spirit neither changes nor perishes. True love consists in transferring itself from the body to the dweller within and then necessarily realizing the oneness of all life inhabiting numberless bodies. You will now see why I do not tempt you to go to London now. But you know that you are at liberty to do so, if your love impels you thither. There would be nothing wrong if you felt the urge to go.

I am writing to Father Elwin today not to hesitate to tell you what he wants. I am at ease, you being there. It lessens Narandas's strain also.

Yes, Gangabehn has the 'blues' on. You should distract her attention from herself by occupying her in useful service.

I was forgetting all about Shankerlal's proposal. I do not want you to be unsettled just now. And the Ashram needs you as much as you need the Ashram. You will later on certainly entertain proposals for pure khadi tours. I shall talk to Shankerlal about it.

How is Keshu doing? Did you talk to him about the wheel?

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Bombay: 7-10[1]

We return most probably to Borsad on 11th.

From the original: C.W. 5433. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9667

[1] According to his original tour programme Gandhiji was to be in Bombay from July 7 to 10. However he left Bombay for Simla on July 13.

134. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BORSAD,
July 6, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. I will have a talk with Jayaprakash when he comes here and do what is necessary. I should like you to come early. I am not at all happy that your health is deteriorating.

Rajendrababu is in Ahmedabad today. We shall meet at Anand station in the train for Bombay. He will stay in Bombay for about four days and then leave for that side. You should stop worrying unnecessarily. God does the worrying for us; why then should we worry? Even if we worry what can we do? We realize every moment in our lives that we cannot move a single leaf unless He wills. Why, then, should we feel proud, or worry?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3417

135. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BORSAD,
July 6, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

I got your two letters. Who else, if not I, will make you swallow bitter draughts? It is such draughts which will preserve your health. Mental health is much more important than physical health. The rule regarding women which Narandas suggests is a very old one. If it has not been observed all these years, the reason is our, or rather my, laxity. Even now I doubt whether, after it is properly understood, it will be fully observed. I intend to write more about this. Today if I get time, or later whenever I get time.

I intended to write a note for Kisan much earlier, but could write one only today. If she gets it in time, she will perhaps

come and see me in Bombay. I liked what you wrote about guests.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10258; also C.W. 6706. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

136. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 6, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letters.

I had from the beginning intended to introduce a rule for men and women such as you mention. I will write at length about it, if I can. Surendra must be insisting that there should be at least three women together. That seems unnecessary to me.

I see no need to mention the matter concerning . . .[1] in the *Ashram Samachar*.

There is a woman named Mrs. Edith Heney. Her address is: 353 Lilloet St. West Moose—Jaw—Saskatchewan, Canada.

She writes to me to say that she has sent 15 dollars. If you have received the sum, or when you receive it, credit it to her name. Preserve her address. Note it in the account book itself. Her condition for the donation is that we should convert boys to Christianity, give them Christian names—and use the money to help them. I have replied to her that we can never do what she suggests. If she sends a cheque, it would be much better to return it. Think about this. I will tell her that her gift will be credited to her name but that, if she does not withdraw her condition, the sum will be returned to her. As I write this, I feel that we should return the sum no matter with what conditions it is offered. You should, therefore, return it. I will write and tell her that the sum will be returned.

I am sorry I have filled up the letter with idle and incomplete thoughts.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I think we shall be in Bombay between 7 and 10.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

[1] The name has been omitted.

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137. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
July 7, 1931

Referring to Sir Samuel Hoare's recent speech that the Conservatives would make the acceptance of the safeguards and the non-raising of the issue of Independence as conditions for their participation in the next Round Table Conference, Gandhiji said:

I know nothing about this. The Settlement leaves the Congress free to press for any claim it chooses. The mandate given to me by the Congress is unequivocal. The principle of safeguards is undoubtedly accepted. The contents are a matter for discussion, and there also the Settlement is quite clear. Safeguards must be demonstrably in the interests of India.

Asked about the report current that he proposed to ask the Government to agree to refer all the outstanding disputes regarding the implementing of the Truce terms to an arbitration board, Gandhiji said:

I don't want to make any statement on this matter at this stage.[1]

The talk then turned on the foreign cloth re-export scheme. Gandhiji said he had no doubts whatsoever that the scheme would be a success. The problem could be solved in no time if the merchants were favourably inclined. It was wrong to say that the Ahmedabad millowners were not contributing their share. There had been some delay, and he had no doubt that the Ahmedabad millowners would contribute their share. The whole scheme was a *bona-fide* one, and intended to give as much relief as possible to those merchants who were prepared to give up trade in foreign cloth and take to swadeshi.

The Hindu, 7-7-1931

[1]*The Bombay Chronicle* dated July 8 adds here: "The Working Committee is the competent party to deal with that."

138. LETTER TO COMMONWEALTH OF INDIA LEAGUE

[Before *July 8, 1931*][1]

Mr. Gandhi has communicated to the Commonwealth of India League his acceptance of an invitation to speak at conferences which the League is arranging in London and Manchester in September, "if I reach London, but difficulties here regarding a settlement may render my departure impossible."

The Statesman, 9-7-1931

139. IS IT CRUMBLING?

Complaints are pouring in from many parts that the local officials are breaking the Delhi Pact to pieces and that it almost looks as if the Government was at war with the Congress and therefore every Congressman almost was a suspect. From the dates I shall give of the events about to be described the reader will see that for long I suppressed publication in the hope that the cases brought to my notice were isolated instances and that the complainants would receive relief on application to their respective Provincial Governments. My hope however was disappointed.

IN SULTANPUR, U.P.

The Secretary, local Congress Committee, writes:[2]

IN MUTTRA, U.P.

The Secretary, local Congress Committee, writes:[3]

In the face of these allegations and a Press message from Lucknow that nearly 700 prosecutions are taking place, the news that the confidential circulars referred to in these columns last week[4] have been withdrawn does not restore confidence. The withdrawal is a mere technical mending of discovered breach, if it is

[1] The report appeared under the date-line "London, July 8".

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. It described the coercive measures adopted by the Government for the realization of rents and the suppression of Congress activities by officials.

[3] The letter is not reproduced here. It narrated how a public meeting was forcefully dispersed and lathi-charged by the police.

[4] *Vide* pp. 92-4.

not followed by a corresponding improvement all round and a cessation of prosecutions. In the U.P. there was contact established between the Government and the Congress through Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. They could not complain that he was unwilling to assist or that the Congress had ceased to exercise authority over its workers. In no case could the forcible dispersal of a meeting be justified in these times of peace. On 24th May last when I was passing through Muttra the local people told me of a police raid on Bijari, a village few miles from Muttra. I had advised the people to lodge complaints with the higher authority. So far as I am aware they got no redress. I purposely suppressed the news of the details of which I was in full possession.

In the Punjab

I take the following from the letter[1] dated 24th June from the Secretary, District Congress Committee, Amritsar.

From the letter of Lala Dunichand of Ambala dated 23rd June, I take the following paragraphs[2]:

The Ludhiana outrage referred to in the quotation is said to have taken place on 16th May last. On receipt of a telegram from Ludhiana at Simla and reinforced by a personal visit by the Congress Secretary at Ludhiana, I asked Lala Dunichand to inquire into the allegations.[3] He kindly and promptly went to Ludhiana and reported. This was followed by more elaborate inquiry instituted by the Bar Association of Ludhiana. The Secretary of the Association, too, kindly sent me a copy of the report. Both the reports were suppressed by me from the readers of *Young India* for reasons already stated. Both agree in finding that a peaceful meeting held for an absolutely innocent purpose was mercilessly broken up in the presence of the City Magistrate. The Naushahra Panuan punitive police is a manifest breach of the Pact, if the facts are as recited by Lala Dunichand in his letter to the Punjab Government which I have read. In no case could the expenses of the police be recovered from the people unless it could be clearly proved that the police was imposed for reasons wholly unconnected with civil disobedience.

From Rohtak comes the complaint that peaceful Congressmen are being arrested without any cause that the Congress authori-

[1] Not reproduced here. It described how the local authorities lathi-charged processions and arrested Congress workers.

[2] Not reproduced here. The letter stated that political meetings were not allowed and the Congress movement was being crushed in the Punjab.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Letter to Dunichand", p. 332.

ties can divine. The authorities know Lala Shamlal of Rohtak personally. He is a well-known advocate of the place and president of the local Congress Committee. They do not seem to have troubled to bring to his notice the conduct or speeches of the offending Congressmen.

In Bengal

From the Contai Congress Committee was received the following wire about 20th June last.

> Contai Government officials breaking Truce terms, arrested local Congress workers engaged in peaceful constructive work. Local Government alarmed at success of Congress arbitration. Trying to destroy it by these arrests. Viceroy has been wired. Pray your intervention. Letter follows.

From the letter referred to in the foregoing I take the following interesting paragraphs[1]:

I must forbear to say anything about Gujarat. I am too near the scene to want to say anything just now. But the fact that the Sardar is hooked to Bardoli and I to Borsad has a meaning. But I must take the public into confidence about what is going on in some parts of the Bombay Presidency about liquor.

Let the following[2] from the letter from Vengurla (Ratnagiri District) tell its own tale.

Much the same is going on in Ahmedabad where there never has been a departure from the peacefullest picketing. My untutored mind tells me that these liquor sales are illicit and should be suppressed by the Government as being in breach of the Pact. If, however, they are claimed to be legal it is so much the worse and a double breach.

The foregoing is enough for this week. I have other complaints and from other parts of Provinces. I must deal with them in a future issue.

The impatient Congressmen who read this catalogue of complaints may well ask then: 'How long are we to wait and bear this?' My answer is the same as last week. 'You *must* wait as long as the Working Committee thinks it necessary.'[3] Two wrongs will not make one right. If some local Governments are going

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] Not reproduced here. The letter described how liquor dealers were trying to out-manoeuvre the picketing by keeping odd hours and selling the liquor at places other than the shops.

[3] *Vide* pp. 92-4.

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wrong as they seem to me to be, there is no reason for the Congress to do likewise. We must continue to fulfil our part of the agreement. If it must break, let it break in spite of the whole of the Congress effort to the contrary. The greater our patience —another word for suffering—the greater will be our strength.

Young India, 9-7-1931

140. A COUNTRYMAN'S ADVICE

Many American friends write to me on the American visit which reporters had planned for me. Those Americans who are in close touch with me have earnestly dissuaded me from it. Others, also friendly, have with equal earnestness asked me to go. Now comes an extremely well reasoned appeal from a countryman residing in America[1]. It deals with three matters of importance. But I must let the letter speak for itself of which the relevant portion is given below:[2]

> I venture to make an humble suggestion and that is to request you to give up your idea of visiting the United States of America. . . .
>
> . . . I will venture to put in a couple of reasons as to why I think your visit to the United States will serve no useful purpose where our national affairs are concerned.
>
> This country is a very peculiar country in many respects and the Americans as a rule are so materialistically inclined, and this fact is more or less conceded by all, that they can hardly see anything in terms other than dollars and cents.
>
> Of course this is a broad statement to make and I fully realize that there are exceptions here and there. . . .
>
> Your visit to this country, in my opinion, will be absolutely misunderstood and if I am not mistaken the wonderful hold that you have today on some of the imaginative Americans, will be lost in a way. And I am further of the opinion that your visit to America instead of enlisting greater sympathy for our national cause, may work quite the other way.
>
> Hardly anyone could come to this country and travel about and give a few lectures here and there without having a "business manager". That will make your visit a business one and there will be scores of sections of people and Press who will criticize your visit and suggest that you came here to make money.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J. J. Singh", p. 51.
[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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Probably you are aware of the fact that such a noble soul and true philosopher like Tagore has been openly criticized in American papers and insinuations have been made that he visits America to make money out of the Americans and yet has the cheek to criticize the so-called civilization or lack of it in this country.

In other words I feel that not on account of anything that you may say or do, but on account of the mentality of an average American, you are bound to be misunderstood in this country and thus your visit is likely to prove more a failure than a success. . . .

Therefore my conclusions are based upon the information that I have gathered from time to time from an average well-to-do American family, whose interest is casual in what is happening in India, and as I have said before, such Americans are in greater numbers than anti or pro-Indian Americans.

Your visit to London is entirely a different thing. In my humble opinion it will serve a great purpose, because if there is any nation on this world who is truly sportsmanlike and will give the devil his due, it is the English nation. . . .

I have also a word to add regarding this much-talked-of question of your attire when visiting England or America. . . .

It will be simply ironical if you could not find some form of Indian dress which may be quite suitable and desirable. . . .

None of the three things worry me. The proposal to visit America has been with me for the past five years or longer. But I have lacked the inner urge or courage to go. The very allurements some of the writers have held out have but confirmed the original decision based on nothing better than intuition. The same is true of the English visit more or less. There, too, if I am to go the way will be clear and open for me. At the present moment the subtle and growing resistance to the Delhi Pact by the officials leaves me no room for thinking of anything else. My contribution to the movement of India's freedom just now consists in making every effort humanly possible to prevent the Settlement from being wrecked.

As to the dress I have had many advisers. But here too my position is simple. If I go to England I shall go as a representative and nothing more, nothing less. I must, therefore, appear not as the English would have me but as my representative character demands. I represent the Congress because and in so far as it represents *Daridranarayana*, the semi-starved almost naked villager. And if I represent the landed or monied or educated Indians, I do so to the extent that they identify themselves with *Daridra-*

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narayana and desire to promote his interest. I can therefore appear neither in English costume nor in that of the polished Nehrus. In spite of the closest bond between us it would have been just as ludicrous for me to dress as Pandit Motilalji did as it would have been for him to appear in loin cloth. My loin cloth is an organic evolution in my life. It came naturally, without effort, without premeditation. My duty, as I conceive it, will then be, if I succeed in reaching London, to add nothing more to the loin-cloth than the climate peremptorily demands. I should be guilty of discourtesy to the English if I deceived them by appearing not as I am but as I may think or friends may think they would have me to be. I should fail at the very beginning of my mission, if I commenced by deception. It may please for the time being, it must offend in the end. If I am to win their hearts as I want to, I can do so only by being cent per cent truthful. Truth is like the sun. It will melt the icy mountain of suspicion and distrust.

Young India, 9-7-1931

141. AN OLD POLITICAL PRISONER[1]

A correspondent writes:[2]

I have known of this case for a long time. It does appear to be an extremely hard and deserving case. Generally a life-sentence means fourteen years. Why in this case that period has not sufficed the public are entitled to know. If it is true as stated by the correspondent that Pandit Jagat Ram bears an exemplary character and is ailing, it is surely an additional reason for his discharge. The recent death of his father makes the case for discharge complete from a humanitarian standpoint. It is to be hoped that either the Punjab Government will immediately discharge him or satisfy the public why he cannot be discharged.

Young India, 9-7-1931

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to H. W. Emerson", p. 7-8.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had written about Pandit Jagat Ram, a political prisoner of the Punjab whose life-sentence was being repeatedly extended despite his exemplary conduct in jail and his failing health.

142. SELF-APPOINTED

A Nankin correspondent writes:[1]

I can say categorically that I have sent no representative to China nor has the Congress to my knowledge. Non-violence is with me an everlasting principle. And after twelve years' progressively happy experience of non-violence the Congress is not likely easily to give up non-violence.

Young India, 9-7-1931

143. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
July 9, 1931

MY MESSAGE[2] CONVEYED THROUGH HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY HAS TOLD YOU OF MY DIFFICULTY ABOUT ATTENDING FEDERAL STRUCTURE COMMITTEE OWING CONTINUING BREACHES OF SETTLEMENT BY SEVERAL PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES. WORKING COMMITTEE IS CONSIDERING RESOLUTION TO THE EFFECT THAT, IF RELIEF CANNOT BE OBTAINED, CONGRESS SHOULD GIVE UP HOPE OF BEING REPRESENTED AT ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. WHEN WE MET, YOU WERE GOOD ENOUGH TO TELL ME THAT I SHOULD APPROACH YOU WHEN I WAS IN DIFFICULTY. COULD YOU PLEASE GUIDE ME?

Young India, 27-8-1931

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. It stated that an Indian visitor to China, claiming to be a representative of Gandhiji and the Congress, had been saying that India had changed her policy towards England and had adopted the use of force.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Ernest Hotson", p. 98.

144. CABLE TO "THE NEWS CHRONICLE"

[On or before *July 10, 1931*][1]

THE CONTINUANCE OF THE BREACHES OF THE SETTLEMENT MAKES MY DEPARTURE UNCERTAIN. I AM TRYING TO AVOID AN OPEN RUPTURE, BUT IF I FAIL TO SECURE SATISFACTION THERE WILL BE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ABANDON MY DEPARTURE.

The Hindu, 11-7-1931

145. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
July 10, 1931

RECEIVED THIS MORNING YOUR LETTER[2] SIXTH INSTANT FOR WHICH I THANK YOU. YOUR OFFER OF HELP GIVES HOPE AND ENCOURAGEMENT. I DID NOT KNOW, THAT I WOULD HAVE TO SEEK IT SO SOON AS I HAD TO, AS PER MY TELEGRAM OF LAST NIGHT. MAY I EXPECT REPLY TOMORROW SATURDAY?

Young India, 27-8-1931

146. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

BOMBAY,
July 10, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

You will recall the Chirner Case. According to the judgment of the Sessions Judge, 20 accused were held not guilty of any violence. I enclose herewith the relevant extract from the judgment. These accused were fined according to the sums marked against their names with varying terms of imprisonment in default

[1] This cable was reported from London on this date.

[2] It read: ". . . . I quite understand your difficulties, but am sure they must be got over, for as I have often told you, I think it really essential that you should go. If I can help in any way, please let me know."

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of payment of fine. As you will observe from the footnote to the list of the names, the judge has allowed 30 days' time to pay up the fines on proper security being furnished. These men have given security. As you will observe, judgment was given on the 2nd inst. As these cases clearly come under the Settlement, I ask for the remission of their fines. I hope that the matter will receive early attention.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

147. LETTER TO MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, BOMBAY

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 10, 1931

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of 8th inst., what I would like you to tell me is the price you would charge without the royalty, the price with the royalty and the proportion of profits to the cost price. I am certainly anxious that the booklet[1] should be available at the cheapest price. Sjt. Mahadev Desai would attend to the rest of your letter to whom you would write in future.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5687

[1] Containing selections from Gandhiji's speeches and writings

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148. SPEECH AT BOMBAY[1]

July 10, 1931

I learn that all these members have come all the way from Dadar on foot. I regret I could not spare some time to go to Dadar to address you. I am helpless, I am so busy. When one is bed-ridden, people do not expect him to pay them visits, they flock round his bed. Somewhat the same is my position.

I give my blessings to this Mandal. It gives me great pleasure to see that the Mandal has taken up khaddar work and other items of the constructive programme. I hope you will push on with it in right earnest.

Now a word of warning. You have started an independent organization. It is up to you to see that you do not embark on any activity in the name of the Congress without first obtaining the permission of the Congress. Similarly particular care would have to be taken to see that there is no conflict or overlapping of activities. Khaddar work is dear to me and that is why while giving my blessings to the Mandal that has attached itself to this work, I have thought fit to utter a necessary note of warning.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-7-1931

149. LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 11, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

You will please forgive me for my inability to acknowledge your letter[2] earlier. I have been so engrossed in work here as to be unable to keep pace with my correspondence.

I had no notion that my last letter was delivered to you with the envelope unclosed. I quite recognize the force of your

[1] On the inauguration of the Gandhi Seva Mandal; Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

[2] Of July 4, 1931, stating his inability to readmit the students "in the interests of the College"

argument that my letter should not have been delivered through the very students whose cases were under consideration.

I thank you for your exhaustive reply. Having regard to the detailed information you have given to me, I have advised the students, who have not been admitted, to cease agitating for admission, and I have every hope that they will accept my advice.

I return the papers you were kind enough to send me.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 5

From a photostat: G.N. 825

150. CULTIVATOR'S ACCOUNT BOOK

There is no limit to the cultivators' carelessness or ignorance. Not only do they themselves have to suffer for their ignorance, but it results in a loss of crores of rupees as the cultivators constitute more than 80% of India's population. The most serious aspect of their carelessness is perhaps their indifference to keeping accounts. If a merchant kept no books of account, he would soon become bankrupt. A house-holder would become poor if he went on spending without keeping an account of his expenditure. Even Lord Kubera's[1] treasure would soon be exhausted if he went on spending from it without keeping an account. How, then, can the cultivator escape?

But it is a fact universally known that the Indian cultivator carries his account in his memory and never enters it in a book. As a result, he is always in debt, and, though no one has been able to gather the full statistics, it is estimated that his debt runs into crores or hundreds of crores of rupees. This means that the cultivator has been carrying on his occupation at a loss.

To remedy this deficiency, a proforma book of accounts has been advised by the Vidyapith and made available. The book is based on the experiences of Mahadev and Narahari during the Bardoli Satyagraha. The type of information which they often required at that time can be gathered from this book whenever one wants it. The book has been so designed that the farmer also should be able to know his position from day to day.

[1] God of wealth

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This book is not intended for free distribution. Only a cultivator who wishes to keep accounts should buy it. It will be sold at cost price, and volunteers trained for the purpose will explain how to use it to persons who may not know how to keep accounts. As for those cultivators who do not know how to read or write, wherever possible a volunteer will write their accounts for them. I would advise every cultivator to acquire enough knowledge of Gujarati language to be able to keep his accounts. The volunteer will help him in that too. Though a cultivator may not just now be able to realize the benefit of keeping accounts in this manner, he will discover at the end of the year how much money he has saved with a little labour and an expense of two annas.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-7-1931

151. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
July 12, 1931

DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR WIRE[2] RECEIVED LAST NIGHT. I PROPOSE LEAVE FOR SIMLA MONDAY FRONTIER MAIL UNLESS I HEAR TO THE CONTRARY. REACHING SURAT MONDAY MORNING.

Young India, 27-8-1931

[1] The source has a footnote which reads: "This book will be available at Navajivan Karyalaya or Gujarat Vidyapith after July 16, 1931."

[2] Of July 11, 1931, conveyed through the Bombay Government, which read: "Many thanks for your telegram of the 9th. You will understand that, in the absence of specific information regarding the alleged breaches of the Settlement by Government, it is not possible for me to propose particular remedies. I suggest that, as on previous occasions when difficulties have arisen, the best course is a personal discussion of mutual complaints. I should be very glad to see you if you could visit Simla, and to arrange for detailed discussion between you and Emerson. In the mean time you will no doubt agree with me that it is undesirable that anything should be published by either side which might make it more difficult to obtain a solution of the existing difficulties."

152. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

July 12, 1931

Q. Are you going to see the Viceroy and if so when?

A. I hope so, but cannot say when.

Q. What are the important questions for discussion with the Viceroy?

A. I have no notion.

Q. What are the steps you propose to take to redress breaches of the Delhi Agreement?

A. Entreaty.

Q. Is your visit to London still dependent on a satisfactory settlement of the breaches of the Truce terms?

A. My visit to London is dependent on many things.

Asked if the formula[1] suggested by the Working Committee for a settlement of the communal question was unacceptable to Maulana Shaukat Ali's party and if an alternative formula acceptable to all parties was not forthcoming, whether the Congress would press its own formula at the Round Table Conference or would agree to arbitration, Mr. Gandhi remarked:

This is more than I can answer at the present moment.

The Hindu, 13-7-1931

153. TELEGRAM TO ROHIT MEHTA

SWARAJ ASHRAM, SURAT,
July 13, 1931

ROHIT MEHTA
CARE CONGRESS AHMEDABAD

SORRY. GOING SIMLA TONIGHT. GLADLY SEE YOU ON RETURN. MEANWHILE WRITE SIMLA.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* "Proposed Communal Solution", 16-7-1931.

154. TELEGRAM TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, SURAT,
July 13, 1931

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN
UTMANZAI

YOUR WIRE. KHURSHEDBEHN REACHING MEERUT TWENTIETH.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

155. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*July 13, 1931*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

As ever, in Bombay I get no time for correspondence. The thing commenced this time also at 4.30 a.m. and went on till 11 p.m. I never retired before then—nevertheless the health remained quite good.

Today we reached Surat early morning. I had over an hour's sleep and feel rested. I have been left alone. The weather is cool. The sky overcast. Fresh breeze blowing all the time. Of course it was the same in Bombay. I wonder how it is faring with you and how Father Elwin is standing the Ashram life and climate.

We are off to Simla tonight. Ba goes with me. I don't expect to have to give more than three days to Simla. I should know there definitely whether we are to go to London or not.

Here comes Mahadev to give me news about you all and interrupt this letter.

So Mother is gone. I read your suppressed grief in every line of your letter. After all we are very human. The ability to suppress is the preliminary to eradication. God give you the strength. So far as Mother herself was concerned, it is as you say welcome news. Let this death of one whom you loved so, be a

[1] Gandhiji reached Surat on this date.

means of enriching your faith in the future and in the oneness of all life. If this oneness was not a fact, we would not have been blessed with the capacity to forget the death of dearest ones. Let this death also spur you to greater dedication to service.

I wonder if you get the dates you wanted. But let them not grow on you. I find that raisins are not a bad change.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5434; also G.N. 9668. Courtesy: Mirabehn

156. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

July 13, 1931

CHI. MADHAVJI,

I have been getting your postcards. These days I get no time at all for writing letters. But you should go on writing regularly. I am glad that Darbari has come over there. Tell him that he should now stay on.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am in Surat today and will entrain for Simla at night.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6817

157. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

SURAT,
July 13, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I have not been able to write to you, but I do think about you every day. I have even talked about you to Kaka. I am very eager indeed to meet you. Why should he ever worry in whose heart is inscribed the name of God? Those three verses, which I have taught the women to recite daily as part of their prayers, what do they teach? "I take upon myself the burden of the welfare of that man or woman who is filled with devotion to me"[1] Why, then, should we worry?

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, IX. 22

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The hymns in our *Bhajanavali* are such as will give peace to us. Anyone who meditates over them constantly will never feel upset. You should give up all worries. Write to me from time to time. I feel more worried if I get no letter from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 57; also C.W. 8781. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

158. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SURAT,
July 13, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

It was not to be expected that I would be able to write to you from Bombay.

Mahadev tells me that Mahavir has still not recovered. How if you send him to Vijapur? Or we may keep him in some hospital in Bombay. His illness has persisted far too long. Who is treating him?

I shall reach Simla on Wednesday. I think I shall be there for three days at least.

Ba is accompanying me. From Simla I am keen on going to Ahmedabad. But it is only there that I shall know what I should do. My address in Simla is: Firgrove, Simla.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

159. TELEGRAM TO MOHANLAL

[On or before *July 14, 1931*][1]

WE ARE EIGHT REACHING SIMLA ON WEDNESDAY MORNING.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 15-7-1931

[1] The telegram was received by the addressee on July 14.

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160. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

July 14, 1931

CHI. RAMA,

I am writing this in a fast-running train, and cannot write in ink. I got your letter.

From whence this blind attachment? You feel concerned if Dhiru is beaten, but don't care if other children are beaten. Why should you not feel for Dharmakumar as you feel for Dhiru? However, I don't mind your writing to me about this. Surely, both of us need not worry about the same matter, need we? You have sent your worry to me through post; with whom does it rest now? With you or with me? I am keeping it with me, and am not sending it back to you. But think: Just as we cannot act up to our ideal of regarding all as equals, so Prema cannot act up to the ideal of never beating children. As we endeavour to regard all children as our own, so Prema endeavours to refrain from beating them. I remember how Dhiru was put off. I had a letter from all the children telling me that they loved Premabehn very much. I have written a strong letter to her. We shall not easily get a worker like her. I will be more careful henceforth. Will that suffice?

Does Vimu live in the Ashram?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5332

161. LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI M. THAKKAR

July 14, 1931

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

I got your letter. I didn't mind its length. As I am writing in the moving train I cannot write in ink. I hope you will be able to read my handwriting. What I have said is that those who do not have enough work outside should go to the Ashram. The purpose of the vow to work outside the Ashram is that we should make greater self-sacrifices and do more work.

If living outside the Ashram makes workers lazy and self-indulgent, the vow will be kept by returning to the Ashram. One ought not to return to the Ashram for selfish reasons. That is, you cannot return for Chandra's sake, just as Rama cannot do so for Vimu's sake. I would like it if Chandra stays without you in the Ashram. Or, if practicable, you may keep Chandra there with you. But you should not keep him with you if his presence hinders you in your work. Do you now understand what I mean? If you don't, write again and ask me. You should understand the reasons for whatever you do.

I shall be in Simla for three or four days. I expect to return to Borsad or Bardoli on the 21st. What effect did the fast have?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6818

162. LETTER TO LILAVATI

ON THE TRAIN,
July 14, 1931

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letters.

What should I write to you? How may I soothe you? What Narandas says is not because of distrust, but out of regard for propriety. Even I should not be alone with any person. I do many things for propriety's sake, though I would not consider it wrong, either, to do them of my own free will. The whole world acts in that manner. If you examine your own actions, you will discover that you do a great many things for the sake of propriety. Give up all thought of going to Bombay. Instead of acting on all our impulses, we ought to suppress those that are bad. I am going to Simla. I intend to visit Ahmedabad after I return from there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9320

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163. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

[Before *July 15, 1931*][1]

I cannot say even now if I am going to England. I should know it in Simla.

Mahatmaji said that he had not booked his passage for London so far. It was true that someone else had booked for him but he had sent a letter to the P. & O. Company asking that the same be cancelled. The Company had informed him that in case booking was delayed, space in the s.s. *Mooltan*, may become overcrowded. Mahatmaji had, however, said that he would take his chance.

The correspondent then showed Gandhiji a copy of *The Statesman* in which the special representative of that paper had expressed the view that Mahatma Gandhi had asked the Government to increase the Congress delegation to the Round Table Conference and was insisting on having some members of the Nationalist Muslim group included in that delegation.

Mahatma Gandhi said that the report in question was a tissue of falsehoods. He said:

It does not injure my reputation, but my heart is injured to find that responsible journalists utter such palpable falsehoods.

Gandhiji further said that there are persons who are determined to wreck the Truce and were carrying on such propaganda but he did not mind this, as it did not hurt him. He said smilingly:

In fact I flourish on this propaganda. This news is absurd and I know how these lies are manufactured. These things, however, diminish the estimation in which journalism should be held. If my intention were to ask the Viceroy for additional nominations, I would have proclaimed this from the housetops.

He said he was very sorry that English journalists were not playing the game, and were indulging in a vicious type of propaganda.

Asked if he will be taking some advisers, Mahatmaji said:

My adviser is God. I am going to take no advisers. If I had any idea to take advisers, I would have taken them as delegates.

[1] From the reference in the first paragraph to Simla which Gandhiji reached on the 15th

Mahatmaji said the position with regard to Congress representation at the Round Table Conference was exactly the same as at Karachi, and Mahatmaji thought it was a most proper decision. In conclusion, he said:

I would take with me my son Devdas Gandhi, Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal, Miss Slade and none else.

The Hindu, 20-7-1931

164. INTERVIEW TO "AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA"

SIMLA,
July 15, 1931

I think I would be seeing the Viceroy on Friday.

Gandhiji said to me when I accosted him on his return from Mr. Emerson's residence this afternoon after three hours' conversations:[1]

He added:

I am afraid my stay may have to be prolonged till Sunday.

He could not say whether Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Patel would visit Simla. He was also unable to say if a communal agreement would be reached before he sailed for England but added:

We are trying.

Asked if he was taking any advisers to London, he replied:

God is my adviser-general.

His conversations with Mr. Emerson this afternoon solely related to the alleged breaches of Delhi Pact committed by officials in various provinces particularly in Gujarat, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Kerala.

Gandhiji also emphatically denied the report, published in some papers, that among the subjects he would discuss with the Viceroy would be one relating to further representation at the Round Table Conference.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 16-7-1931

165. NOTES

LIQUOR DEALERS BEWARE

Auctions for liquor licences are now in season. In the face of what I have already published it is too much to expect local authorities to stop auctions or restrict them. But is it too much to expect liqour dealers to foresee the future? They ought to know that prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth is the per-

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

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manent policy of the nation? The one is a moral necessity, the other is an economic necessity. Both produce political results. But they are a by-product. Picketing no doubt of the most peaceful character will continue without remission till the State is converted to the policy of prohibition. It is an effective method of education.

Salt Concession

I hear that in Mirpur and Kalabagh in the salt range the people having abused the salt concession under the Delhi Pact, it has been withdrawn by the Government. The people are reported to have carried maunds of salt on camel-back. If such was the case, it was a distinct breach of the Settlement. Whether the action taken by the Government is not too drastic for the breach, it is difficult to judge without a fuller knowledge of facts. News comes from Madras that people in a salt area were found to be carrying salt on carts. They were prosecuted. The carrying on carts was undoubtedly wrong. Here again the question whether a warning would not have sufficed cannot be decided without knowing all the facts. Responsible Congressmen can help me by sending me accurate information. Let me repeat that the concession applies only to villagers making salt for domestic consumption and selling among themselves, walking distance being the limit of the area. Naturally no other than human transport can be permitted under this concession. Not even a handcart may be used. Salt must be carried on one's back or head. On the Government side one would expect a reasonable warning of breaches before action is taken. Where crores of poor ignorant villagers are concerned, it is not to be expected that they would have an accurate idea of regulations that may be made from time to time. I should be surprised, if it was found that either in the North or in the South the villagers had wilfully broken the understanding. Anyway let Congressmen beware. They should give exact instructions to the villagers within their respective areas.

Unwarranted Use

A correspondent draws my attention to the fact that in the South the local authorities have made an illegitimate use of the suggestion I made some weeks ago[1] that not more than five picketers may be posted at one place. The authorities in some places in the South have promptly notified that not more than five picketers may be employed under any circumstance. Thus in many places

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Notes", pp. 184-5, sub-title "Picketing".

nowadays at liquor shops that have more than one entrance, no more than five picketers are permitted. According to my formula there would be not more than five for every entrance. Even for one entrance I can conceive the necessity of having more than five picketers. The number would depend upon the situation of the shop.

Congress Volunteers

The Working Committee has never before sat as long as it did last week[1] except when the Delhi negotiations were going on. A glance at all the resolutions passed at the meeting will show that the time was not wasted. Add to these the fruitful and very necessary long hours it gave to the many complaints about the Settlement.

Next in importance to the communal resolution was the one regarding volunteers. Hindustani Seva Dal becomes a Congress organization. Its function is defined. Volunteer organizations will now not grow up anyhow. Indiscipline will not be tolerated if the Provincial Congress Committees will do their duty. The Working Committee will no longer be satisfied with merely making a yearly grant to an organization it did not know. It will through its last year's President overhaul the organization and through it supply trained officers and instructions to the Provincial organizations who will in all other respects be absolutely autonomous and free from restrictions. But no constitution will ensure discipline and efficiency, if the will is lacking. Here is the resolution as passed by the Working Committee:

> In view of misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the relation of the Hindustani Seva Dal with the Congress and in view of the fact that unauthorized volunteer organizations are working in various parts of the country in the name of the Congress, the Working Committee resolves that
>
> 1. The Hindustani Seva Dal is hereby recognized as the Central Volunteer Organization of the Congress, working directly under the authority of the Working Committee or such person or persons as it may appoint in this behalf, and with the following functions:
>
> (a) It shall act as a duly authorized institution for the training of officers and instructors.
>
> (b) It shall enrol and train recruits in Karnatak, or such other place as may be determined by the Working Committee from time to time and these will form a permanent Central Corps for officers' training and will be liable to serve wherever necessary. It may also have training centres and camps for officers and instructors in other suitable places.

[1] From July 7 to 13

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(c) It shall lend the services of officers and instructors for provinces at the latter's expense.

(d) It shall have power to form volunteer corps in provinces wherever so required by Provincial Congress Committees.

2. All Provincial Congress Committees are hereby authorized and required to form duly recognized volunteer corps.

3. No such corps shall be recognized unless all the members are members of the Congress and conform to the Congress creed and whose officers are holders of certificates from the Hindustani Seva Dal.

4. No volunteer board or corps not previously recognized by the Working Committee shall work in any Congress province in the name of or on behalf of the Congress.

5. Jawaharlal Nehru is appointed the member in charge on behalf of the Working Committee of the said central volunteer organization of the Congress and N. S. Hardikar, the organizing secretary thereof and they will serve during the pleasure of the Working Committee. The member in charge shall frame rules of the said organization so as to bring it in conformity with this resolution of the Working Committee, and shall define the duties and qualifications of officers and members of volunteer corps provided that such rules shall take effect after being first sanctioned by the Working Committee and on the acceptance by the All-India Board of the Hindustani Seva Dal of this resolution.

Tamil Nadu S. A. and Non-Brahmins

Complaints have come to me to the effect that the Spinners' Association in Tamil Nadu has been monopolized by Brahmin employees. The unprejudiced sceptic may know that recruitment is never being made on grounds of caste but workers are employed purely on grounds of fitness. As things stand, there are 53 sale and production centres in Tamil Nadu. Of these the managers of 28 are non-Brahmins, as against 25 wherein the managers are Brahmins. Excluding servants drawing a monthly salary of less than Rs. 15 who are almost all non-Brahmins, the salaries paid by the A.I.S.A. in Tamil Nadu are shown below:

Rs. 50 and above	:	10	Brahmins;	5 non-Brahmins.
Below Rs. 50	:	53	Brahmins;	121 non-Brahmins.
Total	:	63	Brahmins;	126 non-Brahmins.

The total amount of the salaries distributed per month among Brahmins is Rs. 2,576; non-Brahmins : Rs. 3,102. The total amount disbursed to hands drawing less than Rs. 15 per month is Brahmins: Rs. 31; non-Brahmins: Rs. 725. Of the ten Brahmin hands drawing salaries over Rs. 50, two have put in a service of over seven years and six have put in a service of five years and

over. The other two have served three years. Of the five non-Brahmins drawing salaries over Rs. 50, three have put in five years' service and two have put in three years' service.

But for the fact that there is the Brahmin-non-Brahmin question in the South, I should have declined to publish these statistics. The readers in the South should know, if it is of any consequence, that the Association is manned chiefly by non-Brahmins, for the chief workers it is a labour of love. What is more, it exists purely and simply to serve the dumb and starving millions who are overwhelmingly non-Brahmins and include Mussalmans and Christians also.

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166. PICKETING IN MALABAR

Sjt. K. Kelappan, President, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, writes:[1]

Congressmen should not take it amiss when I publish allegations against them. It would matter if the allegations are found to be true or if I supported them without first giving Congressmen concerned a chance of refuting them.

Young India, 16-7-1931

167. JAPANESE MENACE

A correspondent writes:[2]

However shocking it may be for our pride, the quotation given by my correspondent has a double lesson. It is not our boycott so much as the Japanese efficiency that has ousted British piece-goods, and if our mills do not keep pace with the times, notwithstanding all the effort of the Congress to infuse the swadeshi spirit among the people, Japan will win the race. A prohibitive duty will not be permitted to protect inefficiency. I know that

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. Referring to Gandhiji's article "Terrible If True", pp. 54-6, the correspondent had refuted the allegation that picketing in Kerala was not peaceful.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. It quoted figures from the report of the British Cotton Mission to the Far East and described how Japanese enterprise had ousted British goods from the Chinese and Indian markets. The correspondent thought that this could be furnished as an effective answer to the cry that connected the depression in Lancashire with the Indian boycott movement.

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in Japan the people and the State are one. But even when we arrive at that state, efficiency will be necessary, perhaps more than now.

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168. PROPOSED COMMUNAL SOLUTION

The scheme prepared by the Working Committee and suggested for adoption by the whole country is the result first of the incessant labours of Dr. Ansari and then of the subcommittee consisting of Pandit Malaviyaji, Dr. Ansari and Sardar Sardul Singh. I have never known Dr. Ansari so identified with and absorbed in anything as he has been about the communal question. He loves his profession and is content to live for it. If one finds him in politics or even as President of the Congress, he is there because friends have dragged him to the position. He is too noble and too patriotic to resist them. But the solution of the communal question he has made his first love. May these efforts be crowned with success! Even the noblest of virtues need to incarnate in human flesh before they can act.

Intrinsically considered, the scheme appears to me to be sound, if the necessity for a communal solution be admitted. If we were pure nationalists, no scheme would be required. By religion we may be different, as a nation we should be one and indivisible. We will choose our legislators and appoint servants for their merits irrespective of their religion or race. Judged by that standard, the scheme is a fall. But we are fallen. We suspect and fear one another and yet we want swaraj, for it is our birth-right. And so the Congress has offered a compromise. Maulana Shaukat Ali when he was with the Working Committee angrily said: 'Why do you continually ask me what I want? I have told you what I want. Why don't you tell me what you would give!' The sting went home. The Congress formula of pure nationalism was useless. His claim to represent Mussalmans as a whole was rejected. He was therefore entitled to know what the Congress could offer. The Congress could offer nothing that nationalistically inclined Sikhs, Mussalmans and Hindus were not prepared to agree to. Hence the subcommittee and then the scheme as hammered into shape by the Working Committee.

The Working Committee can have no desire to force it down unwilling throats. But nationalists belonging to the three communities have now something to work by and upon. Let them unobtrusively cultivate opinion in their respective communities.

I begin with the Hindus. We are an overwhelming majority. If we feel physically dwarfs before the Mussalman and the Sikh giants, we shall never grow through the legislatures. We shall grow by shedding fear, not by straining our limbs. Courage has never been known to be a matter of muscle, it is a matter of the heart. The toughest muscle has been known to tremble before an imaginary fear. It was the heart that set the muscle atrembling. Let us take heart and endorse what the Mussalmans and the Sikhs ask. This is just, weighed in the scales of ahimsa otherwise spelt love. If this scheme results in opening the eyes of us Hindus, it would be well even though non-nationalist Sikhs and Mussalmans may reject it.

If we accept this scheme without demur, we should be ready to accept any other that may be acceptable to all Sikhs and all Mussalmans. But let me not frighten us away from this scheme by pledging ourselves to any other in advance. My mind as an individual is made up and has been often expressed. But I do dare to ask the Hindus to accept this scheme because it is charged with the blessings of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and Sjt. Madhavrao Aney, not to speak of the other Hindu members of the Working Committee.

Congress Scheme

However much it may have failed in the realization, the Congress has, from its very inception, set up pure nationalism as its ideal. It has endeavoured to break down communal barriers. The following Lahore resolution[1] was the culminating point in its advance towards nationalism:

Hence the Congress is precluded from setting forth any communal solution of the communal problem. But at this critical juncture in the history of the nation, it is felt that the Working Committee should suggest for adoption by the country a solution though communal in appearance, yet as nearly national as possible and generally acceptable to the communities concerned. The Working Committee therefore after full and free discussion unanimously passed the following scheme:

1(a) The article in the constitution relating to Fundamental Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their cultures, languages, scripts, education, profession and practice of religion, and religious endowments.

(b) Personal Laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

[1] Not reproduced here. *Vide* Vol. XLII, p. 359.

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(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

2. The franchise shall be extended to all adult men and women.

(NOTE. The Working Committee is committed to adult franchise by the Karachi resolution of the Congress[1] and cannot entertain any alter native franchise. In view, however, of misapprehensions in some quarters the Committee wishes to make it clear that in any event the franchise shall be uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community).

3. (a) Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

(b) That for the Hindus in Sind, the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the Punjab and N.W.F.P., and for Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 25% of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

4. Appointments shall be made by non-party Public Service Commissions which shall prescribe the minimum qualifications, and which shall have due regard to the efficiency of the Public Service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all communities for a fair share in the public services of the country.

5. In the formation of Federal and Provincial Cabinets interests of minority communities should be recognized by convention.

6. The N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of government and administration as other provinces.

7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate province provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated province.

8. The future constitution of the country shall be federal. The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units, unless, on further examination, it is found to be against the best interests of India.

The Working Committee has adopted the foregoing scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on undiluted communalism and undiluted nationalism. Whilst on the one hand the Working Committee hopes that the whole nation will endorse the scheme, on the other, it assures those who take extreme views and cannot adopt it that the Committee will gladly, as it is bound to by the Lahore resolution, accept without reservation any other scheme if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned.

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[1] Held in March 1931; *vide* Vol. XLV.

169. FOREIGN-CLOTH PLEDGE

The Working Committee adopted the following pledge for the guidance of foreign-cloth merchants and Congress workers:

> Resolved that any pledge in connection with exclusion of foreign cloth and yarn inconsistent with the following pledge shall be held to be invalid:
>
> We pledge ourselves that we shall observe the following conditions so long as the Working Committee of the Congress does not give express permission by resolution to do otherwise:
>
> 1. We undertake not to purchase or sell any foreign yarn made from cotton, wool or silk or cloth manufactured from such yarn.
> 2. We undertake not to purchase or sell any yarn or cloth manufactured by mills that have not accepted the Congress conditions.
> 3. We undertake not to sell in this country any foreign yarn or silk or wool or cloth manufactured from such yarn or silk or wool that may be lying with us.

All concerned will note that this pledge supersedes all the pledges that have been accepted haphazard by Congress workers or organizations. Merchants should make up their minds that this exclusion of foreign cloth is not a temporary affair. They must either take to swadeshi-cloth trade, better still khadi or find some other occupation consistent with the national interest.

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170. SOME POSERS

Here are some posers for lovers of khaddar:

> Will you kindly explain to me how the resolution passed at Karachi Congress in connection with khadi propaganda is going to help that object? The indigenous mill-owners have been appealed to give their moral support to the supplementary village industry of hand-spinning by themselves using hand-spun. Now if the mill-owners enjoy the unrestricted privilege of carrying on their present mills with a view to develop them, will the mere use of hand-spun be construed into moral support to khaddar? In my humble opinion there is no moral support unless mill-owners discover the antagonism between mill and charkha and honestly try gra-

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> dually to restrict their activity. Then it passes one's comprehension how khaddar can hold its own if mills go on producing finer and cheaper stuff to be used in place of khaddar. Then again, asking the mill-owners to keep down the prices of cloths will be a sure means of killing khaddar.

These are all good questions. There is no doubt that if the personal use by mill-owners of khaddar is not a token of their inner conviction it is of no use and may well be a token of hypocrisy. If there is inner conviction they will conduct their mills so as never to harm khaddar even as a gardener so disposes his hardy plants as not to harm saplings. The Congress toleration of mills is based on the belief that the mills can serve a useful purpose during the transition stage. Immediate exclusion of foreign cloth becomes easier through the indigenous mills if they work in sympathy with the movement. It is easier for khaddar to deal and compete with the indigenous mills alone than to do so with them plus English, Japanese, Italian and other mills. The increase in the number of indigenous mills need not frighten khaddarites. The increase is no doubt proof that the economic influence of khaddar is not yet fully felt. When khaddar becomes universal, many mills may find their occupation gone. It is needless to speculate whether khaddar will obtain such a hold on the people. It will depend upon the faithfulness of the workers. There is no flaw in the reasoning applied to khaddar. It is merely a question of giving a true education to the millions of villagers, of changing national taste, of realizing the tremendous power of the wheel to banish pauperism from the land. It is no small thing to be able to show a way the adoption of which will be an insurance against starvation and its attendant results.

As to the second poser, the necessity of the mills producing finer cloths cannot be questioned. In the khaddar age the people had fine khaddar. It is produced even now but not in such quantity, not so cheap as to be available to all who desire it. Again therefore during the transition stage the mills may be encouraged to manufacture fine cloths. And it is easy enough to see that restriction of mill-production to finer counts is wholly beneficial to khaddar. The pity of it is that the mills do not respond sufficiently to the national demand.

Lastly as to the prices. Surely the writer does not suggest that mills should charge high prices in order to let khaddar live. As the author of the revival of khaddar I must confess that it never entered my head that I should wish for high prices of mill-manufactures for the protection of khaddar. It is one thing to seek

protection against killing competition, wholly another to wish for higher prices of commodities produced by a few for many even for the protection of an analogous industry. Khaddar economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of the human factor. The former wholly concerns itself with the human. The latter is frankly selfish, the former necessarily unselfish. Competition and therefore prices are eliminated from the conception of khaddar. There is no competition between hotels and domestic kitchens. It never enters into the head of the queen of the house to calculate the cost of her labour, the floor space, etc. She simply knows that to conduct the domestic kitchen is as much her duty as it is to bring up children. If she were to count the cost, the logic of facts will irresistibly drive her to the destruction of her kitchen as well as her children. Some have done both. But thank God the cult makes no promise of appreciable increase. It is our innate laziness which prevents us from seeing that we sinned against Indian humanity when we destroyed the domestic wheel. Let us repent of our sin and return to the peace-giving wheel.

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171. THE DARK SIDE

Miss Blanche Watson writes:[1]

> I have your letter; and thank you. Miss Mayo, . . . to me . . . is our national disgrace in the field of literature. But, many Americans uphold her; many quote her; . . . That will give you one line on *our* brand of the "satanic" civilization, which to Katherine Mayo is the best of all civilizations.
>
> Here is another light, . . . and line. I went to the News Reel Theatre to see and hear you in the 'Talkies'. . . .
>
> Immediately following was the Air Parade of last Saturday, —that dreadful gesture to the world, which says We are ready (and doubtless, willing) to fight you by the most approved methods. . . .
>
> There were manoeuvres of our West Point Cadets—the leaders of our future murderers of the battle-field; field practice of the cavalry of some European country; and—last but not least in sordidness and sensationalism—a representation of a leg show featuring some pretty (?) girls, . . . —this phase being also featured in this programme which began with your conversation in far off Sabarmati. When you again refer to Western

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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"civilization" as satanic, please add sordid, sensational, sexy and silly; and then you will not have all the bad side. Thanks be, there is a better and finer side; there is idealism and humanity and a love of peace and goodwill, but it is so small a side of the entity that is our country. . . .

. . . In great measure our civilization such as it is—is due to the capitalist system, the exploitation of humanity for the benefit of the few —the privileged—the system of the haves that labour not, and the have-nots that labour unceasingly. . . .

. . . And I hope that India may profit by our errors—our sins of omission and commission—I think she will.

This must be read with care. There is no doubt that Miss Watson's picture is predominantly true. But as she admits, there is the bright side too.

Young India, 16-7-1931

172. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SIMLA,
July 16, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

Last week I asked Pyarelal to give you a few lines. I am today in Simla trying to tide over the difficulties that have arisen about the Settlement. My coming to London now depends upon what is done here. If matters are not satisfactorily settled, naturally there is no question of my going. You must have seen from *Young India* what is happening here. If it was small matters, I should not worry.

I write this however regarding my stay in London if I reach as far. The Indian Chamber of Commerce and Congress Indians have sent me long cables insisting on my staying with them. The Congress members have suggested Arya Bhavan. I have cabled to the Indian Chamber saying that the Reception Committee should decide and I have asked them to see you. You will now do whatever you think is necessary. Personally I think that it would be better for me to be with Muriel Lester. There I should come in touch with the poor of the East End, know something of life in the East End and probably serve the cause better, being in those surroundings. But I have no clear notion as to what is best. Since dictating this I got your cable. I do not know that it will be possible to leave on 8th August. I shall confer with Malaviyaji. About my stay in London you will please see

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the Indian friends. You know that Mira lost her mother last week.

Love.

MOHAN

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOWER STREET
LONDON

From a photostat: G.N. 972

173. LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS

SIMLA,
July 17, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

I thank you for your letter received by me in Simla. You may make what use you like of my letter of the 11th inst.

With reference to your inquiry about Rev. Joseph Doke I regret to inform you that the Rev. Gentleman died many years ago. I think in 1909[1]. He died a martyr to his cause.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 827

174. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

SIMLA,
July 17, 1931

Interviewed by the Associated Press special representative, Gandhiji declared:

My conversation with Sir James Crerar[2] was perfectly cordial. It was in continuation of my talks with Mr. Emerson, Home Secretary. In both the cases it was all about the Delhi Pact. The third and last of the series of my talks at Simla will be with the Viceroy tomorrow, after which I may be in a position to communicate something to you.

[1] In fact, in August 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 171.

[2] Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council; for his report of the conversation, *vide* Appendix IV.

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Asked as regards the spirit of the talk at Ava Lodge[1] as compared with that at Mr. Emerson's residence, Mahatma Gandhi replied:

Just some variations with the variations of the weather.

Is there any proposal to set up a committee to watch the working of the Pact in the event of your going to London?

There is no need for it. From the Congress point of view there is the Working Committee. In fact, regarding this Pact I have always consulted the Working Committee.

Showing a message from Allahabad that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would accompany Gandhiji to England by the s.s. *Mooltan* which would sail from Bombay on 15th August, the Associated Press representative asked whether, as a result of his conversations so far with Mr. Emerson and Sir James Crerar, he could say that this report would come true. Mahatma Gandhi replied:

It is both likely as well as unlikely. Perhaps, I might put it, in military language, as "as you were".

The Tribune, 19-7-1931

175. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

[SIMLA,
On or after *July 17, 1931*][2]

HERE TILL SUNDAY THEN BORSAD.

From a photostat: S.N. 17371

[1] James Crerar's residence at Simla

[2] The telegram was sent in reply to one from the addressee received on July 17, 1931.

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176. LETTER TO N. D. KOWALI

SIMLA,
July 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

At one time I thought that I would publish your letter[1] in *Young India* and deal with it. But on a second reading of your letter I have come to the conclusion that the cases, such as you mention, not being of common occurrence, I should give you a private reply.

The two families excommunicated should boldly face excommunication and suffer the consequences. As reformers they will form new ties and having broken the caste barrier, they will have ample compensation in kindred reformers helping them on occasions of marriage or mourning. And if side by side with this indifference, they would remain courteous towards the persecutors it would be found that the edge of persecution will lose its sharpness.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3274

177. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SIMLA,
July 18, 1931

My attention has been drawn to a leaderette in *The Times of India* dated the 15th instant, in which Mr. S. W. Powell, writing in *The Daily Telegraph* (London) of 13th June is reported to have said that "Gandhi himself was not quite the ascetic he is now, for when I met the pair (Mr. Gandhi and his partner a Hindu) in Durban afterwards, we had at least two whiskies in the nearest bar". I am sorry *The Times of India*, in view of the many misrepresentations current about me, has printed what is a palpable falsehood without referring the quotation to me for verification. I

[1] *Vide* "Letter to N. D. Kowali", p. 50.

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remember Mr. Powell, as a member of the European Ambulance Corps and I regret to have to say about his statement that it contains a double falsehood. My companion was not a Hindu but Mussalman. I never entered any bar in South Africa, and I have never entered any bar anywhere throughout my life. What is more, Indians are not allowed to enter European bars in Natal and a European would consider it beneath his dignity to enter an Indian bar no matter how thirsty he might feel.

The Hindu, 18-7-1931

178. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"

SIMLA,
July 18, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi said at the gate of the Viceregal Lodge as he emerged after his 3 hours' interview with the Viceroy:

The temperature remains the same unless it goes down or goes up. What can I say? The situation is just as it was before.

He further stated that he was likely to see the Viceroy again since their conversations had not yet concluded. Gandhiji said that his stay consequently was likely to be prolonged up to Wednesday.

Asked as to what was discussed between him and the Viceroy, Gandhiji said:

Naturally the Pact.

Asked about the next interview, the Mahatma said it could not be held before Tuesday since the Viceroy will be out and on Monday Mahatmaji will observe his day of silence.

Mahatmaji was asked who was the patient he had in mind when he spoke of temperature. He said:

I am the patient.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-7-1931

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179. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

SIMLA,
July 18, 1931

Asked on his return from Viceregal Lodge by the Associated Press representative as to how he would sum up the position emerging from his talks in Simla up till this afternoon, Mahatma Gandhi replied:

The position is as it was when I arrived in Simla on the 15th.

Q. How would you compare the spirit that you noticed at the Viceregal Lodge and at Mr. Emerson's and Sir James Crerar's residences?

A. It will not be right to make any comparison. I can say that everywhere I received the utmost cordiality. Lord Willingdon was as usual very affable and kind.

Q. Was the talk today only about the Delhi Pact or anything else?

A. Today it was all about the Pact.

Q. Are the questions connected with the Round Table Conference likely to be raised when you meet Lord Willingdon next? Mahatma Gandhi after hesitation replied:

I suppose they will come up.

Q. Is there any likelihood of S. Vallabhbhai Patel coming up to Simla?

A. I do not expect.

The Tribune, 21-7-1931

180. ATTACK ON AN ANT

The following complaint[1] received from Bombay deserves attention:

I do not share the correspondent's hope that my advice will be followed. If my advice was universally followed, all of us, grown-up or young, women or men, the rich or the poor, would be spinning and wearing khadi, there would be no distinctions of high and low, and no untouchables; Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and

[1] Not translated here

others would be living as blood brothers and employers and workers as fathers and sons or as elder brothers and younger brothers. In brief we would be enjoying complete swaraj by now. But I know that neither my voice nor my pen can reach very far. In spite of this fact, as I have been trying to follow the teaching of the *Gita* in life, I strive to remain free from attachment and, whenever circumstances require that I should write, I do write or speak. The complaint quoted above provides such an occasion.

There is nothing uncommon in the complainant's experience. Which of us living in big cities has had no such experience at some or other time? Being weak men ourselves, we fall upon a pickpocket like an army attacking an ant. This is not a question of non-violence at all. A brave man, however violent his inclinations, would not beat up anyone in this manner. The ordinary citizens have no right to punish a thief or murderer caught red-handed. Not even the police has that right. It belongs to the judge alone. The public may arrest such a culprit and, if they do, they should make him over to the police. To beat up any person in this manner is a crime and, if the pickpocket lodges a complaint, it would be the duty of the police to arrest those who beat him and, if the complaint is found true by the judge, it would be his duty to punish the culprits. Moreover, if the pickpocket was beaten as described by the correspondent, the offence was one of causing grievous hurt so that the culprit would get sentence of imprisonment. However, everyone beating up a thief believes himself safe as it has become customary to do that. Who would listen to the appeals of the thief?

It is true that most of those who beat up a thief are themselves white thugs. That is why when in old times some people started stoning a prostitute, Jesus said gently: "He that is pure among you, let him cast the first stone." The narrator says that none had the courage to cast a stone at her. How can a sieve [with a hundred holes] laugh at the jug [with only one] ? That pickpocket was perhaps starving without a loaf to eat, but the white thug steals to gratify the cravings of the flesh. The idea of non-violence came into being as an extension of the thought that a sinner had no right to sit in judgment over another. It does not matter if we cannot reach the waters of the lake of non-violence; it is enough for us to touch the shore of common justice.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-7-1931

181. MORVI'S LESSON TO SATYAGRAHIS

The Morvi Satyagraha is over and it is a matter of joy for all and of credit for both the State and the satyagrahis that all the satyagrahis have left the State. Both displayed moderation, the State in unconditionally releasing the satyagrahis and the satyagrahis in not persisting in satyagraha and leaving the State territory. When things have ended happily in this manner, it would be improper to enter into the rights and wrongs of the matter or rake up the past.

But I should like to say this. There was some haste in undertaking the satyagraha. The improper criticism of the Morvi ruler after the satyagraha had started has brought discredit on us and the fair name of satyagraha has been tarnished. The unworthy criticism and the exaggeration which were indulged in afterwards to justify the satyagraha were a cause for shame for the satyagrahis. They cannot disown responsibility for them on the ground that all this was done by others. When non-satyagrahis thus run to the help of satyagrahis, sometimes it becomes necessary to stop the satyagraha. When a large number of non-satyagrahis join a band of satyagrahis, the latter should leave the crowd. We may have occasions to act thus in our movement too. Whether and when such an occasion may be said to have arisen should be determined by examining each case on its merits. I did feel that such a stage had been reached in this case, but fortunately the satyagraha ended before it became necessary to take such a decision. I would now advise the satyagrahis to make amends by publicly acknowledging the errors which may have been made. The confession of an error constitutes sincere atonement for it, and by such confession the satyagrahi increases his strength. Satyagraha means purity. The higher the degree of purity, the greater the satyagrahi's strength.

I have offered my compliments to the Maharaja Saheb, for he readily consented to release the satyagrahis. However, I must say that his officials have not been altogether above reproach. The police constables failed to observe moderation. Though there was exaggeration in the accounts of man-handling and use of force, there was also an element of truth in them. All this was not quite unavoidable. I know that the police are never a body

of pure men. They regard the use of force as a religious duty. They believe that a criminal will understand only the language of force and that all who fall into their hands are criminals. It simply passes their understanding that in this age large numbers of innocent men willingly and knowingly put themselves in their hands. Hence, in their view at any rate, all such persons deserve nothing but the lathi and abuse. This being the state of things, if those in authority wish to act with justice, they should warn the police to behave themselves. I think I should stop here. For, in Tulsidas's immortal words:

> God's whole creation, living and non-living, contains both good and evil. The wise accept the good and leave the evil, (like the swan) which drinks the milk and leaves water behind.

Let us pay attention only to the goodness displayed by the Ruler and the satyagrahis and bring about harmony between them.

A word of personal advice to the Saurashtra satyagrahis. You are only a handful, but you have raised high hopes in me. Any error on your part, though as tiny as a speck of dust, must appear in my eyes as big as a pikestaff. Only then can we work together.

You should not entertain even the thought of satyagraha as long as you have in you any trace of passion, ill will, violence or untruth. Your first duty is to train yourselves and become fit for satyagraha. You should not assume that it is your duty to attack immorality or injustice wherever you find them in Kathiawar. Instead, silently go on doing constructive work and make yourselves fit for satyagraha. Do not launch an invasion. When you are attacked, by all means welcome the opportunity for a fight.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-7-1931

182. A SATYAGRAHI'S COMPLAINT

Shri Virchand of Vanod writes:[1]

I am inviting fresh trouble on myself by publishing this letter, but there is no escape. Though the letter concerns only an individual, the issues raised in it are of public importance, and I have been asked to give my opinion on them; I think it is my

[1] The letter is not translated here. It narrated at length how the Durbar (Chief) of Vanod persecuted the correspondent and his relations for their nationalist activities.

duty to give it. If a satyagrahi is patient enough, he will be faced with no case of injustice in which he would be completely helpless. One should, however, bear in mind that, if the person who is the victim of injustice has no strength in himself, there is no means of helping him. This is a limitation inherent in the nature of satyagraha. Satyagraha aims at providing an object-lesson to victims of oppression so that they may be roused to struggle and deliver themselves from the oppression. The satyagrahi has to keep patience till the victim is so roused. If this is a limitation of satyagraha, it is also its special excellence. A satyagrahi presumes to be nobody's guardian. He suffers with the victim of oppression and thereby becomes his equal and shares his suffering.

Now let us turn to the issues raised.

1. If the subjects of an Indian State are not ready to co-operate in carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress in that State, no one from outside going there can carry it out successfully in the present circumstances. It would not be right for anyone to argue that in that case the subjects of Indian States would never be roused. It is a law of life that some good work being done at any point in an environment is bound to have its effect on the rest of it. It was after this experience that the sages of the world gave it the dictum: "As in oneself, so in the universe." If outsiders go and try to wake up a suppressed people, the latter are likely to fall into deeper slumber. Moreover, one should bear in mind that the subjects of every Indian State frequently go to neutral territory, that is, British India, and imbibe from there the new ideals according to their capacity.

2. The subjects of Indian States who go to British territory and join the swaraj *yajna* being carried on there run the risk of banishment from their own State and also of having to suffer separation from their parents. Further, if the parents have sympathy for their son's activities, they also should be ready to suffer banishment and lose their goods and property. As the poet says, the path of love is enveloped in flames of fire. Those who are not ready to be burnt to death in them should not tread that path. Those parents who are not ready to be banished from the land of their birth and lose their property ought to be ready to disown their satyagrahi son. Everyone should have the faith that any goods and property that will have remained safe when we win swaraj will return to the possession of the original owner or his heirs. Durbar Gopaldas is certain that Dhasa will be returned to him when swaraj comes, and he has meanwhile chosen not to be the Durbar of a handful of men so that he might be the servant

of millions, in other words, to be a true Durbar. A true satyagrahi renounces a little only to get something far greater.

3. What should we do when the authorities in an Indian State challenge us to a fight? This question does not at all arise where the restrictions laid down above are observed. If, however, such a contingency does arise, one should submit to the hardship as inevitable.

4. Cannot the British Agency intervene in case of oppression by an Indian State? It certainly can. In my view, it ought to. That is to say, if the Agency functions as a real agency, it can certainly do much. Hence, the subjects of an Indian State have the right to approach it for redress of grievances, and it is desirable that they should. That will test the Agency's worth.

5. While, in British territory, the Congress stands up in defence of a petty watchman, is it to do nothing at all no matter how wilfully authority is exercised in an Indian State? Yes, the position is somewhat like that. Everyone has first to take the measure of his own strength. He who speaks without the strength to follow up his words with action merely prattles. The Congress may indeed be eager to do a number of things, but where it lacks the necessary strength for action it chooses to keep quiet. And by doing that, it sometimes becomes stronger. It is improbable that the Provincial [Congress] Committee should have given no reply. If it has deliberately acted in that manner, I must admit that it should be considered to have been guilty of discourtesy. I must admit that it must have had compelling reasons for that.

Now about Vanod in particular. I have no information regarding any of the allegations made by Shri Virchand. I do not know what the Vanod Durbar has to say about them. It would indeed be painful if the allegations are true. If the Vanod Durbar sends a reply to the allegations, I will certainly publish it. I shall be glad if the reply is satisfactory. It will do honour to the Durbar to acknowledge any mistake that may have been made by him or his men. Every man is liable to err. Princes are no exception to this rule. I have already stated my opinion as to what Shri Virchand, his parents and the State subjects should do if his complaint is true. If the subjects show their displeasure and migrate in a body, the ruler would become helpless and would have no choice but to come to terms with them. An individual or a group, that is, the people as a whole, always have the right to migrate, and such migration, if undertaken deliberately and car-

ried out peacefully and firmly, is never known to have failed in its aim.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-7-1931

183. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SIMLA,
July 19, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

As usual outside Gujarat I can get no time for writing letters and I have been only a trifle better in Simla than Bombay. Here though there is not such a rush of visitors, constant attendance upon Emerson and interviews with the Home Member and the Viceroy separately and prolonged beyond all calculation have left me no time for anything else, and twice I had to finish the evening meal hurriedly.

I followed your advice and read the introduction[1] in the "library"[2]. The original must be very good. I marvel at the immense industry that Romain Rolland gives to all he writes. The introduction is another sketch like the one he wrote before, bringing his opinion up to date. Your translation is quite readable. It does require retouching in several places but I have no difficulty in making out what the original must be like. The merit of your translation is that it is faithful to the original.

For the reasons you have stated you are naturally anxious to know definitely whether we are going to London or not. But I fear that I might not be able to come to a decision even at the end of the Simla visit. There are many difficulties and many hitches. I think I have been able to make it clear to the authorities that I cannot go if the present unsatisfactory state of things continues. But the authorities may find it difficult or may be unwilling to give satisfaction. I had hoped to be able to leave today but may not be able to get away before Tuesday or Wednesday. These delays do not worry me because it has been the lot of my life. "Take no thought for the morrow" has got to be literally followed by one who will enforce his own life to the teaching of the *Gita*. You should therefore tell both Romain Rolland and your sister how uncertain everything is here and how

[1] By Romain Rolland to the abridged French edition of *An Autobiography*
[2] Gandhiji means "lavatory".

difficult it is to give definite news about the proposed departure for London long in advance. The proper thing is not to expect us till we have actually embarked.

I hope you are now quite at peace with yourself and realized that the loved one lives more truly for the dissolution of the body and renders the love also truer because unselfish and also because it is transferred to all that lives. Every death of a friend or a relative should enrich universal love.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5435. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9669

184. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

SIMLA,
July 19, 1931

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

I had discussed your case with Kakasaheb. You seem to be considerably unsettled in mind. The idea of a private tutor for you does not appeal to any of us. If you do not find an academic atmosphere at the Vidyapith, there is a school at Poona to which you may be sent. If you agree, I may try to get you admitted to it. Discuss this with Kakasaheb. My own experience is that anyone who is sincerely eager to study can satisfy his desire at any place. However, we certainly do not wish to stand in your way. On the contrary, we are anxious to satisfy your wish as far as we can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3047

185. LETTER TO GORADIA

SIMLA,
July 19, 1931[1]

BHAISHRI GORADIA,

I had been thinking of writing to you and was trying to find the time needed, when I got your letter. I did what I did as a matter of duty, and therefore, deserve no praise. Let us consider what should be done now.

[1] The source has "July 29", which appears to be a slip.

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I asked Mahadev to write down what he observed and what he gathered as a result of his inquiries. His note is attached with this. Go through it carefully, and, if you think proper, show it to the Maharaja Saheb too. It is certainly good that all is now quiet, but why should the subjects of Morvi be so timid? The satyagrahis had, in their enthusiasm, overstepped the limits, and for that they were treated worse than even murderers; how can that be tolerated? Think by what means a recurrence of such incidents can be prevented and adopt them. The prohibitory order against the holding of meetings, etc., should now be withdrawn. Lakshmiprasad should be reinstated. Whatever his shortcomings, he is a very old and loyal official.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2848. Courtesy: Fulchand K. Shah

186. TELEGRAM TO LORD IRWIN

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL [On or before *July 20, 1931*]

LEARN AUTHORITATIVELY THAT YOU HAVE NO RECOLLECTION OUR DISCUSSING SELECTION DR. ANSARI FOR ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. I HAVE POSITIVE RECOLLECTION THAT TOGETHER WITH MALAVIYAJI AND MRS. NAIDU DR. ANSARI'S NAME WAS DISCUSSED AS PROMINENT NATIONALIST MUSLIM ENTITLED TO BE INVITED APART FROM CONGRESS DELEGATION. AS WAS THEN USUAL I USED GIVE PURPORT OUR CONVERSATIONS MEMBERS WORKING COMMITTEE. THEY CONFIRM MY RECOLLECTION. I SEND THIS REFRESH YOUR MEMORY AS I HOLD IT IMPORTANT THAT DR. ANSARI SHOULD BE INVITED APART FROM CONGRESS DELEGATION.[1]

From a photostat: C.W. 9376. Courtesy: India Office Library

[1] A copy of this telegram was sent by the Secretary of State to the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) telegraphically on July 20, 1931.

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187. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*July 20, 1931*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

You must have got my typed letter [of] yesterday. I have some doubt as it was sent at the eleventh hour. I had hopes of hearing from you today. Father Elwin's ill-health causes me anxiety. I trust he is now fully restored. He must not overwork himself. It is unusual to have sultry weather in Ahmedabad in July. I hope you have had rains by now. I see no chance of being able to leave before Wednesday if then.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5436. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9670

188. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

MY DEAR AMTUL,

I hope you are getting on well. Are you still teaching Amina? You should write to me regularly.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 242

189. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have a letter from Mian Ahmad Shah enclosing copy of a letter addressed to the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar and enclosures thereto. I send you herewith copies of these papers. And below is an extract from a letter just received from Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

[1] In the first sentence of this letter 'typed letter yesterday' seems to be a slip for 'typed letter of yesterday'; *vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", 19-7-1931.

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The Government seems to be bent on repression. Two of the Khudai Khidmatgars were shot dead and it is generally believed that the officials had a hand in it. We inquired and discovered that those Khudai Khidmatgars had no enemies, nor had they any quarrel with anyone. A young man had informed me that a police sub-inspector had asked him to take any kind of revenge he wants to take from his uncle, he could even kill him if he liked. The sub-inspector assured the young man that no action will be taken against him. The young man, my informant, and his uncle were not on good terms and the latter is the President of the local Jirga. The Government is arresting and punishing people under Sec. 40 F.R. Act and they have promulgated Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. in many places without any reason. The police generally threaten and assault Khudai Khidmatgars. It is generally believed by the people that the Government is purposely provoking people to create disturbance.

The police severely assault small boys for crying *Inqilab Zindabad.* On the 13th of June some Europeans were driving in car at Sudoom, Tehsil Mardan, when a small boy cried *Inqilab Zindabad.* The Europeans stopped the car and got down and caught hold of the boy and threw him in the central canal. Then again, on the 13th of July at Nevakali, Tahsil Savabi some Europeans severely assaulted a boy for raising the same cry.

For realizing rent, they put the people to all kinds of torture. They are made to sit the whole day under the hot sun and then they are put in small dungeons which have no ventilation.

I hope you will be good enough to take notice of these facts. While our fight was going on there was not so much repression as it is now. I have done my best to keep people quiet and once a Government official paid me this compliment, but how long it will be possible for me to make them remain quiet? In Kohat, village people were allowed to take away salt free of cost before the fight but now after the Truce even this has been stopped and they are no longer allowed to take away salt free of cost.

These statements make confusion worse confounded. On the one hand you give me information that the Khudai Khidmatgars nicknamed "Red Shirts" are causing endless trouble. On the other there are complaints on behalf of them, as now, that their liberty is unduly being interfered with. There ought to be a way out of knowing the real truth.

Could you please tell me what Malkand Agency is? Is it or is it not within the zone of the Settlement?

Yours sincerely,

Encl.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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190. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

MY DEAR MATHEW,

How are you getting on? Are you any the better for the two days with me? What are you doing at the Vidyapith?

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1540

191. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

Kisan met me. She must have written to you about that. I felt that she ought to devote herself more to service.

I got your letter.

Do you still beat children? Ramabehn was complaining that you did. Did you satisfy Panditji? Have you cultivated close relations with Gangabehn? She seems to be unhappy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10259. Also C.W. 6707. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

192. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

How is it that there is no letter from you at all? Is that out of pity for me? I don't want such pity.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9327. Also C.W. 573. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

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193. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I get your letters regularly. I may still have to stay here for two days more. Gangabehn does not seem to have recovered peace of mind. Has Panditji done so? How does Lakshmi behave? Father Elwin must be all right now. Has Lilavati calmed down? How does Jamna keep? What speed on the *takli* have they reached in the Ashram now? You were to send me the resolutions which were passed when the Udyog Mandir was established, but I have not received them so far. If I get them, I may go through the rules in English when I have some free time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I send with this Lalji's letter to Dudhabhai. Read it and pass it on to him. I also send his letters to me for you to read. Preserve them afterwards. If after reading them, you wish to write to me anything about Lalji, do so.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

194. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter. You have some subtle pride in you. That is what is hurting you. We bow to Mother Earth every morning and pray for her forgiveness for touching her with our feet. I have explained the significance of this verse. The Earth bears our burden but does not hurt us; she bears the burden uncomplainingly. According to modern discoveries, she is hanging in space without support. If she were to get angry with us and stray

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ever so slightly from her path, we would instantly perish. For crores of years, however, the Earth has been rotating in her orbit and has sustained our life. This is the utmost limit of humility. We have sprung from this earth and to that shall we return. After knowing this, what pride can we feel? We are but a particle of dust and should remain so.

Those who wish to kick us or insult us should be welcome to do so; such is the humility which non-violence implies. Cultivate it and you will be able to dance with joy. You can cultivate it only in the Ashram, for, willingly or unwillingly, you have to regard every inmate of the Ashram as a member of your family. You have to spend your whole life with them. You will have to swallow bitter draughts there. Do so and roar like a lioness. "Never to give up, even though we may die." We used to sing this *bhajan* formerly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 58. Also C.W. 8782. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

195. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

CHI. MAHAVIR,

I think about you every day. What a healthy lad you were, and what a skeleton you have become! Now get well quickly. How do you keep at Borivli?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6215

196. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have had many letters from you, but I had no time to reply. I had instructed Mahadev and Devdas to write something in acknowledgment.

No news from this end. Even if a compromise is reached, it will not make me happy. They no longer trust the Congress. Everywhere Congress workers are being prosecuted. How long can they hold out [empty] promises to me here? I ought to go to England but I do not feel like going. It is well that I do not worry over this thing. I find the fulfilment of life in simply doing the tasks that arise naturally from moment to moment.

Considering the atmosphere here I would not be surprised if no invitation was extended to you. Even if you don't get one, are you proceeding to America on August 15?

Regarding the cable from Walchand, I hope you received the reply I had asked Mahadev to send.

How are you keeping these days? I have been unable to read so far the essay sent by you on currency.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7892. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

197. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

SIMLA,
July 20, 1931

On Mahatma Gandhi's attention being drawn by the Associated Press representative to the sentence that "the Prime Minister has nominated members to attend the Federal Structure Subcommittee" and on his being asked whether his consent was implied in the nomination, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I have certainly consented to go and attend the Federal Structure Subcommittee subject to the weather conditions (political) being favourable. You may depend on it that I shall make a dart for London as soon as the weather makes it possible.

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Q. How do you find the weather conditions now?

A. I am not an expert in reading the weather. Therefore you must approach the meteorological observatory.

Q. If you are going to London, can you indicate as to when you would be sailing?

A. On the 15th August. Maybe even earlier.

Q. There is an impression in the public mind that you have been shifting your position regarding the conditions of your attending the Round Table Conference. For example it is said that at one time you stated that you would not attend the Conference unless the Hindu-Muslim question was solved. Now you say that you will proceed to London only if the weather conditions, as you put it, are favourable. Can you explain yourself?

A. I have not shifted my ground. My position has all along been absolutely uniform and he who runs may read it. It is plain in the resolution[1] of the Congress Working Committee. The Committee decided to send me to London, even though the Hindu-Muslim question might not be solved, but provided other favourable conditions existed; and I am simply waiting for those favourable conditions to appear.

Q. Do these conditions apply only to the Pact?

A. Yes, only to the Pact.

Q. When do you expect these conditions to appear?

A. Any more probing will touch the patient to the quick.

The Tribune, 22-7-1931

198. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[SIMLA,
On or after *July 20, 1931*][2]

SHETH JAMNALALJI
UDAIPUR

PROBABLY LEAVING HERE WEDNESDAY FOR BARDOLI.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 17372

[1] Passed on June 10, 1931 at Bombay; *vide* also pp. 1-3.

[2] The addressee's telegram dated July 20 read: "Reaching Udaipur tonight . . . inform programme."

199. TELEGRAM TO K. KELAPPAN

[On or before *July 21, 1931*][1]

MY EMPHATIC OPINION IS AUCTION SALES[2] CAN BE PICKETED.

GANDHI

The Hindu, 22-7-1931

200. A MEMORANDUM[3]

July 21, 1931

A. INSTANCES OF BREACHES OF TRUCE

1. CLAUSE 7 RE. PICKETING OF LIQUOR SHOPS

MADRAS. (a) Press communique published 13th July and officers circularized categorically stating peaceful picketing liquor shops does not include picketing *abkari* sales[4].

(b) Section 144 applied against members of the Tanjore bar picketing liquor shop sales.

(c) Peaceful picketing of toddy shops at Tirukattupalli by volunteers standing at a distance of 65 yards from shops, which had been going on for the last 50 days, has been prohibited by police insisting on volunteers standing at a distance of 100 yards. Picketing thus made futile as shops are not within sight from that distance.

(d) Prosecution of peaceful picketers on faked charges and physical interference with picketing.

(e) Assault on volunteers and seizure of their movables at Koilpatti; picketers ordered not to hold umbrellas or flags and public warned against supplying them with water.

(f) Restriction of number of picketers.

BIHAR. Molestation and prosecution of peaceful picketers of liqour shops.

[1] The telegram was reported on this date.

[2] Of liquor shops

[3] Also known as the "Charge-Sheet", was given to H. W. Emerson by Gandhiji on July 21. The Government's reply to the "Charge-Sheet", and "The Congress Rejoinder" appeared in *Young India*, 24-9-1931, 1-10-1931 and 8-10-1931.

[4] Auctions for liquor shops

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BOMBAY [PRESIDENCY][1]. Defeating peaceful picketing by permitting sale of liquor at unlicensed places and unlicensed hours. Numerous instances in Ahmedabad and Ankleshwar (Broach) and Ratnagiri District. Bombay Government have defended these acts in a letter which adds insult to the injury. Assaults on picketers by liquor sellers connived at.

BENGAL. Peaceful picketers were severely assaulted at Paglarhat near Calcutta.

2. CLAUSE 12 (i) RE. PENDING PROSECUTIONS

Several prosecutions going on in Surat District. Where private parties have voluntarily withdrawn complaints, they have been egged on by the Superintendent of Police to press the complaints.

CLAUSE (iii). Though the clause deals strictly with cases where a local Government has moved a High Court, undertakings demanded from legal practitioners by the Bihar High Court on its own initiative would seem to come under it.

3. CLAUSE 13 (i) RE. UNRELEASED PRISONERS

Leaders in different provinces have been asked to approach local governments in respect of several prisoners not yet released. But two cases—those of H. D. Rajah and Ratanji Dayaram—were specifically referred to the Bombay Government. The Bombay Government in reply sent copies of speeches made by Rajah which in no way can be said to incite to violence. Ratanji Dayaram's burning of crop held in partnership is described as violence.

4. CLAUSE 14 RE. FINES NOT REALIZED BEFORE TRUCE

In Bulsar in Surat Dt., in five cases people are being asked to pay fine for having used land for non-agricultural purposes (viz., having volunteers' camps during the campaign, camps which were destroyed by Government). They have been told that possession would not be given unless the fines are paid. Full Assessment has been offered.

5. CLAUSE 15 RE. ADDITIONAL POLICE

Punitive Police posted at Chautala (Dt. Hissar) still not removed. Rs. 8,000 levied.

Punitive Police at Naushara Panuan (Amritsar Dt.) not yet withdrawn.

6. CLAUSE 16(a)

(1) A boat at Kaira seized by the salt authorities and sold by mistake of the Salt Collector long after the Truce not yet

[1] *Vide* "Letter to K. F. Nariman", 21-8-1931.

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restored, nor owner being compensated. Owner however being asked to approach the purchaser and offered paltry sum realized.

(2) Navajivan Press not yet returned.[1]

(3) Guns and gun licences forfeited for participation in civil disobedience not being returned in several cases.

7. CLAUSE 17(a) RE. RESTORATION OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

An Ashram in Bihar seized under Ordinance IX not yet restored. *Watan* and *Inam* lands in Karnatak are not restored except on an undertaking not to take part in any future movement.[2]

17 (b) RE. SOLD LANDS

Certain purchasers of lands intending to reconvey them to the original owners being dissuaded from doing so by the police authorities in the Surat District.

8. CLAUSE 19 RE. POSTS RENDERED VACANT

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. (1) Patels and Mukhis who have been appointed for five years or "until further orders" are being treated as permanently appointed.

(2) Among these several have been shown to be undesirables, the two notorious cases being those of the Mukhi of Ras and Patel Jehangir of Varad. The Ras Mukhi has a conviction for possession of stolen property against him. During his regime, since the Truce destruction of hedges and scores of trees and burning of cottages belonging to non-Dharalas has gone on. Jehangir Patel has been charged with numerous acts of bribery, misappropriation, extortion and hooliganism. He is reported to have a share in lands purchased by Sardar Garda in Bardoli and has enticed away servants of Patidars of his village to serve on Garda's land. He took part recently in a police raid on the people of Varad for recovery of arrears.

(3) Several Talatis in Jalalpur and Kaira not reinstated whilst all but one in Bardoli have been reinstated, one not being reinstated for having taken part in Civil Disobedience movement.

(4) Two Deputy Collectors about whom there was an understanding between Lord Irwin on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other that they should not ask to be reinstated but should apply for and be given pension have applied unsuccessfully.[3]

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Letter to R. M. Maxwell", pp. 111-2; also "Letter to H. W. Emerson", p. 275.

[2] *Vide* also p. 45.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to H. W. Emerson," p. 12.

(5) Two men in subordinate medical department applied to be reinstated. The Surgeon-General has rejected their application without showing any reason. (Dr. Sinha who published a letter about prisoners in jail, who was asked to apologize but did not and was therefore dismissed. Dr. Chandulal who resigned his post in pursuance of the campaign.)

(6) Pension of 70-year old schoolmaster in Dholka (Ahmedabad District) forfeited. (Name—Mohanlal Mulshanker Bhatt)

(7) S. B. Joshi (P.W.D.), temporary supervisor Rohari Canal, resigned in April 1930. He has been disqualified from getting Government service.

MADRAS. (1) Dr. Chelapatti Rao, M.B.B.S., Hon. Asst. Ophthalmic Surgeon (Guntur), who resigned his post in May 1930, was asked by Personal Asst. to Surgeon-General to resume charge in May 1931. He did so, but on 10th June was asked by Hospital Superintendent to express regret for anti-Government propaganda during 1930. He asked for the order in writing and the matter was dropped. At the end of June he was told that Government would not like to reinstate him.

PUNJAB. (1) Bhai Pakahar Singh, Retired Military Sepoy No. 639, of Gujarwal (Ludhiana Dt.), took part in a hartal on the Gandhi Day. His pension has been forfeited.

U.P. Sjt. Sitalprasad Tayyal (M.A., B.Sc.), teacher Cantt. A. V. School, Meerut, suspended from service for political propaganda. Applied for reinstatement but without success as there happened to be a permanent appointment. But the permanent incumbent refused to take charge on 7th April 1931, and a fresh temporary man was made permanent on 20th May 1931. Sjt. Tayyal ought to have been appointed as soon as the permanent man refused to take charge.

Sjt. Kashi Prasad Dikshit (Clerk, Government Press, Allahabad) who applied for reinstatement has failed, no reason being given for rejection of his application.

UNDERTAKINGS FROM STUDENTS

Though not actually coming under the Truce, in so many words, but following from the Truce, would be unconditional admission of boys and girls who took part in C. D. campaign. But in several parts of the country all sorts of undertakings are demanded.[1]

ASSAM. Cotton College students (Gauhati), who had passed matriculation as private candidates without signing any undertak-

[1] *Vide* "My Notes", pp. 24-5, sub-title "Students".

ing under the Cunningham circular, are being asked to furnish security of Rs. 50 required from those convicted of political offences and undertakings are required from the rest.

AHMEDABAD. Eight girls and eleven boys of Ahmedabad rusticated from all government and aided schools for all time for having taken part in the civil disobedience movement.

ANKOLA (KARWAR DT.). Four students who were rusticated are still not being admitted. A boy's scholarship forfeited.

AJMER-MERWARA. Sjt. Chandra Gupta, a teacher in D.A.V. School, Ajmer, Chhatanlal, teacher, Government School, Ajmer, Damodar Das, formerly student, Government College, Ajmer, and Banwarilal, M.A., Headmaster, Commercial School, Nazirabad, have been debarred from any service under government or aided school. This has been done for their participation in anti-government activities.

U.P. AND DELHI. Undertakings not to take part in any future campaign are being demanded from students intending admission.

GENERAL

BOMBAY

In Bardoli Rs. 21,00,000 out of Rs. 22,00,000 have been paid out of the current dues.[1] It is claimed that Congress workers are responsible for these payments. When they began collections it is common knowledge that they told the peasants that they were to pay all they could both of the current dues and arrears. The majority declared themselves to be hardly able to pay even the current dues. The authorities after hesitation and even flat refusal for some time in some cases accepted payments and gave receipts on account of current dues. Now to demand arrears or current dues from those who plead inability is a breach of faith with the workers and the people. So far as the arrears are concerned, it is contended that if the authorized arrears are suspended because of the fall in prices, as they are, the unauthorized arrears deserve the same treatment with greater force, because the men having been civil resisters have in addition to the losses due to low prices suffered severe losses through migration. These losses have been estimated and presented to the authorities. Nevertheless Congress workers have offered to re-examine cases suspected by the authorities. What they resent is coercive processes, fines and display of the police who surround people's houses.

[1] *Young India*, 20-8-1931, has: "In Surat Rs. 19,00,000 of Rs. 20,00,000 have been paid out of the current dues."

In Borsad and Anand too the question of balance is not yet quite disposed of, though there may be no difficulties if the understanding arrived at by the Collector with Mr. Gandhi is carried out.

In Sirsi and Siddapur (Karnatak) the peasants asked for relief owing to distress. There was no no-tax campaign. The authorities were approached through Mr. Chikodi, a member of the Legislative Council. Relief was promised. Some was given. But now instead of being satisfied with using the services of the Congress workers, coercive processes have been started. Articles of daily use, including cooking utensils, have been taken away.

United Provinces

Congress work as such is being attacked at various places, peaceful meetings being dispersed and Congress workers persecuted, and people treated to a general policy of terrorism.

Instances. (1) Bijhari (Mathura): on May 20th, 1931, three lorry loads of policemen raided the houses of practically all Congress workers, insulted the women and snatched away national flags, tore them and burnt them, children were prohibited from taking part in *prabhat pheris*. 18 persons from the village challaned under Section 107, four charged also under the Dacoity Section. Refused bail, without the identification parade being held. Entirely false evidence is being cooked up against them.

(2) At Naujhil (Mathura), a peaceful meeting was forcibly dispersed on the 26th June 1931. Those who refused to disperse were physically dragged away. Syt. Ghurelal fainted as a result of lathi blows. Many other workers assaulted.

(3) At Rayah, Rahimatulla, a Congress volunteer was beaten with shoes by the local police on 10th July, 1931, and ordered to leave the village under various threats.

About 53 prosecutions of Congress workers including almost all office-bearers of the Dt. Mathura[1] are going on under Security Section.

(4) All prominent workers of the Dt. Committee, Sultanpur are being proceeded against under Section 144.

(5) Numerous arrests in Karnal Dt. on pretexts held to be false.

(6) In Bara Banki a general order under Section 144 applied to whole areas. Blank orders under Section 144 signed by Dt. Magistrate are said to have been given to police inspectors. 300

[1] *Young India* has "Dt. Committee, Mathura".

cases under Section 107 pending in court and 135 such cases are reported from Rae Bareli. This section is specially utilized to rope in as many panches and Surpanches and village Congress workers as well. In the summons it is specifically mentioned that the prosecution is for carrying on various Congress activities and would be withdrawn if the accused offer to pay full rent, apologize, to the zamindars and remove the national flag from his house or village and cease to enrol Congress volunteers.

(7) In Barabanki the Deputy Commissioner went to Dadra on 7th June 1931, asked people to leave the Congress, got Gandhi caps removed, warned tenants against wearing Gandhi caps of khaddar and got people to sign a declaration that they had no connection with the Congress.

(8) At Bhudari on 22nd June 1931 Sub-Inspector of Ramnagar Police Station pulled down national flags, took away Congress papers, arrested three men from the village and threatened others if they did not resign from the Congress.

(9) In Basti District the Magistrate openly asks people not to put on Gandhi caps. A worker was thrashed for objecting to such an order.

(10) In Gonda District when Kunwar Raghavendra Pratap Singh saw the Deputy Commissioner, the latter threatened harassment if the Kunwar did not stop Congress work. In this district also action under Section 144 has been taken against leading Congress workers.

(11) In Bahraich District, under the pretext of private complaints of Chaukidars, zamindars and their agents, Congress workers are arrested and convicted.

We have thus far talked of the doings of the officials themselves. But what are ostensibly the doings of the zamindars or taluqdars are occasioned by the connivance, if not at the instance, of the Government officials who do not seem disposed to take note of their excesses. The Rae Bareli circulars are well-known.[1]

The taluqdars assured of Government support have begun their old barbarous methods of recovering rent. To give a recent case, a tenant has been admitted to the Civil Hospital, Rae Bareli, who has lost his eye and broken his nasal bone as the result of an organised attack by the taluqdar's party. A pregnant woman was beaten until she was unconscious.

BAHRAICH DISTRICT. In the District of Bahraich at Nanpara on several occasions the police and the zamindars have combined

[1] *Vide* "Honestly", pp. 186-7.

to beat the Congress volunteers and tenants, and have arrested chief Congress workers. It has been reported that houses of several volunteers have been burnt by the police. A report from Barabanki says, "since the advent of the new Deputy Commissioner armed police has been terrorizing the villagers and revenue and police officers have been helping the landlords in crushing the *kisans* and the Congress workers." We have received similar reports from Rae Bareli and other districts. It is the general policy of the Government in Oudh.

GONDA DISTRICT. Two incidents at Balrampur (Gonda) which is a taluqdari, but under court of wards.

Baraipur Village:

"On the complaint of Thekadaran the police and the estate people surrounded the village in the first week of May. They asked the village people to pay up the rents immediately, but they wanted two days' grace. They were beaten and 23 of them were afterwards arrested under Section 323, 325 and 147 I.P.C. On the third day there was another raid on the village by the estate authorities who surrounded it with a force of about 250 men. Women were roughly handled, stripped naked and dishonoured.

"Grain was taken away and auctioned for a mere song. The case is still pending." A man has died as a result of beating administered by the estate zilladar and his men. The zilladar has been arrested.

Simaria Village:

"The Thekadar ill-treated the women of this village. For three days no one was allowed to draw water from any well until part payment was made. Nineteen men were prosecuted for having used force against the Thekadar's men. Here too women were stripped naked and sticks thrust into their private parts."

ALLAHABAD DISTRICT. Reports show that several zamindars have realized by force the full rent and have not passed on the remission to the tenants. In this district in almost all Tehsils it has been a common practice with the zamindars to beat the tenant, thrash him with sticks, shoes, use his spears and other weapons, harass him and humiliate him in all possible ways.

We have reports from Gorakhpore District showing that the Government has been conniving at the excesses of the zamindars and the zamindars have been doing whatever comes into their head. To give one example from amongst many: "Zamindars Paramhans Singh and Newal Kishore Singh of Siswa Bazar, on the 31st April raided the village Khesradi, Gidvapal Mansachhapara,

Ahrauli with 150 badamshes[1] looted the property belonging to Rajabali, Naboo Lunia, Bhimal and Chaukar.'' The Government took no note of the incident. In Rajwara village Ramnarain zamindar with the help of the police fired upon the *kisans*. One man died as the result of the firing. The Government is silent over the whole affair.

The practice of making a tenant *murga* (making him stand like a cock) in the sun is common. So also beating with shoes. Seizing of property (cattle, etc.), without reference to a court of law is also common.

RAE BARELI. In the Rae Bareli District there are several hundred cases where the *Amin*, supported by the police has terrorized the *kisans*.

Notice distributed among *kisans* warning them that they would be liable to be prosecuted if they associated with particular Congressmen.

UNAO DISTRICT. Syt. Vishambhar Dayal Tripathi has published the allegations of tenants made before an enquiry held by the sub-divisional magistrate into the happenings in Pipri, (Unao District) which, if they are not true, would make them libellous.[2] The allegations mentioned promiscuous beatings with lathis and dandas, breaking open of houses, removal of doors and locks, insult of women, a case of rape, looting of ornaments, all done by zamindar proprietors of the village under the protection of the sub-divisional magistrate.

In Agra remissions are allowed only to those tenants who declare themselves against the Congress. Hundreds of villages, therefore, have not yet received any remission from the Government. The officials clearly speak out that remission will not be given to those tenants who are with the Congress.

We have received similar reports from the Districts of Fyzabad, Kheri, Fatehpur, Badaun, etc. All of them tell the same woeful tale.

IN BENGAL. Workers doing peaceful constructive work have been arrested at Contai.

IN THE PUNJAB. Inoffensive processions at Taren Taran have been charged with lathis. Opposite the Sarhali police station (Amritsar District) the Police Inspector abused Congress leaders and severely beat a Congress doctor. Several workers at Taren Taran arrested under Section 108. Lala Dunichand told by the

[1] Bad characters

[2] *Vide* ''Serious Allegations'', p. 59.

Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, that no political meetings can be held in Ambala Cantonment or for that matter any other cantonment. At Ludhiana a peaceful Mushaira meeting of almost a private nature was mercilessly broken up in the presence of the City Magistrate on the 16th May.[1] After the people had begun to disperse one Fez[2] threw an iron chair on the platform. Dr. Kishorelal who brought the fact to the notice of the Magistrate and Police Inspector received two cuts with a hunter from the said Fez and a lathi blow on the head. The Magistrate instead of preventing the miscreant treated the doctor to choicest abuse. On the doctor protesting, a severe lathi charge on the dispersing crowd followed. Fifty people were badly injured. The reason for this attack was to terrorize the people in Katra Nawriyan into opposing the inauguration of the Swadeshi Bazar.

IN ASSAM. *Prabhat pheri* boys were assaulted at Jorhat on 19th June, under orders of Police Superintendent, Bartley. Dr. H. K. Das was asked to show cause why his pension should not be forfeited for having supported a Congress resolution at Karachi.

N.W.F. PROVINCE

REPRESSION AGAINST KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

1. MALKAND AGENCY[3]. The Tahsildars of Malkand Agency told certain people who were undergoing confinement in the Malkand Agency lock up that they would be released if they would consent to shoot Khudai Khidmatgars. They were further told that they could obtain their release if they would catch hold of as many Khudai Khidmatgars as possible and release them after exacting Rs. 200 from each of them. A Khudai Khidmatgar in Sadrum was stabbed and another in Rostam was assassinated on the night of 4th July 1931 under suspicious circumstances.

2. DAULATPURA, TAHSIL CHARSADDA. Abdullajan, Zaildar of Batagram, assisted by the Frontier Constabulary, collected all the volunteers who had not paid up their revenue dues and shut up six of them in a room full of hornets and set the hornets on them by making smoke in the room. When they were let out with their faces awfully swollen owing to the hornets' stings, they were told by the son of Abdullajan to go and sell their wives to pay up their revenue.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Letter to Duni Chand", p. 332.
[2] *Young India*, 24-9-1931, has "Faiz".
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to H. W. Emerson", pp. 159-60.

3. GHORAMLEAK. On 27th June 1931 Abdullajan and his party caught hold of such Khudai Khidmatgars as had been unable to pay up the land revenue and made them sit in the hot sun with their hands tied together behind their back. Anyone who uttered even a word was beaten with the butt-ends of rifles as a result of which one old man collapsed. The same thing was repeated in Jamto and Bakayana.

4. SHABQADAR. At Shabqadar Almir and Hamidkhan, both holders of Jagirs from the Government caught hold of two Khudai Khidmatgars and took them before the political officer and ordered them to give up Congress work. On their refusal to do so, they were stripped naked and severely beaten. One of them was made to lie down on the ground in the hot sun; secured in that position by tight strings and fingers and pieces of wood were thrust into his rectum to humiliate him, this sort of insult being regarded by Pathans as only short of death.

5. SARBAND. On 21st June 1931 a large force of police went to Sarband to arrest Maqarrabkhan on a false charge of wrongful confinement and extortion, Gulsaran, son of Harisingh, being put up as the complainant. The police broke into the house of Maqarrabkhan without any *Lambardar*[1] being present on the scene, ransacked it, and took away Rs. 200 from it. Another Khudai Khidmatgar, Fazlurahman, was arrested and taken to Sarai the same evening. A peaceful crowd collected near Sarai and shouted *Narai Takbir*[2]. At this the police set upon the people and assaulted them with butt-ends of rifles, bayonets, etc. On 22nd June Maqarrabkhan voluntarily surrendered himself to the police. On the same day Sayed Ashfaqkhan and Arab Abdul Gaffurkhan recorded a statement of Gulsaran in the presence of the D.S.P. and Sub-Inspector of Police in which he exonerated Maqarrabkhan from the charges levelled against him by the police. On 24th June Sayed Ashfaqkhan and Arab Abdul Gaffurkhan were arrested,[3] under Section 143/225 I.P.C., on a charge of 'intentionally offering resistance to the lawful apprehension of any other person for an offence', this in spite of the fact that there never was anything like resistance to the arrest of Maqarrabkhan.

6. KOHAT. The President of the Congress Committee of Kohat while touring on the Hangu side with his volunteers was stopped near Shinvaris by the Levy Police and fired at. The

[1] Big landlord in villages who helps Government in collecting land revenue.

[2] The Islamic call to which the response is '*Allah-o-Akbar*' ('Great is God').

[3] What follows is reproduced from *Young India*, the photostat being incomplete.

shot missed him. While returning, the party were hooted and stoned and finally subjected to a lathi charge.

PERIODICAL HELD UP BY THE POSTAL AUTHORITIES

Copies of the May issue of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Pashto Magazine, *Pakhtoon*, which is purely devoted to the cause of social reform has been held up by the postal authorities and no reason for it has been given to Khan Sahib.

SECTION 144. All meetings and processions have been prohibited in the *ilaqa*[1] of Khalil and Mohamand and in the tahsil of Peshawar.

From a photostat: C.W. 9373. Courtesy: India Office Library. Also *Young India*, 20-8-1931.

201. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

SIMLA,
July 21, 1931

Interviewed by the Associated Press special representative, as he emerged from the Viceregal Lodge, Mahatma Gandhi said that the conversations were inconclusive.

But I am not staying for any further interviews. I am leaving tomorrow for Bardoli whence I proceed to Borsad.

Pressed to say whether there would be any further negotiations, Mahatma Gandhi said there might be negotiations possibly through correspondence, by which light might be seen later. For the present the position is, in Gandhiji's hackneyed expression:

As you were. The temperature of the patient is the same.

Asked about his going to England, Mahatma Gandhi said it was still doubtful and there would be no certainty until he was on board he steamer.

The Tribune, 22-7-1931

[1] Area

202. LETTER TO VICEROY

SIMLA,
July 21, 1931

I have your kind letter of 20th inst. inviting me on behalf of the Prime Minister to be a member of the Federal Structure Committee as also a member of the full conference. Whilst I appreciate the invitation and would like to respond, as I have already conveyed to you, I have serious difficulties in the way of my proceeding to London. I came to Simla in the hope that the difficulties would be removed. But our protracted conversations have not advanced matters so as to enable me to come to a positive decision. I feel that the way things are moving in India at the present moment, unless they improve, make it impossible for me to leave India. Reports pour in upon me from every part showing that Congressmen are being harassed without any justifiable cause. In some places they say that they are being harassed much more than during the civil disobedience campaign. I know your difficulty especially when things are being done under cover of law. I have suggested several ways out. But I am sorry that they have not commended themselves to you. In the circumstances the most I can say is that I must watch events and if I find that things have not taken a better turn I must reluctantly come to the conclusion that I must not go. I need hardly say that I seek no protection for any Congressman from prosecution for manifest breach of the common or the statutory law of the country. My complaint is about acts manifestly outside the law and processes which are demonstrably vexatious. It grieves me that I am not able to send you a better letter. But I am helpless.

After much cogitation I have come to the conclusion that I should send my son Devdas Gandhi to the Frontier Province. I would feel ill at ease if I could not send anybody at all especially after the information that Mr. Emerson gave me. As I said to you during our conversation he will be asked to refrain from making any speeches or accepting any addresses. My sole object in sending him is to promote peace and to avoid a catastrophe

if it is at all possible. His presence would also insure Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan responding to the Commissioner's invitation.[1]

Young India, 20-8-1931

203. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

SIMLA,
July 21, 1931

In accordance with my promise made at the Viceregal Lodge this evening I reduce to writing my request for an impartial tribunal to decide upon matters of interpretation of the Settlement between the Government and the Congress that might be submitted to it from time to time whether on behalf of the Government or the Congress. The following are the matters that require immediate adjudication unless there is agreement between the Government and the Congress as to the interpretation:

(1) Whether picketing includes picketing of liquor-shop auction sales?
(2) Whether it is competent for provincial Governments to prescribe the distance at which picketing can be done so as to render it impossible for picketers to be within sight of the shop picketed?
(3) Whether it is competent for a Government to limit the number of picketers so as to make it impossible to picket all the entrances of a particular shop?
(4) Whether it is competent for a Government to defeat peaceful picketing by permitting sale of liquor by the picketed shopkeeper at places other than licensed and during odd hours?
(5) Interpretation of clauses 13 and 14 in the application of particular cases which provincial Governments have regarded as not coming under those clauses and the Congress has held otherwise.
(6) Interpretation of the word 'return' in clause 16(a).

[1] In reply the Viceroy said: "Thank you very much for your letter of July 21st, and let me say that while I cannot accept as justified in fact the reasons you give for your present inability to intimate your acceptance of the invitations, I do hope that after our talks the apprehensions you now feel will disappear, and that you will be able to go to England as a member of the Federal Structure Committee and of the full Conference."

(7) Whether a return of guns forfeited after cancellation of licenses for participation in civil disobedience is covered by the Settlement?
(8) Whether restoration of certain property seized under Ordinance IX and of *Watan* lands in Karnatak is covered by the Settlement and if it is, is it competent for a Government to impose any conditions upon such restoration ?
(9) The meaning of the word 'permanent' in Clause 19.
(10) Whether it is competent for the Education Department to impose conditions upon students who took part in the civil disobedience campaign before admitting them or in virtue of perpetual rustication imposed during the civil disobedience campaign to debar the admission of students under the ban ?
(11) Whether it is competent for a Government to punish a person or corporation, by reason of his or its having taken part in the civil disobedience campaign, e.g., forfeiture of pension, or grants and the like to municipalities?

These are not to be treated as the only matters to be submitted to the tribunal. It is possible that unforeseen cases may arise in future which may be claimed to come under the Settlement. The procedure to be adopted would be that written statements would be submitted both on behalf of the Government and the Congress and the points would be argued by counsel on behalf of the Government as on behalf of the Congress. The decision of the tribunal would be binding on both the parties.

As I told you in the course of our conversation whilst I say nothing at the present moment as to a tribunal for the examination of questions of facts in the event of differences between the Government and the Congress I have not waived the demand. Occasions may arise when the differences may be so vital as to make it obligatory on any party to press for a tribunal for the examination of such cases also. I should, however, hope that we might be able to settle all points of difference without reference to any tribunal.[1]

Home Department, Political File No. 33/XVII/31-Poll/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix V.

204. INTERVIEW TO "THE PIONEER"

SIMLA,
July 21, 1931

I want to go to London. I hope to go to London. I would go to Lord Willingdon now and say that I would have accepted the invitation were it not for my mistrust of the activities of the district authorities in certain areas during my absence.

In these words, Mr. Gandhi summed up his present position at the conclusion of an hour's conversation tonight. . . .

Mr. Gandhi will not see the Viceroy again in Simla and he told me that certain communications would be exchanged before he would be in a position to say 'yes' or 'no'. Of his anxiety to go, there is no doubt whatever and when I suggested that the general opinion was that he would make a great mistake if he did not go to London he said he saw no reason to disagree with such opinion, but that he had to consider also the people in India.

"But are you not devoting too much time to details instead of concentrating your attention on the broad issues?" I asked. Mr. Gandhi started to talk of South Africa and particularly his experiences at Spion Kop[1] when his three officers were incapacitated. He explained that he had to assume responsibility for 60 stretcher bearers working over a stretch of more than a score of miles and that he was amazed at the number of details he had attended to personally in order to secure efficient working and a successful outcome.

Are you trying to draw a parallel for my benefit between such experiences and your present policy?

Mr. Gandhi agreed that he was and that only disaster could follow neglect of details. Nor did he attempt to hide that the situation in the United Provinces was causing him the most concern.

He agreed that Sir Malcolm Hailey's promise of agrarian legislation is an excellent thing for the future but emphasized that what is wanted is immediate relief, and Sir Malcolm Hailey has not indicated that though his speech is conciliatory. He gave the instance of Gujarat where he had personally collected nineteen out of the twenty lakhs due and said that though the situation in the United Provinces was somewhat different he had offered during the recent negotiations to go there and do the same thing.

It is interesting to note that in the brief conversation I had with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru yesterday afternoon he said he agreed with Sir Malcolm Hai-

[1] *Vide* Vol. III.

ley that the system in the United Provinces had collapsed and that the situation was very bad. With this in mind I asked Mr. Gandhi whether he agreed that there was a danger that if the agricultural situation throughout India got very much worse chaos would supervene of a nature with which neither Mr. Gandhi nor the Government of India could successfully cope. He emphatically agreed but added that there was no reason why it should reach such a stage.

I don't want to humiliate the Government of India and I don't want to set up a parallel Government but I do want the district authorities to allow responsible Congressmen to assist in chip [*sic*] assessing the ability of the peasants to pay.

There would seem to lie the crux of the present trouble, the barrier between Mr. Gandhi and London for he feels that the peasants will not get a square deal from Government and particularly from the landlords.

If I decide to go to England I shall endeavour to sail a week earlier than the remainder of the delegates. I have had pressing invitations to visit Lancashire and I want to go straight there and explain the Congress attitude regarding foreign cloth for I don't wish to do anyone harm in Lancashire, or, indeed, anywhere else.

Picketing is now only an economic measure though it was, of course, used as a political weapon during the civil disobedience movement. But now I take an immediate step if cases are reported to me which savour of more than verbal persuasion.

Mr. Gandhi made this statement while answering certain questions I put to him regarding the economic and financial problems, particularly as to the publication at this juncture of the Congress report on the National Debt of India.[1] He agreed that its publication might not be particularly opportune but said it was ready and saw no real reason for withholding it from the Press.

He denied that it amounted to a repudiation of debts and said that there must be a stock-taking. The Congress report was not intended to be the last word on the subject and all they wanted was that the British Government should treat India in the matter of the National Debt as the Irish Free State had been treated. Mr. Gandhi did not think there was any connection between the Congress report and the fact that Sir Victor Sassoon's statement[2] was made a fortnight earlier than was expected and he thought Sir Victor Sassoon was typical of many who prefer to see trouble ahead, particularly of Europeans who resent the fact that in future they could not possibly enjoy the same privileges as in the past.

[1] *Vide* pp. 187-92.

[2] Announcing his intention to leave India in October because of the political situation and settle permanently in China

. . . Mr. Gandhi said there is a future for all Englishmen in India provided they are willing to work in the country's interests and not selfishly or from a privileged plane. . . . Mr. Gandhi indeed admitted that he had received a letter from a prominent English banker suggesting that he should make a considered declaration on the subject and that he was considering it.

He added that nothing was farther from his mind than expropriating existing trading interests for there was room for all, but he did feel particularly about industrial developments which had destroyed the old village industries and thereby impoverished the peasantry. Of rural uplift he thoroughly approved but said that he had Mr. F. L. Brayne's experiments at Gurgaon thoroughly investigated and considered them a complete failure.[1]

The Gurgaon uplift was the result of a dominant and forceful personality, Mr. Brayne, assisted by his wife. I appreciate the sentiment but not the methods which have left the district bankrupt. I am producing far better results in Gujarat and the cost is practically nil.

He strongly repudiated the suggestion that he would like to put India back three hundred or four hundred years but said that something must be done to mitigate the appalling poverty of the peasantry adding that if the whole of the Government taxation was remitted it would not solve the problem.

Taking my leave of Mr. Gandhi, I remarked, "I think I shall say that you will ultimately decide to go to London", and he replied:

I hope you are right.

The Pioneer, 23-7-1931 and 24-7-1931

205. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRIBUNE"

SIMLA,
July 21, 1931

Asked whether he was going away disappointed. . . . quick as a shot Gandhiji replied:

I am going away neither disappointed nor hopeful. It is all merely indecisive.

Q. Was there any talk about the Round Table Conference?

A. Nothing directly, it was all general.

Q. What was the hitch to an understanding?

A. It was all the old hitch about the Pact, which is still not working as well as it ought to.

[1] *Vide* Volume XLII.

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Asked as to the possibility of the Government conceding the Congress demand for an arbitration board and an economic enquiry in the United Provinces, Gandhiji was particularly slow in answering here, but he gave the impression that it was a matter for further negotiations and therefore some more time should elapse before a definite statement could be made.

Q. So you won't regard the negotiations as having broken down?

A. Not in the least.

Q. Was Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech before the United Provinces Council on the land revenue position helpful in the discussions on the need for an economic enquiry?

A. I did not discuss this point with Lord Willingdon today.

Q. Is your going to London more certain as a result of your conversation in Simla?

A. Not until I am seen boarding a steamer.

Q. How long more do you think you will take to decide on boarding a steamer?

A. A few more days and possibly soon after the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay.

Q. So you don't anticipate the resumption of the civil disobedience movement or non-payment of taxes in the near future?

A. You are very true to your profession. You seem to look far ahead. Lord Curzon's description of journalists that they anticipate events and therefore know much more than even the Government appears to fit you well. But I am looking at things around me and solving immediate problems.

Q. Where will your residence in London be?

A. At Kingsley Hall as the guest of Miss Muriel Lester.

The Tribune, 24-7-1931

CWMG - XLVII

206. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

SIMLA,
July 22, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

As promised I enclose herewith the speeches of Mr. H. D. Rajah for which he was convicted. Whilst they may be called hysterical, I can read no violence or incitement thereto in the speeches. The copies are authentic because they have been supplied to me by the Govt. of Bombay. Will you kindly return the copies as I have not kept a duplicate?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1931

207. LETTER TO PANNALAL

July 22, 1931

CHI. PANNALAL,

All the information you want about me you will be able to get from the Ashram. Experiments in diet are only a part of my quest for truth; I carry them out with due care for my health. I had wanted to try and see if I could eat the *bhakhari*[1] of *jowar* or *bajri*, without leaving off dates and currants, and at the same time to give up milk. When I got the opportunity, I undertook the experiment but had to abandon it. However, I now do not take even as much as a pound of milk a week. For the past three days, my food has been chiefly wheat chapati, vegetables, crushed almonds and, in addition, dates once in the morning. Previous to this, I ate only dates and almonds, and of course lemons. The body remains fit and the strength is properly maintained, so that you need not worry at all. The weight has again gone up to 98 lbs; it had fallen to 95½ lbs.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3117

[1] A thick flat cake

CWMG XXXVII

208. "HONESTLY"

I heard a story about me of the Rae Bareli secret circulars reproduced in *Young India* of 2nd July that the adverbial clause "and at the same time honestly" was omitted from it. I saw then an insidious paragraph in a newspaper which but for the previous information in possession, I would not have understood at all. Here is the circular[1] itself as it is printed in *Young India*.

I was perturbed when I first heard about the omission. Upon examining my file I found that "and at the same time honestly" did occur in copies received from Pandit Jawaharlal. These were received by me subsequently to the publication of the circulars. How then could the omission in *Young India* arise? I had Mahadev Desai to write to the Manager to send me the manuscript (which is always preserved for some time), or to wire if it was possible the condition in which it was received at the press. Here is the wire which has made this writing possible:

> Your letter. Words in question added marginally in ink in typed original but scored out by you in ink.

I now do recall the incident. The original was sent to the press. I have a recollection that the adverb appeared apart from the text and without any indication that it was part of it. I have no recollection that I scored it. How the manager knows that I scored it, I do not know. My duty is to take the reader into confidence about what has happened.

(Here comes Mahadev Desai to whom as I am writing this I have shown the telegram. He has a vivid recollection of what happened. He must finish the story as he remembers it.[2]

[1] Not reproduced here. For the Confidential Circular (D.O. 12/6), *vide* pp. 92-4.

[2] Mahadev Desai's note read: Gandhiji usually hands me the 'copy' for *Young India* some time before the final hour for posting. Now that I see the telegram from the manager I vividly recollect that the words "and at the same time honestly", were there on the margin, perhaps with a query, and giving no indication that they were part of the text, but every indication that the friend who had sent the copy of the circular had passed a sarcastic remark about the particular instructions in the circular on the margin. I therefore scored it out. I have also a recollection that there were what I thought such sarcastic remarks in one or two more places and upon my own responsibility

I see in this no wilful omission by anybody. I shall pursue the inquiry further and find out what the sender of the notes in which the circular was incorporated has to say and if it is relevant, I shall share it with the reader.

In my opinion the adverb 'honestly' is an irrelevant addition and if anything makes the circular worse reading than otherwise. It reminds one of the famous advice 'do it honestly if you can but do it'.

But whether the addition improves the circular or taints it still further, I tender my unreserved apologies to the author and to all concerned for the omission of the adverb from the circular which undoubtedly contains it. Having seen the adverb Mahadev Desai, I admit, should not have crossed it out. Had he referred it to me, I should have let the adverb stand or referred to the sender before giving the circular to the public. But as responsible editor, I must take upon me the moral blame as the legal would be, if there was any legal liability for the omission. The moral for me is 'hasten slowly'. Those who will serve Truth absolutely cannot afford to be hasty even for a good cause.

Young India, 23-7-1931

209. BAHADURJI COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The report of the committee appointed by the Congress to report on the obligations between Great Britain and India is a document of very great importance especially at the present moment. No Congress worker should be without a copy. Sjts. Bahadurji, Bhulabhai J. Desai, K. T. Shah and J. C. Kumarappa deserve the warm congratulations of the nation for their labour of love. The foreign readers of *Young India* should know that Sjt. D. N. Bahadurji was at one time Advocate General and so was Sjt. Bhulabhai J. Desai. Both of them are busy practitioners and well-known lawyers apart from their having held the office of Advocate General. Indeed that office gives no added importance to the holders. It is a recognition of their importance and status in their profession. Prof. K. T. Shah is an economist of all-India reputation, is an author of several valuable works and was for many years and only up to the other day Professor of Economics in the University of Bombay. These three gentlemen are always busy

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I scored out the words, without referring the matter to Gandhiji. Perhaps there was no time either. But there it is. It is a plain unvarnished account of what now appears to be a regrettable omission.

and it was no little sacrifice on their part to give their time to the responsible work entrusted to them by the Congress. Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa, the convener, is a professor in the Gujarat Vidyapith and therefore it was no additional sacrifice on his part. He may be considered a registered national servant and therefore his time and labour were already at the disposal of the Congress. He was chosen for this particular task for his accurate knowledge of economics and his aptitude for research work. These four members were ably assisted at their invitation by Sjt. G. N. Joshi, also an economist of considerable experience. I have given this introduction about the authors of the report so that foreign readers may know that the report is not a document prepared by superficial politicians but it is the creation of men who have a reputation to lose, who are no demagogues but men who write about things they know and weigh the words that they write.

The report is a critical examination of the financial transactions of the British Government in India. The first volume is divided into five parts with a note on annual military expenditure and interest on claims by Prof. Kumarappa. The second volume which will be shortly published contains voluminous notes prepared by Prof. K. T. Shah which could not be included in the body of the report. The two volumes should give the student of Indian Public Debts all he can possibly need.

The first part of the first volume has short but interesting paragraphs on repudiation *v.* ratification and sanctity of contracts. The Congress has been charged with the desire for repudiating "National Debt". The authors of the report show that the question of repudiation does not arise at all, nor is there any question of sanctity of contracts because there is no contract. The authors say: "The Congress has often been accused of attempting to repudiate public debts. Far from being a repudiation the offer of the Congress is to ratify burdens which have been undertaken in the country's interest. The present public debts cannot be truly called national debts for they have been incurred really by Great Britain and imposed upon India." They add: "It has been suggested in some quarters that all these obligations have some degree of sanctity and should not be disputed. We are unable to see any basis of sanctity in this matter. These burdens were involuntarily imposed upon the revenues of India and if they are not shown to have been incurred for the benefit of the Indian people it is difficult to understand the use of the word 'sanctity' in this connection." In fact it is difficult to understand this charge of repudiation. If and when India takes over charge from the present

administration the transaction would be like any ordinary transfer whether it is from seller to buyer or from trustee to his ward or from the wrong-doer to the wronged. In each one of these transfers there would be a proper stock-taking, balance-sheet and a taking over subject to audit and adjustment.

Burdens are never forced upon the transferee except in the case of the vanquished who have no choice. The state contemplated for India is that of freedom from bondage complete or partial. The taking over of such liabilities as India approves or is adjudged to pay will not mean a repudiation of the rest but would mean the taking over of the balance by the British. If therefore any of the numerous bond-holders or holders of promissory notes and the like have to lose, they will lose not because of repudiation by India but because of repudiation by the British.

And let no one regard the report as the final Congress demand. The report is a valuable document for the guidance of the Congress and those who would study the history of the financial transactions of the British Government in India. It is open to the Congress either to waive any of the items of the demand framed by the authors or to add to them if need be. Then too, it has never been the Congress position that whatever demand the Congress makes must be accepted. The Congress position has always been and today is that if the British Government do not accept the Congress claim, the items in dispute should be referred to an impartial tribunal. Surely nothing more reasonable can be expected from the Congress. Anything less will be a betrayal of the trust on the part of the Congress. Nor is this an unusual demand. The learned authors of the report have cited the Irish parallel. "On the creation of the Irish Free State," they say, "the question naturally arose as to the apportionment of her liabilities for the national debts which at the time stood at £ 7,721 millions. By clause 5 of the Ireland (Confirmation of Agreement) Act it is provided as follows:

> The Irish Free State should assume liability to the service of the public debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of War Pensions as existing at that date in such a proportion as may be fair and equitable having regard to the fair and just claim on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

So much for the position taken up by the Congress. The claim summarized by the Committee is as follows:

Year	Subject of Claims	Crores	Amount
Prior to 1857	External Wars of the Company	35.000	
	Interest on Company's Capital Stock paid 1833-57	15.120	50.120
1857	Cost of 'Mutiny'		40.000
1874	Interest on Company's Capital Stock paid 1857-74	10.080	
	Redemption of the Capital Stock of East India Company	12.000	22.080
1857-1900	External Wars	37.500	
1914-1920	European War-gift	189.000	
	Cost	170.700	397.200
1857-1931	Miscellaneous Charges in respect of Burma	20.000	
		82.000	102.000
1916-1921	Reverse Councils Losses		35.000
	Premium paid to Railway Companies on acquisition by the State		50.000
	Cost of Strategic Railways		33.000
	Total Claim	(Crores) Rs.	729.400

The authors have also carefully examined the so-called productive debt of India and the following summary of their observations will be both instructive and interesting:

(a) That of the five or six items of productive character only two, viz., Railways and Irrigation works can, strictly speaking, be classed as such;

(b) That the productivity of the Railways and their contribution to the economic development of India is wholly different from that of the Irrigation Works;

(c) That the aggregate capital at charge on account of the Railways must admit a counter-claim of eighty-three crores at least as detailed above, before liability on that account can be accepted by the Indian people; though in strict commercial accounting and rigorous justice the counter-claim would be at least doubled;

(d) That the debt on account of the Irrigation Works and other Commercial Departments may be admitted as covered by sufficient earning assets transferred automatically to the new Government of India;

(e) That the "productive" character of the debt due from the Provincial Governments, local self-governing bodies or Indian States is extremely doubtful, the only support for the maintenance of this burden being found in the taxable capacity of the people within the respective jurisdiction.

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(f) That even if full liability is assumed in regard to these an exception must be made in respect of the Bombay Development Debts (fifteen crores), which was incurred in the teeth of the protests of the people concerned, and against which therefore very little of valuable assets of a productive or earning character are available.

Their examination of Unproductive Debts includes external wars such as the Abyssinian War, Perak Expedition, War 'gifts', etc. Comparing India's contribution to the contribution by the Dominions they observe:

> India's contribution, as compared with that of the other Dominions of Britain, and her gains in results of the War show a very disproportionate balance. While on the outbreak of the War, the other Dominions only offered to protect their own frontiers, or protect the Overseas Commerce within their regions, India alone, in addition to protecting her own territory, made large contributions to the Empire's fighting forces in the European War. The defence of the local frontier meant a considerable obligation only in the case of South Africa where there were German interests which might conceivably involve that territory in danger. But the contribution of Australia in Gallipoli and in policing the seas does not at all compare favourably with that of India. India received no particular advantage as a result of the success in the great struggle. The Dominions shared along with Great Britain, in the reparations, such as they are, that have been received from Germany so far; but even this share, comparatively speaking, does not advantage India at all proportionately to her contributions and sufferings. India has hardly any say in the mutations of these reparation payments.

Part II of the first volume is headed "India under the East India Company's Rule". But I must resist the temptation to quote from this survey. I have given, I hope, enough to whet the appetite of the reader. I have seen some adverse comments on the report. No uninformed criticism, however hostile, can diminish the value of a document which fortifies every statement with facts and figures. If these critics mean business and are sincere in their criticism, let them offer constructive criticism and let them support it with facts and figures. A discussion of this character cannot fail to be helpful. I have no doubt that the authors do not claim infallibility for their conclusions. If therefore any flaw is shown to them, they will be the first to acknowledge their error, and so far as the members of the Working Committee and those members of the general public who would care to study this authoritative report are concerned, they would be able to put such enlightened criticism side by side with

the report and formulate their judgment.

Let me say in conclusion that when the Congress at Gaya[1] and then at Lahore passed a resolution about financial obligations[2] it was seriously meant. The appointment of the Committee and its report were the natural corollary. The Congress will seriously follow the matter to the end. If the Congress can help, India will not take a leap in the dark. She cannot afford to be generous at the expense of the dumb millions who after all have to make the largest contribution towards the payment of any liabilities that may be undertaken.

Young India, 23-7-1931

210. WHAT THE MILL-OWNERS CAN DO

The correspondent whose letter about Japanese enterprise I gave last week[3] sends also the following:[4]

> Nothing perhaps emerges so clearly from the perusal of the report of the British Cotton Commission to the Far East as the tremendous energy with which Japan has not only excluded practically all imports of foreign piece-goods into her territories, but has also captured a number of markets abroad for the products of her own people. . . . Japan feels her destiny is bound up with the necessity to build up an ever-growing export trade. . . .
>
> With such sentiments it is no wonder that the Government, no less than the industrialists, count no loss too great in finding fresh markets for the nation's products. One of the most remarkable measures that the Government passed during the last year was a Bill under which the Government on the advice of the responsible Minister will reimburse exporters to the amount of 70% of losses incurred on shipments to certain specified and undeveloped markets. But the Government's active encouragement and support are matched by the readiness of the industrialists of Japan to take risk. . . .
>
> . . . Here in India we do not wish to capture new markets, we want only to preserve the domestic market for ourselves. If the Japanese industrialist can cheerfully write off large sums out of his capital in the effort to find out new markets, cannot the Indian capitalist be persuaded at least to refrain from making profits for a certain period in the interest of India's more restricted and therefore more laudable effort? . . .

[1] In 1922
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 358 and 378.
[3] *Vide* pp. 138-9.
[4] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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It is true as the correspondent says that we do not want to capture new markets. But we must dare to suffer to exclude foreign cloth from ours. Will the mill-owners do it?

Young India, 23-7-1931

211. UNBRIDLED LICENCE

A correspondent from Trichinopoly writes:[1]

What the correspondent describes is, I am sorry to have to say, a common occurrence nowadays. I am trying to do what is possible in terms of the Settlement and am still hoping that what appears to me to be a manifest breach of the Settlement will stop. For I have heard it said that these sales are, so far as the law is concerned, legal. It is thus a case of unbridled licence. Meanwhile I can only advise a continuance of picketing and reliance upon gentle persuasion producing its effect upon those who, in their ignorant selfishness, are corrupting the manners of simple rustics, not excluding even babies.

Young India, 23-7-1931

212. WOES OF 'UNTOUCHABLES'

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I venture to bring to your notice some principles which, I think, must be kept in view in the conduct of the campaign on behalf of the untouchable Hindus.

Among the numerous disabilities from which they suffer, a clear distinction must be made between those which are *prima facie* civic in their nature and those which are *prima facie* non-civil or religious or communal in their character. . . .

The advice you gave to the leaders of a temple-entry satyagraha last year, that such satyagraha should be offered by touchable Hindus alone, would be meaningless, unless by such satyagraha you meant a campaign on the part of the touchable sympathizers of the untouchables for a boycott by all worshippers of such temples as do not admit the untouchables, till such time as their managers accept the reform. . . .

In these days of the incessant talk of protection of minorities who dare deny that if any minority in India needs to have special provisions in the future constitution for itself, it is the untouchables?

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. It stated that liquor-shop owners were selling toddy outside their shops and in public places.

Their want of self-assertion, their apathy towards their wrongs, their 'pathetic contentment' with their lot—these, of course, are the greatest obstacles in the way of their emancipation from the bonds of diabolic custom. . . .[1]

I remain,
KARWAR, 17-6-1931 *Yours sincerely,*
S. D. NADKARNI

The distinction made by Sjt. Nadkarni between civil and religious disabilities is unnecessary because useless. They are all religious because imposed in the name of religion by co-religionists. A useful distinction will be between those disabilities which require legislative treatment and those that do not. In my opinion the confining at Vaikom of satyagraha[2] to merely Hindus was perfectly sound and absolutely necessary. The writer perhaps confounds satyagraha a special remedy with general agitation. Whilst all can take part in a general agitation, only the actual victims can adopt the remedy of satyagraha. The Hindus have to do penance. How can Hinduism be purged by non-Hindus doing penance? It may easily lead to serious consequences if Mussalmans were to offer satyagraha in a dispute between Hindus and Hindus especially in a matter the latter consider to be religious. Nor do I see any reason to alter the opinion that it is the business of touchable Hindus to lead the agitation side by side with the untouchables if only because the latter are today too powerless and too apathetic to their own sufferings. It is not so much the inability on the part of untouchables to enter temples that matters as the sinful insolence of the touchables who impose the atrocious disability which matters. Hinduism will not be purified by untouchables taking by storm the possession of a temple; it will be purified by the trustees and the worshippers recognizing the sin of prohibition and flinging open the gates to the untouchables. It is for the Hindu reformers to multiply and offer satyagraha against blind orthodoxy.

Young India, 23-7-1931

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXVI.

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213. GANESH SHANKAR MEMORIAL

This appeal for subscriptions to a Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi Memorial has been before the public now for a long time. It is signed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others, being personal friends and co-workers of the martyr.

Sjt. Sri Prakasa, Sevashrama, Benares Cantt., is the Secretary as also Treasurer and all subscriptions should be sent to him.

The objects of the Memorial are:

1. To erect a fountain or pillar or some similar memorial near the place where Ganesh Shankar gave up his body while offering protection to Hindus and Muslims.

2. To assist the "Pratap Trust". Ganesh Shankar formed this Trust to which he entrusted the management of his famous Hindi paper *Pratap*. The chief services of his lifetime were rendered through this paper. The Trust is to be helped so that the foundations of *Pratap* may be strengthened.

3. To help the Ashram established by him in the village of Narwal in the Cawnpore District. Nearly 200 villages have been organized through this Ashram. Spinning and khadi propaganda are the chief factors of Ashram work.

4. To hand over the balance to the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee on the condition that Ganesh Shankar National Service shall be established with it. This service should be on the same lines as the U.P. National Service, namely, to help whole-time national workers in the province.

The sum asked for by the Memorial Committee is only one lakh of rupees. In my opinion it is quite an insignificant amount for the objects of the Memorial as also the memory of the martyr. I hope therefore that there would be a quick response so that the Committee may be able to close the list and go on with the work.

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214. *QUESTION OF BAIL*

Owing to the renewed activity of local authorities against Congressmen, I receive many inquiries as to the attitude they should adopt as to defence and bail. I appreciate the general reluctance on the part of Congressmen to enter upon defence or being bailed out. They have been used now for a long time to no-defence-and-no-bail formula. In virtue and in view of the Settlement, it is open to Congressmen both to be bailed out and be defended. No one is bound to do either. But I can imagine circumstances when it would be, whilst the Settlement lasts, a duty to be bailed out and be defended.

But it has been discovered that bails are often granted conditionally upon the parties undertaking not to make speeches, etc. Generally speaking, I would say that such conditional bails should not be accepted. The same opinion applies and with greater force to security under Section 108. But there may be extraordinary circumstances when it may be deemed in the national interests to give bail. The safest course in such cases would be to take the written opinion of one's immediate superior.

But I would commend to Congress workers the golden rule followed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in Gujarat. He has generally proscribed speech altogether by Congress workers, speeches being confined to him and me. As a matter of fact, even he speaks only on such occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary. I do not think that Gujarat has suffered for this rule of silence. Whether at war or peace, what we need is silent work. And work leaves little room for speeches. Speeches play the least important part in political education. Having been now accustomed for past fifteen years to less speaking we do not notice that the race of orators has almost died out. It had its use but when the age of action commenced eloquence naturally took a back seat. I have no doubt that if we imposed a self-denying ordinance on ourselves we should be the stronger for action and the nation's response will be wider and more substantial. What is wanted is intimate personal contact between the villagers and workers. The villagers should know their servants and feel that they, the servants are there not to serve their own ends but the interests of the villagers whom they endeavour to represent.

Though my advice just now arises out of the present situation, let the reader know that I have fixed views about silent work and that the Gujarat prohibition had no reference to any legal proceedings. The prohibition was due to the conviction that it was good as a general rule for all times.

Young India, 23-7-1931

215. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

SURAT,
July 24, 1931

MY DEAR MATHEW,

Your letter. You will stay with me to your heart's content when the real time comes. It is no use forcing the pace. But the real staying with me is the working out of the ideal I stand for. The other the physical contact may easily produce false satisfaction. But this is not to wean you from the desire. This is to give you patience during separation. What are you teaching at Vidyapith and whom? Does it give you some satisfaction?

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1547

216. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

SURAT,
July 24, 1931

CHI. KUSUM,

I got all your letters. Since you said in all of them that you would soon come and see me, I did not write even to acknowledge them. I am writing this because your last letter shows that you are not sure in your mind. I shall be going to Borsad in a day or two. From there, I intend to go to Ahmedabad. I don't know, though, whether I shall be able to do so.

My going to England is completely uncertain. Come and see me when you can. Ask Dahiben to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1824

217. LETTER TO T. T. KOTHAWALA

Strictly Confidential

BARDOLI,
July 24, 1931

DEAR MR. KOTHAWALA,

Though after our talk at Surat on 13th inst. I had expected some action, I was unprepared for the terrible events of the past ten days. You or your subordinates have used not only coercive but repressive measures against the poor villagers and practically forced payments from them. In my opinion this is a breach of faith, if not of the Settlement. The Government knew that Congressmen were telling the people to pay all they could whether on account of current dues or arrears. We found also that it was all the people could do to pay the current dues without having to borrow. We made an enquiry into the losses they had sustained. I sent you too a note showing the losses suffered by the people.

Our workers threw themselves heart and soul into the work of collection. As you know I was in Bardoli myself for some time doing the work and then it was that Sardar Vallabhbhai took the sole charge here and I went to Borsad. Your subordinates knew what we were telling the people. For some time payment from Siadla was not accepted until arrears were also paid. We could not collect the arrears and ultimately payment was accepted against receipt for current dues without any reservation.

During all this time it was assumed that there would be no coercive processes and certainly no show of force or police raids to threaten poor people. The payment made under these circumstances I regard as payments made under duress and forced in violation of the implied understanding that no processes would be issued except in cases where the Congress workers had no influence and where the people had not taken part in the civil disobedience campaign. I do not bring herein the conversations I had with the Commissioner and with you and the impression left on my mind, but I do suggest that it was within your knowledge that we were telling the people that no coercion would be used against them if they paid at least the current dues or unless they could not conclusively show that they were unable to pay even these.

But in precipitating the crisis and using the extraordinary measures of the past ten days, without the Congressmen having been even given the opportunity of re-examining the cases of the villagers concerned there is a distinct breach of faith.

In the circumstances I must ask you to refund the monies thus collected and withdraw all attachment notices and stop further coercion and repression.

I must mention herein the case of the present Patel of Varad whose removal has been demanded for a long time and in whose case no open enquiry has still been held.

There is also the matter of confiscated lands in five villages in Bulsar taluqa, in respect of which fines are being demanded for non-agricultural use before they are restored. This is in breach of the Settlement.

There are other matters which I don't propose to mention just now. Unless satisfaction is given in the matters herein mentioned or an impartial open tribunal is appointed by the Government to examine the complaints herein made and all processes stopped meanwhile, I must regard the Settlement and the implied faith having been broken by the Government and regard myself as free to take such action as may be necessary to protect the interests of the people whom the Congress represents. I would ask you please to let me have a reply by Sunday next noon.

Copies of this letter are being sent to Mr. Garrett, the Government of Bombay and purport telegraphed to H. E. the Viceroy.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

T. T. KOTHAWALA, ESQ.
COLLECTOR OF SURAT DT.
SURAT

Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta. Also *Young India*, 20-8-1931

[1] *Vide* the following item.

218. TELEGRAM TO H. W. EMERSON

BARDOLI,
July 24, 1931

INQUIRY HERE REVEALS STATE OF THINGS UNBEARABLE FOR ME. IT INVOLVES PERSONAL HONOUR. I OPENLY TOLD PEOPLE PUBLIC MEETING[1] THAT IF THEY PAID ACCORDING THEIR ABILITY NO COERCION WOULD BE USED AGAINST THEM. FOR LAST TEN DAYS MONIES HAVE BEEN FORCED FROM POOR TERROR-STRUCK VILLAGERS. HAVE THEREFORE JUST SENT LETTER[2] COLLECTOR ASKING FOR REFUND COLLECTION AND STOPPING REPRESSION OR FOR GOVERNMENT APPOINT IMPARTIAL OPEN TRIBUNAL ENQUIRY MY COMPLAINTS. HAVE ASKED FOR ANSWER BEFORE SUNDAY NOON. HAVE ALSO SAID THAT FAILING RELIEF I MUST REGARD SETTLEMENT AND FAITH BROKEN FREEING ME FOR SUCH ACTION AS MAY BE NECESSARY FOR PROTECTION PEOPLE. IT IS MATTER DEEPEST GRIEF TO SEE INCESSANT LABOURS FOUR MONTHS ON BEHALF GOVERNMENT THUS REDUCED TO NAUGHT. COULD HIS EXCELLENCY SAVE SITUATION. ANYWAY I TAKE IT I MAY PUBLISH ALL CORRESPONDENCE IF PRIVATE ENTREATY FAILS.

Young India, 20-8-1931

219. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

BARDOLI,
July 24, 1931

It is a matter of deep grief to me to have to send you a copy of my letter to the Collector of Surat, just despatched to him through a messenger. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had kept me informed by telegram of the painful happenings in Bardoli. I had no idea whatsoever, when I met the Collector at Surat on the 13th instant, that the proceedings I have briefly described in the enclosed copy were contemplated. I have sent a copy to Mr. Garrett also. I send you a copy of the covering letter to

[1] *Vide* pp. 36-7.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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Mr. Garrett so as to avoid repetition. I cannot imagine that the Collector has acted on his own responsibility. But, whether he has acted on his own responsibility or under instructions from a superior authority, I seek His Excellency's intervention if he can enter into my feelings.

The Hindu, 15-8-1931

220. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SURAT,
July 24, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

We are in Surat. It is now nearly 5.30 a.m. After prayer I tried to sleep but the mosquitoes will not allow it. Gentle showers continue every five or ten minutes. We take the train for Bardoli at about 8 a.m. I might have to be there about two days and then to Borsad. Everything was indecisive at Simla. The prospect of going to London seems to me to be more remote than before. I could get no real satisfaction from the Government. It could easily have been broken but I do not want to break if it is at all avoidable. The next few days will decide. Things are very bad in Bardoli.

My weight was taken at Delhi yesterday. I went to Dr. Ansari during the few hours' stay. I was found to be 95½ lb. on an empty stomach in the morning. I must try to increase the quantity of milk if I can. The health is excellent in every other respect.

You must not fret over the separation. Hope Father Elwin is all right.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

On reaching Bardoli I got your letter. Your description of Mother is graphic and touching. I am afraid there is hardly any chance of going to London. I have sent an ultimatum today to the Government[1]. All this is private.

Bapu's Letters to Mira, pp. 160-1

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to H. W. Emerson", p. 200.

221. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SURAT,
July 24, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

Read my letter to Mirabehn. It will tell you about my movements. Give the information to Jamnalalji too.

How does Balvant behave? Has Mahavir been examined by a doctor? He should rest in bed. What does he eat? I see that Padma has gone to the U.P.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

222. TELEGRAM TO H. W. EMERSON

July 25, 1931

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM[1] JUST RECEIVED. LETTER 23 RD NOT YET RECEIVED. PRAY ASSURE HIS EXCELLENCY NO PRECIPITATE ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AND NONE WITHOUT FIRST INFORMING HIM. YESTERDAY'S LETTER[2] TO THE COLLECTOR WAS WRITTEN WHEN I SAW NO ESCAPE FROM UNBEARABLE SITUATION.

Young India, 27-8-1931

[1] Which said, " . . . His Excellency desires me to say that he earnestly hopes that no precipitate action will be taken."

[2] *Vide* "Letter to T. T. Kothawala", pp. 198-9.

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223. LETTER TO SHAMLAL

BARDOLI,
July 25, 1931

DEAR LALA SHAMLAL,

I am glad you have written to me about the *lambardars*. I shall move in the matter in any case. But is not a *lambardar* a government official and if he is, do you contend that a Government official can join the Congress?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA SHAMLAL
ADVOCATE
LAHORE

From a photostat: G.N. 1281

224. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

Strictly Confidential

BARDOLI,
July 25, 1931

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I have not worried you till now about the interminable difficulties I have experienced about the Settlement. But now that almost the breaking point has been reached it would be ungrateful on my part not to let you know what is happening. I enclose therefore herewith a copy of the letter I have addressed to the Collector of Surat. I may add that there are numerous other breaches which I have already brought to the notice of the Government of India. I will not worry you with the catalogue at the present moment unless you want to study the whole thing from the beginning. I have sent copies of the letter to the Commissioner of Gujarat as also to the Government of Bombay and I have telegraphed the gist of it to the Government of India. The Government of India have just acknowledged my telegram and ask me not to take any precipitate action. This is the reply I have wired to Simla:[1]

[1] Not reproduced here; for the text, *vide* "Telegram to H. W. Emerson", p. 202.

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The object of my sending this is not necessarily that you should take action. You will do whatever you deem proper. I have sent the papers at the present moment so as to make you acquainted with the critical situation. I am sending a copy to Mr. Jayakar also.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

225. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 25, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

I could not write to you much yesterday for want of time. I must dictate the balance whilst I have a few minutes to spare. There is no reason for suppressing from me your grief if it is there. These things are not remedied immediately there is intellectual conviction. The heart responds very slowly to intellectual conviction. Hence the necessity for practice enjoined in the 12th chapter of the *Gita* and in many other cases in that Book of Life. It is enough that you do not give way to that grief and become unsettled again. But I have told you that whenever it becomes unbearable you are at liberty to run to me. I shall feel it but I am prepared for it. It will not come upon me as a shock, nor will I accuse you of breach of promise. You must, therefore, carry your practice with an easy mind and not allow it to gnaw into you. It is enough that you are striving your best to overcome the weakness and realizing more and more that it is a weakness and not a definite want for your growth.

I have sent a peremptory letter to the Collector[1] with reference to the unbearable things that have happened in Bardoli. If there is a satisfactory reply there may be some chance of going to London. If the reply is unsatisfactory, as it is most likely to be, you may dismiss the London visit altogether out of your mind. If we have to go at the last moment what does it matter? Sufficient khadi can be procured and whatever has to be prepared can be prepared for you both by Pyarelal and me. We can easily borrow a Singer machine. A few hours' work should pre-

[1] *Vide* "Letter to T. T. Kothawala", pp. 198-9.

pare the necessary dresses for you and the rest can be done in London if we have sufficient cloth. What may be necessary is sandals of acceptable leather which can be worn with stockings and also slippers or shoes. We have somewhere in the Ashram specimen of sandals I used to wear in South Africa. They are easily made and you can wear socks without any difficulty. These may be made now and if they are not required, they can be sold. The measurements are there.

As I have given the Collector up to noon tomorrow for reply I should know something definite by Monday. I want to reach Borsad on Tuesday to finish the Borsad work if I can. Provisionally therefore you may take it that I shall be in Borsad on Tuesday morning.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5437. Courtesy: Mirabehn

226. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BARDOLI,
July 25, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I enclose a letter[1] received from C. M. S. Parsonage, Kaviyoor. Will you please get from Congressmen in Khatauli the facts about the case?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Encl. 2

[PS.]

I have a wire from Simla saying they are in correspondence with Bombay Government and that I should not take precipitate action.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In which the Rev. K. M. Mathan had complained that those who changed their religion and became Christians were being persecuted by Congressmen.

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227. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

BARDOLI,
July 25, 1931

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I have your letter. You had every right to write what you did. Much of what you say is indeed true. I will do what I can in the matter. Your letter is so carefully written that I am sending it, like the earlier one, to Shri Fulchand. Though I find him at present in an angry mood, I believe that he is a good man at heart.

I am not quite convinced about the Jamnagar matter. Perhaps I have not understood all the implications.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

On Tuesday at Borsad.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5918. Also C.W. 3233. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

228. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BARDOLI,
July 25, 1931

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. I have already sent through Kaka a reply to some of your points.

Even if Mithubehn resigns, work will go on wherever women workers stay on. It will not, therefore, be necessary for Rama and Mahalakshmi to leave Sisodara. They have certainly been doing excellent work. I hope the night school there will not be closed.

Kaka must have acquainted you with the position about my going to England. At present, the chances are 99 per cent against and 1 per cent in favour.

I shall go to Borsad on Tuesday. Come and see me there.

Your judgment about Premabehn does not seem correct to me. How many women workers do we have, who are, like her,

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honest, hard-working and pure in heart? She has boundless love for children. It is true that she has defects. But is there anyone among us who has none?

There is a great saying of Jesus: "He that is pure among you, let him cast the first stone at her." Ail those present hung their heads in shame and none dared to cast a stone at the woman. In old times it was a common custom to punish an immoral woman by stoning her. One such woman was caught and the orthodox people of that day got ready to stone her. Jesus admonished them as above. Let us not act as they did.

We try to win over Premabehn and keep her in the Ashram because of her virtues. In my eyes, her defects seem insignificant, while her virtues are many. I came to know when I was in jail about her habit of beating children. She knows that it is a bad habit and I believe that she is even anxious to overcome it. If any defects which people may see in her are reported to me, I can write to her about them.

When I am there, I should certainly like to discuss with people the general management of the Ashram, but I do not wish to interfere with it just now. I am not living in the Ashram, either physically or mentally, and therefore, think very little about it. Whenever I happen to think about it, I feel that I have done wrong. All of you should feel in the same manner.

If any of the volunteers who had joined the march go to live in the Ashram, they should do so only in order to serve and should remain content with whatever work is assigned to them. This will serve two purposes. The workers will be able to strengthen their self-control and when the bugle sounds again, they will be able to come out instantly and join the struggle without throwing the affairs of the Ashram into disorder.

You say that Premabehn is full of spite. Can you recollect any instances of spiteful behaviour on her part?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5504

229. *MADNESS*

By attacking the Acting Governor of Bombay[1] what good could the Fergusson College student have intended to achieve? The newspapers have reported that the act was inspired purely by a desire for revenge either for the imposition of martial law in Sholapur or something else. Even if the attack had resulted in the Governor's death, it could not have undone what has happened. By this attempt to take revenge, the student has only increased the prevailing bitterness. He has put education to shame by such misuse of his learning.

Considering the circumstances in which the assault took place, it was also a form of treachery. The student violated his duty to the Governor. The latter was a guest of the Fergusson College, and a guest's person is always held sacred. They say that an Arab would not kill even an enemy while the latter was his guest. As the student belonged to the Fergusson College, he was one of the Governor's hosts. And what can be more treacherous than the host killing his own guest? Are we to believe that the terrorists respect no limits? And what right to protest against the Sholapur martial law or other acts of injustice has anyone who himself respects no limits of decency?

If someone committed such treachery against us, we would certainly feel indignant. How can we do to others what we would not like to be done to us? I am convinced that such acts bring no glory to India, but give it a bad name. They do not increase but diminish our fitness for swaraj and in consequence, swaraj recedes farther from us. A great and ancient country like ours will not win swaraj through treacherous murders. We ought to remember that the departure of the British from India will not by itself mean swaraj. Swaraj means the capacity to run the Government of the country on behalf of the people and for the people. That capacity will not come simply if the British leave or are killed. We shall acquire it by going to the millions of dumb peasants, acquainting ourselves with their hardships, serving them and winning their love. Suppose that one or two thousand terrorists, or even more, succeed in killing every Englishman in

[1] Sir Ernest Hotson, on July 22, 1931; *vide* also "Foul Play", pp. 231-3.

India. Will that enable them to run the Government of the country? On the contrary, intoxicated by the success of their terrorist methods and in their arrogance, they will go on killing everyone whom they do not like. How will the peasants be benefited thereby? Such methods will never reform the many evil practices and customs in India which have made her a subject country.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 26-7-1931

230. THREE QUESTIONS

A student writes:[1]

The complaint against pure khadi is a very old one. The inconvenience caused by the coarseness of khadi deserves to be tolerated for the sake of swaraj, or, rather, for the sake of our starving brethren. From coarse khadi one may make and wear shorts reaching up to the knee or trousers reaching up to the ankle. The resulting advantage will be saving of cloth and convenience in washing. If dhoti is worn in South Indian style, that is, without being tucked up, that would save half the length of cloth. No one should think, through ignorance or contempt or pride that it does not behove a Gujarati to imitate a South Indian. Moreover, if any student feels that he is forced to do with shorts of coarse khadi, he has nobody but himself to blame. Why should he not spin fine yarn for his own use? By doing so, he would get a fine dhoti for the cost of the cotton and the labour charges for weaving, and would also have the satisfaction resulting from the knowledge that he had helped himself. He cannot argue, either, that he cannot spare from his studies enough time for spinning. His experience will tell him that he wastes many minutes of his time every day in doing nothing or doing useless things. It would be enough if he saved some of them and spent them in spinning.

There is an English saying similar in meaning to the Gujarati saying that a girl not wishing to dance finds fault with the dancing ground. One can find a hundred excuses for not using pure khadi. If one has faith in khadi, one would find no difficulty insuperable.

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the difficulties in wearing khadi dhotis, asked for a list of swadeshi articles and sought guidance in education.

2. It is possible for the Bombay Provincial [Congress] Committee to publish a list of swadeshi goods available, but that is unnecessary. The Swadeshi Sabha in Bombay has published such a list and that organization may undertake more ventures in the field.

3. A person studies not for earning a living, but for developing intelligence—for self-development. For earning a living, there are now several national activities such as khadi work. There are also several industries which can advance the nation's prosperity. One may learn them in a short time and support oneself.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-7-1931

231. MY NOTES

Committee for Removal of Untouchability

The work of the Committee for the Removal of Untouchability had merged in the struggle for swaraj, as had happened with several other committees when the struggle was on. Untouchability had been quite forgotten at many places there. However, now that partial peace reigns the custom seems to be reviving. The Congress Working Committee has alerted the Committee for the Removal of Untouchability to deal with the situation. Shri Jamnalalji has been its President. We all know how, through his efforts and those of Swami Anand, the doors of several temples had been thrown open to the so-called untouchables. There is still much scope for effort in this direction and the effort should be made. A practice which has struck deep roots through the centuries is not likely to disappear all at once. It is difficult to open the eyes of a person who clings to irreligion taking it to be true religion. Such is the difficulty we experience regarding untouchability. All the same the progress achieved in this matter and the awakening noticed among Hindus raise our hopes. We do not now find many persons supporting untouchability or believing that the practice is so deeply rooted that it can never be eradicated. However, we should not allow ourselves to be deceived by that progress. The Untouchability Removal Committee will not let us rest in false hope.

Salaries under Swaraj

A young correspondent writes:[1]

[1] The letter is not translated here. It expressed apprehension regarding the consequences of ceilings on salaries recommended at the Karachi Congress.

This correspondent seems to have taken it for granted that, as high salaries will be reduced, the small ones also will go down. The existing position is that while the big salaries are excessively high, the small ones are too low for the employees' livelihood. Under swaraj the low salaries will probably be raised, instead of being reduced. In one way at any rate they will seem to have increased. As a result of the reduction in salaries, there will be simplicity in people's way of living. The effect of this will be felt universally and the earners of small salaries will feel a sense of contentment. The fear of increase in corruption expressed by the correspondent will not be shared by those who know the salary scales in Japan and other countries. There is very little connection between corruption and the size of salaries. When the consciousness of dharma spreads and people are inspired by a sense of public service, they do not demand or accept bribes. Giving high salaries for fear of spread of corruption would be, as the saying goes, like killing the buffalo for its skin. In other words, it means that for preventing a man from taking a bribe occasionally, he should be paid a permanent bribe in the form of a big salary!

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-7-1931

232. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI[1],

Please thank the Italian Consul for the very kind offer made in connection with the probable visit by Malaviyaji and myself to Rome. Nothing is certain with reference to my visit to London and even if I succeed in going there I do not know that I shall be able to visit Italy on my return. On going to London there is no possibility of my visiting Rome. I believe the same thing applies to Malaviyaji.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

From the original: C.W. 7894. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] This is in Devnagari script.

233. LETTER TO ADI-DRAVIDAS[1]

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have your letter. You may depend upon it that the Congress is doing and will do everything possible to remove the taint of untouchability around Hinduism.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-8-1931

234. LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE

July 26, 1931

BHAI MAMA,

I understand what you say about Lalji. I take this view, that we should not lose sight of the fact that he is an *Antyaja* and that, therefore, we should help him to earn his living. An elephant should not judge an ant by the same standard which he applies to himself.

How many spinning-wheels do you require? In Bardoli they have been spinning on the new Gandiva wheel, which gives complete satisfaction. Will that type do for you? It is very cheap, and one can spin on it with as much speed as on the ordinary type. Anyone who can operate it can certainly operate a wheel of any other type.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Write to me at Borsad, though today I am at Bardoli.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3825

[1] Of Madras

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235. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I got your letter. I sent a prompt acknowledgment through Kishorelal yesterday. As the complaint made against you at Bulsar had produced no effect on me, I had nothing to say to you. However, I asked Godse and got from him whatever explanation I wanted.

I have nothing to say about your new activity also. I know that, wherever you are, you will work honestly and carefully. Moreover, at that place you have co-workers who co-operate with you and the other circumstances also are favourable. I am sure, therefore, that you will do your work very well. That is enough for me.

As for other news, you must have learnt it from Kishorelal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4172. Also C.W. 1671. Courtesy: Ramniklal Modi

236. LETTER TO TARABEHN MODI

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. TARA,

I got your letter. I approve your idea of doing some service there whenever occasion offers itself, and improving your health as much as you can. Anyhow learn the art of living with all types of women. Remember that one who seeks to serve does not always get the place or work of one's own liking. Our duty is to embrace with joy whatever opportunity for service may arise at any place. This is not meant as criticism, but is an expression of hope for the future.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4173. Also C.W. 1672. Courtesy: Ramniklal Modi

237. LETTER TO INDU PAREKH

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. INDU,

I got your brief letter. You will get no boils if, while bathing, you rub the body properly and then clean it thoroughly with a dry towel. If the water is not very clean, heat it before using. What progress have you made in your studies?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6253

238. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

BHAI FULCHAND,

Read the accompanying letter[1] and think over it. The sentence in your appeal, that atrocities were committed in some villages of Bhavnagar State as also in Bhavnagar proper, is not consistent with the rest of the appeal. What were these atrocities? What connection do they have with constructive work? I think that there is much substance in Pattanisaheb's complaint, and that the satyagrahis or their supporters indulge in a lot of exaggeration. I should like you to save yourself from this.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

At Borsad on Tuesday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9195; also C.W. 2846. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

[1] The reference is to Prabhashankar Pattani's letter to Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Prabhashankar Pattani", p. 206.

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239. LETTER TO LILAVATI

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. LILAVATI,

What a careless girl you are! You don't even mention your address! There is nothing wrong in your having gone to Bombay. No one is forced to remain in the Ashram. Those only will stay on who voluntarily regard themselves as bound to it. If a person's body shakes with cold even in sunshine, he must be covered with a blanket. By all means do help your brother. Only remember that the help should be in a good cause. Boldly ask your father for as much money as you may require for helping him. Have no hesitation in accepting jewellery which your brother may pledge with you. You may even get things in writing from him. You should not mind if he gives you no interest. Even if he is in a position to give any, do not accept more than 6 per cent. Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be in Borsad on Tuesday.[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9321

240. LETTER TO SHANTA S. PATEL

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. SHANTA,

I hear your thunder after many days. All these days you had no time even to write to me. But at last you have written, no matter what kind of a letter it is. I must thank you for your kindness.

I will inquire into your complaint. I have written to Narandas and will write to Premabehn too. How can I form any

[1] At the top of the letter Gandhiji wrote: "Send this letter to Lilavati; I do not have her address."

judgment unless I know what Premabehn has to say? Much of what you write is news to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 4061

241. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

I think you know one Krishnadevi who used to live in the Ashram. She now lives in Solan, which is on the way to Simla. I am thinking of sending you either there or to the place to which Padma is going. I think she will go to some place near Almora. Would you like to go there? As Sarojinidevi will be with Padma, at either place you will have the company of a mature woman.

I shall reach Borsad on Tuesday. If you like you may come to see me there and stay on as long as I am there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9328. Also C.W. 574. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

242. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. You did not say how many years you had completed. I admit that I ought to know. But I am stupid in such matters. Instead of saying, 'May you live long', I will say, 'May you soon become free from the sway of passion, become pure in heart and an ideal worker. May you succeed in your striving.'

You have made your letter rich in both colours. It breathes frankness. I like it. But it is also full of anger and pride. I will not, however, comment on it in detail. I beg this of you. If

you have not been writing up your diary, start doing so. With whom did you get angry during the day, whether it was a child or a grown-up person — whom did you beat, whom did you abuse? I will be satisfied if you note down these details for my information. As for the rest, you and Narandas may do what you think best. I don't wish to interfere with what you do. It lies outside my sphere. For one thing, I would not be able to judge about it; I would not be able to do justice to the parties concerned, nor have I the means of doing so. I have assumed the role of your father and mother and, therefore, I can give you but one-sided advice. A satyagrahi, moreover, never demands justice. Justice means "measure for measure". Satyagraha means truth even against cunning, non-violence against violence, forbearance against anger and love against hatred. Where, in such satyagraha, is room for dealing out justice?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I reach Borsad on Tuesday.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne, p. 52. Also C.W. 6708. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

243. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter. In reply, I have sent a brief message with Kaka. I shall expect to see you in Borsad on Tuesday. I will not, therefore, write much in this letter. You feel defeated, but there is no such word as 'defeat' in a satyagrahi's dictionary. Even when someone insults you, you should go on singing cheerfully.

If you feel that Premabehn is your own daughter and not someone unrelated to you, everything will soon be all right. You should not mind if, though your daughter, she acts as the leader of you all.

Though Prabhudas is like a son to you, wouldn't you admit that he can teach you?

What is Surendra's age? He, too, is like a son to you. Nevertheless, does he not counsel you? But more when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 59. Also C.W. 8783. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

244. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

With this is a letter from Shanta. Read it and note what she writes.

I had sent through Kaka a message about Mahavir. You will probably get a wire tomorrow from Mathuradas. Mahavir should not start till the latter arrives there. I don't think it necessary for anyone to stay with him in Bombay. You will, however, read more about this in my letter to Mahavir. Apte came and saw me. Pay the money to Thakkar Bapa. No, I don't have the courage to permit . . .[1] to live in the Ashram. . . .[2] is bound to be upset. Keep an eye on . . .[3] however. If he wants a job and if you can give him some work, do so.

If he has picked up weaving, no one who accepts him should expect him to do any other work. I, too, believe that he cannot be provided with a *tamboora*[4]. If any money has become due to him as pay, give it to him.

The problem between Gangabehn and Premabehn is becoming more difficult. Do what you think best. I have asked Gangabehn to come to Borsad on Tuesday.[5]

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If I can finish my work in Borsad in three or four days and if I don't have to go to Bardoli, I do feel like going there [to Ahmedabad] for three days.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

[1],[2] & [3] The names have been omitted.
[4] A musical instrument
[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

245. LETTER TO NARAYAN M. KHARE

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

CHI. PANDITJI,

You have set my fears completely at rest by your assurance. Anyone who has learnt to regard himself as a cipher will never feel discontented. Does Rambhau obey any rules? Does Indu give any time to study? If Mathuri's weight does not increase, do not put any burden on her. Let her learn what she likes and do what she pleases. Her weight cannot but improve if she starts playing games with zest. How much milk does she drink? Gajanan's problem seems to have been solved.

I am certainly very pleased to know that Lakshmibehn[1] has been learning weaving. It would be good if she becomes proficient in it.

I see that the printing of the *Ashram Bhajanavali* is over. Send me a copy. I am trying my best to go there as early as possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 218. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

246. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Your letter. I know it will be good if I can go to England. But then the atmosphere here too should be conducive. At present it is extremely adverse. I have written a letter[2] in the nature of an ultimatum to the Government and am awaiting the reply. I cannot write much due to lack of time. But if you possibly can, do come to Bombay soon. I shall reach there on August 4. We shall see later whether or not you should stay in England in case I go.

BAPU

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] *Vide* "Letter to T. T. Kothawala", pp. 198-9.

[PS.]

I shall be in Borsad on Tuesday.

From Hindi: C.W. 7893. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

247. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

ON THE TRAIN,
July 27, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. As many may be coming to Borsad I am sending this letter to your own address. This prolongation of the drought is a serious affair apart from the personal discomfort it causes. I do hope one [day] the clouds you see daily will burst. I had meant both free sandals and regular shoes with broad toes. I have meant them for both of us. I do not want both slippers and shoes.

I see that your winged companions are multiplying. Perhaps they are the best company. They can spread your mute message far more quickly and faithfully than any other agency. I do hope to come to Ahmedabad even before I go to Bombay for the W.C. meeting. But this Bardoli business is a hard job. I see no light out of the darkness as yet.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5438. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9672

248. LETTER TO KISANSINH CHAVDA

ON THE TRAIN,
July 27, 1931

BHAI KISANSINH,

I have your letter. Come to Borsad on Wednesday. Stay on if I have had to leave the place, though I don't expect to have to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9328. Courtesy: Kisansinh Chavda

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249. TELEGRAM TO R. M. MAXWELL

BORSAD,
July 28, 1931

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR
GANESHKHIND (POONA)

CHIRNER PRISONERS' PERIOD OF GRACE FOR PAYING FINES EXPIRES THIRTIETH. PRISONERS INFORM ME THEY WOULD PREFER IMPRISONMENT TO PAYMENT OF FINE. PLEASE WIRE BORSAD WHETHER GOVERNMENT PROPOSE REMIT FINES TERMS SETTLEMENT BEFORE EXPIRY PERIOD GRACE.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

250. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

BORSAD,
July 28, 1931

MY DEAR BHRR,

Your letter rejoices me. I was worried over the hanging up of your pension though I knew that it was bound to be paid in the end. The receipt of the pension is more potent than any written word. Do you not remember the story of a prisoner who, on having his fine paid for him, was set at liberty and yet asked for a receipt? 'Your liberty is your receipt', said the Judge.

With reference to Simla we can say the mountain was in labour and did not bring forth even a ridiculous mouse. What you have read in the papers this time happens to be largely true and my Mecca and Medina are at present Bardoli and Borsad and not St. James' and Kingsley Hall. My letter to the Collector is still being considered. What is the use of my going to London if the things arising out of the Settlement are not put right? A debtor who cannot pay interest is never going to pay the capital. Do you not agree?

I am glad Hamida is settling down to her studies. But you are not going to feel that I have waived all my claims and

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demands upon her. I am likely to be in Borsad for 3 or 4 days. The Sardar is also with me. He will be probably going to Bardoli tonight.

Love to all.

Yours,
BHRR

SYT. ABBAS TYABJI
SLATER ROAD, GRANT ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 9576

251. TELEGRAM TO KARNAD SADASHIVA RAO[1]

BORSAD,
July 29, 1931

IT IS MY OPINION THAT AUCTION SALES CAN BE PICKETED BUT PROHIBITORY ORDERS MAY NOT BE DEFIED.

GANDHI

The Hindu, 30-7-1931

252. LETTER TO VICEROY

BORSAD,
July 29, 1931

I thank you for your letter[2] of 23rd inst. received at Borsad today.

I am holding myself in readiness to start if the atmosphere clears. As days pass by, I dread to leave the post of duty in a state of uncertainty. The Bardoli business has come upon me as a shock. Otherwise too, things in Gujarat are not yet quite cleared up. I am working for all I am worth towards securing a just solution of the difficulties that come in my way. I am daily

[1] President, Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, who had sought advice on picketing of *abkari* sales.

[2] Which, *inter alia*, said: "I do hope, that after our talks the apprehensions you now feel will disappear, and that you will be able to go to England as a member of the Federal Structure Committee and of the full Conference."

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expecting a reply from Mr. Emerson to the statement I sent to him in Simla at your instance about the legal points for interpretation of the Settlement, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is straining every nerve in the U.P. to clear the atmosphere there. My son is already in the Frontier Province. The moment I feel that the hanging clouds have passed, your assurance for the future will, I am sure, carry me through.

I need hardly tell you how deeply and personally I feel over the attempted assassination of the Acting Governor of Bombay and the completed assassination[1] in Bengal? I am trying in all humility to overtake the mischief as far as it is humanly possible.[2]

Young India, 20-8-1931

253. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

BORSAD,
July 29, 1931

MY DEAR AMTUL,

I have your letter.

You are very impatient. God willing, I expect to be in Ahmedabad on the 1st of next month.

You must not mind your illness after having taken all the precautions. It will come all right if you won't be in a hurry. You should be satisfied with whatever little God enables you to do. If we all have the readiness of mind for any service that comes to us it is enough.

BAPU

AMTULBEHN
SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM
SABARMATI

From a photostat: G.N. 243

[1] Of Judge Garlick, District and Sessions Judge, Calcutta, on July 27
[2] For the Viceroy's reply to this letter, *vide* Appendix VI.

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254. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT[1]

BORSAD,
July 29, 1931

Any person may keep the accounts. In future, however, there will not be much accounts work and as for the final postings, any trustworthy gentleman at the place where you stay may do it.

I think Rs. 25 for postage and telegrams, etc., is too much. The expenditure of the *bhajanik*[2] should not be met from the funds for this work. I understand from Mr. Sarkar that he was intended for the district work, and I feel that he should still continue to work in that capacity. You may take his help whenever you require it. According to my idea of the work, we should change our method a little. Send me the total figures of expenditure already incurred. If anything still remains to be explained, let me know. I have no copy of the pledge to be taken by women. Send me one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2693

255. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BORSAD,
July 29, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I was feeling worried, when I got your letter today. I had even wired to Jayaprakash on Monday. I have had no reply from him. I did not send you to Allahabad on my own. But Jayaprakash had asked me where he and you should go. If you can come away, I should like you to stay with me as long as I am in India and then live in the Ashram for five or six months. If I go, I shall be leaving on the 15th. It is not yet certain that I shall go. If you can get permission to come before that date,

[1] The first part of this letter is not available.
[2] Singer of *bhajans*, devotional songs

do so. I shall reach Bombay on the 4th. The address: Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.

I may have to go to Ahmedabad on the 1st. But it is not certain. Write to me at Borsad or Sabarmati.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3418

256. LETTER TO AMRITLAL SHETH

BORSAD,
July 29, 1931

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL,

I had promised Shri Balwantrai to send my reply yesterday. Pyarelal did not remind me of it, and when I remembered, it was 9 p.m. Being busy during the whole day, I forgot about the matter altogether.

My going is still very uncertain. From what you and Balwantrai told me, I have come to the conclusion that nobody is as well informed about the Indian States as you two are. And certainly not Mr. Abhyankar. Believing this, I think that both of you should get ready. It should be made clear that you two would be going independently, and not because I wanted you or advised you to go. My own stand is this. Even if there is no one with me, I think I shall be able to discharge my responsibility. I shall not require the help of legal experts or of masters of facts, since my demand is very simple. However, if persons like you happen to be there by chance or have purposely gone to England so as to be present there at that time, I might avail myself of their help. If you decide to come, I assume that you will not make any speeches there, but will only do the work that I might ask you to do. The chances of my going are 1 against 99.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 17400

257. ROOT OF EVILS

Mr. Rishabhdas from Fatehpur, East Khandesh, writes:[1]

The description of the evils in this letter is true. There is no reason to be frightened or disheartened on reading it. We are neither omniscient nor omnipotent. Let us discharge our part of the duty; God has placed only this much in our hands. By acting thus we shall succeed the better in our work and shall get contentment. We should not be sorry even if other workers refuse to join us. If we are determined to do our duty even in seclusion, perhaps others may join us there.

Hindi Navajivan, 30-7-1931

258. FEAST IN HONOUR OF DEAD

Mr. Vasantlal Murarka writes:[2]

Congratulations to these reformers!

Peacefulness and courtesy have a salutary effect. Feasts in memory of the dead subserve neither religion nor reason. The only ground for such feasting can be delusion and pride of wealth. Why do the wealthy not make donations to public causes in honour of the dead? If they do that they will acquire fame and the soul of the dead will certainly get peace. Such charity is in itself an offering in honour of the manes, a memorial.

Hindi Navajivan, 30-7-1931

259. FIVE-HUNDRED-RUPEE LIMIT

No item of the Fundamental Rights resolution[3] passed by the Congress at Karachi has come in for so much notice as the resolution limiting the salary of Government servants to not more than Rs. 500 per month or Rs. 6,000 per year. Had we not been

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the ill effects of the universal habit of idleness in the villages.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described how young men of the Marwari community were succeeding in resisting a wasteful custom.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 370-2.

accustomed by this foreign Government to high salaries for servants in the Public Department, the limit of Rs. 500 would not have produced any shock. There is no sanctity about the high-ruling salaries. All the 46 Congress Presidents and the 46 Congresses have mourned over the ever-growing public expenditure both military and civil. Many Presidents have laid special emphasis on the high salaries. The Karachi Congress gave concrete shape to the half-century old complaint. The way to examine the justness of the Congress conclusion is to find the proportion between the salaries and the average income of India's millions, and secondly to compare both with the salaries and the average income of other countries. I have been trying to secure the figures for the principal countries of the world. The readers of *Young India* have had the average income of the principal countries but not the salaries. I have now before me some figures about the Japanese Public Service, both superior and subordinate. Its Governor-General gets less than Rs. 1,000 per month, that is to say, anything between Rs. 10,000 and 10,700 per year, a Governor less than Rs. 600 or Rs. 800 per month, the Secretariat staff anything between Rs. 150 and Rs. 500 per month, President of the Supreme Court less than Rs. 1,000 per month, other judges anything between Rs. 150 to Rs. 700 per month, Chief of Police slightly over Rs. 700 per month, subordinate services Rs. 250 to slightly over Rs. 300 per month, a Police Constable from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 per month, a Police Sergeant from Rs. 70 to Rs. 80. The average daily income of the Japanese per head is about four annas. Compared then with the Japan figures, the Rs. 500 limit put by the Congress is over-generous.

But we have been told that the Japanese service is neither so incorruptible nor so efficient as the Indian. I came across, the other day, a speech of Mr. Arno Pearse on the working of Japanese mills. These mills are gigantic public corporations. What is therefore true of them is likely to be true of the other Japanese departments. Here is what Mr. Pearse has to say about Japanese business morality:

> Do not believe the old saying that the word of the Chinese is his bond, but not so that of the Japanese. The modern Japanese will drive a bargain but he will stick to it much more than the modern Chinese.

As to the excellence of Japanese organization, inventiveness, technical skill and industry Mr. Arno Pearse is most enthusiastic, and he claims to speak from personal experience. The suggestion therefore that there is a necessary connection between efficiency or

morality and high salaries is pure superstition. What is true is, that neither morality nor efficiency can be sustained, if less than a living wage is paid to employees. And no doubt the scale of living wage will differ to a certain extent with the mode of life of the class to which a person belongs. But the mode of life is not an abstract term. It is relative, and a man, who has surrounded himself with artificial wants and created conditions out of all proportion to the natural surroundings in which the people of his country live, can claim no exceptional consideration because of his artificial mode of life. Such people unfortunately we have in our midst. They will naturally feel the pinch during the transition stage, but they will soon accommodate themselves to the new and natural condition when the maximum of Rs. 500 per month will cease to appear ludicrous as it does today. Among the many disservices of the foreign rule will be counted the great disservice the foreign rulers have done by reason of their having imported for this country wholly unnatural mode of life, and more or less imposed it on their immediate surroundings. This importation and imposition have rendered the task of solvent administration most difficult, and we are finding it difficult today to adopt ourselves to the extreme depression that has overtaken the world. Had we not had a top-heavy administration, we would have been, owing to our geographical position, a country least affected by the universal depression, as today we are perhaps the most affected.

And it was because I felt in Nainital the seriousness of the artificial condition created for us, that I made an appeal[1] to the business men and professional classes that they should anticipate the future and remodel their lives so as to make it easy for all, when the burden of administration is taken over by the people, to take to the new life. It would be wrong to entertain the idea, that whilst the public services would be paid in accordance with the natural condition of the country, professional and business men would continue a mode of life out of all correspondence with their surroundings. They must voluntarily lead the way and set the example.

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[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, p. 204.

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Mushroom Companies

With the wave of swadeshi, bogus or mushroom companies and societies were bound to come into being. Of these some were even fraudulent. Some of the managers or agents of these societies were 'wanted' men. Sardar Vallabhbhai spotted these and their transactions. He saw that simple folk were being duped by these unscrupulous agents. The plague was spreading in Gujarat. He therefore issued instruction that Congress Committees should inquire into these mushroom organizations and warn the people against them. He told them also not to hesitate to summon police aid if it became necessary. Eventually through the Sardar's effort a Vigilance Committee was formed with Sjt. Thakorlal P. Thakor as president and Sjt. Nandlal Shah as secretary with headquarters at Dhana Suthar's Poal, Ahmedabad. This committee has submitted a report showing how disastrous the consequences are likely to be, if energetic steps are not taken in due time to expose the transactions of these organizations. Sjt. Jamshed Mehta is of opinion, that it is highly likely that poor people will be robbed of nearly one crore of rupees if these transactions are not stopped in time. The Committee deplores that prominent Congressmen have unwittingly lent their names as directors to these companies. People have, therefore, seeing Congressmen as directors, believed in the companies and run into the traps. It does not follow that all these companies are fraudulent, but the Committee believes the majority of them to be unsound business propositions. They cite in support of their conclusions eminent authorities to show that the promises made by these companies or societies could never be carried out for any length of time. Twenty-five years ago, this financial plague—it was nothing less—had broken out. It died but not without leaving many a desolated home behind. Public memory is short. Nearly a generation has gone by. And the plague has broken out again in virulent form. There are nearly 100 such societies in India of which nearly 40 are to be found in Gujarat. It is too much to expect these societies to wind up their affairs, but it is not too much to expect the numerous Congress Committees to acquaint themselves with the existing situation and instruct the public

accordingly. The Committee will gladly furnish information to all inquirers. That is its special function.

Salt Concession in the Punjab

With reference to the withdrawal of the salt concession in the Punjab a correspondent from Mianwali writes:[1]

> I have read your note[2] regarding the collection of salt near Kalabagh mines in the Mianwali district, and find, that the information upon which the note is based is not the whole truth, and presents an exaggerated picture of what really happened at Kalabagh. The real facts are as follows:
>
> The permission to the people to collect salt in terms of the Delhi Pact was kept secret from the public residing in the vicinity of the Kalabagh mines for sufficiently long time and it was not without some stir in the people, that the order was made known to them, and they were allowed to collect salt. This permission remained in force for only 5 or 6 days, and during that period the people residing in the vicinity collected some salt, and I would frankly admit that certain people through sheer ignorance collected more than they required or were allowed to do under the terms of the Pact; but the number of such cases was very small, and this could be remedied by giving simple warnings to the people, or making it known to them by beat of drum, etc., that they could not collect more salt than what was allowed to them under the Pact. But I regret to bring it to your notice, that the authorities did not do anything of the sort, and at once issued a proclamation by beat of drum, that the people collecting salt would be prosecuted, with the result that the people at once stopped collecting any more salt. . . .
>
> In the circumstances, I would ask you on behalf of the people of the *ilaqa* to help them.

If the facts are as set forth by the correspondent, it is a clear case for relief. I shall gladly bring the matter to the notice of the Government of India.

The Real Safeguard

The Spectator of 4th instant has a reasoned editorial headed "India and the British Commonwealth". Its sub-heading is "The Real Safeguard". This is its last paragraph:

> We shall end on the note on which we began. Win the goodwill and friendship of the peoples of India, and think only how we can help India to achieve the splendid destiny which we think could be hers, and we

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* "Notes", p. 135, sub-title, "Salt Concession".

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shall have created a safeguard which all the friction-mongers will be powerless to disturb. It is a bold policy and requires men of vision to pull it through. Are there enough of them in Great Britain today?

I should vary the question and ask: Are there enough civilians in India today who have vision enough to win the goodwill and the friendship of the people of India? The Editor has 'peoples', I know. But though we may quarrel and murder one another, though we have numerous languages and still more numerous dialects, India is geographically one, and we are and have been only one people. Those speaking the same language have been known before now to belong to different nationalities, and those that have fought among themselves like dogs have been known to belong to one nation. The fact is that oneness of speech and absence of internal feuds are no indispensable test of nationality.

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261. FOUL PLAY[1]

The worst feature of the attempted assassination of Sir Ernest Hotson the Acting Governor of the Bombay Presidency was, that the act was done by a student of the College which had invited His Excellency when as its honoured guest he was being shown round the College premises. It was as though a host was injuring his guest under his own roof. The canon recognized throughout the world is that the deadliest enemy, when he is under one's roof as guest, is entitled to protection from all harm. The act of the student was therefore essentially foul play without a single redeeming feature.

For the Acting Governor it was a providential escape, and it was fortunate for India and more so for the student world. I tender my congratulations to Sir Ernest Hotson as also to the nation.

It would be well if the believers in violence will take a lesson from this happy tragedy—happy because no one has suffered but the assailant.

Has he suffered, is he suffering, or is he deluding himself with the belief that he is a hero? Let this event be a warning for the students. After all a school or a college is a sanctuary where there should be nothing that is base or unholy. Schools and colleges are factories for the making of character. Parents send their boys and girls to them so that they may become good

[1] *Vide* also pp. 208-9.

men and women. It would be an evil day for the nation, if every student is suspected as a would-be assassin capable of any treachery.

The Bhagat Singh worship has done and is doing incalculable harm to the country. Bhagat Singh's character about which I had heard so much from reliable sources, the intimate connection I had with the attempts that were being made to secure commutation of the death sentence carried me away and identified me with the cautious and balanced resolution passed at Karachi.[1] I regret to observe that the caution has been thrown to the winds. The deed itself is being worshipped as if it was worthy of emulation. The result is goondaism and degradation wherever this mad worship is being performed.

The Congress is a power in the land, but I warn Congressmen that it will soon lose all its charm if they betray their trust and encourage the Bhagat Singh cult whether in thought, word or deed. If the majority do not believe in the Congress policy of non-violence and truth, let them have the first article altered. Let us understand the distinction between policy and creed. A policy may be changed, a creed cannot. But either is as good as the other whilst it is held. Those therefore who hold non-violence only as a policy may not, without exposing themselves to the charge of dishonourable conduct, use the Congress membership as a cover for violence. I cannot get rid of the conviction, that the greatest obstacle to our progress towards swaraj is our want of faith in our policy. Let this fortunate failure of attempted assassination open our eyes.

'But look at the Governor's black record. Does not the doer himself say he shot because of the Sholapur deeds, because he superseded an Indian and became Acting Governor?'—some hasty youths or even grown-up people will argue. My answer is: We knew all this when in 1920 we settled the Congress policy of non-violence and truth. There were, within our knowledge at the time, deeds much blacker than his worst enemies have imputed to Sir Ernest Hotson. The Congress deliberately and after full debate came to the conclusion in 1920, that the answer to the vile and violent deeds of the Government was not greater violence on our part, but that it was profitable for us to answer violence with non-violence and vileness with truth. The Congress saw further, that the worst administrators were not bad inherently, but that they were a fruit of the system of which they were willing or unwilling victims. We

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, "Resolution on Bhagat Singh and Comrades", p. 363.

saw too that the system corrupted even the best from among ourselves. And so we evolved a policy of non-violent action that should destroy the system. Ten years' experience has shown that the policy of non-violence and truth though followed half-heartedly has answered phenomenally well, and that we are very near the harbour. The record of Sir Ernest Hotson, however bad it may be, is wholly irrelevant and can in no way extenuate, much less excuse the double crime of attempted assassination and treachery. The reported hostile demonstration by some students has made the ugly affair uglier still. I hope that the students and the teachers throughout India will seriously bestir themselves and put the educational house in order. And in my opinion it is the peremptory duty of the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to condemn the treacherous outrage and reiterate its policy in unequivocal terms.

One word to the Government and the administrators. Retribution and repression will not do. These violent outbreaks are portents. They may judge those who are immediately guilty. But they can deal with the disease only by dealing with the cause. If they have neither the will nor the courage to do so, let them leave the rest to the nation. It has progressed past repression and retribution. It will deal with violence in its own ranks in its own way. Any Government action in excess of the demands of the common law will simply intensify the madness, and make the task of believers in non-violence more difficult than it already is.

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262. CLOTH MERCHANTS AND KHADI

Whilst millowners have, to a certain extent, ceased to compete unfairly with khadi, cloth merchants seem to pay no heed to the Congress appeal not to injure genuine khadi by selling spurious khadi as if it was genuine. A firm in Surat had the hardihood the other day to send its samples of spurious khadi to a khadi depot in Bombay. I have the sample before me. It is clearly mill khadi, but it is sold to the public as genuine article. I have the name too of the firm that has been guilty of such dishonest and unpatriotic practice. But I do not propose just yet to give the name to the public. The remedy however lies in the hands of the purchasers of khadi — not to buy khadi that does not bear the A.I.S.A. stamp and to buy from a shop certified by the A.I.S.A. wherever such a shop is to be found. Intelligent buyers should

really find no difficulty in distinguishing genuine from spurious khadi.

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263. LANCASHIRE v. *JAPAN*

Sjt. H. P. Mody writes:[1]

> I have read with great interest the brief announcement you have made in connection with the rumour that you might visit Lancashire when you go to England for the Round Table Conference. I hope you will do so, and will give British manufacturers an opportunity of understanding your position and that of the Congress. My view of the matter is that while it is of national importance that the requirements of the people of India should be met by cloth manufactured or made in the country, foreign cloth cannot be kept out unless and until the manufacturing capacity of India is considerably increased. . . . The problem then resolves itself into one of ways and means of promoting the indigenous industry. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of such expansion is the organized competition which the industry is experiencing from Japan. . . . It may be that . . . the competitive capacity of India may develop to an extent which would do away with the necessity of special measures of protection; but until that stage is reached, India must pursue a vigorous tariff policy. . . .
>
> . . . And if I understand the purport of your recent announcement correctly, your attitude might be, that while you would not have a yard of Lancashire or any other foreign cloth in this country, if you could help it, you would not in certain circumstances mind Lancashire deriving some advantage over Japan owing to the special measures which it might be necessary to take to meet Japanese competition. Will you kindly let me know if I have understood your position correctly?

My position is clear.

1. If I had my way, India would be clothed in khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth even made in indigenous mills.

2. Whilst India is unwilling (there is no question of inability) to manufacture all the khadi she needs, I should allow indigenous mill-cloth to supplement it.

3. There is picketing of foreign cloth because foreign cloth competes with both khadi and Indian mill-cloth. It is irrelevant, whether the competition is fair or unfair in the sense whether the

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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cloth manufactured in the respective countries is fairly produced and brought here or not.

4. If there was no competition, and if it became clear that some foreign cloth had to come to India, and if England was in partnership with India freed, I would give preference to England over all other countries. But my belief is, that when India becomes free, she will manufacture within a short time enough khadi for her wants, supplementing it during the transition with indigenous mill-cloth.

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264. WHAT WE CAN DO TODAY

The much criticized Fundamental Rights Resolution of the Karachi Congress has twenty items. Item one has nine sub-clauses. I have just glanced through the innocent resolution, and I have made what is for me an amazing discovery which I am impatient to share with the reader. I find that fifteen out of twenty we can enforce today more or less fully and five sub-clauses of item one can be similarly treated. Here they are for the convenience of the reader:[1]

Those[2] omitted have reference to the things that can only be done by the legislature. They are:

Freedom of association and combination;
Freedom of speech and Press;
Right to bear arms;
Right of personal liberty and possession of property without executive interference.
Religious neutrality by the State;
Removal of salt duty;
Control of currency for the benefit of the people;
Control of key industries etc.

The reader will see that these last are really less vital than those we can do now without State assistance. It will be seen further, that if we succeed in doing the things mentioned in the first list, those mentioned in the second will follow as a matter of course. In other words national control of the Government is mostly dependent upon ourselves. Conversely if we do not do the

[1] Not reproduced here; the Clauses cited were: 1 (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), 3 to 12, 14 to 16 and 20; *vide* also Vol. XLV, pp. 370-2.

[2] Sub-clauses (a), (b), (h) and (i) of Clause 1 and Clauses 2, 13, 17, 18 and 19

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things we ought to today, when the power comes to us, we shall be found unready for them. Thus if we do not respect one another's religions, do not treat women as absolute equals, do not remove untouchability, do not dot villages with free primary schools, do not honestly manage the Congress suffrage which is practically adult suffrage, do not treat labour decently, do not spare children factory labour, do not encourage labour unions, do not reduce agricultural rents, do not pay for national purposes a fixed percentage of our incomes, do not voluntarily reduce our salaries or set apart for a national purpose more than the minimum required, do not abjure foreign cloth and drink and do not reduce the heavy rates of interest which even respectable people charge, I prophesy that the State will be powerless to impose these reforms on an unwilling people. A popular State can never act in advance of public opinion. If it goes against it, it will be destroyed. Democracy disciplined and enlightened is the finest thing in the world. A democracy prejudiced, ignorant, superstitious will land itself in chaos and may be self-destroyed. The Fundamental Rights Resolution is not premature. It is not so formidable as it reads, if the nation is prepared, as I hold it is prepared, for orderly self-government. Let every Congressman therefore think out a programme of work for himself or herself in terms of the items first mentioned. We need not be overpowered by the list. Each one may take up the item and the area of work for which he or she is best fitted. Needless to say the full working of the items requires the co-operation of capitalists, landowners and the like. They will all fall in line if a good beginning is made.

Young India, 30-7-1931

265. TELEGRAM TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

BORSAD,
July 30, 1931

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI
BHAVNAGAR

NOT GOING EIGHTH. GOING "MOOLTAN"[1] IF AT ALL.

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 3234. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani. Also G.N. 5919

[1] The liner s.s. *Mooltan*

266. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BORSAD,
July 30, 1931

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. How distracted I must be! That postcard was in reply to your last letter but I did not answer your question. I don't remember what I told that gentleman. I may have told him, perhaps, that, if he had got any of my letters and felt that some of them should be published, he could do so. If you wish to give any letters to him and if you know him, you may give them. I will go to Ahmedabad tomorrow morning, and will leave it for Bombay on the 3rd. If you wish to come and see me, you may do so. I shall be staying in the Vidyapith. If you wish to come and see me in Bombay, you may do that. Tell Dahibehn that I got her letter. She should keep her promise after her teeth have become clean. Nothing has been decided about my going to England.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1825

267. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 31, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I will go there as soon as I can and bring away Amtul with me. I have become impatient to see Mahavir. But I have yet to finish articles for *Navajivan.*

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

268. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

July 31, 1931

Asked about the situation in Borsad and Bardoli, Mr. Gandhi said:

So far as Borsad is concerned, the Collector and I have exchanged communications after a prolonged conversation, but I am unable to give them to the public. I am, however, hoping that most, if not all, the outstanding questions will be adjusted fairly and satisfactorily. So far as Bardoli is concerned, communications are still going on with the Collector, but I am not without hope as to the final result.

Asked whether it was true, as reported in the Press, that the situation in U.P. was unlikely to interfere with his participation in the Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi said:

I hope the newspaper report about the U.P. situation is well warranted. I have not yet heard directly from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Asked whether he could now say if his going to the R.T.C. was in any way certain, Mr. Gandhi said:

It is more than I can say, but I can say that I am trying my very best.

Asked his opinion about the article in *The Manchester Guardian*, a summary of which was published in the papers, Mr. Gandhi said:

I have seen the Press summary of the *Manchester Guardian* article. I can reciprocate much of what is said there. Past experience however shows that one ought not to treat summaries as if they were the whole. Subject to this caution, I can say that, if I do go to London, I shall not disappoint the hope entertained by *Manchester Guardian*. So far as I am concerned, the embargo on foreign cloth is not and cannot be by way of reparation. I dislike this repeated emphasis on British cloth. British cloth is not objected to because it is British. It is foreign cloth that is being attacked and in this attack if it becomes more successful, Japan would be the heaviest loser and not Lancashire.

Asked why he himself did not go to the North-West Frontier Province, as desired, but sent his son Devdas Gandhi, Gandhiji said:

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I did not go to the North-West Frontier Province in order to avoid any possible embarrassment to the Government.

Asked whether he would make any statement on the recent assassination of Mr. Garlick, District and Sessions Judge in Calcutta, Mr. Gandhi said :

Coming as it does so soon after the attempted assassination of the Acting Governor of Bombay, it has very naturally caused stir and public resentment. I have no doubt the coming All-India Congress Committee meeting will deal with the situation. I am more than ever convinced that every such murder does infinite injury to the cause of the country's freedom. I wish young men who are resorting to the mad methods of violence would realize the serious and mischievous consequences of their mad deeds.

The Hindu, 31-7-1931

269. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

[*July*][1], *1931*

CHI. RAMA,

I got your letter. No one should say to anybody, "Go to Palanpur or Porbandar." Prema's saying that, however, is of no significance. She has an irritable temper and you should not take seriously what she may say in anger. In the Ashram, all of us are equals, and no one can ask anybody to leave it. To say such things to children sets them a wrong example. But we should not feel hurt by these things; instead, we should try to solve the problem through love. Have a talk with Prema. I will certainly write to her in my weekly letter. I am writing this to you to lessen your pain. Give me news about Joshi.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5329; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 282

[1] From the printed source

270. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

AHMEDABAD,
August 1, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

I thank you for your letter of 28th ult. regarding the cases of Pathan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his son. Though the information that you give me about them is instructive, the suspicion haunts me that their black record came to the surface and became relevant only when and because they took an active part in the civil disobedience movement. Whether they received money for the part they played I am not aware. You will be also interested to know that men with blacker records are at the present moment in the Government service and district officials have been good enough and frank enough to tell me that though they knew that these men had such a record, the Government could not afford to ignore the services that they had rendered to them at a critical time. Nor am I able to understand the reasoning behind the decision. If these men are such dangerous characters, will they cease to be so outside Bombay? After all they are in British-governed territories. They have not been put outside the British limits.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 17416

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271. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

AHMEDABAD,
August 1, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

I now enclose herewith a report prepared by Sjt. Mahadev Desai on the ex-parte report prepared for you about the condition of Ras Khatedars. This is how this report was prepared. I sent Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi with Sjt. Ravishanker to Ras to meet the Khatedars. They were there practically a whole day. They brought the results to Sjt. Mahadev Desai who had previously conducted an exhaustive inquiry into the Ras cases and prepared an account of which an abstract was supplied to Mr. Perry. A second exhaustive report was prepared as a result of discussion with Mr. Perry which it became unnecessary to give to him as there was a sporting settlement. This report deals with the crops of Khatedars and will be found annexed to the report sent herewith. The present one is prepared in the light of these reports.

You will see that Schedule F of your report is the most important of all because it contains an examination of 126 Khatedars. The annexure to the enclosed report is a complete answer to Schedule F. The other schedules relate to only 66 Khatedars. The enclosed report deals with these and it appears to me a conclusive answer. In the circumstances I have not the heart to ask any of the Khatedars to pay anything more. As I told you, even the Rs. 500 was not exacted by me without some effort. The reason is that the Ras Khatedars have been universally admitted to have been the heaviest losers. But as I have told you already this does not mean that the Khatedars have no credit. On the contrary their credit stands perhaps higher than before. But it is common cause between the Government and the Congress that these civil resisters are not to be expected to borrow money in order to pay the revenue dues, whether current or arrears.

I enclose herewith the schedules you very kindly entrusted to my care.

Yours sincerely,

K. B. BHADRAPUR, ESQ.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17420

272. LETTER TO H. P. MODY

AHMEDABAD,
August 1, 1931

DEAR MR. MODY,

I thank you for your prompt reply[1] to mine of 28th ult.

I shall fall back upon you for any further information that I may need.

Yours sincerely,

H. P. MODY, ESQ.
MILL-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17417

273. LETTER TO GIRIRAJ KISHORE

AHMEDABAD,
August 1, 1931

MY DEAR GIRIRAJ,

I did have your first letter but I did not know where you would be and so I simply took a mental note of what you were doing. I am glad you were able to see the children and that they were well. You will keep me informed of your own progress.

Nothing is decided about my going to London.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. GIRIRAJ
C/O DR. SHRI RAM
SCOUT ORGANIZER
SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17418

[1] In which the addressee had refuted the allegations forwarded to him by Gandhiji, that mill-owners were "exploiting labour and making large profits".

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274. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

AHMEDABAD,
August 1, 1931

I have your telegram from Rangoon.

You are cruel. You say nothing about what happened to your daughter, whether you were leaving her in Rangoon or taking her. But that is just like you, and I may not grumble.

Nothing is certain as yet about my going, but I might have to decide upon going even at the last moment. I would therefore like you to come and see me wherever I am even after the All-India Congress Committee meeting. You can leave me after the 15th whether I stay or whether I go. If you accept my proposal, I would then discuss with you your suggestion before adopting it. I refer to the suggestion about giving an intimation to the Central Government that wherever picketing is unjustly interfered with, we might have to resist this interference with civil disobedience.

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 17419

275. MY NOTES

THE BENGAL MURDER[1]

The murder of Judge Garlick coming, as it did, so close upon the assault on the Bombay Governor has naturally caused a great sensation. Such assassinations make us hang our heads in shame. They bring swaraj no nearer. Nor do they help us to get better justice or reduce the prevailing hatred and bitterness. The British have never run away for fear and are not likely to do so. Such acts do not increase our capacity for constructive work or infuse greater fearlessness in the people. The immediate consequences, as we see, are the very opposite. For what can one blame Judge Garlick? No matter how many persons he sentenced to death, he

[1] *Vide* also pp. 255-7.

acted through no malice in doing so. Whatever he did he did through a sense of duty. Why should he be punished for that? The assassin has lost his own life, but he has left behind him a legacy of suffering for others. It will not help us in any way to cite the example of assassinations in other countries. The evidence before our eyes should be enough to turn us away from the policy of violence. That policy will spell our destruction. In India we wish to bring about an awakening among the millions of our poor countrymen, for which thousands of us will have to labour ceaselessly and organize constructive work. Can assassinations make any contribution to that end? They not only cannot, but on the contrary they positively obstruct such efforts. Will not the terrorists see this and desist from their activities?

SATYAGRAHA AND MORVI

Men from Kathiawar have been showering criticism on my article[1] regarding Morvi. Some of the critics are sincere public servants. Their enthusiasm is sincere but, I think, ignorant. I have given no certificate to Morvi, and in any case who am I to give one? Of course, I praised the ruler for what I thought his graceful action. That does not, of course, condone the misdeeds of the State authorities, some of which I know and some I may not. But that article was not intended to apportion blame, and hence it did not discuss the question whether or not any atrocities on satyagrahis were committed and, if so, how cruel they were. Even now I hold the opinion that the satyagrahi march on Morvi was hasty, to say the least. That opinion was not based on any one-sided evidence; if it was based on any evidence, then it was based on the admissions made by the satyagrahis themselves. If the first step was wrong, then, not only should there be no objection to admitting as much, but it should be regarded one's duty to do so.

Moreover, it is a satyagrahi's duty to regard his own errors as big as a mountain though they might be as small as a mole, and another's as small as a mole though they might be as big as a mountain. Such an attitude comes naturally to a satyagrahi and is not the result of a conscious effort.

'HARIJANA'

I asked serious readers of *Navajivan* to suggest to me a substitute for the word '*Antyaja*'.[2] One of the three or four suggestions

[1] *Vide* pp. 152-3.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, pp. 342-3.

received has appealed to me. Shri Jagannath Desai writes from Rajkot:[1]

Thus the word is not new, but a beautiful one already used by the father of Gujarati poetry. Moreover, as used by him, the word '*Harijana*' can also mean men of God who are abandoned by society. The third advantage of that word is that, probably, *Antyaja* brethren would lovingly accept that name and try to cultivate the virtues which it connotes. Following the example of Kaliparaj becoming Raniparaj, may the *Antyajas* become *Harijana* both in name and nature.

Foreign Toys and Crackers

The leader of the Surat Children's Army writes:[2]

Personally, I approve of the boycott of both these. Let the children carry out truly peaceful picketing. If they secure the consent of the parents, that will be an education for the latter too.

Patience and Purity of Conduct

A correspondent writes:[3]

Nature has not revealed to us any method of immediately solving all our problems. But that does not mean that [in an instance like this] there is no remedy. The remedy is patience and right conduct. One's sister or brother-in-law or friend, whoever the person concerned, is sure ultimately to yield to our faith.

A Silent Worker

A large number of Indians live in Burma and make a living there. Some of them also devote themselves to public service. One such man was Vrajlal Mehta, whose death occurred a few days ago. He carried on Congress work there, though we here have little knowledge of it. He was a well-to-do man and contributed something to every fund and persuaded others to do the same. But he sought no credit for doing this. He was devoted to the poor, had full faith in the propagation of khadi and represented there the All-India Spinners' Association. Those who seek no honour or reward but do service for its own sake deserve the highest honour.

[1] The letter is not translated here. It said that the word '*Harijana*' was in use in many villages and Narasinh Mehta had used it to refer to *Antyaja* devotees.

[2] The letter is not translated here.

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had found it impossible to convert his relations and friends to swadeshi.

Shri Vrajlal Mehta was a man of this kind. We offer our compliments to his family for having produced such a person.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-8-1931

276. SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD[1]

August 2, 1931

I must say that the service of the so-called untouchables does not rank with me as in any way subordinate to any kind of political work.[2] Just a moment ago I met two missionary friends who drew the same distinction and therefore came in for some gentle rebuke from me. I suggested to them that my work of social reform was in no way less than or subordinate to political work. The fact is, that when I saw that to a certain extent my social work would be impossible without the help of political work, I took to the latter and only to the extent that it helped the former. I must therefore confess that work of social reform or self-purification of this nature is a hundred times dearer to me than what is called purely political work.

For what does service of the 'untouchables' or rendering justice to them mean? It means nothing less than redeeming a debt which is centuries overdue, and to expiate in some measure the sin we have been guilty of for ages, viz., that of oppressing and insulting our own kith and kin. We have behaved towards these unfortunate brethren of ours nothing better than a man turned monster behaves towards brother man. And the programme of removal of untouchability that we have set before us is just some little expiation for a monstrous wrong. And as it is essentially by way of expiation or self-purification, it cannot be prompted by any fear or favour. If we take up this work, fearing that the so-called untouchables would go over to another faith, or that they would wreak vengeance on us, or as a sort of political trump card, we shall have betrayed our ignorance of Hinduism and our ungratefulness to those who have served us for ages. I admit that it was I who pushed the item to the forefront of the

[1] At the opening of Sir Chinubhai's family temple to the untouchables. This is a condensed summary by Mahadev Desai which appeared under the caption "Essentially a Reformer".

[2] Sir Chinubhai had remarked that 'whilst Gandhiji was preoccupied with things of great political importance, he should not have been asked to find time for a comparatively small thing'.

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Congress programme, and anyone bent on cavilling at me might say that it was a clever bait held out by me to the untouchables. Let me say at once that that charge is idle. It grew on me very early in life that those who believed themselves to be Hindus must perform the penance in the shape of wiping out this stain before they could be proud of Hinduism, and as the majority of Congressmen were Hindus, and as the programme then put before the nation was not one of self-purification, I put it in the forefront of the Congress programme, in the conviction that unless the Hindus were prepared to wipe out this stain they could not regard themselves as fit for swaraj. That conviction has come upon me as a self-evident proposition. If we came into power, with the stain of untouchability uneffaced, I am positive that the untouchables would be far worse under that 'swaraj' than they are now, for the simple reason that our weaknesses and our failings would then be buttressed up by the accession of power. That in brief is my position, and I have always held that self-purification is an indispensable condition of swaraj. It is not a position that I have arrived at today. It is as old as when I began to think of swaraj. That is why I thank God for enabling me to participate in this function today. I have always prized opportunities for doing this kind of work, and have often put aside so-called political work for work of this nature. I know that those to whom only the exciting thing called "politics" has an exclusive appeal will laugh at this kind of thing. But for me it is nearest and dearest to my heart.

As for you, Lady Chinubhai, you need no congratulations from me for having done what was an obvious duty and an act of self-purification. But the occasion for my congratulations may, for aught we can say, soon arise. The Brahmin priests in this temple have reconciled themselves today to the position. But it is possible that they may one day turn against you and say that they would have nothing to do with worship in your temple. Indeed the whole Brahmin community, the whole of the orthodox Nagar community may conspire against you. Even then I hope and pray that you will hold fast to your conviction and rejoice in the belief that that day the stone image of Siva in the temple is invested with the living presence of God. That will be the acme of your penance, and the day you are excommunicated by your community for having dared to do this necessary act of self-purification, I shall congratulate you most heartily.

Let those who are present here today understand that we have not been able yet to win swaraj because of the load of sin that we are still carrying on our backs. If all the so-called 'touch-

able' Hindus did real penance for having wronged their 'untouchable' brethren, swaraj would be automatically in our hands. And pray understand mere removal of physical untouchability does not mean expiation. The removal of untouchability means the removal of all distinctions of superiority and inferiority attaching to birth. Varnashramadharma[1] is a beautiful institution, but if it is used to buttress up social superiority of one section over another, it will be a monstrosity. Let removal of untouchability result from a living conviction that all are one in the eyes of God, that the Father in Heaven will deal with us all with even-handed justice.

This is a private temple, but if the doors of this private temple are thrown open to the 'untouchables' how long will the doors of public temples here remain closed? Let today's function be an eye-opener to all the Hindus of Ahmedabad. Let this be the auspicious beginning of a process which will end in throwing open all the Hindu temples of Ahmedabad to the 'untouchables'. But even there as in every other thing I should ask you to avoid compulsion. Untouchability cannot long endure. Some years ago we obstinately clung to it, today we are indifferent. It will be a thing of the past only when the indifference is translated into a conscious deliberate awakening to a sense of the duty of self-purification. Even the indifference or sufferance would have been impossible fifteen years ago. The willing act of self-purification will, let us hope and pray, be the next step.

Only the other day a friend suggested to me that the word '*Harijana*' (man of God) be substituted for the word '*Antyaja*' (the 'last born') that is being used for 'untouchables'. It was a word used by the great saint Narasinha Mehta, who by the bye belonged to the Nagar Brahmin community and who defied the whole community by claiming the 'untouchables' as his own. I am delighted to adopt that word which is sanctified by having been used by such a great saint, but it has for me a deeper meaning than you may imagine. The 'untouchable', to me, is, compared to us, really a '*Harijana*'—a man of God, and we are '*Durjana*' (men of evil). For whilst the 'untouchable' has toiled and moiled and dirtied his hands so that we may live in comfort and cleanliness, we have delighted in suppressing him. We are solely responsible for all the shortcomings and faults that we lay at the door of these untouchables. It is still open to us to be *Harijana* ourselves, but we can only do so by heartily repenting of our sin against them.

Young India, 6-8-1931

[1] The four castes and the four stages of life

277. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

August 4, 1931

Asked by the Associated Press after the interview[1], whether he would now proceed to London for the Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi said that he had not yet decided. When asked if the situation was hopeful, he smilingly said that he could not say.

Interviewed [in Bombay], he did not throw any light on the result of his conversations with the Governor of Bombay at Poona. He thought, on the other hand, it was really for the Government to say whatever they considered was convenient and proper. For himself, he felt neither relieved nor unrelieved after the conversations.

The Times of India, 5-8-1931

278. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

August 4, 1931

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

Your man delivered the letter just as I returned from Poona a little while ago. I am afraid I have not been able to give much thought to the matter. I will reply briefly as there are some people waiting in front of me.

My going cannot still be regarded as certain. I should like you to come if you can. If, however, you have some work which requires your attention, I attach more importance to it than to your going to London. It would be all right even if you come later. I would naturally be happier if you are with me.

How should even I come in the way of your taking any counter-measures that you think proper against the agitation going on in the Bhavnagar State? If you must take any, the right thing would be to act always in your official capacity. I trust of course that you will exercise moderation in all that you do. I do not

[1] At Poona with the Governor of Bombay regarding the Bardoli situation. For the Governor's reply to the points raised by Gandhiji at the interview, *vide* Appendix VII.

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even know what *Saurashtra* has written on the subject. You may ask me whatever else you wish to.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5921. Also C.W. 3236. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

279. TELEGRAM TO SIR MALCOLM HAILEY

BOMBAY,
August 5, 1931

HOPE YOU HAVE COMPLETELY RECOVERED. FROM DESCRIPTION GIVEN BY PANDITS MALAVIYAJI AND JAWAHARLAL OF THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH CHIEF SECRETARY THERE SEEMS TO BE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT GOVERNMENT POLICY REGARDING TENANTS. CONTINUATION OF COERCIVE MEASURES AND PRECARIOUS POSITION OF EVICTED TENANTS CAUSE ME GREAT ANXIETY. COULD YOU PLEASE GIVE ME CLEAR INDICATION GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THESE VITAL QUESTIONS.[1]

Young India, 20-8-1931

280. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

MANI BHAVAN,
BOMBAY,
August 5, 1931

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
CALCUTTA

CAN YOU SEND SOMEONE ASSAM INVESTIGATE FLOOD CONDITIONS ?

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17428

[1] For the Governor's reply, *vide* Appendix VIII.

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281. FURTHER CLEARANCE

Having read my reply to him in *Young India*,[1] Sjt. Satyamurti thus returns to the charge:

> Your insistence on the statement that political power is not an end in itself disturbs me seriously. Even if tomorrow we get all the reforms we want, I would still resist British rule in this country. I am also convinced that very few of the reforms we want can be fully or effectively achieved, unless we get political power.
>
> You must recognize that the ideal of political anarchy, with which I entirely agree, is not practical politics in the world today. If the Mussalmans and the Sikhs, therefore, get all the power, the majority community in the country will have to be perpetual civil resisters, leading to civil war.
>
> I agree that political power can easily become a burden if it came as a gift from without, the people having made no effort to deserve it. But I claim that the nation has already shown, and will show increasingly in the next few years, that it fully deserves political power.
>
> Public opinion, I agree, should support legislation. Legislation in advance of public opinion is often futile. But public opinion, without legislative sanction, is often very largely impotent. I feel that political power is the thing, and that these reforms must follow. After all, the freedom of a nation and the liberty of the individual are priceless political privileges; and each nation must be free to decide what is good for itself. Once, therefore, we get political power, we can and ought to decide what is good for us. And if I understand my countrymen aright, the largest public opinion in India today is in favour of getting political power.
>
> If you think this letter deserves a further answer from you, I shall be glad to have it. But may I again express the hope that you may reconsider your position in the light of what I have stated above?
>
> As regards my previous letter, I am sorry it has not reached you. I have no copy of it. I wanted to know in that letter from you what the phrase 'for presenting the demands of the Congress', in the resolution[2] of the Working Committee, deputing you to attend the Round Table Conference, meant. I take it, it does not mean that you will merely state

[1] *Vide* pp. 90-2.
[2] Of June 9, *vide* footnote 1, p. 1.

the Congress case, in the attitude of 'take it or leave it'. But I presume that you will (1) state the Congress case and support it with arguments, (2) meet counter-arguments, and answer questions and try to solve difficulties and doubts raised by the other side, and (3) exercise the freedom, given by the Karachi Congress to the Congress Delegation to the Round Table Conference, to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India.

There seems to me to be a question of emphasis between Sjt. Satyamurti and myself. His emphasis is on political power in itself, mine on political power as a weapon for enabling the reformer to achieve his reforms in the quickest manner possible. To me therefore all depends upon the way political power is attained. If it cannot be attained without the combined exertion of all the communities, I would wait. After all a strenuous exertion itself is a getting. In that sense political power is daily coming to the nation. A constitution will merely be a symbol of the full achievement. But it may also be a mirage, if it is not consciously a fruition of a nation's endeavour. Thus supposing by some accident England collapsed all of a sudden and therefore India imagined that she had all she wanted, she would be wholly wrong. Virtue therefore lies in our getting political power as a result of our strength, not as a result of the foreign ruler's weakness. But I must not labour the point any further. It is enough that just at present, though I may have a different outlook from that of many others, we are all striving for the same thing in the same way.

I do not share the fear, that if Mussalmans and Sikhs got all the power, the 'majority community', i.e., Hindus would have to be 'perpetual civil resisters'. In the first instance this deduction ignores the assumption that Hindus *willingly* surrendered their right to power, and in the second it ignores the law of civil resistance that it is never needed to be applied perpetually to a cause. Its sovereign efficacy lies in the fact that it secures redress within a measurable though previously unascertainable period.

I can give Sjt. Satyamurti a more consoling answer regarding his doubts as to the meaning of the 'presentation' of Congress demands. Subject of course to permission being granted,—and this, in my opinion, is implicit in the Delhi Settlement,—I am going to present and "support the Congress case with arguments, meet counter-arguments and answer questions and try to solve difficulties and doubts raised by the other side and exercise the freedom given by the Karachi Congress to the Congress Delegation

to the Round Table Conference to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India''. If I reach London, I can make this promise to all concerned, that whilst on the one hand I will not be guilty of selling the national cause, on the other the most reactionary Englishman need have no cause to fear my reputed obstinacy, or worse still, anti-British feelings. I am not conscious of being obstinate. Those who know me, have always credited me with an ample faculty for compromise though they have found me unyielding on matters of principle. Nor am I conscious of any anti-British feeling in me. On the contrary, I can assert with confidence that I have nothing but goodwill for the British. If therefore I attend the Conference, I shall leave no stone unturned to make the deliberations of the Conference a success. More I dare not promise.

Young India, 6-8-1931

282. CONGRESSMEN'S NEGLIGENCE?

A correspondent from Abiramam writes:

Mudukulattur is a fairly big village in the district of Ramnad in the Madras Presidency. By[1] a short cut route, 8 miles in distance from the town lies the blue sea. After the Settlement the villagers began to carry salt from the sea bed. No conveyance was used at first. Each man took as much salt as he could conveniently carry. Men were not molested by the salt officers. Emboldened by the apparent inactivity of salt officers, people used to join in the common purpose of carrying salt in groups consisting of four or five persons. From the beginning of last month country bullock-carts were requisitioned and used for carrying salt, and the commodity was divided into equal lots by those who brought them to be used for each man's family consumption.

At this stage of their activities only did the emissaries of the department think it their duty to interfere. After a full consultation, as to the nature of the action to be taken with regard to the people who carried away salt in carts, it was thought fit to arrest certain persons and fine them for the offence of breaking the provisions of the salt law. It should be stated that the officers did not at all interfere at the very beginning. They wished to check them at a very late hour,

[1] The source has "From", evidently a misprint.

and this they did without giving them any notice or even a casual warning. The total number of persons thus arrested is 21. The punishment meted out to them varied. Those who admitted the guilt were let off with small fines, while those who refused to admit it were fined heavier than the others. The total amount of fines amounted to Rs. 295 which was paid.

I am quite sure that these prosecutions could have been avoided if the local Congress authorities had done propaganda work and informed the villagers of the limits of the salt concession. Can you not wake them up from their lethargy? I assure you that the villagers are quite amenable to reason.

I have condensed the original letter. I do not know how far the complaint against the local Congress Committees is justified. But one is inclined to agree with the writer that there has been some negligence. The salt concession is the most valuable clause of the Delhi Settlement. I know that Lord Irwin was moved by the appeal on behalf of the poor. I am betraying no confidence when I state that he realized that at least for the poor villagers salt must be free as air and water. The argument that it was not so much the amount of tax that positively hurt the people as the deprivation of the right of making it themselves made a forcible appeal to him. If it makes the same appeal to Congressmen, they will lose no time in instructing the villagers as to the exact nature of the concession. There is no complication about it.

The villagers within a walking distance of a salt area whether sea-bound or inland can make and sell salt for domestic consumption.

Domestic use includes use for manure, cattle and fish-curing as a village industry. Therefore salt cannot be carried to towns or bazars outside the walking area. It can on no account be carted or carried on camelback. Only human agency is permissible. Not even hand-carts may be used. These limitations may look formidable to town dwellers. They are no hardships for the villagers who want to work the concession honestly. The motive behind the limitation is to prevent trade among the wealthy people and competition with the monopoly salt in areas where people use the monopoly salt without noticing the effect of the tax. Whilst the latter lasts, the restriction is perfectly intelligible and reasonable.

Let us realize, that for tens of thousands who live within walking distance of salt areas salt is free. From all I have seen

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of the working of this concession, I believe that the provincial Governments are desirous of giving the villagers the full benefit of the concession. Having made this admission, I would like to suggest that the fines imposed were heavy. A few pice each should surely have sufficed by way of warning. Nor can I help feeling that the reported distinction between those who pleaded guilty and those who did not was wholly unnecessary.

Young India, 6-8-1931

283. WHAT IS LIBERTY?

In the course of a letter eulogizing the non-violent character of our struggle, a country clerk writing from Vernon, Texas, says:

> Usually men think of liberty as the absence of restraint. That may be liberty, but usually it is licence. The absence of negation to personal desire is never liberty. Liberty is that which makes a man free in the face of great obstacles. It is one of life's virtues least understood and not often practised. Liberty is not a varying quality, but a fixed life principle.
>
> True liberty often does strange things. In fact the actors are frequently called fools. At any rate they do not seem to work for their own interest, but when rightly understood, liberty is seen to be an exhibition of service, if not of sacrifice. Conscious liberty lifts a man above the sordid and selfish to a view of the common good. It puts a premium on larger benefits and teaches her devotee to consider himself part of a great principle working for human uplift. His reward lies not in material gains, but in a larger truer self-conscious strength.

Young India, 6-8-1931

284. THE GARLICK MURDER

This murder in Bengal of a judge who was performing his duty according to his lights is a disgrace to the perpetrators. We may not wonder at the agitation that has troubled the European community in Calcutta and elsewhere. The young men who delight in murdering those whom they dislike, no matter from how patriotic motive, do not advance the cause they claim to espouse. And murders planned by secret societies make everyone in their immediate neighbourhood a suspect. Indeed one

murder of a European official affects the atmosphere in the whole of India.

It is the duty of every person who sincerely dislikes these murders to express his strong disapproval of such acts, and wherever he can find the followers of the cult of murder, reason with its members and non-co-operate with them if they do not listen. Satyagraha is no respecter of persons. Given a correct atmosphere satyagraha can be far more effectively used against our own friends than against those who regard us as their enemies. The nearer the relation, the more effective does satyagraha become.

We must realize that any toleration or indifference shown towards these activities will not only postpone swaraj, but will make swaraj government difficult, if not impossible. For, whilst it may be possible for an overarmed alien Government to carry on administration in spite of the activities of murderous secret societies, an administration based purely on popular will cannot be efficiently conducted in the midst of murderous activities. There is no warrant to suppose, that if the idea that it is right to murder officials or persons whom we dislike becomes popular, it will subside the moment we gain swaraj. From even the most selfish considerations, therefore, it is necessary for lovers of real freedom to put forth their best endeavour to check this evil before it becomes too late.

I have had it whispered to me, that violence going on side by side with non-violence must help the latter. As the author of the non-violent programme and as an expert in the line, let me proclaim with all the strength of conviction that it is a serious delusion to think that violence can help non-violence. On this matter my evidence based on long experience should be regarded as conclusive. I can assert that every act of political violence injures the non-violent movement. Everyone knows how it unnerves me. What has been called the Bardoli blunder and what I claim as an act of first-class wisdom was due to an ugly outbreak of violence on the part of professing Congressmen at Chauri Chaura[1]. But for the postponement of civil disobedience at the time, the country would not have made the phenomenal progress it has made. Let everyone concerned understand that if this contagion of murder spreads, without my wishing it or doing it, the active non-violent movement may automatically suffer a check. Like everything in nature it has its own law to govern it.

[1] In February 1922; *vide* Vol. XXII.

It may not be amiss here to examine the resentment caused in European circles over my article[1] on the attempted assassination of His Excellency the Acting Governor of Bombay. The resentment was caused by my making a distinction between the murder of a guest by a host and any other murder. I thought that I had made my meaning quite clear. I heightened the sinfulness of the act because of the additional fact that Sir Earnest Hotson was a guest of the College. Of course every murder is sinful and deserving of condemnation. But there are surely degrees of guilt even about these acts. And it has often happened before now that some special ugliness about such acts has stirred the conscience of those concerned and arrested the growth of the disease. It was with that object in view that I drew the distinction and pointed out the gravity of murderous acts. I know as a matter of fact that the article has affected some of those whom it was intended to influence. I ask my European critics to be patient with me. I understand their irritation. But they will not improve the situation by losing their balance and suspecting where there is no ground for suspicion.

Young India, 6-8-1931

285. TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MANI BHAVAN, GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 6, 1931

SATISBABU
KHADIPRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR

YOUR LETTER. COME AND STAY WITH ME SOME DAYS. GOING STILL UNCERTAIN.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 17431

[1] "Foul Play", pp. 231-3.

286. TELEGRAM TO M. P. GANDHI

MANI BHAVAN, GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 6, 1931

GANDHI
INDCHAMB
CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE. YOU CAN REPRINT ARTICLES.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17432

287. LETTER TO A YOUNG WOMAN[1]

August 6, 1931

MY DEAR . . . ,

I have your letter. I must not write at length. You will see my letter to . . . and perhaps my letter to . . . . You must not be ruffled over this incident. Neither you nor . . . will feel upset if you will appreciate a parent's affection and anxiety. I have held . . . [your] family a model family in which the children enjoy the fullest liberty tempered only by the peremptory demands of parental affection. The present is an incident of that type. But you will tell me frankly and fully how you two have felt.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Laburnum Rd. Bombay, till 8th at least.

From a photostat: S.N. 9632

[1] The names in this letter have been omitted.

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288. LETTER TO A MOTHER[1]

Confidential *August 6, 1931*

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I am writing to . . . telling her that in my opinion her correspondence should be open to you for inspection. But I would urge you not to think that a parent has any necessary authority over his or her grown-up children. We as parents are likely to lose our influence over our children, if we claim authority over them. It is only a silken cord that binds us to our grown-up children. I simply throw out these thoughts for your peace of mind. I do not fear . . . taking any false step. . . . I am telling you all this because from the long letter I have received from . . . I observe that the girls are feeling the pressure somewhat. I am anxious that the harmony of your ideal home should in no way be disturbed by a single jar.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9689

289. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

August 6, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

Is it right that you should not write to me at all?[2] I had expected a long letter from you. Write one now. I was forced to talk about you today for nearly one hour with Dhurandhar and Kisan. What a shame!

I was glad to read the news that you embraced Maitri.[3] But I shall not be satisfied till I get a full description.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10260; also C.W. 6709. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] The names and some passages in this letter have been omitted.

[2] During a post-prayer speech at the Ashram, Gandhiji had referred to some rumours about the addressee, which had hurt her.

[3] The addressee had threatened to beat Maitri with a sandal if she teased a younger girl.

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290. SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, BOMBAY

August 6, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi proposed the following resolution:

The A.I.C.C. deplores the attempted assassination of H.E. the Acting Governor of Bombay and the assassination of Judge Garlick in Bengal. While condemning all political murders,[1] the A.I.C.C. regards the attempted assassination of the acting Governor of Bombay as the more condemnable inasmuch as it was an act done by a student of a college that had invited the Acting Governor as its honoured guest. The A.I.C.C. warns those who secretly or openly approve of or encourage such murders that they retard the progress of the country. The A.I.C.C. calls upon Congress organizations to carry on special propaganda against all acts of public violence even where provocation is given for such deeds. Further the A.I.C.C. appeals to the nationalist Press to use all its influence in this behalf.

Speaking on the resolution Gandhiji said:

I hope you all have understood the meaning of this resolution and therefore I do not want to burden you with a Hindustani translation of it. I want to tell you that there is much more in my heart than what I have stated here. I tell you this because I have framed the resolution myself and because I know how far I can carry you with me. I have also to inform you that there was no difference among the members of the Working Committee on this resolution and I hope that in this House also there will be no difference of opinion on it. But still I do not want you to accept it without argument or discussion. I want you to express your views on it and if you do not agree with it throw it out.

This resolution has not been brought forward to deceive ourselves or Englishmen or the world at large. It has been moved to declare what is the creed of the Congress. The creed of the Congress is to strive for the attainment of '*purna* swaraj' by non-violent and peaceful means. We have decided to follow the path of peace, truth and righteousness. And so long as we believe in

[1] A verbal amendment by Bhaisaheb Kotwal to add here the words "and attempts to murder" was later accepted.

it and want the world also to believe that that is our way, then it becomes obligatory upon us to stick to it scrupulously in thought, word and deed. It also becomes our duty to prevent those who want to follow the opposite way. We must try to win them over. In 1920 when the Congress first adopted non-violence as its creed the argument was brought forward why the Congress should take any notice of what those who were not members of the Congress did. It was said that while Congress should follow its own way it should allow others to do what they liked. It was said that if Congress wanted it should stick to non-violence and even submit patiently to violence used against it by its opponents, but it has no business to advise others or come in their way.

Since the time this controversy started my reply to it has been that the Congress claims to represent and speak in the name of India and the fight it has been carrying on is for the good of every Indian whether he is a Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian or a Parsi. We claim to exert influence on them and we represent them and speak in their name. Our fight is not for Congressmen alone. If it were so our task would have been very simple. Last year when we carried on the struggle for freedom against the Government, the whole country was at our back. All those who participated in the struggle were not Congress members. But our strength is immensely increased by working for them and accepting their help. The Government admits the strength of the Congress not because there are some thousand members on the roll of the Congress or there are a few lawyers, doctors or other learned men in the Congress who can very well argue and discuss things. The Government recognizes the strength of the Congress because it feels that the voice of the Congress has reached the villages. Do you believe that if you declared that you have nothing to do with the masses and your fight was only for the members of the Congress your word will carry the same weight as it does today?

Our strength has now increased to the extent that even in the remote corners of the country where our voice has not so far reached, where the people have not yet seen the Congress flag, our influence is felt. It is true that all the seven hundred thousand villages of India have not Congress organizations but we are confident that when we go there our voice is heard and the people follow our advice.

Those who commit murders are also our brethren. We must exert influence on them. When we claim to represent them we also must accept the responsibility for what they do. In 1921 we had made it clear that we shall be responsible for the actions of

the non-Congressmen also. You know that I had suspended my work once or twice on former occasions for this reason. I will only cite the instance of the Rowlatt Act.[1] I am prepared to say that we did not suffer any loss because we suspended our fight on previous occasions. On the contrary I believe that we have distinctly gained thereby.

There is still a large number of people who say that I committed a blunder when I stopped the fight in Bardoli in 1922.[2] They say that if we had continued our fight then by this time we could have been free. I believe it is a mistake to think so. It is even now my firm belief that what I did in Bardoli in 1922 was right and India has immensely gained by that action. The present awakening in the country is due to that action. If you do not believe in it, if your opinion differs then say so. You must have the courage to say so. But if you believe that what we have been doing since 1922 up till now is right then it becomes your duty to adopt this resolution and to work for it.

On former occasions when we condemned such actions we also praised the spirit of sacrifice among the young men. But we praised it so much that I think we reached the limit when we passed the resolution at Karachi about Bhagat Singh and his comrades. At that time I felt that for one whose sacrifice was so great and whose character was represented to me to have been spotless we should do all that we can to save him from the gallows and even if we did not succeed in it we should pass the resolution we passed. I did so in the belief that it would have sobering effect on the youths but I failed in that attempt. I am not unaware of the increased strength of the youths but it is being misused. I did not get the least success in that attempt. On the contrary it was exploited very badly and I am sorry for it.

There are those who accuse me of agreeing to that proposition at Karachi dishonestly because I wanted to placate the youths as I had to carry the Congress with me in ratifying the Delhi Pact and attend the R.T.C. My reply to these critics is that you cannot claim to know what is in my mind. It is God alone who knows that. But I can say this much that I shall never commit such blunder. If I do I shall not be true to the Congress. For others it may be a question of mere policy but for me it is my dharma. How is it possible for me to commit such a grave blunder for a small matter? I have never done it in my life. I do not attach

[1] In 1919 the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha was suspended because of the outbreak of violence. *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 468-71.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXII.

so much value to the R.T.C. as to sacrifice that great principle of my life for it.

I certainly attach more value to the Delhi Pact. We have been benefited by it and I do not even now feel that we were mistaken in agreeing to it. I felt that we would profit by its acceptance and I see that we have gained much thereby and will gain more in future. You may think that it is worth consigning to the waste paper basket. But nothing could convince me that it was a mistake.

I am also aware of the objection raised, namely, why the crimes of our young men are magnified, while the Government whose faults drive our young men to commit such actions is not criticized. I do not know if there is any need on the part of the Congress to do that work. Those who demand such condemnation of the Government by the Congress do not understand the Congress. The very existence of the Congress is to destroy the present system of Government. The Congress wants to put a stop to what has been going on for years in this country. The Congress decided it when it first launched the non-co-operation movement. The vices of this Government have not since decreased, on the contrary they have increased. The youths who commit such acts do so as a result of their being driven to desperation but that does not mean that we should not say that they are mistaken.[1]

To recite the wrongs of the Government at the time of condemning political murders is to confuse the issue, and to mislead the hot-blooded youth. We must tell them in the clearest possible language, that they must cease to murder, no matter how great may be the provocation.

But how, it is further asked, can you end the present system by the way of non-violence? Surely the progress made by the country since 1920 is sufficient tangible proof of the success. But whether we shall succeed or not is not the question. There is the Congress creed, and we have to work it out faithfully. Hence we must not in any shape or form identify ourselves with the murderous activities that we witness about us. It would be perfectly legitimate for those who do not believe in the Congress creed to agitate for its removal, and there will be no need for such a resolution as the one before you. We must not deceive ourselves or the world.

And now a word to the nationalist newspapers. They can help a great deal if they will. One often sees glaring headlines in them suggestive of approval of political murder. Let them

[1] What follows is from *Young India* as reported by Mahadev Desai.

therefore beware of the slightest suggestion of encouragement to violence.

I am told by young men, that if I cannot help them I should keep quiet, but not hinder them. My answer to them is: if you must kill English officials, why not kill me instead? I plead guilty to the charge of putting an obstacle in your way in my own way. It is my creed. Have no mercy on me and despatch me straightway. But so long as there is breath in me, I must resist you in the manner I know. If you will spare me, do not lay hands on Government servants, be they big or small.[1]

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi referred to the conduct of some nationalist papers which he did not find quite in keeping with the principle of non-violence. He wanted them to be careful in that respect. He felt it was needed that they should admit in fairness that they had erred and try to improve their conduct. He added that as he could praise their achievements he could also look to things as a critic and if their virtues could be compared to Himalayas their mistakes also would be as great as Vindhyas. He again repeated his appeal to the A.I.C.C. members to accept the resolution or to reject it.[2]

Replying to the debate Gandhiji said that when Sjt. Abhyankar levelled charges against him of not listening to the amendments or the speeches on them he readily pleaded guilty. They all knew that he had certain habits whether good or bad and to them he wanted to stick. He had therefore to leave the meeting with the permission of the President. As he had not listened to the speeches of those who moved the amendments and therefore in fact he had no right to reply but if they permitted he would speak. He knew they were very indulgent to him. He thanked them for it. He was now growing old and therefore they should not expect him to work with the same energy as he was doing formerly. He was trying to reserve his energy but wanted them to rest assured that it would be utilized for national service.[3]

Some of the speakers have appealed to me to add words containing a reference to Government. Sjt. Abhyankar has credited me with the courage of confessing Himalayan blunders and with being supremely reasonable. Well, then, I may tell him, that it is because of my reasonableness that I cannot accept the suggestions, for all that he wants is contained in the words "even where provocation is given". If you go on harping on the violence of Government and applauding the sacrifice and courage of our youths, I tell you you will only help to send many more of them to the gallows. I do not so much mind Government hanging them

[1] What follows is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.
[2] A debate on the resolution followed.
[3] What follows is from *Young India*.

as your driving them to the gallows, and I warn you that that is what you are actually doing by condemning violence[1] in one breath and applauding the courage behind it in the other.

Sjt. Abhyankar warns me that our resolutions of condemnation have no effect on the youths. He is mistaken. Every word that we say here reaches their ears. It sometimes angers them, but it often makes them think, and I humbly suggest that we can react on them only to the extent that we are in earnest. Let us therefore tell them plainly and unequivocally that their action does not help us but hinders us. I was responsible for suggesting the appointment of the Nariman Committee.[2] It has got yet to complete some facts for me, but I cannot proceed even on the facts already collected, because the action of these young men greatly handicaps me. Those who give them the slightest encouragement make it difficult to secure the liberty of those who are already suffering incarceration. I could not get those political prisoners released under the Settlement, but I had hopes that I would do so by entreaty. If you have elected to trust me, you must also trust my methods. But if you don't, the honest course is to disown me and to change the creed.[3]

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-8-1931, and *Young India*, 13-8-1931

291. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[On or after *August 6, 1931*][4]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I am writing this while a meeting is proceeding. You must have now recovered your composure. I cannot even imagine your being agitated. If you examine yourself to see why you were agitated, you will discover that there was no cause at all for your agitation. Why should we be upset if someone entertains a groundless suspicion against us? But I don't have to argue with you.

[1] The source has "non-violence".

[2] It was appointed to collect from all the Provinces details regarding the political prisoners and others who were to be released under resolution No. III of the Congress.

[3] Gandhiji's resolution was carried almost unanimously, only four or five hands being raised against it.

[4] From the opening sentence and the reference in the last paragraph to the uncertainty about Gandhiji's going to England, this was presumably written during the meeting of the A.I.C.C. which commenced in Bombay on August 6, 1931.

It is not as if you don't understand, but at present you have been disturbed in your heart and the effect on one's heart dies away only in the course of time through Ramanama.

Mahavir is being looked after with great care. He feels very much better now. The doctor says that he will have to remain under treatment for a few days. His system is filled with poisonous germs. Ba goes every day to inquire after him. He is being looked after very carefully. Tell Krishnamaiyadevi this.

I certainly wish to go there. I may have to stay here up to the 9th. It is still not certain whether I shall go to England. Prabhavati has arrived here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, p. 270

292. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

BOMBAY,
August 7, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

With reference to the Panch fines in certain villages of Kheda, I send you herewith the original papers signed by those who had paid the fines. You are the best judge of whether the papers contain the signatures of those who had complained and whether you regard the document as satisfactory. I suggest too your personally seeing those who you may suspect of having been under any undue influence.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 17436

293. LETTER TO BOLTON

BOMBAY,
August 7, 1931

DEAR MR. BOLTON,

I assure you that I am leaving no stone unturned to facilitate my decision. My difficulty is this: I do not believe in the public opinion in England being vastly different from the opinion of the civilians here. The things in Bardoli or U.P. may not be of much

importance in themselves. But they are portents and as such have a significance all their own. I am waiting for a sign from Ganeshkhind[1].

The misunderstanding about my reference to guest and host[2] has grieved me deeply. What was meant to be a powerful argument for combating the mischief has been interpreted as a kind of encouragement.

You have perhaps seen my article in *Young India* about what I expect to do in London if I reach there.

Yours sincerely,
M.K.G.

From a photostat: S.N. 17442

294. SPEECH AT MEETING OF PARSIS, BOMBAY

August 7, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi . . . said that he had not even a spare minute to deliver a lecture, because the time of delivering lectures had already gone. Some time ago when he was released from jail[3], Mr. Bharucha took a promise from him to find time to address at least once to the Parsi community. After that he came to Bombay many a time, but somehow or other, Mr. Bharucha did not press him for the fulfilment of the promise. Now, perhaps Mr. Bharucha thought that he would be going away to England, and, therefore, he was compelled to fulfil his promise that day. Mahatma Gandhi then said that he had to go for his prayer at 7.30 and after prayer he would be busy till 11 p.m. and, therefore, he had to be very brief in his speech.

Coming to his address, he said that there was no doubt that the Parsi community had done much for the country, but he thought that they had not come up to his expectation. There were seven lakhs[4] of villages in India and if the Parsi community were to exercise their charity towards these poor starving millions, they should use the clothes made by these poor villagers. Then the Parsi community should also try to spin for themselves. There was a time in India when every household had a charkha; but they could not make any improvement in it while Lancashire continued to keep its pace with progress and made improvements in their spinning machinery with the result that Indian people who used hand-spun cloth discontinued doing so and began to use the Lancashire fine cloth. The Parsi community should

[1] The Governor's summer residence, near Poona
[2] In his article "Foul Play", pp. 231-3.
[3] On January 26
[4] The source has "60 lakhs".

remember that if they put on khadi, they would support millions of poor people. Parsis were well known for their charity. But which charity was better, the charity of service or the charity of giving money, asked Mahatmaji. If the Parsis put on khadi they would demonstrate to the world two things. Firstly, that they suffered for the sake of the poor and secondly, that they served the poor. He thought, therefore, that suffering and service were better kind of charities than any other charity.

The other thing that he wanted to tell the Parsis was in regard to the liquor trade. Many Parsis kept liquor shops which was the cause of the suffering of the poor. He did not think that it was a very great thing for the Parsis to do away with the liquor traffic. The Parsis came from Persia and had adapted themselves in such a way that they could very easily do away with the liquor shops and successfully prosper in any other business. The charity which the Parsi community would do by doing away with the liquor trade would be immense to the country and when history is written of this country it would be stated of the Parsis that they made great sacrifices for the country. In this regard Mithubehn had served Gujarat for which the Parsi community should be proud. What Mithubehn had done for Gujarat every Parsi should do for his country. It is for the Parsi community to create an atmosphere that the baneful liquor traffic might be done away with. Some might ask what business then the Parsi liquor shopkeepers should get into. Mahatma Gandhi said that the Parsi community was so much enterprising that they would be successful in any other business if they stopped the liquor traffic. Take the case of Parsi Rustomji in South Africa, he said. Rustomji had liquor business first which he closed down and got into other business and amassed great wealth and gave lakhs of rupees in charity. He hoped, therefore, the Parsi community would seriously consider that point.

The third point was in regard to simplicity of life. He did not know whether he would go to England or not. People say he was going to England on the 15th, but he was not sure himself. Whether he went to England or not he would say one thing to the Parsi community that they need not be afraid of their rights and privileges. The Parsi community was the smallest community in the whole of India, as it had hardly a population of a lakh. They had no reason to fear for the future, because they had been backed up by their self-reliance and strength. The Parsi community has done no wrong to any other community in India and they should rest assured that no community would harm them. But he would appeal to them to exercise simplicity of life. The Parsis were accustomed to a standard of life, namely, they wanted costly furniture and other paraphernalia, which other communities did not have. In future, they would have to try to exercise simplicity and self-control. When the National Congress demands that the highest official in India would be paid only Rs. 500, he felt assured that by that time the economic conditions in India would be so changed that everything would be had cheaply. For instance, doctors

charge one guinea for consultation and lawyers charge thousands of rupees for their fees. That also would have to go to a minimum, and it was bound to go because everyone would have a simple life.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-8-1931

295. SPEECH AT SWADESHI MARKET, BOMBAY

August 7, 1931

Gandhiji . . . addressed a few remarks to those who sat round him on the dais. He said that he was under the impression that he would discuss things with a few selected persons who were interested in the cause of swadeshi and who were invited to the Conference by the organizers. But instead he found a large concourse of people. He knew it was rather impossible to avoid such a crowd if they invited him to a place like the one where he had come. He regretted that he could not say to them what he wanted to say on the subject. He suggested that those who wanted to do the work should give their names and addresses to the organizers and become willing agents of swadeshi. If the idea of establishing a contact with workers in the cause of swadeshi which the organizers had in view succeeded in Bombay then it could be copied at other places also. Gandhiji added that the object was laudable, but again regretted that he could not express his views on the subject.

Some of those present asked Gandhiji a few questions to which he made replies and then left the place amidst shouts of "*Gandhijiki Jai*" and "*Inquilab Zindabad*".

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-8-1931

296. TELEGRAM TO R. M. MAXWELL

GAMDEVI, BOMBAY,
August 8, 1931

P. S. BOMBAY
GANESHKHIND

SINCE MY DECISION ABOUT GOING LONDON DEPENDS ON HIS EXCELLENCY'S LETTER I WOULD THANK YOU WIRE ME WHEN I MAY EXPECT IT.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17446

297. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

August 8, 1931

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. I am glad that you wrote, but there was no need for you to write. I don't require a certificate from you either for Narandas or Premabehn. However, I am happy that you hold them both in high respect. You will certainly benefit if you obey Narandas and spend your time often in the good company of Premabehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: G.N. 9569

298. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

August 8, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. I didn't get a single minute during the last week for writing letters. You need not at all worry about me. There is no actual pain in my right hand, but I feel pain when writing. Hence I write all the time with the left hand. That need not worry you in the least. It seems I shall be here for a few days more yet. You may read more about it in the newspapers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3419

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299. LETTER TO PADMA

August 8, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I have got your letter. You should stay where you are and improve your health. We shall see what to do when Valjibhai and others go that side. You should always remain contented wherever you are.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6124; also C.W. 3476. Courtesy: Prabhudas Gandhi

300. SPEECH AT OPHTHALMIC HOSPITAL, BOMBAY[1]

August 8, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi in reply made a very short speech. He thanked the Parsi donor for his generous support to the eye hospital and was very glad to learn that Mr. Ratansha, son of Mr. Merwanji, and other members of the family cherished the same feeling of goodwill towards this institution and said the institution deserved every kind of consideration and would not be wanting in help from the family members of Mr. Merwanji and the public. He was pleased to find one more example of philanthropy in the Parsi community, which was known for its cosmopolitan charity.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-8-1931

301. SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, BOMBAY

August 8, 1931

I may tell you, that I am doing all that is humanly possible to enable me to go to London. The Settlement commits the Congress to participate in the R.T.C. to place the Congress point of view before it. But without the necessary atmosphere my going there would be futile. I therefore declared that I could

[1] Before laying the corner stone of the new building of the Aimail Merwanji Chamarbagwala Free Opthalmic Hospital.

not go unless there was solution of the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh problem. The Working Committee discussed my declaration, my reasoning did not appeal to it, and I had to bow to its decision that I must go even though a solution could not be attained before my going. But that did not mean that I should go there as a mere Hindu. If I went there as a mere Hindu, I should cease to be a representative of the Congress. The Congress belongs to all communities, and the Working Committee decided that I had no reason to absent myself from the R.T.C. even though I might have to go there with less strength and less self-confidence. That meant a step forward in the direction of London.

But there were other difficulties, one of them being the implementing of the Truce by Government. In this connection I made up my mind, that I must not make much of minor breaches of the Truce. For instance there are still many in jail who should have been released under the Settlement, there are still prosecutions going on, and still arrests being made. But as we, the workers, have voluntarily chosen the path of suffering, a few months' imprisonment is of small account. But it is quite a different matter where the peasants are concerned. How can I ask them to put up with more suffering? The Congress is essentially and pre-eminently a *kisan* organization. It also endeavours to represent the zamindars and the propertied classes, but only to the extent that the interests of the *kisans* are not prejudiced thereby. The Congress is nothing if it does not represent the *kisans*. And I was faced with the *kisan* problem in the U.P. and in Gujarat. Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary, helped to the extent that he could. The Viceroy also assured me that I need not worry and that he would do everything needful. Cordial as this assurance was, I wanted to see if there were any signs of the assurance being carried out. I am still carrying on negotiations, and you may be sure that I shall not put too great a strain on those from whom I expect the assurance. I am not conceited enough to feel that everything here would be at sixes and sevens in my absence. But having been the sole Congress representative to carry on negotiations with Lord Irwin, and being so intimately connected with the *kisans*, I cannot leave for London if there is no relief or hope of it even for the existing state of things. That is why I ran up to Poona as soon as I was summoned by the Governor of Bombay,[1] and now am waiting for a reply from him. I sent him a telegram this morning,[2]

[1] On August 4
[2] *Vide* p. 269.

and I am hourly expecting a reply. I am waiting for a sign and as soon as I get it, I shall decide.

But do not be sure that I am sailing until I have actually boarded the ship. For who knows what happens between today and the fifteenth? Ours is a vast country, there are all sorts of rumours in the air and anything may lead to a conflagration. You know what happened in the Jinnah Memorial Hall.[1] Those are things that make me tremble, and may even unnerve me. Would you send a nervous wreck to the Conference? My decision would shock Lord Irwin who might well doubt whether I was in my senses, but even at the risk of annoying him I would prefer to stay here, if something that may happen between now and fifteenth shook me to the marrow. I have the same love for the Mussalman as for the Hindu. My heart feels for the Mussalman as much as for the Hindu. If I could tear it open, you would discover that there are no compartments in it, one reserved for the Hindus, another for the Mussalmans and so on. And therefore I hold myself responsible, when I find a Mussalman running at a Hindu's throat and vice versa. I have endured these things up to now, but there is a limit to human endurance. I am laying bare my heart to you as a man pledged to truth. I do not think any man can present a full record of what he feels, but I do know that I am keeping nothing from you. I hear rumbling of the storm, and I want you not to be surprised if you find me quail before it. That moment my strength may entirely fail me and render me completely impotent. Having elected me your sole representative, I want you to accept me with all my limitations and weaknesses. I have revealed to you my true self in all my weakness and impotence. Maybe I may conquer that weakness; maybe a single Mussalman may be able to disabuse me of my fears and my impotence.

At this stage, he was so overwhelmed with emotion that he broke down,[2] and could not proceed for a minute or two. But he soon composed himself, and proceeded to give in English a gist of what he had said in Hindi.

[1] On August 3, 1931 some Muslim hooligans had attacked prominent Nationalist Muslim leaders and Congressmen. Fifteen persons were injured.

[2] Mahadev Desai, in his introduction to the report of this speech, gave the following information: "When Sardar Vallabhbhai and Pandit Jawaharlal saw Gandhiji in the afternoon of the 8th and asked him whether he would be available for the evening sitting, as he was expected to make a statement on the question of his going to London, Gandhiji was reading an inflammatory leaflet issued by some of the rowdy agencies in Bombay. It was so full of grossly false statements and deliberate incitement to violence that it made even

I did not really come here to pour out my feelings before you, but as I was proceeding, it was impossible for me to choke the rising emotions. I have gone through a heart-training which enables me to keep outwardly smiling while a storm may be raging in my breast. That storm has reached a crisis and I am feeling unnerved and seem to have lost all power. And therefore I say that, although the atmosphere may be clear so far as Government are concerned, I may not be able to go because there is a doubt lurking in my breast, that when the moment comes, it may find me unprepared. Think of the disgraceful scenes in the Jinnah Memorial Hall the other day. People who had done no wrong to anybody were pounced upon and belaboured without any provocation. I saw a man who, if he chose to use his strength, would be a match for ten, profusely bleeding because of the brutal blows he had received that evening. It was a pitiable sight for me. Then I had a graphic account of the incident. It shot into me like an arrow. But that is not all. I am studying and trying to understand what is lying concealed under the surface, and I must to a certain extent hold myself responsible for what is happening. God used me as an instrument for creating that great awakening in the country in 1919. Naturally passions were aroused, but as all regarded themselves Indians fighting for a common cause, there was no internecine conflict. But that was only a momentary dream soon to vanish like smoke, and now we find that we are all at war against one another. That makes me unfit for the work for swaraj. And so I say that, although the atmosphere may otherwise be clear, something might happen which might make me mad and absolutely powerless. Surely you would not then want to send to London a man who was so unnerved. You must send someone with faith, and I find myself fast losing faith. That produced the collapse that you saw a moment ago.[1]

Gandhiji added if Mr. Satyamurti[2] thought they were going to get their demands by argument, he was mistaken as most things at the Round Table

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Gandhiji's blood boil. In deep sorrow he said: 'I do not feel like going anywhere. How I wish I could shut myself up here and cry out my grief. There is so much violence in the air, so much falsehood, that I often wonder if it is worth while my going, even if other circumstances made it possible'. . . . I am giving these details here in order that what appeared to be a sudden breakdown on that momentous evening may be presented in its true setting."

[1] What follows is from *The Hindu*.

[2] Who had asked for an explanation from the Working Committee for its decision to send a sole delegate to the Round Table Conference contrary to the Karachi resolution.

Conference would be done behind the curtains and the whole thing would be stage-managed. Referring to Mr. Satyamurti's argument that various other interests were over-represented and therefore the Congress should have adequate representation, Gandhiji said that that was the very reason why they had decided upon a sole representative. Gandhiji added they could not settle such delicate questions by argument as days of argument had gone long ago, but things could be settled only by negotiations. For such delicate negotiations, Gandhiji maintained, a single representative was much better suited than a delegation and asked Mr. Satyamurti to have faith in their representative, and added if he had no faith in the capacity of one representative, he could not have better faith in a delegation consisting of more than one.

Young India, 13-8-1931, and *The Hindu*, 9-8-1931

302. TALK WITH SEVA DAL WORKERS, BOMBAY[1]

August 9, 1931

You ask me what you will do now. I want your province to become a storehouse of men and women workers to be drawn upon by other provinces whenever they want. These will be specially pledged to non-violence, accepting non-violence not as a policy but as a creed, not as a stray brick in the edifice of swaraj, but as the corner-stone of which the removal would bring down the whole edifice. I want them to be trustees of non-violence, guarding it as a valuable treasure which may never be despoiled but ever increase. As such their task will not be mere regulation of meetings, but to offer themselves up as sacrifices when there are disturbances such as we had in the Jinnah Memorial Hall.

Let the Seva Dal men be the salt of the Congress earth. That army will be more powerful than any violent army. The violent army cannot prevent the poison of untruth and communal strife from spreading, but you as a non-violent army should be able to check it. In a vigorous healthy independent India everyone must be ready to fight and die for the liberty and sacredness of the life of the individual. I am not a pessimist. I have abundant faith, that the time may come in my lifetime when this non-violent army may be a fact and a living reality, and eclipse the record of brilliant soldiers. It is not an idle dream, for whilst a violent army has its obvious limitations, a non-violent army has none of the same type. Once it takes fire, it does not require

[1] On the merger of Hindustani Seva Dal with the Congress. Dr. Hardikar and his friends had met Gandhiji for a message just after the morning prayer.

any other training or discipline. It should be the function of the Central Board to present an object-lesson by the concentration on one spot which may be the headquarters of an ideal army. If the movement catches fire in Karnatak, it will overrun the whole of India, but if it does not catch in Karnatak, it will produce mighty little effect in the province itself, much less in India. If it becomes a live force, I should, if God wants me again to tour through Karnatak, see a different atmosphere there. The whole province would then be a depot of non-violent soldiers streaming out from day to day, just as every port town is a huge sailors' quarters. The Central Board has been deliberately intended to supply only officers. There can be no provincial organization without an officer certified by the Seva Dal Office. And if this your officer is a staunch man,— if he has drunk in the tradition, — you have through him moral control of the whole organization. That is my ideal, and I am sure that it can be a living reality. I have that amazing faith in Jawahar. Fired with ample zeal he will do it. There may be self-deception in this belief of mine, but that self-deception will help the country. As for Dr. Hardikar, I have not come in close touch with him, but I have hope and faith in him because I have faith in the destiny of India. That faith would be shattered if non-violence does not become a live force. Today there is blind following on the part of the masses, and the classes follow with the almost stupid calculation of a Bania. Attempt has been made to wean the Congressmen of this stupid calculation, but it can succeed only if the Congress volunteers will be true to their salt. Once non-violence has found a lodgment in their hearts there is no limit to its expansion. The awakening that we witnessed last year would have been impossible without this. Read history with my eyes. Take the history of the Mutiny. It was a war of independence fought with violent weapons. Col. Malleson has narrated a fairly faithful account. You will see that though the greased cartridges may have been an immediate cause, it was just a spark in a magazine that was ready. But look at the result. The U.P., the storm centre of 1857, has for generations since remained under a paralysis as perhaps no other province. For people have retained vivid memories of man turned beast, and masses who simply watched were mown down like corn stalks in a field. Take now this 12 years' experiment. It is a short time in the history of the nation. The experiment and its mighty results would have been impossible without the great force of non-violence. But it has not yet permeated us through and through; otherwise we should not see the disgraceful scenes we

are witnessing nowadays. Bengal I know intimately. I know to what heights it can rise. It has given us not only a Rabindranath Tagore, but a whole army of great men. But it is paralysed today, unable to come up to its natural height. I say this in spite of its brilliant record of the past year. But for the spirit of violence that has overtaken it, the record would have been still more brilliant.

I have drawn a distinction between a violent and a non-violent army. There will be difference in the nature of discipline. The Tommy yields obedience whilst at war, but will yield to wild licence when free from it. But a non-violent soldier carries discipline in his heart and will carry an atmosphere of restraint in every walk of life. Non-violence is a trust which has to be zealously guarded by the Seva Dal. Your soldiers will not only keep discipline in meetings but in homes and domestic affairs. A non-violent soldier is non-violent in all places and at all times.

Young India, 13-8-1931

303. GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

Kakasaheb writes:[1]

It is a matter of regret that a small demand made by this national university four months ago has yet not been fully met. As Ahmedabad has been naturally deriving the greatest benefit from it, Kakasaheb's expectations of Ahmedabad in this matter should not be considered too high. It is not beyond the capacity of the city to raise and donate that amount. There can be no two opinions about the fitness of the Vidyapith or its usefulness. It should also not be necessary for Kakasaheb's teachers to go begging from house to house. What is required is willingness on the part of the rich or the middle class or both in Ahmedabad to collect Rs. 25,000. If one or two citizens take the matter in their hands, they can raise the sum in a week or a fortnight. May I hope that Ahmedabad will do this? Those who can afford to pay only small sums through *Navajivan*, may do so at its office or send the money directly to Kakasaheb.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-8-1931

[1] The letter is not translated here. It contained an appeal for funds.

304. LETTER TO LILAVATI SAVARDEKAR[1]

BOMBAY,
August 9, 1931

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. My advice is, you must stick to your resolve, no matter what happens.

You may not know that I tried to do all I could for the *Devdasis* of the South.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-8-1931

305. SPEECH AT HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL CONFERENCE, BOMBAY

August 9, 1931

At a special session of the Hindustani Seva Dal Conference held . . . in the Jinnah Hall a resolution was adopted confirming the decision of the Central Board of Volunteers to dissolve all the organizations of the Dal and handing it over to the Working Committee of the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi opened the Conference and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Congress President, presided. . . .

Mahatma Gandhi . . . said that the Conference was meant not to write the epitaph of the Seva Dal as Mrs. Naidu who was asked to preside but could not do so owing to her departure to Hyderabad had said in her letter. On the contrary, it was meant to make the Seva Dal stronger. The Congress now wanted to bring the Dal under its direct control because it felt that the time had come when it should organize all the volunteers in the country and bring them under its own control. Proceeding, he said:

The fight we carried on last year impressed upon me the need for training and discipline among the volunteers. The volunteers that we got as the struggle proceeded had not the required training. Although we gained much by that struggle

[1] This letter and "Letter to Lilavati Savardekar", p. 302, were published in *The Bombay Chronicle* as having been addressed to the same person. The addressee was a fallen woman who wanted to lead an honourable life.

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we also suffered in certain respects. You might not be knowing it. But I know it better. Although I was behind the bars of Yeravda I was getting newspapers and I could see what was going on in the country from day to day. It is but natural, when there is mass awakening. But if there is no discipline many evils are sure to creep in. It did happen like that in the last struggle.

The volunteer organizations are in fact the very soul of the Congress. The very existence of the Congress depends on them, because they are the army of the Congress. Of course our army is to be non-violent. We have adopted a new way. Our army is not to bear arms. Nor have we to make use of ammunitions. The Congress has decided to save India by that new weapon. We have already achieved considerable success by following that way. And we mean to achieve more. But our success depends on our non-violent army of volunteers. If they do not save India, if instead of saving they themselves destroy it, if instead of being the apostles of non-violence they themselves become the votaries of violence, how can we expect to succeed in our struggle?

Although I was behind the bars of Yeravda I was getting newspapers regularly and I could see what was going on. I felt that if we want to use the Seva Dal for our purpose we must effect certain changes and make it more useful for our work. It is to bring about that change that we have met here. That is the object of this Conference.

Those who have been serving the Seva Dal or helping it in other ways need not be sorry for this change because this change is for the good of the Seva Dal. It is for the good of the country. It is to conserve all that was good in the Seva Dal and to put new life into it. We expect that the changes will strengthen the Dal and make it more useful for the service of the country.

The Working Committee had decided to entrust the work to Dr. Hardikar and Pandit Jawaharlal. The Committee expects very good results from this new arrangement. We require the services of the Seva Dal in every case. At present we are living in peace time. Whether the Truce is followed by a permanent peace or whether we have to start the struggle again we require the services of the Dal. As I said it is our army and we have to maintain it. I must admit that so far I did not take any great interest in the work of the Seva Dal although I consider myself always a good soldier and am keenly interested in such matters. I hope that this new arrangement will immensely enhance your

strength. I wish it is so. That is my blessing to you on this occasion if I can give any blessing.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-8-1931

306. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[1]

August 10, 1931

Q. 1. Will you be ready to give shelter in the Ashram to the three women or to any of them who may wish to join it?

A. Yes, I shall be very happy to do so. But before joining the Ashram, the women should know and understand my views fully.

Q. 2. What are those views?

A. My first duty will be to inform the Government as soon as the women arrive and communicate their names and other particulars.

Q. 3. If you inform the Government, it will immediately arrest them and prosecute them.

A. Yes, that is possible. The women should be ready for this risk when joining the Ashram.

Q. 4. What, then, will be the advantage to the women of joining the Ashram?

A. It is also possible that, in response to my request, the Government may not prosecute them just now or as long as they live in the Ashram and try to live henceforth in accordance with the Ashram ideals of life.

Q. 5. Will not the Government try to obtain from them information about all that they have done?

A. It will certainly want to obtain such information, but I will tell it, and tell the women, too, that they should confess only their own crimes and errors without involving any other person.

Q. 6. In sum, you desire that the women should join the Ashram ready to face all risks.

[1] The questions and Gandhiji's answers were set out by Jamnalal Bajaj in a letter, with a request to Gandhiji to revise the answers if they had not been reproduced correctly. The questions related to three women wanted by the Government.

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A. Yes, I should like them to join the Ashram ready to face all risks.

This is correct.[1]

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2892

307. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
August 11, 1931

EXCEEDINGLY REGRET INFORM YOU THAT LETTER[2] BOMBAY GOVERNMENT JUST RECEIVED RENDERS IMPOSSIBLE MY DEPARTURE FOR LONDON. LETTER RAISES ISSUES OF FIRST MAGNITUDE AS WELL OF FACTS AS OF LAW AND CONTENDS THAT GOVERNMENT MUST BE FINAL JUDGES ON BOTH. IN NAKED TERMS THIS MEANS THAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE BOTH PROSECUTOR AND JUDGE WITH REFERENCE TO MATTERS ARISING OUT OF A CONTRACT TO WHICH THEY AND COMPLAINANTS ARE PARTIES. THIS IS AN IMPOSSIBLE POSITION FOR CONGRESS TO ACCEPT. WHEN I READ BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S LETTER TOGETHER WITH SIR MALCOLM HAILEY'S TELEGRAM RECEIVED IN ANSWER TO MY ENQUIRY AND REPORTS OF CONTINUING HARASSMENT IN U.P., FRONTIER PROVINCE AND OTHER PROVINCES THEY SEEM TO ME COMPLETE INDICATION THAT I MUST NOT SAIL. AS I PROMISED TO COMMUNICATE WITH YOU BEFORE COMING TO A FINAL DECISION I HAVE BROUGHT FOREGOING FACTS TO YOUR NOTICE. I SHALL AWAIT REPLY BEFORE MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT.

Young India, 20-8-1931

308. TELEGRAM TO R. M. MAXWELL

BOMBAY,
August 11, 1931

THANKS LETTER[3] RECEIVED THIS MORNING. AFTER CORDIAL CONVERSATION WITH HIS EXCELLENCY I WAS UNPREPARED FOR WHAT I MUST REGARD AS THOROUGHLY DISAPPOINTING REPLY. AS GOVERNOR KNOWS BARDOLI MATTER WAS ONE OF

[1] This sentence is in Gandhiji's hand.
[2] & [3] *Vide* Appendix VII.

FIRST MAGNITUDE WITH ME FOR CONGRESS HONOUR WAS PLIGHTED TO PEASANTS. I HAVE NOT ASKED FOR CONGRESS BEING FINAL JUDGE. WHAT I URGED WAS THAT CONGRESS WORD WAS GIVEN TO PEASANTS THAT IF THEY PAID ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY WITHOUT HAVING TO BORROW NO COERCION WOULD BE USED. I TOLD GOVERNOR THAT MONEY OF WHICH REFUND IS ASKED WAS PAID NOT BECAUSE OF ABILITY BUT BECAUSE OF COERCION. IN SUCH A MATTER OF HONOUR WHEN WE HAVE EVIDENCE SUPPORTING OUR POSITION WE CANNOT ACCEPT COLLECTOR'S WORD AS FINAL. UNLESS THEREFORE HIS EXCELLENCY IS PREPARED REVISE DECISION IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME PROCEED LONDON. BUT AS I PROMISED VICEROY NOT MAKE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL I HAD COMMUNICATED WITH HIM HAVE WIRED TO HIM AND NOW AWAIT REPLY BEFORE MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT.

Young India, 20-8-1931

309. TELEGRAM TO DR. B. C. ROY[1]

[On or after *August 11, 1931*][2]

YOUR WIRE. NOT IF HE OBJECTS CONDITIONS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17454

310. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

August 12, 1931

MY DEAR AMTUL,

I have your letter. Do as Narandas says and have full faith in what he says. I cannot give you greater guidance from here. I saw your mother and brother and was delighted to see them. Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 244

[1] & [2] In reply to the addressee's telegram received on August 11, 1931, which read: "Regarding item five of draft Subhas says that present dispute is with regard to B.P.C.C. election for 1931-32 and no fresh election due in October. He considers no conditions regarding supervision need be laid down now for elections to be held next year. Wire whether Subhas should start tomorrow Wednesday."

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311. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

August 12, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

Have you made up your mind not to write to me? You do not know my love at all. I have treated you with greater indulgence than if you had been my daughter. If I have to leave on Saturday, would you like it that I should leave without a letter from you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10261; also C.W. 6710. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

312. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 12, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. I see from it that my public reference to the matter has hurt both . . .[1] and you and also that you think that what I said was improper. I realized only today that you felt or might feel hurt. I had not connected your agitation with my statement. I had believed that you must have been agitated by the very thought that someone had entertained even a suspicion against you. I have not been able to understand why . . .[2] must have felt hurt either. She had in fact laughed away the whole thing and that had reassured me. If I referred to the matter in public, it was, as is my wont, with the intention of clearing the air. Since people had started talking about it, I thought it advisable to express my view so that the whispering might stop. I see nothing improper in this. At any rate there is no cause in it at all for anyone to feel hurt. How amusing it is that we remain unconcerned if anyone talks about us in private but feel hurt if somebody mentions the same thing in public. Moreover, why should we feel hurt by any suspicion for which there is no ground at all? Think over all this. Show this letter to . . .[3]

[1], [2] & [3] The names are omitted in the source.

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and banish the pain from your heart. If you see any error in my reasoning, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, pp. 270-1

313. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[After *August 12, 1931*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have no time to write a long letter today. Mahavir is very well now. I feel tired in my right thumb and so I am writing this letter with the left hand.

Have you overcome your agitation? Has . . .[2] calmed down? Has the air cleared? Write to me in detail.

Have you taken away cow-protection work from Santok?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Despite my great eagerness to go there, I have not been able to do so. My going to England is still uncertain. I forgot to tell you that you should pay Chhaganlal Joshi[3] Rs. 200 just now from the Satyagraha Fund for expenses, and continue to pay even in future whatever he may require.

If he requires anyone from among those who were in the march, the person should certainly be relieved. We shall have to think afterwards what arrangements to make for the Ashram.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, pp. 271-2. Also C.W. 8186. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] The letter appears to have been written after the one to the addressee dated August 12, 1931.

[2] The name has been omitted.

[3] At this time Chhaganlal Joshi was working around Navsari.

314. NEED FOR FEELING HELPLESS

God is great, and we are but dust. But thanks to our pride, whilst we say with our lips 'God is great', our actions belie the profession and show that we think nothing of God and a 'mighty lot' of ourselves. But it is time to realize our helplessness. The growing *goondaism* of which Bombay had a bitter experience must furnish all with food for reflection. It cannot, it must not be answered with counter-*goondaism* than which nothing is easier. What can be easier than to swear harder than one's opponent or to give two blows against one or to organize ten men against five? But this can serve no earthly purpose. And if it can serve any celestial purpose, that abode must be worse than the fabled hell.

Is there then no remedy for the growing evil? The time-honoured and well tried method is that of prayer and fasting. But both have to come from the heart. A parrot-like repetition of the choicest sentiment and mere starvation of the body would be worse than useless. Prayer and fasting avail where there is a definite consciousness of the presence of God in us, even as we have of friends living under the same roof. Self-deception will not do.

Jawaharlal uttered the feeling of co-workers, when in anguish he said, 'This will stop political life and may even influence social life.' The way out is not to give any handle to *goondaism*. The best way would be for peaceful men to withdraw from meetings when the *goondas* have invaded it. Truth will not be suppressed by violence. And if those who represent it will suffer without retaliation, they will find that it will spread without effort. Difficulty however lies in knowing where truth lies. It is easy enough to accuse one's opponent of representing untruth. But this inherent inability to demonstrate the absolute truthfulness of one's position makes toleration an imperative necessity for the progress of ordered life. Without the freedom to everyone to express his opinion unfettered by interference from those who hold the contrary, ordered life becomes an impossibility.

Is refusal even to defend oneself the logical outcome of this argument? For the moment I do not need to go so far, though for those who believe in non-violence through and through, self-defence is an impossibility. For them not to defend is the best self-defence. This however is not an artificial or mechanical state

that can be imposed from without. It does not admit of being argued out. One has to grow to it. The need of the moment is to realize our helplessness. A Tamil proverb truly has it: God is the Help of the helpless. This realization will show us a way out of the present impenetrable darkness, without our having to work out the logical outcome of non-violence. This is the work of philosophers. For us helpless men and women who have to serve from day to day and often in the face of gloomy despair, it is enough if we can sing with the Seer: "One step enough for me."

Young India, 13-8-1931

315. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
August 13, 1931

THANK YOU FOR FULL WIRE[1]. YOUR ASSURANCE I MUST READ IN LIGHT OF PRESENT HAPPENINGS AND IF YOU CAN SEE IN THEM NOTHING INCONSISTENT WITH SETTLEMENT IT SHOWS FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN OUR RESPECTIVE OUTLOOKS UPON SETTLEMENT. IN CIRCUMSTANCES I REGRET TO SAY THAT THERE IS NO WAY LEFT OPEN TO ME BUT TO CONFIRM DECISION ALREADY CONVEYED. I CAN ONLY ADD THAT I TRIED MY UTMOST BEST TO GO TO LONDON BUT FAILED. PLEASE

[1] Of August 13 which read: "I should regret extremely if for the reasons you have given Congress were to be unwilling to carry out arrangement which provided for their representation at the Conference. I am unable to accept these reasons as valid and I cannot but feel that your misgivings arise from a misunderstanding of policy of Government and grounds on which it rests. . . . In particular I should have thought any misgivings as regards the United Provinces would have been removed by Sir Malcolm Hailey's telegram to you of 6th August, and as regards Gujarat by paragraph four of the letter of the Private Secretary to Sir Ernest Hotson to you of August 10th. I would remind you of my personal letter to you of July 31st in which I gave you the fullest assurances of my personal interest in everything to do with the Settlement and could therefore have hoped that you would not allow disputes over present details to prevent your serving India by participating in the momentous discussion of the future constitution which may determine the destiny of the country beyond your time or mine. If however your telegram represents the final word I will at once inform the Prime Minister of your inability to attend the Conference."

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INFORM PREMIER ACCORDINGLY. I PRESUME I MAY RELEASE CORRESPONDENCE AND WIRES FOR PUBLICATION.[1]

Young India, 20-8-1931

316. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

August 13, 1931

After the announcement of the decision of the Congress Working Committee, Mahatma Gandhi spoke to a group of Press representatives. Mahatmaji said:

It is needless to say I am very unhappy that I shall not go to London. I know what effect this will have on Lord Irwin, and I also know how disappointed my numerous friends in England will be. But this decision against my going there was inevitable. I was hoping against hope and expected to the last moment that justice would be done.

I think I made a very modest request. If there was a Settlement between the Government and the Congress, and if there is a dispute in the interpretation of this Settlement or if either of the parties contravenes the terms of the Settlement, then the same rules that are followed regarding other pacts should be applied to this Settlement too. This, in my opinion, is all the more necessary because the present Settlement is between a powerful Government and a mighty Congress, claiming to represent the entire nation. The observance of the terms of the present Settlement cannot be enforced by law. The Government is therefore doubly bound to place before an impartial tribunal all these points of dispute between itself and the Congress. The Government however refused to accept this very modest proposal of the Congress.

Under these circumstances it would have been very wrong for the Congress to join the Round Table Conference. I cannot say anything more than this at this time.

I hope it would be possible for the Working Committee to publish the relevant correspondence as and when necessary. The public will, then, be able to form its own opinion.

After this, a Press representative asked Mahatma Gandhi: "What is your programme for the future?" Mahatmaji replied:

[1] In reply the Viceroy wired on August 14: "I have informed the Prime Minister of your decision. I am releasing relevant correspondence to the Press. . . . You are of course free to do the same."

At this moment I am unable to say off-hand what the future programme will be. It will depend on the steps which the Government will take.

Q. Will civil disobedience movement be launched and if so when?

A. As far as I know, there is no idea of starting the satyagraha struggle immediately.

Q. When will you leave Bombay and what is your destination?

A. I intend to leave Bombay tomorrow evening for Ahmedabad.

Q. Is there any hope of resumption of talks between yourself and the Viceroy about the Settlement?

A. If you are referring to resumption of talks on the question of representation of the Congress at the Round Table Conference, as far as I know, and as far as the Congress Working Committee is concerned, there is no question of resumption of the talks.

After this the representative asked whether the Delhi Settlement endured or was abrogated. Mahatmaji replied:

The breakdown of the present talks does not necessarily mean annulment of the Delhi Pact. Refusal to send a representative to the Round Table Conference for breach of the Settlement is one thing; and abrogation of the Settlement itself is another thing.

I can say this much, namely, Congress is not prepared to do anything drastic in the near future. Congress will endeavour its utmost to fulfil the terms of the Settlement. But the Government can create intolerable conditions. In that case Congress will necessarily act in self-defence.

A representative asked: "Have wholly unbearable conditions been created now?" Mahatma Gandhi replied:

Perhaps wholly unbearable conditions have not been created.

Q. What did the Viceroy write to you?

A. I am not in a position to disclose the Viceroy's reply. I am awaiting permission to publish the correspondence.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 15-8-1931

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317. CABLE TO R. H. BERNAYS[1]

MANIBHAVAN,
August 14, 1931

BERNAYS
"NEWS CHRONICLE"
LONDON

FOR ONCE LET BRITISH PUBLIC BELIEVE THAT EVERY EFFORT HUMANLY POSSIBLE WAS MADE BY ME TO PROCEED LONDON BUT BELIEF IS GROWING ON ME THAT GREAT CIVILIANS HERE DO NOT WANT ME TO ATTEND CONFERENCE OR IF THEY DO THEY DO SO UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION LIKE CONGRESS CAN NEVER TOLERATE. IF THERE IS TO BE LASTING PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN TWO NATIONS THESE CIVILIANS WILL PROBABLY REMAIN AS TRUE SERVANTS OF INDIA. I HAVE THEREFORE NO DESIRE TO ATTEND CONFERENCE IF I CANNOT DO SO WITH THEIR WHOLEHEARTED GOODWILL AND BLESSINGS. WHEN FULL FACTS ARE PUBLISHED I WILL BE ABLE TO PRODUCE A CATALOGUE OF BREACHES BY PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS WHICH WILL SHOW HOW PATIENT CONGRESS HAS BEEN AND HOPING AGAINST HOPE. DEMAND FOR AN IMPARTIAL TRIBUNAL BEFORE WHOM CONGRESS CAN PROVE THESE BREACHES I HOLD TO BE PERFECTLY NATURAL AND SIMPLE. I CLAIM FOR DELHI SETTLEMENT AT LEAST AS MUCH SANCTITY AND PROTECTION AS IS CLAIMABLE FOR ANY ORDINARY CONTRACT BUT IF FOR THIS SOLEMN SETTLEMENT ONE CONTRACTING PARTY CAN BE BOTH PROSECUTOR AND JUDGE IT IS NOT WORTH PAPER ON WHICH IT IS WRITTEN AND IF LONDON CANNOT GUARANTEE PROTECTION TO THAT PARTY TO THE CONTRACT WHICH HAS NO ARMS TO BACK IT LONDON IS

[1] In reply to the addressee's cable which stated: "Decision of Working Committee causes deep disappointment and bewilderment here. Your friends still strongly hope you will come London. Is this still possible? Personally regard it as important you make position clear for benefit of British public."

NOT LIKELY TO PRODUCE A SCHEME THAT WILL GIVE INDIA WHAT SHE HAS LONG DESIRED AND TO WHICH SHE IS ENTITLED BY RIGHT OF SUFFERINGS IF NOTHING MORE. POSITION IS ANY DAY RETRIEVABLE BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES IMPLEMENTING TERMS OF SETTLEMENT. I CLAIM FOR CONGRESS THAT IT HAS DONE ITS PART TO BEST OF ITS ABILITY. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN READY TO SET RIGHT EVERYTHING BROUGHT AGAINST IT AND HAS BEEN ALWAYS READY TO COURT PUBLIC ENQUIRY INTO EVERY ONE OF ITS DOINGS. PERSONALLY I WOULD GIVE MY ALL FOR THE SAKE OF LORD IRWIN WHO I KNOW WILL FEEL DEEPLY CUT UP TO SEE THE SETTLEMENT TO WHICH HE GAVE MANY ANXIOUS DAYS AND NIGHTS FAILING AT LAST MOMENT. I CLAIM TO FEEL THIS NO LESS KEENLY THAN HE. YOU MAY THEREFORE DEPEND UPON IT THAT I WOULD MAKE A DASH FOR LONDON THE MOMENT THE WAY IS CLEARED FOR ME BY THOSE WHO ARE IN A POSITION TO DO SO.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17464

318. LETTER TO VICEROY[1]

August 14, 1931

Events have moved so fast that I have not had the time to acknowledge your very kind personal letter[2] of 31st July. I recognize the sincerity running through that communication but the latest developments have made that letter past history, and as I have said in my wire of 13th inst., the sum total of all the circumstances betrays a fundamental difference of outlook between us. I can only give you my assurance that it was not without the greatest and most anxious deliberation that I came to the conclusion that in view of your decision I could not, consistently with my obligations here, attend the Round Table Conference. But I was grieved when I heard that your decision was affected by the opinion ascribed to you that I had insisted upon a board of arbitration and that I was trying to set myself up as a head of

[1] Published under the caption, "Will the Settlement Abide?"

[2] *Vide* Appendix VI.

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parallel government. As for the board of arbitration it is true that I have claimed it as a matter of right but if you recall our conversation I never insisted upon it. On the contrary, I told you that so long as I got the justice to which I was entitled I would be quite satisfied. You will agree that this is wholly different from insisting on a board of arbitration. As to the alleged parallel government, I thought I had dispelled the illusion when, in reply to a jocular remark by you, I had told you that I did not claim to be a district officer but that my co-workers and I had acted as voluntary Patels or village Headmen and that too with the consent and knowledge of district officials. I should therefore be sorry if these two opinions which I submit were erroneous had affected your decision.

The purpose however of writing this letter is to inquire whether you regard the Settlement as now at an end or whether it is to be still continued in spite of the abstention of the Congress from participation in the Round Table Conference. The Working Committee arrived at the following decision this morning:

> In view of the resolution relating to the Congress non-participation in the Round Table Conference passed by the Working Committee on August 13, the Committee desires to make it clear that this resolution should not be construed as ending the Delhi Settlement. The Committee therefore advises Congress organizations and all Congressmen to continue to comply, until further instructions, with the terms of the Settlement in so far as they are applicable to the Congress.

From this you will observe that the Working Committee of the Congress has no desire to embarrass the Government at the present juncture and that therefore it is prepared to continue honourably to work the Settlement. But such working must depend upon a reciprocal attitude on the part of Provincial governments. As I have told you so often through correspondence and our conversations, this reciprocity has been found to be progressively missing. Information continues to be received at the office of the Working Committee of Government activity which can only be interpreted to be token of a design to crush the Congress workers and the normal Congress activities. If therefore the Settlement is to abide I venture to think that an early relief in the matter of complaints already filed is necessary. More, as I have already said, are coming and co-workers are insistent that if relief is not had in time they should at least get the permission to adopt defensive measures. May I request an early reply?

Young India, 20-8-1931

319. *INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*

August 14, 1931

Q. If negotiations are not reopened, will you withhold renewal of the civil disobedience movement until the second Round Table Conference finishes its labour?

A. It is difficult to give a conclusive answer, but the Congress will make every effort not to renew the civil disobedience movement. Much will depend upon the attitude of Government.

Q. If the second R.T.C. fails to grant your principal demands or substance thereof will you consider the Delhi Pact a dead letter, and will you then renew the struggle?

A. The renewal of the struggle is a certainty if the Congress demands are not granted.

Q. If the struggle is resumed, will it be more intensive and upon a wider scale?

A. I should hope so. Certainly no stone will be left unturned to make the struggle more intensive and extensive.

Q. In making your decision yesterday, did you pray for divine guidance?

A. In all my recent activities and decision[1] yesterday of the Working Committee, the hand of God can be distinctly traced. I can assure you that throughout these anxious days, I have searched my heart eagerly for divine guidance.

Q. If Lord Irwin had been Viceroy, do you think you would have come to terms with him about going to London?

A. Comparisons are invidious.

Q. Do you attribute responsibility for the failure of the negotiations to the Provincial authorities, to Earl Willingdon, to the London Government, or to all three?

A. I attribute responsibility for the failure to the obstinacy of the Provincial authorities, but still more to the force of circumstances.

Q. Do you believe the Working Committee's resolution of yesterday

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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leaves the way clear for Government to reopen negotiations, leading to your presence in London?

A. The Working Committee's resolution undoubtedly leaves the door open for all kinds of negotiations, so long as they are designed to lead the Congress to its destined goal.

Q. What in brief are your minimum terms for your going to London?

A. Satisfactory assurances that the conditions of the Delhi Settlement will be observed by the Provincial governments so far as they are applicable to them. Satisfaction must be to the party claiming to be injured, which in this case is the Congress.

Q. Was failure to settle the Hindu-Muslim communal problem or any other recent development a contributing factor to your decision not to go to London?

A. No other happening contributed to my decision except the breakdown of the Delhi Settlement at a most critical period, when, if the Provincial governments had really intended that I should go to London, they would and should have made my way clear.

Q. Do you think there is any danger of the peasants spontaneously suspending the payment of land revenue when they see that you are not going to London?

A. I hope not, and certainly not if we have acquired any control over them.

The Times of India, 15-8-1931

320. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

RAJAGOPALACHARI
CARE A. V. RAMAN, LLOYD CORNER
ROYAPETTAH (MADRAS)

DISTRESSED OVER PAPA'S[1] HEALTH. UNDER ALTERED CIRCUMSTANCES YOU NEED NOT WORRY TO COME EARLY. AM HERE SOME TIME. WRITING.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 17466

[1] Addressee's daughter

321. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

MY DEAR MURIEL,

I know what a terrible shock it must have been to you to learn that after all I was not coming. If it is any consolation please know that it was no less a shock to me. I know with what affection you were making preparations to receive me in your home. I was looking forward to making the acquaintance of the neighbours of Kingsley Hall and come in intimate contact with their lives. But God has willed otherwise. I hardly think you need my assurance that I have neither been wilful nor obstinate. On the contrary I exercised the greatest patience. But you will soon learn the tragic story. Whilst therefore I have been grieved to arrive at the decision not to go, deep down I have the feeling that it was the best thing and that the time was not ripe for me to go to London.

Love.

BAPU

MISS MURIEL LESTER

From a photostat: G.N. 6641

322. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

I know how deeply grieved you must have been to learn that after all I could not sail by the *Mooltan*. I can see as clear as daylight that it was God's will that I should not go. I made Herculean efforts to be able to go, but it was no use. I do not write anything more because the cables will have told you all. This is merely to tell you that in coming to the decision I had Sastri, Polak and above all Muriel in my mind. But duty knows no personal ties. Has it not been my lot often to disappoint dearest friends? The thought too of what it must have meant to Lord Irwin was almost too much for me to bear. But the voice within

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was peremptory, and so when the Viceroy's wire[1] came, a great weight was lifted off my back.

I am not writing separately to the other friends except Muriel. Will you please share this with them?

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.

From a photostat: S.N. 17470

323. LETTER TO MATHEW KOHOSOFF

AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for the gift of *Midstream* by Helen Keller. Though I have not been able to go through the whole of the volume a glance through its pages shows that it is a remarkable story.

Yours sincerely,

MATHEW KOHOSOFF, ESQ.
574 WEST 192D STREET
NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17471

324. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

DEAR SUBHAS,

I had your wire. As there was no hurry I did not wire back. In view of it we all came to the conclusion that it would be better for Mr. Aney to go on with his investigations so that at least a proper finding on the facts would be available.[2]

I hope that Dinesh's resolution was rescinded.[3]

Yours sincerely,

SYT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

From a photostat: S.N. 17472

[1] *Vide* footnote to "Telegram to Viceroy", p. 286.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

[3] On July 7 Dinesh Gupta had been hanged in Alipur Central Jail for the murder of Col. Simpson, Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal.

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325. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

DEAR MR. ANEY,

I forgot to tell you that you had to go on with the Bengal dispute because your suggestion was unacceptable, so far as I could gather, to Subhas Babu,[1] and those members of the Committee to whom I was able to talk came to the conclusion that on the whole it would be better to thrash the whole matter out and for you to find out who is in the wrong. Though therefore it may take you a little time, please give the Committee your full decision.

If you find time, I would like you to give me an exhaustive note on the Forest Laws and their administration and your considered judgment on the necessity of offering jungle satyagraha.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. M. S. ANEY
YEOTMAL (BERAR)

From a photostat: S.N. 17473

326. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

I had your letter.

You are going through a terrible trial. But I know that in the midst of it all you can remain cheerful and unruffled. I would not think of tearing you away from Papa. So long therefore as she needs your personal nursing, I have no doubt that your duty is to be by her.

What shall I write to you about the dramatic developments? I hope your reasoning fully endorses the decision. I have personally not a shadow of a doubt about it. I wish you would be able to attend the next meeting of the Working Committee[2], if I am

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Dr. B. C. Roy", p. 282.
[2] Scheduled to be held from September 8

free till then. I expect still greater dramatic developments now. But I feel that all will be well and as satyagrahis we have no business to want to peep into the future. We must simply take care of the present and be sure of the future.

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
C/O SYT. A. V. RAMAN
LLOYD CORNER
ROYAPETTAH (MADRAS)

From a photostat: S.N. 17474

327. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

AHMEDABAD,
August 15, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your most affectionate letter. How I would have loved to see you if I had gone to England, but it was not to be. I feel that it was God's will that I should not go. But I am not yet without hope that some day, somehow we shall meet in the flesh.

Yours sincerely,

M. ROMAIN ROLLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 17475

328. TELEGRAM TO SHERWANI

[On or after *August 15, 1931*][1]

SHERWANI
ELGIN ROAD
ALLAHABAD

MY OPINION IS GOVIND BALLABH PANT SHOULD JOIN AGRARIAN COMMITTEE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17430

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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329. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

[On or after *August 15, 1931*]

PT. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

YOUR WIRE. THINK GOVIND BALLABH SHOULD JOIN COMMITTEE. HAVE WIRED SHERWANI ACCORDINGLY.

From a photostat: S.N. 17430

330. DIVINE WILL

All had thought it certain that I would have left on the 15th for England. Many persons here, in England and in other parts of the world were eager that I should go. However, if a person like Ramachandra had no foreknowledge that at the hour fixed for his coronation he would have to leave for the forest, how can a common man like me or an ordinary organization like the Indian National Congress say with certainty that a certain thing will happen at a certain time? God's will prevails in all matters, and it is always for the best. I see nothing but God's will in the Viceroy's reply. I can certainly state that I sincerely did all that a human being could do to enable me to go to England and take part in the Round Table Conference. If, in spite of this I have not been able to go, I am sure that India's good lies in my not going.

For myself I see no difference between the officials here and the political leaders in England. If we have to struggle hard to secure justice from these officials even in the most trivial matters, and if sometimes we fail to get it despite all our efforts, it is an idle hope that we shall get justice in England in much more important matters. The logic of this is quite simple. A big sum in arithmetic is the total of small sums. What is true of the smallest is true of the biggest. If, therefore, it is impossible to secure justice in very small matters, it will also be impossible to get it in a big matter. According to this logic, what has happened here is

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram dated August 15, 1931 which read: "U.P. Government invited Govind Ballabh Pant sit on agrarian committee which considering future revenue policy. I consider under present circumstances his joining inadvisable. Please wire your opinion to Sherwani Elgin Road Allahabad."

only a warning of what is going to happen in England. If this line of reasoning is correct it was best, even from a practical standpoint, that I should not go to England as a representative of the Congress.

However, the fact of my not going has increased the burden of duty on the people. I shall now have to ask the nation to work harder, and I hope that it will respond. Let the people wake up. We shall however discuss this further at some other time.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-8-1931

331. TELEGRAM TO K. F. NARIMAN[1]

VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

NARIMAN
CONGRESS
BOMBAY

NO OBJECTION MEETING GIVING INFORMATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17487

[1] This was in answer to the addressee's letter to Mahadev Desai which read: "Sir Cowasji (Jr.) sent for me today and had a long talk on the subject. He wanted me to accompany him to Poona. I said that I could not without instructions from headquarters. He is proceeding tonight to Poona to have a talk with H[otson] I presume on the lines of Sapru's wire to W[illingdon]. He has asked me to see him immediately on his return tomorrow evening and then if necessary he may ask me to proceed to Ahmedabad same night and himself may accompany; in that event may arrive Monday morning. Please wire after consulting if there is any objection to the course suggested". (S.N. 17479)

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332. TELEGRAM TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN
UTMANZAI (CHARSADDA)

YOUR WIRE. PLEASE SEE COMMISSIONER ABOUT AKBARPURA PLACING ALL FACTS BEFORE HIM. ALSO IF NOT ALREADY GONE GO DERAISMAILKHAN AND SMOOTH TROUBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17488

333. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

DEAR PROFESSOR,

Someone has to be sent to the Frontier Province for doing khaddar work there, that is to say, teaching spinning, carding, weaving, etc. Have you anybody in view whom you could send? Khurshedbehn would like you to handle this work.

How do you like the latest developments?

ACHARYA KRIPALANI
GANDHI ASHRAM
MEERUT

From a photostat: S.N. 17480

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334. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

I had your long letter handed to me by Devdas and it gave me great delight as it was full of news and this was supplemented by what Khan Saheb and Devdas had to say. Now that I am not going to London I would like you to give me a weekly budget of news.

I am trying to send someone for khadi work and I am also thinking of sending one or two more sisters. Of course I shall send no one without first getting your approval. Hamida I have not forgotten at all and the other I have in mind is Kusumbehn whom you know so well and who was with us during the Almora tour. She has not yet given me her final answer but I have told her that even if she made up her mind I would have to consult you before sending her. You will therefore now guide me and if you can think of other names you will not hesitate to tell me. Nanibehn I have in mind. I had a talk with her today. I have not mentioned the Frontier work to her as yet. But I understood from her that she was attending to one liquor shop and she seems to me to be irreplaceable at the present moment. But I will not take any further steps till I hear from you.

I saw your telegram from Dera Ismail Khan. I have telegraphed to Khan Saheb.[1] I am expecting full information from you. I take it that you have a full supply of newspapers. I need not therefore tell you anything about the trying events that are taking place here. If you want any newspaper that is not being sent to you otherwise please do not hesitate to ask for it.

SM. KHURSHEDBEHN
C/O DR. KHAN SAHEB
PESHAWAR

From a photostat: S.N. 17481

[1] *Vide* p. 300.

335. LETTER TO LILAVATI SAVARDEKAR[1]

AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

DEAR SISTER,

This is my message:

Whilst it is true that man must shed his vice for the sake of his fallen sisters I am quite certain that the evil will be eradicated only when some sister from amongst them rises in revolt against the evil and with the fire of her own purity burns the evil in the others.

Yours sincerely,

SM. LILAVATI SAVARDEKAR

From a photostat: S.N. 17482; also *Bombay Chronicle*, 29-8-1931

336. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I was able to see your letter only yesterday after reaching Ahmedabad. I am only now able to overtake the arrears of correspondence. As Sardar Vallabhbhai told me that the Corporation had already declined to interfere with the Dinesh resolution, I did not wire my opinion yesterday. If the information given by the Sardar was correct, I am sorry. I do believe that the resolution should have been rescinded for the sake of the young men and for the sake of truth. But I suppose you were utterly helpless.

As for the party disputes in Bengal, after the receipt of Subhas's letter, I had an informal discussion with as many members as I could get hold of at the time and we all came to the conclusion that, in the circumstances, it would be better to let things take their own course and let Mr. Aney give his finding.

I send you herewith two letters. I like Phanindra Nath Seth's letter. Apart from the charges, his suggestions seem to

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Lilavati Savardekar", p. 278.

me to be sound. I can make neither head nor tail of the other letter.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 2

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 17483

337. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

I was delighted to hear from you after a long time.

My collapse[1] had nothing to do with my health. It was purely the welling up of emotion in me that overpowered me for the moment. This has happened to me more than once. I am keeping quite fit and there is no cause for anxiety. Do not stop writing for fear of taking up my time. Only don't expect me always to reply. Had I gone to Europe I should certainly have sought out Esther and Menon. But God is great and merciful. At the right moment, he lifted the weight off my shoulders.

MISS PETERSEN
PORTO NOVO (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 17484

338. LETTER TO SHRI RAM SHARMA

AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter about repression in Rohtak. If relief is not forthcoming, you will presently have the needed permission to adopt defensive measures. As I am not going out of India you will please continue to keep me informed of the situation there.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI RAM SHARMA
GENERAL SECRETARY, DT. CONGRESS COMMITTEE
ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17485

[1] During the A.I.C.C. Meeting in Bombay on August 8, 1931; *vide* p. 273.

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339. LETTER TO A. SUBBIAH

P. O. Box 26,
AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

MY DEAR SUBBIAH,

I have your letter. Your telegram was attended to as soon as it was received. Now that I am not going to London I expect to be relieved of some pressure. But it is also likely that the pressure may increase.

Lalita[1] has no excuse for not completing her Hindi. She can't plead want of time nor want of tuition. You can give it to her for a few minutes daily, but what she needs is not so much tuition as application. I cannot help the feeling that if those from the South who are nearest me will not take the trouble of learning Hindi, there is something wrong, and then I have no right to expect the others to learn it. Either a knowledge of Hindi is a necessity for the service of the masses and therefore should be at once learnt by all true servants or it is not necessary, in which case the Hindi Prachar Office should be wound up. There is something untrue in the present vagueness. Let Lalita therefore beware.

I hope to be here for three weeks. . . .[2]

From a microfilm: S.N. 17486

340. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

AHMEDABAD,
August 16, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

I thank you for your two letters about the fines imposed in 21 villages by the *Panch* and the rents in Ras. Please excuse me for the delay in acknowledging them. I shall be for some time in Ahmedabad now. I hope to write to you more fully as soon as I have finished my enquiries.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 17489

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] The letter is incomplete in the source.

341. TELEGRAM TO K. F. NARIMAN

August 17, 1931

NARIMAN
CARE CONGRESS
BOMBAY

YOUR LETTER.[1] ANY INQUIRY INTO BARDOLI COLLECTIONS WOULD SATISFY ME IF IT IS REALLY IMPARTIAL AND PUBLIC. WHILST THAT WOULD BE ENOUGH TO SEND ME LONDON IT SHOULD NOT MEAN THAT WORKING COMMITTEE WILL NOT PRESS FOR RELIEF ON OTHER MATTERS OR FAILING SATISFACTION FOR PUBLIC IMPARTIAL INQUIRY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17492

342. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

MALAVIYAJI
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

DOUBT THE WISDOM BUT YIELD TO YOUR ADVICE. AM HANDING IT[2] TO THE PRESS.

From a photostat: S.N. 17511

[1] Of August 16. Nariman had said that he had met Cowasji Jehangir after the latter's return from Poona, and that the position as he could understand from him as well as from the telegram sent by Sapru and Jayakar to the Viceroy was that Gandhiji would be prepared to go to London on the Government agreeing to appoint an impartial officer to enquire into the forcible revenue collection in Bardoli. He had asked if this was correct.

[2] Presumably the reference is to the correspondence which *inter alia* included the charge-sheet. It was published in *Young India*, 20-8-1931.

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343. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

MY DEAR BHRR,

Your letter. Yes, you have to be on the shelf well dusted and ready when the emergency arises. You are still the successor.[1] Love to you all, specially to the new arrival. Smother him or her with kisses. Mind that the flowing beard does not prick the tender skin.

Yours,
BHRR

From a photostat: S.N. 9577

344. LETTER TO HARDIT SINGH DHILLON

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.

Though we may differ as to the methods we seem to have common goal. Believer as I am in non-violence I seek to convert people to particular positions and not compel them. Hence there is difficulty in my being able to endorse your plan.

Yours sincerely,

HARDIT SINGH DHILLON, ESQ.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIF. (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17499

[1] It seems Abbas Tyabji was nominated to succeed Gandhiji as leader of satyagrahis after his arrest; *vide* Vol. XLIII, "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 201.

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345. A LETTER[1]

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR SISTER,

There is no breakdown in my health. My right thumb needs rest from constant writing. Hence the use of the left hand. The collapse at the meeting was an expression of grief I could not control. My health has been never better than now during the past few years.

Yours, etc.,

From a photostat: S.N. 17500

346. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN,

Well, I can't go to S. Africa since I am not even going to London.

Believe me there is nothing spectacular in the loin-cloth. It is a vital necessity. Was there anything spectacular in the change made in S. Africa? Is the dress, i.e., the loin-cloth of the coolie in Natal spectacular? And how if I do not feel anything better than he? Do you know that millions in India do not wear anything more than a loin-cloth? But I forget you are a superior woman. You cannot judge people by the ordinary standard.

My book is true, because it is a faithful reproduction of my recollections. It is open to all those who were associated with me to correct mistakes. And since it is not an advertising medium, what does it matter if some dear friends escaped my memory at the time? But send me a list of all inaccuracies and omissions. And endeavour will be made to make the necessary corrections and additions when the second edition is called for.

My right hand is out of use. Hence the effort with the left hand.

Yours, etc.,

From a photostat: S.N. 17501

[1] The addressee's name is not known.

347. LETTER TO WINCENTY LUTOSLAWSKI

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.

As you must have seen I am not going to London. If I had gone I would certainly have set apart an hour for you. I understand your warning but in spite of it I hold that if we have real satyagraha in us we should hold our own. That it would be difficult I admit. But nothing is impossible in that line for a satyagrahi.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. WINCENTY LUTOSLAWSKI
ETABLES, COTES DU NORD
(FRANCE)

From a photostat: S.N. 17502

348. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I send you the enclosed for your information. You will destroy it after use.

Encl. 1

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 17503

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349. LETTER TO MAZHAR ALI ALAVI

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.

I have no objection to your dedicating your book to me.

Please remember me to your father. I hope he is now well.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. MAZHAR ALI ALAVI
KOTHI NO. 131
AMINABAD, LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 17504

350. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR DR. ROY,

The Manager, *Navajivan*, has sent me your appeal for funds on behalf of the flood-stricken. I am simply dazed. I have appeals from Assam, Bihar, Ratnagiri, and now from you. I do not know that I can get anything from the readers. I have therefore not made any appeal in the pages of *Navajivan* or *Young India*. I am debating in my mind what to do. I make one suggestion. Write personally to some of the monied men whom you know. I am deeply hurt that I can do nothing.

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. C. ROY
COLLEGE OF SCIENCE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 17505

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351. LETTER TO MOHOMMAD MUFTI KIFAYATULLAH

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

I must thank you for your letter of 13th inst.

The Working Committee has certainly not discussed the question. I do not know what Pandit Malaviyaji and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad have been saying. In any event my own promise stands, and now that I am not going to London do you not think that the whole discussion has now become profitless?

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA MOHOMMAD MUFTI KIFAYATULLAH
PRESIDENT, JAMAITULAMA-I-HIND
BAZAR BILLIMARAN, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17506

352. LETTER TO R. G. PRADHAN

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing your appeal to the Hindu members of the R.T.C. It does not any longer affect me but I may say that the appeal is not likely to be of much use because in my opinion the Government want to keep the question for themselves to arbitrate upon. I hope I am wrong. But the conviction is not baseless.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. R. G. PRADHAN
NASIK

From a photostat: S.N. 17507

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353. LETTER TO S. THURAI RAJA SINGAM

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the golden studs. They will be used for khadi fund.

You may make what use you like of my writings about Dinbandhu Andrews.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. S. THURAI RAJA SINGAM
THE SCHOOL
PEKAN
[MALAYA]

From a microfilm: S.N. 17508

354. LETTER TO PADMA

August 18, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I was glad to read your letter. I did not find the temperature chart which should have been enclosed. You should not walk so much that you get completely exhausted. How do you spend your time there? How is Sarojinidevi occupied? What is your diet? Write to me and give me all this information. Your having lost weight is not a good sign.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6125

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355. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your postcard. I don't want any doctor's opinion. I want your own opinion.

Go and see Mahavir.

According to me, you require no medicine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1826

356. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

AHMEDABAD,
August 18, 1931

Interviewed . . . in connection with the latest statement made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,[1] Mahatma Gandhi said:

I have read Pandit Malaviya's message. Whilst what he says about the immediate demand is substantially true, I am unable to share his optimism. It is perfectly correct for Pandit Malaviya to say that the issue has been narrowed down to one single matter.

It is so narrowed only for the purpose of enabling me to sail for England, but there is no doubt that underlying the issue there is a big principle which the Government has to face. In my opinion, that principle is an integral part of the Settlement, namely, that between the people and the Government the Congress is an intermediary.

If that fact is not recognized, the Settlement is a nullity, and I fear that it is because the Government do not wish to recog-

[1] In which he had said: "I cannot persuade myself to believe that, where the differences between the Government and the Congress have been reduced to such a small, though important, issue and where the justice of the demand is so clear, the Premier and his colleagues will allow the earnest and arduous labours of the last many months to be defeated, the whole object of which was to secure the representation of the Congress at the Round Table Conference."

nize this natural consequence of the Settlement that Government has broken on the Bardoli matter. Whether relief is granted through a board of arbitration or an impartial acceptable inquiry I do not mind. There is not the slightest desire to humiliate or embarrass the Government or anybody. The only desire is to get justice, somehow or other. Let it be after the Government's manner but it must be justice that would be acknowledged as such by those who are striving for it.

Asked about the Press report that the Congress was fast preparing for war, that instructions had been sent out to various Congress officials not to obey the orders of the Government calculated to prevent them from enjoying or exercising their lawful rights as regards picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops, that word had been sent round to the peasants of Kaira and Surat Districts asking them not to pay land revenue more than they could afford and to face the consequences and that the Congress Secretary at Allahabad had been empowered to issue instructions to *kisan* leaders of the U.P. to resist all measures of repression by zamindars or Government servants, Gandhiji said:

This is a deliberate lie. No such instructions have been issued to anybody. Not only that, instructions have been issued all over the country that the Delhi Pact should be carried out and that nobody should disobey any Government order without the permission of the headquarters. I know that the Congress Working Committee is anxious to carry out the Delhi Pact honourably, but if Provincial Governments goad us we shall have to take the defensive. I have gathered ample evidence to prove that goading has already begun.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-8-1931

357. TELEGRAM TO PRANJIVAN MEHTA

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DR. MEHTA
PAGODA ROAD
RANGOON

RATILAL NOW HERE WELL LOOKING BUT STILL EXCITABLE. PROPOSE LEAVING HIM FREE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17521

358. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

I thank you for your letter of 17th inst. enclosing a note containing information about Patels, Talatis, etc. I may have to write further on it.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 17510

359. LETTER TO E. I. BUNBURY

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I know you will forgive me for this late acknowledgment of your kind letter of 4th inst. I have been working against time and I knew that there was no hurry about answering your question.

If a person or a firm dealing in Indian cloth also imports foreign cloth, that person or firm whether Indian or European would certainly be liable to boycott. And this, in my opinion, is in no way contrary to the Pact. On no other condition can boycott of foreign cloth be effective. If you once recognize the propriety and necessity of boycott of foreign cloth, the other follows as a matter of course.

Yours sincerely,

E. I. BUNBURY, ESQ.
HOME STREET
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 17510

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360. LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

MY DEAR BOYD,

I purposely refrained from writing to you in answer to your letter as I was waiting to know what was to happen. Now of course you know the result. But supposing all the negotiations that are going on materialize and that ultimately I am obliged to go, I should still feel that you should not go as one of the companions. But several would be travelling on their own and you may also do likewise. What I feel is that I should be going just as I am. I do not know whether you appreciate the force of my going in that absolutely detached condition. This may either come from arrogance or from utter trustfulness in God. I am certain that it is the latter with me. The more I think of the tremendous difficulties ahead and my own very limited powers, the clearer my helplessness becomes to me. I therefore say to myself "I will rely only upon God and no one else, nothing else." But He chooses many instruments for His purpose and if He wants to use them He will also see that they are there ready to be used.

Yours sincerely,

REV. BOYD TUCKER
SHANTINIKETAN
BIRBHUM

From a photostat: S.N. 17514

361. LETTER TO HENRY NEIL

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

You evidently seem to imagine that I have an unlimited purse. The fact is that I have not even a farthing I can call my own. I have certainly control over some funds but they are all earmarked. If, therefore, I undertook to do anything in connection with your

proposal I should have to beg, but you would not expect me to add to the number of begging bowls I carry with me. They are already far too many and perhaps embarrassing for the donors.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY NEIL, ESQ.
EAST AURORA, NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17515

362. LETTER TO B. K. BHATTACHARYA

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter of 5th inst.[1] Peremptory preoccupations prevented an early acknowledgment.

I made some little attempt at the time of the meeting of the A.I.C.C. to bring about concord between the two parties, but I failed hopelessly. It really means my personally going to Bengal but that is not possible at the present moment. Mr. Aney is able, fearless and impartial. Let him deliver his judgment as quickly as he can. I might then be able to see daylight out of darkness. Where both the parties vehemently assert that they are in the right, reconciliation becomes almost an impossibility.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. B. K. BHATTACHARYA
81 SIBPUR ROAD
SIBPUR, HOWRAH

From a photostat: S.N. 17516

363. LETTER TO C. E. NEWHAM

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DEAR MR. NEWHAM,

I have your very kind letter.[2] I call it very kind purposely. It is evidence of your trust in me and I appreciate it. I wish

[1] Seeking Gandhiji's intervention in bringing about rapprochement between Subhas Chandra Bose and J. M. Sen Gupta.

[2] In which the addressee had asked Gandhiji on behalf of the Indian Hockey Federation to subscribe to the Olympic Hockey Fund.

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it was possible for me to fulfil your expectation. I must now make a confession. You can have no knowledge of my amazing dullness and ignorance. You will be surprised to know that I do not know what really the game of hockey is. I did not know that the masses were interested in it. I have never, to my recollection, watched any game either in England, South Africa or in India. I have never attended cricket matches and only once took a bat and a cricket ball in my hands and that was under compulsion from the head master of the High School where I was studying, and this was over 45 years ago. This confession does not in any shape or form mean that I am opposed to games, only I have never been able to interest myself in them. In the circumstances it would simply mystify the people if I now came out with a new card even though it might be for the laudable purpose of winning more English friendships and more English sympathy and support for the cause which makes life worth living. I hope you will appreciate my difficulty and therefore inability to help you.

Yours sincerely,

C. E. NEWHAM, ESQ.
CECIL HOTEL, SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 17517

364. LETTER TO V. S. NARAYANA RAO

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DEAR NARAYANA RAO,

I have your letter of 15th instant.

I had long correspondence with the Dewan Saheb but there was nothing conclusive to report to you. I cannot therefore give you any definite advice either. You must really therefore recall all the arguments that you had with me, that is to say, so much of them as you could assimilate, and then examine the circumstances there existing at the present moment and do as the inner voice bids you. I cannot take the responsibility of giving a final decision from this distance.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. V. S. NARAYANA RAO
SECRETARY, BANGALORE DT. CONGRESS COMMITTEE
BANGALORE CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 17519

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365. LETTER TO SIR DARCY LINDSAY

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 25th July last for which I thank you as also for your cablegram. I promptly sent you a reply which I hope you received in good time. You would have seen the energetic measures taken by the All-India Congress Committee. The result has been very encouraging. You may have also seen my articles on the attempt on the life of Sir Earnest Hotson and the tragic assassination of Judge Garlick. I assure you nothing that can be done will be left undone to prevent this insane course of assassinations.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DARCY LINDSAY
MAYFAIR, LONDON W.

From a photostat: S.N. 17520

366. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

AHMEDABAD,
August 19, 1931

Gandhiji's attention was drawn this morning to an interview given by Sir Prabhashankar Pattani to a Bombay paper and I tried to elicit his views on the proposal enunciated in it, namely, the appointment of a tribunal of three officials with one High Court Judge.

Although Gandhiji was reluctant to express his opinion on the proposal, I had a long conversation with him from which it could be gathered that Gandhiji does not mind whether it be an enquiry or a tribunal, but what he really wants is the grant of the substance of his demand. He said:

What is in a name? I would be satisfied with anything that gives me the substance.

Gandhiji said that he would be satisfied if an enquiry on the lines indicated by Sir P. Pattani was given by the Government.

The Hindu, 19-8-1931

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367. REPLIES TO QUESTIONS[1]

Wednesday [*August 19, 1931*]

Q. Isn't it tantamount to feeding milk to a serpent if at present an order is placed for British machinery for about half a dozen mills in Ahmedabad?

A. Our struggle will gain some strength if an order for British machinery is placed during the Settlement. We have no enmity with the British. If the struggle is resumed while the order for British machinery is being executed, you should not take exception to goods which have already been ordered. We cannot win swaraj by creating enmity in this way. You should refuse to accept British goods if the struggle is resumed and they treat you as their enemies. One can buy foreign goods so long as Congress has not declared a boycott of foreign goods.

Q. Will not an increase in the number of mills hinder the progress of khadi?

A. The progress of khadi will be hindered not by an increase in the number of mills, but by a decrease in our love for khadi. You can explain to the people the usefulness of khadi but you cannot stop new mills from being erected.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 23-8-1931

368. THE REAL ISSUE

Though apparently very little difference between the Government and the Congress led to the decision[2] of the Working Committee not to send me to London, really the difference was fundamental. This will be clear to everyone who would patiently go through the correspondence published in this issue of *Young India*. In the very first days of the working of the Settlement Mr. Emerson raised the question. He contended that the Congress could not act as the intermediary between the Government and the people whom it represented. I joined issue on it. The legal point

[1] At a prayer meeting in the evening

[2] At its meeting on August 13

was never finally settled. I had no desire to embarrass or humiliate the Government. I was therefore content so long as in practice the Congress mediation was accepted. The reader will see with what reluctance Mr. Garrett reconciled himself to the position.[1] But he never pardoned the Congress for presuming to represent the peasantry. Had he had his way, it is likely that he would rather have collected what he could through coercion than received all but a few thousand of the current dues in Bardoli and Borsad through the Congress agency. The reader will not fail to observe that notices threatening coercion were already issued. They were not withdrawn without energetic protest lodged by me on behalf of the Congress. It could be shown from documentary proof that occasions were not wanting, as they are not wanting now, to warrant the Congress declaring the Truce to be at an end by reason of the Provincial Governments having failed to carry out its terms. I make bold to say that exemplary patience has been shown by the Congress in not terminating the Truce. The charge-sheet[2] will give a glimpse of breaches alleged by the Congress to have been made by respective Provincial Governments. Nor need the reader think that the charge-sheet is an exhaustive catalogue of breaches. For instance, there are several hundred civil resistance prisoners who are still rotting in jail but who according to the opinion of Congress workers are entitled to discharge. Strange as it may appear to the reader, these cases are still pending before the Provincial Governments. Hence they do not appear on the charge-sheet presented at Simla. It contains cases about which adverse decisions have already been given by Provincial Governments. In fairness to the Central Government I must add that in some few cases mentioned in the charge-sheet relief has since been given and it is possible that it may be given in some more. But I know that there is little chance of getting relief in the vast majority of the cases. Surely it was never contemplated that in cases in which the Congress was not satisfied there should not be an open enquiry. If the Settlement was a legalized document the Government would be suable in a court of law. The fact however that it is not legalized throws a double responsibility upon the Government of giving the Congress a tribunal where it can prove those breaches or where it can get an authoritative ruling on the interpretation of the several clauses of the Settlement or of its implications. The refusal of the Government to concede the very natural implication

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVI, "Letter to J. H. Garrett", pp. 21 & 42.
[2] *Vide* pp. 166-77.

of the Settlement shows how far the authorities in India are from recognizing the fact that the power is passing to the people, nor are they willing to acknowledge that the Congress represents the people and that its voluntary co-operation should be thankfully accepted. In their opinion, co-operation should mean acceptance of their orders and authority and not mutual trust and accommodation between parties to a contract. Everywhere Provincial Governments are looking upon Congressmen with suspicion and in some cases openly treating the Congress as an enemy. As I write, I have before me the Bombay Government organ *The Gujarat Patrika*. It contains vilification of Congress and Congressmen, reckless charges against them and in some instances even false allegations. If it is said in answer that the Congress has done no better and that it has also committed breaches of the Settlement it will be an unfair charge to make for the simple reason that wherever breaches have been brought to my notice immediate satisfaction or explanation has been given. The Congress would welcome an impartial investigation any day of all the charges that can be laid at its door and the Provincial Governments have not hesitated to take proceedings against Congressmen wherever they have thought it necessary. My countercharge is that in many cases prosecutions have been persecutions, as for instance in the cases falling under section 124–A of the Indian Penal Code. This is the section dealing with disaffection. Now, disaffection has been taken to mean absence of active affection or loyalty. Hence anyone who is neutral is guilty of disaffection. I must confess that every Congressman is even by reason of his creed guilty of sedition and he did not become less so by reason of the Settlement. The Settlement never contemplated that the Congress should alter its goal and its goal is to destroy the existing system of government and to replace it by a wholly national government. But I must not prolong this discussion of the Congress position. If the Congress was unworthy of confidence, or if its demand was distasteful or unacceptable to the British Government, the Settlement should not have been entered into. Further, if the Congress by any action on its part proved itself unworthy of confidence the Settlement should have been repudiated. Either would have been an honest course. But to have commenced with distrust when the ink had hardly dried on the paper on which the Settlement was written was, and still is, difficult for me to understand. In spite, however, of my belief that Provincial Governments had committed serious breaches of the Settlement I was prepared, so far as my departure for London was concerned,

to be satisfied merely with securing relief in the matter of the Bardoli collections under coercion, and there too, my submission was either to grant a refund of the collections so made or to have an impartial open enquiry so as to enable me to show that payments were in the vast majority of cases forced from the people, although they were unable to pay and therefore under the Settlement entitled to refund. The matter would certainly not have ended there because the Working Committee would have been bound to press for redress in all the other cases. This evidently was too much for the Government and therefore they decided to break on Bardoli.

The inference I have drawn from the conduct of Provincial Governments is that the members of the Civil Service who have the running of the provinces in their hands were really unwilling that I should proceed to London. Had they desired otherwise it was open to them, as it is open to them even now, to make the way clear for me by treating the Congress as worthy of their trust and respect and therefore giving it satisfaction through an impartial enquiry where their decisions could not be accepted by the Congress.

It has been said that in concentrating upon matters of detail I have missed the opportunity of helping decisions on matters of higher interest. I do not look at the two things separately. The Government of India is but part of a whole imperial scheme. It reflects the position at the centre. The centre is therefore very like the Government of India and if the latter is not ready to recognize the right of India to govern herself unfettered by any control from outside, the centre is not likely to think or do otherwise and the closest association with the Government of India during the past four months has left on me the impression that the Civil Service is not ready to recognize the right of India to full freedom. I have got too great a regard for their ability, powers of organization, and their influence on British public opinion to think that without their whole-hearted co-operation and blessing a humble person like me could possibly get anything from London. Therefore till the members of that Service are converted there is no scope for the Congress to enter upon negotiations for full freedom. It must go through further suffering however costly the process may be. Bardoli therefore was for me the acid test. It was designed to gauge the Civilian temper. Looked at in that light it was not a small thing even as the magnetic needle on an indicator is not a small thing.

Young India, 20-8-1931

369. SWADESHI GOODS

The Working Committee has now given us a workable definition of swadeshi goods. It is as follows:

> Swadeshi goods, not being cloth or yarn, are those goods which are wholly made in India out of raw material whether indigenous or imported by a manufacturer with not less than 75% Indian-owned share capital, provided that no goods will be considered swadeshi the manufacture of which is controlled by foreigners.
>
> NOTE. For the purposes of this definition the word 'controlled' refers to Boards of Directors and/or Managing Agents.
>
> It shall be open to the Working Committee to publish a list from time to time of goods classed as swadeshi though they may not fully comply with the foregoing definition.

The definition is open to the objection that it allows of raw materials being imported. This latitude was deliberately kept. There is no harm in importing raw material when it cannot be found in India. It is the skill that has been banished from the land or left undeveloped owing to the absence of the swadeshi spirit. A country remains poor in wealth, both material and intellectual, if it does not develop its handicrafts and its industries and lives a lazy parasitic life by importing all the manufactured articles from outside. There was a time when we manufactured almost all we wanted. The process is now reversed and we are dependent upon the outside world for most manufactured goods. The past year brought forth a remarkable awakening of the swadeshi spirit. It has therefore become necessary to define swadeshi goods. But in giving a definition care had to be taken not to make the definition so narrow as to make manufacture all but impossible or so wide as to become farcical and swadeshi only in name. We do not want to follow the frog-in-the-well policy nor, in seeming to be international, lose our roots. We cannot be international, if we lose our individuality, i.e., nationality.

The reader will also note that cloth or yarn whether cotton, woollen or silken is excluded from the definition. One reason is that it is sufficiently known what is swadeshi cloth. But the second and for me the most important is that swadeshi cloth for Congressmen means only and exclusively hand-spun and hand-woven

khadi. Indigenous mill-cloth is meant for those whom the Congress message cannot or does not reach.

It will also be noticed that since, at the present stage of our evolution, we have to be satisfied about many things being not wholly swadeshi the Working Committee has reserved the right to issue a list from time to time of such articles as may not wholly satisfy the definition and yet to exclude them would be injurious to the best interest of the country.

Young India, 20-8-1931

370. LETTER TO S. R. BOMANJI

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

DEAR MR. BOMANJI,

I have your two letters for which I thank you.

I know that our country is steadily getting world sympathy and if we continue to follow the method of non-violence our position will become absolutely irresistible. My faith in the remedy is daily growing.

If we ever reach the stage of arbitration I shall remember your valued advice.

Please thank your wife for her sympathy and her message to Mirabehn.

I trust you are getting *Young India* which, as you know, is my weekly letter to friends.

Yours sincerely,

S. R. BOMANJI, ESQ.
THE PLAZA
NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17528

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371. LETTER TO BAPASOLA

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

MY DEAR BAPASOLA,

I remember Mrs. Naidu having given a letter from you saying that Syt. Baban Gokhalay had approved of the Swaraj Sabha money being given to the girls' school, claimed to be national. Syt. Baban Gokhalay now gives me particulars of the school showing that there is very little of nationalism about the school, and he adds that he never consented to the money being given to the school until it returned to the full nationalist position. In the light of his letter I do not understand how you came to believe that Syt. Gokhalay was willing to vote for the money being given to the girls' school. As you know, my endorsement was conditional upon Syt. Baban Gokhalay being satisfied. Now that he is definitely of opinion that the school is not national and that the money therefore should not be given to it you will please regard me also as opposed to the use of the Swaraj Sabha funds for the school.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. BAPASOLA
C/O SYT. BABAN GOKHALAY
GIRGAUM
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 17529

372. LETTER TO MOHAMMAD ALI

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

You will pardon me for not having written to you before now. I have been working against time but I have been attending to your matter. I have not yet attained any success. If the Settlement is continued I shall certainly make further effort. If it is broken off, then, of course, I shall be of no service in cases

such as yours. There was a friend enquiring about your matter. I sent you a message through him which I hope you duly received.

Yours sincerely,

MAULVI MOHAMMAD ALI
DHARAVI, BOMBAY 17

From a microfilm: S.N. 17530

373. LETTER TO C. R. SANGAMESWARAN

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I can give you no help if you have no faith in God, and if you have faith in God you need no help from me. Therefore I would advise you to have faith in God and therefore also in prayer. You will then find that all the evil thoughts will leave you and that you will find peace of mind gradually growing on you, and you will become a fit instrument for service.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. C. R. SANGAMESWARAN
93 THOMAS STREET
COIMBATORE (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17531

374. LETTER TO G. SITARAMA SASTRY

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

DEAR SITARAMA SASTRY,

I know you will excuse me for unconscionable delay in acknowledging your letter of 28th ultimo. I had really no time.

Your questions are simply answered. I think that after a dhobi or any of these workers has taken foreign cloth or foreign yarn for treatment he must not be interfered with. But there is no objection in going to their homes and telling them of the harm they do to the country by handling foreign yarn and foreign cloth. Nor can I see any objection to having night watches when we know that the merchants will do their work even at night. But

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where there is all this obstinacy, reliance should be put more upon persuasion in the merchant's own home than upon watching him. After all we want to use picketing purely as a moral force working as a leaven in the community but not in order to harass people or to exercise any undue influence over them.

Persuasion after purchase is reprehensible and savours of undue influence. What is the use of worrying a man after he has made the purchase?

I think this answers all your questions. I do not know that my answer is of any use at this late hour.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. G. SITARAMA SASTRY
ROPALLI (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17532

375. LETTER TO K. G. RANADE

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 9th August.

Your case is truly deplorable and from what you state the case was one of pure murder of your son. But I am unable to render you any help in the matter. The case will not come under the Settlement. I can therefore only hope that you will succeed in the civil suit filed against the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. K. G. RANADE
JAIN BOARDING HOUSE
SHOLAPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 17572

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376. LETTER TO TEHMINA KHAMBHATTA

AHMEDABAD, POST BOX 26,
August 20, 1931

DEAR SISTER,

Though you of course have asked me not to take the trouble, I must acknowledge your letter. You have bound me well enough. However, one has got to see even the terrible form in which God sometimes shows Himself. There are bound to be attacks on our faith. It is necessary that it should be tested. Though I am filled with the spirit of non-violence, there must of course be a little violence lurking in me somewhere. Hence, there are hours when I lose faith in myself. But I hope and pray that I shall not lose it permanently. I should like you to join me in that hope and that prayer!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7546

377. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

Interviewed by the *Chronicle* correspondent this noon, with regard to Mr. Brelvi's telegram, Mahatmaji gave the following statement:

The message you have shown me causes me no surprise. There were no negotiations being carried on. Therefore, there was no question of closing them. My going to London became remote on the 13th instant, when the Viceregal wire was received. It is no more remote now than it became then.

I do not understand what is meant by "Government is prepared to accept my challenge". I have issued no challenge. Whatever I have said has been published in the correspondence. If my letter to the Collector of Surat be regarded as a challenge, then that letter undoubtedly stands. The material result has been already achieved, that is to say, I could not go to London. The honour of the Congress pledge to Bardoli peasants was thereby vindicated. The rest is in the lap of the Government.

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Whatever the final decision of the Government may be, I decline to believe that it can possibly be affected by the publication of the charge-sheet which was part of the relevant correspondence. This publication was authorized by the telegram of 14th from Simla and already published.

So far as countercharges are concerned, I should welcome them as also the impartial tribunal to investigate these charges. Indeed, I will be prepared to advise the Working Committee to accept even a one-sided tribunal, that is, a tribunal that may confine its attention only to investigate the countercharges. The Congress has nothing to lose by a public enquiry into the allegations made against it.

Concluding, he stated that he had no hope of going to London in the present circumstances.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-8-1931

378. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

AHMEDABAD,
August 20, 1931

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press in connection with the Press report that the publication of the charge-sheet has removed whatever little chances there were of Government negotiating successfully with him in order to facilitate his proceeding to London, Mahatma Gandhi said:

As I stated the other day, I do not share Pandit Malaviya's optimism,[1] but if there was any chance of the Government of India conceding the just claim for an impartial enquiry, I am unable to understand why that chance is in any way diminished or affected by the publication of the charge-sheet.

Indeed, the reference to it in the Viceroy's letter to me, which was published at Simla, made it imperative for me to publish the charge-sheet.

There was an insistent demand for it by many people and I think that demand was reasonable and just. Moreover, without publishing the charge-sheet, I could not present the Congress case in its completeness.

Lastly, I published the papers only after getting the permission of the Viceroy. I am, therefore, wholly unrepentant regarding the publication of the charge-sheet.

[1] *Vide* "Interview to Associated Press", pp. 312-13.

So far as countercharges against the Congress are concerned, I will welcome them and I would like them to be sifted and investigated by an impartial tribunal.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-8-1931

379. CABLE TO T. B. SAPRU[1]

VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

DR. SAPRU
S.S. "MOOLTAN"

HAD NO IDEA PUBLICATION CHARGE-SHEET COULD AFFECT DECISION. SHOULD BE PERFECTLY PREPARED PROCEED LONDON IF PROPER INQUIRY GRANTED.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17551. Also A.I.C.C. File No. 295, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

380. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

I SEE SO MANY RUMOURS SUPPOSED TO BE AUTHORITATIVE. THE LAST ONE COMPELS AN EXPLANATION. IT SAYS THAT PUBLICATION OF CHARGE-SHEET HAS UPSET GOVERNMENT AND IS LIKELY TO PREVENT GRANT OF ENQUIRY REPORTED TO BE UNDER CONTEMPLATION. THIS PRESUPPOSES SOME INDISCRETION OR DISCOURTESY ON MY PART. I HAVE ENDEAVOURED SCRUPULOUSLY TO AVOID BOTH. CHARGE-SHEET WAS PART OF RELEVANT CORRESPONDENCE AND WAS REFERRED TO IN YOUR LETTER 31ST JULY AND MR. EMERSON'S LETTER 30TH JULY PUBLISHED FROM SIMLA. HENCE I CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY PUBLISH

[1] This was in reply to a cable from Sapru and Jayakar which read: "Pursuing your message through Jamnadas Dwarkadas we pressed Viceroy grant enquiry independent officer and later sought London intervention. Consequently Press message your charge-sheet published before result our efforts caused painful surprise. Request statement your present position by wireless *Mooltan*". (S.N. 17539)

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IT. MESSRS SAPRU AND JAYAKAR AND OTHER FRIENDS ARE ASKING ME TO STATE MY POSITION. I HAVE DONE SO TO THEM.[1] BUT I FEEL THAT IN JUSTICE TO YOU AND TO THE CAUSE I REPRESENT I MUST MAKE MY POSITION AS CLEAR AS I CAN TO YOU PERSONALLY. I CONTEND THAT THE APPOINTMENT OF AN IMPARTIAL TRIBUNAL IS IMPLICIT IN THE SETTLEMENT IN THE EVENT OF DIFFERENCES ARISING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS REGARDING THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SETTLEMENT OR ITS WORKING IN PRACTICE. I HAVE BEEN PREPARED AS I AM NOW TO WAIVE SUCH AN ENQUIRY IF BY QUIET PERSONAL DISCUSSION OR SOME SUCH INFORMAL MEANS REASONABLE SATISFACTION IS GIVEN TO CONGRESS. I AM MOST ANXIOUS TO AVOID A BREACH ON SIDE ISSUES OR MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND AM THEREFORE PREPARED EVEN TO PROCEED TO SIMLA IF YOU THINK DISCUSSION NECESSARY. AM WITHHOLDING PUBLICATION OF THIS PENDING YOUR REPLY.

GANDHI

HIS EXCELLENCY VICEROY
CAMP

From a photostat: S.N. 17550. Also A.I.C.C. File No. 295, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

381. LETTER TO URMILADEVI

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

I have your doleful letter.

You are quite right in going for me. You need someone with whom you could speak anything you like without incurring any risk of giving offence. I can enter fully into your feelings. But of course your charge is baseless. Do not for one moment imagine that because I say nothing I also feel nothing about Bengal. Some of my deepest feelings remain unexpressed and perhaps such strength as I possess is due to my ability to suppress my feelings. You are wholly wrong in thinking that either Sardar Vallabhbhai

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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Patel or I have any partiality. The fact is that we have been helpless to do anything. But I know that I do not need to defend myself before you and I know too that you have written without meaning it.

Well, after all I am not going. But if you are tired of life and things there, why don't you come to the Ashram and stay there? I know that the dry climate does not suit the ordinary Bengali constitution, but with your strong will, if you find the mental atmosphere to be agreeable, you will adapt yourself to the physical. I am in Ahmedabad, I hope, at least till the 10th September. As you know, the Working Committee meets on the 8th. I am myself not living at the Ashram, but at the Vidyapith. I go to the Ashram every evening after prayer time. For prayer time I am at the Vidyapith.

SHRIMATI URMILADEVI
42 E ASHUTOSH MUKHERJI ROAD
BHOWANIPUR, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 17544

382. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter.

I am suffering from writer's cramp and so the right hand is resting.

There was a telegraphic appeal by Dr. Roy regarding Bengal floods in reply to which I wrote to him day before yesterday.[1] I do not repeat what I have written as I have no doubt you will see this letter. If I could possibly have done it I would have made an appeal to the generosity of Bombay. But knowing the condition of Bombay as I do and knowing also that there have been several calls upon Bombay's purse regarding local matters, I have not had the courage to make any appeal and if I did, I would have to make a fourfold appeal, that is, on behalf of Ratnagiri, Bihar, Assam and Bengal because there are equally piteous appeals from the other three places as from Bengal. The Bihar appeal came whilst the Working Committee was sitting. I sent

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. B. C. Roy", p. 309.

Jamnalalji to a friend who could not pay a single pie, and so out of an earmarked fund I asked Jamnalalji to send Rs. 2,000 to Champaran. Of course they want much more and they have no Roy or Satis Babu to organize relief. I would, therefore, say that you should concentrate upon Calcutta, and I do not think you will be disappointed. All the same, if you think that I can do anything, you will please tell me.

Your description of Bengal politics makes very sad reading. I do not know what is to be done except that we must live correctly and not bend before the storm.

Is your paper becoming popular? And is it producing any effect on the people?

Whilst I like the idea of your doing relief work, the fact that you have just risen from sick-bed makes me anxious. I suppose you will have to tour the distressed areas. I do not know how you will fare there. You will remember that you have not today the same robust constitution that you had during the last period of distress when you built that great embankment. You must now recognize your limitation. You will therefore please go slowly.

Charu sent me yesterday some black and coloured blocks. He has given me no description. I could see from letterpress that they were meant in connection with the *Autobiography*. In the three or four lines that he sent he referred to the different inks. Probably these blocks were sent to me to show what inks were produced by Satis Babu.

Are the *Autobiography* and the *Gita* translation still in demand?

Please keep me fully informed of all your movements. I am here at least up to the 8th September, i.e., barring accidents. That is the time when the Working Committee meets.

You need not attach any importance to the talks of the possibility of my still going to London. I know that some friends are trying, but I expect no result from their attempt, for as I have said in my article[1] in *Young India* the issue is far more important and wider than the giving of satisfaction to Bardoli. Bardoli was the last straw. If the unexpected happens and they give real relief, it would be certainly a sign to me of a great change. Let us see what happens.

SYT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR (BENGAL)

From a photostat: S.N. 17545

[1] *Vide* "The Real Issue", pp. 319-22.

383. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I have seen your letter to Mahadev. When I mentioned picketing in the charge-sheet I certainly did not have Bombay in my mind, whether regarding the molestation of the picketers or regarding laxity of excise administration. Bombay therefore is a slip. I do not know now how the slip occurred. In any event I had the Presidency in my mind and then too I had Ahmedabad, Surat District and Ratnagiri District in mind. I am sorry therefore for any inadvertent reflection upon the Bombay police. I am glad that so far as the police conduct is concerned you have nothing to complain against them in Bombay. You can make what use you like of this letter.

With reference to Mr. Joshi I had advice from the Bombay Government saying that the orders regarding him had already been withdrawn. You will see in the introduction to the correspondence in *Young India*[1] that acknowledgment has been made that in some cases relief had already been granted.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. K. F. NARIMAN
C/O BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CONGRESS HOUSE
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17547

[1] Of August 20, 1931

384. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

I have your letter.

I hope you came out well in Calcutta. It was certainly a brave act on your part to go to Calcutta.

I am writing to Gidwani and, if I fail to draw a satisfactory answer, I am afraid it will be your duty to the Trust to take such steps as may be necessary for its protection.

What about Girdhari?

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI
GANDHI ASHRAM
MEERUT

From a photostat: S.N. 17548

385. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

What is this about the debt due by you to the Gandhi Ashram at Meerut for khadi work? Kripalani complains that you have ignored all his letters and asks me whether it is not his duty as Trustee to take legal steps, especially because you are a close associate. I have asked him to do nothing till I have had a reply from you to a letter which I told him I was writing. Please let me know all about this debt.

I hope you are keeping well and so is Gangabehn[1].

Yours sincerely,

ACHARYA GIDWANI
MUNICIPALITY
KARACHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17549

[1] Addressee's wife

386. LETTER TO TIMMAPPA NAYAK

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

MY DEAR TIMMAPPA,

Kakasaheb has handed your letter to me for reply.

I never suggested that any of the Seva Dal people had actually taken a perpetual vow of ahimsa. What I said[1] at the morning meeting you refer to was an expression of my own longing as also expectation, and those who were there seemed to assent to the proposition that with the Seva Dal people non-violence must not merely be a policy but it should be a creed. I quite agree with you that there cannot be a sudden transformation in a minute because I desire something or because the Seva Dal becomes a full-fledged Congress organization. For me it is enough that you say that the volunteers acquitted themselves creditably during the last struggle and strove to live up to non-violence. I may however add that Dr. Hardikar had more than one conversation with me and he told me that with him non-violence was fast becoming a creed if it had not already become so.

With reference to boycott I hope to find some time to make my position clear, if it is at all possible, in the pages of *Young India*. You have stated it correctly.

The information that you received that in emergency volunteers may adopt foreign dress to escape detection is wholly wrong. I have never held such a view, much less expressed it.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. TIMMAPPA NAYAK
SIRSI CONGRESS OFFICE
POST SIRSI, NORTH KANARA

From a microfilm: S.N. 17552

[1] *Vide* "Talk with Seva Dal Workers, Bombay", pp. 275-7.

387. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

This will be given to you by Srinivasa Sharma of Meerut. He has found his way to the Ashram and as he seemed to be very importunate, he was admitted. He did not then say that he had really deserted his wife and run away from his place because he was heavily in debt. He felt penitent three or four days ago and confessed that he had left his wife and that he had creditors for nearly Rs. 1,000. He is therefore afraid to return to Meerut. I have advised him to seek some work in U.P. He seems to have been a volunteer also in Allahabad. I had only one chat with him and he impressed me as a sincere man wishing to do the right thing. He is now going to Allahabad and will see you. I would suggest your putting him somewhere, insisting on his sending for his wife and finding out something about his creditors. If he proves a reliable worker he might be of great use. If, however, you cannot accommodate him anywhere and consider it too much of a bother in the midst of your work you may dismiss him from your mind.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 17553

388. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

DEAR MOTI BABU,

I was delighted to receive your letter.

You have no doubt seen that I am not going to London and perhaps it is as well.

I know that you are preparing yourself quietly for constructive service.

I note what you say about Swami Bodhanand. I hope that his conduct will disarm all suspicion. I take it you do not expect me to do anything in the matter nor could I if you did expect.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. MOTILAL ROY
PRABARTAK SANGHA
CHANDERNAGORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 17554

389. LETTER TO KANHIALAL

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

The only thing I can suggest for your daughter is that you should put her in a widows' home. As you know, the late Sir Ganga Ram ran one in Lahore.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. KANHIALAL
RETIRED RECORD KEEPER OF E. I. RY.
ASHRAFABAD, LUCKNOW

From a microfilm: S.N. 17555

390. LETTER TO GILBERT KERLIN

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 16th July.

The only ability that a people, in my opinion, requires to govern itself is to resist alien encroachment. This does not necessarily mean good or pure government.

I cannot think just now of any book to recommend to you.

Yours sincerely,

GILBERT KERLIN, ESQ.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 17556

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391. LETTER TO R. S. HUKERIKAR

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

MY DEAR HUKERIKAR,

I have your letter enclosing copy of a confidential circular. It is very valuable information. It is better for you to leave the time of publication to me. You need not therefore say anything about it just now.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. R. S. HUKERIKAR
KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
DHARWAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 17557

392. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Here is a copy of a telegram[1] I have sent to the Viceroy. There are so many rumours and so many misrepresentations going on that I thought I would clear the position by letting the Viceroy know exactly where we stand. Dr. Sapru also sent me a wire of which I send you a copy herewith and a copy of my reply.[2]

I hope you found Indu cheerful.

BAPU

Encl. 3

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD

A.I.C.C. File No. 295, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also S.N. 17558

[1] *Vide* pp. 330-1.
[2] *Vide* p. 330.

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393. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
POST BOX 26,
AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I don't remember about Jayantiprasad, but let him write to me and tell me when and in what circumstances he had talked to me. He had bought some goods in Bardoli. Pyarelal had paid a part of the bill and, for the rest, he had asked him to write to you and ask you to debit the sum to him. If this money has been received, inform me accordingly when I arrive there today.

2. It was agreed to pay a scholarship to Gajanan, Panditji's nephew, and the decision is right.

3. Send money to the works which are being financed from the Galiara Trust Fund according to the budget for them. I send the budget with this.

4. Ask me personally when I arrive there about paying Sitala Sahay's expenses. He did write to me but I have not been able to give him any reply.

5. I do remember about the rules, but I will attend to the matter if I get time.

6. I don't seem to have received any letter from Mama concerning Lalji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

394. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

AHMEDABAD,
August 21, 1931

Asked what Gandhiji meant by his statement to the *Bombay Chronicle* representative,[1] viz., "Indeed I will be prepared to advise the Working Committee to accept even a one-sided tribunal, that is, a tribunal that may confine its attention only to investigate the countercharges" Gandhiji replied:

[1] *Vide* pp. 328-9.

I am not prepared to give up my demand for an impartial enquiry into the charges brought by the Congress, but what I said to the *Chronicle* representative was that I would be prepared to advise the Working Committee to face an enquiry that would only investigate charges against the Congress.

In other words, I would not make it a condition precedent that the tribunal that goes into the charges against the Congress should also investigate the charges by the Congress against the Provincial Governments. The Congress wishes to hide nothing, nor does the Congress wish to shirk its representation at the Round Table Conference, but the condition of going to the Round Table Conference should be fulfilled, namely, satisfactory fulfilment of the terms of the Settlement by the Government. That satisfaction can only be given by the Government either conceding the Congress demands or failing that by appointing a tribunal of enquiry. I can conceive nothing more just, nothing more simple and nothing more honourable.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-8-1931

395. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA[1]

VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA HOUSE, NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

NOTHING ABOUT SIMLA YET. CERTAINLY COME.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17564

[1] This was in reply to the following telegram from the addressee: "Intend starting tomorrow unless you proceeding to Simla. Please wire."

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396. TELEGRAM TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

[*August 22, 1931*][1]

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

YOUR WIRE. GLAD YOU ARE COMING TOMORROW. WILL DISCUSS EVERYTHING WHEN WE MEET.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17560

397. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

DEAR MR. ANEY,

I have your letter.

I do not envy your work in Bengal. But I know you have shoulders broad enough to bear much greater burdens, and it is a matter of great joy to me that you enjoy the full confidence of both the parties. Your decision will clear the air and let the public know where truth lies.

I do not know what is going to happen about the negotiations that so many friends are carrying on with the Central Government. I see a lot of misunderstanding growing up in the newspapers. I sent a simple telegram to the Viceroy yesterday restating our position and offering to discuss with him personally, if he thought it necessary, any matter that might require clearing up. I thought that I would not publish that telegram in order to avoid any embarrassment to him. But just at present nothing that I can say even

[1] This was in reply to Pattani's telegram of August 22 which read: "Just arrived from Calcutta and reaching Ahmedabad Gujarat Mail tomorrow morning. Glad you have asked for interview with Viceroy and hope it will be granted. I suggested it myself personally at Calcutta and by telegram. If no objection would like to accompany you Simla. Meanwhile may I request that President Congress may telegraphically inform all members of Working Committee including Malaviyaji if he is not a member not to make speeches or give Press interviews . . . you alone should retain sole responsibility. Please wire Taj Mahal."

in whispers escapes Pressmen and so you see a garbled report in the Press. I have had no reply to my telegram as yet.

I expect to see you here on the 8th September.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. M. S. ANEY
YEOTMAL

From a photostat: S.N. 17562

398. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

I enclose herewith a letter received about Dera Ismail Khan. I hope a telegram[1] sent to you by me regarding this matter was duly delivered to you as also about the Akbarpura incident. I await your letter about these matters as also about developments there. Just at present I would like a weekly budget.

You know from the papers all about the Round Table Conference representation. Though there is a spectacular talk about revival of negotiations there has been no direct contact with me. Though therefore we may dismiss the London visit out of our minds it does not necessarily mean the termination of the Settlement. Therefore we must for the time being continue to honour the Settlement. Therefore also I would like you to finish conversations with the Chief Commissioner if he so desires.

How is Khurshedbehn going on? I have not forgotten about an expert spinner being sent there for developing khadi work. I am waiting to hear further from Khurshedbehn. She made a suggestion to me. I would therefore like to discuss that matter also with her.

Yours sincerely,

KHAN SAHEB ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN
UTMANZAI (CHARSADDA)
DT. PESHAWAR

From a photostat: S.N. 17565

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Abdul Ghaffar Khan", p. 300.

399. LETTER TO EMMA HARKER

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

There is no occasion for you to become unnerved. God does not do as we will, but on the contrary, He bends us to His will. Let us therefore bend ourselves voluntarily to the will of that Imperial Taskmaster.

Yours sincerely,

MISS EMMA HARKER
2 BELGRAVE TERRACE
KARACHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17566

400. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I was wondering why you had not written before now. I was getting somewhat impatient and angry with you. I was thinking of you intently only yesterday and there is a letter from you. If you are again ill why wait till there is a collapse? Why not go to Comilla or perhaps better still to the Ashram? It is your old home.

There is nothing certain about me though I feel that I shall be able to be here till the 8th September when the Working Committee meets.

I take it you are getting *Young India* regularly.

SYT. KRISHNADAS
P.O. SINHERGAON, BENGAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 17567

401. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

DEAR MR. DAVID,

If matters shape themselves as you expect I shall try to accommodate you. But it is better not to build on that hope.

Yours sincerely,

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
4 QUEEN'S ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17568

402. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

I forgot to write to you about one matter arising out of your letter of yesterday, i.e., the egregious speech reported to have been made by Pandit Sunderlal. I have never said to anybody or at the All-India Congress Committee meeting that, even though the Government carried out the terms of the Truce, I would not go because of the Hindu-Muslim dissensions. But let us hope that Pandit Sunderlal never said what is imputed to him. All the same I am writing to him.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. KRIPALANI
GANDHI ASHRAM
MEERUT

From a photostat: S.N. 17568-a

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403. LETTER TO RACHEL M. RUTTER

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the pains you have been taking. I can't make use of the letter you have sent me. But why should you worry? Your personal contacts would be your substantial work.

I am sorry you were suffering from phlebitis at the time you wrote. I hope this will find you in good health and condition.

Yours sincerely,

MISS RACHEL M. RUTTER
WINCANTON
SOMERSET (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 17569

404. LETTER TO DAVID POLLOCK

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

DEAR MR. POLLOCK,

I was delighted to see your letter.

There is no prospect whatsoever of my going to London at the present moment. But if I did go I would of course be delighted to renew our old acquaintance and old relations. How far I shall be able to give you satisfaction I do not know.

Yours sincerely,

DAVID POLLOCK, ESQ.
29 ONSLOW GARDENS
LONDON, S.W. 7

From a photostat: S.N. 17570

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405. LETTER TO K. D. UMRIGAR

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 17th August enclosing *Nineteenth Century Review* article. I shall see what can be done with it after I have read it.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. K. D. UMRIGAR
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 17571

406. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

AHMEDABAD, P.B. 26,
August 22, 1931

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I get no time to write to you. I still do not use the right hand, and so I cannot write much. I write only as much as I can with the left hand. You must have received the letters I sent you yesterday. It is very necessary to calculate the total money spent on the cause of the removal of untouchability, by the Congress, by Congressmen or through them or through their inspiration. Some figures I already know. Probably you, too, know some. I wish to entrust this responsibility to you. Collect the figures from all sources. If any items are left out, I will try and remember them. I estimate the figure at 20 lakhs. I think this is a conservative rather than a liberal estimate. Some contributions to the Tilak Fund were actually earmarked for this cause. You will get them from the list of contributions to that Fund which you have with you.

Has anything been done about the plot of land in Almora? If nothing has been done, and if immediate action can be taken, I think it very necessary that it should be taken.

How are Janakibehn and Balkrishna? As there was a great deal of misunderstanding in newspapers and I began to get all

kinds of reports, I sent a telegram to the Viceroy yesterday. I have not received a reply so far. I enclose a copy of my telegram. Shri Pattani is coming here tomorrow. I will let you know if he brings any news.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2893

407. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

Is it out of pity for me that you have not written to me for some time and have not permitted Madu and Om to write either? I don't want pity; I want a letter. Has your health improved? What do you eat?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2893

408. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

August 22, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. I am still giving rest to my right hand. Write to me all the time at the following address: P.B. 26, Ahmedabad. I am here till September 8. It is being discussed whether I should go to England. But I don't think it probable that anything will come of it.

I had written to Jayaprakash the very next day. I hope he got my letter. What did you do?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3397

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409. STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

I do not consider the Viceroy's reply[1] to be at all bad or disappointing. In fact I was prepared for some such reply.

I am glad too that, so far as I can understand the letter, the Government do not intend to terminate the Settlement and as the public is well aware, the Working Committee of the Congress has already passed a resolution to that effect. I am therefore hoping that all Congressmen will meticulously observe the Settlement.

So far as the charges against the Congress are concerned and so far as the denial of the charges by the Congress against the Provincial authorities is concerned, that is a matter of opinion. When the expected countercharge-sheet against the Congress is published, I shall be able to deal with it. For the moment, I can only say that the Working Committee of the Congress has been most anxious that the Congress should present an absolutely clean slate.

I know the belief of the Government regarding the Frontier Province and the U.P. I have always combated that belief, but it has been a tug of war between two beliefs. All I can say is that I have done everything I could to ascertain the facts for myself, and I have not been able except in isolated cases to detect any breach on the part of Congressmen. Wherever it has been detected I have made admission and amends where possible to the Government. So far as charges against Provincial authorities are concerned, I have offered on behalf of the Working Committee to establish them before an impartial tribunal. I could not do anything more and it would be a breach of duty to the Congress if I was satisfied with anything less.

I fully acknowledge and am aware that the refusal of the Congress to be represented at the R.T.C. involves the failure of one of the main objects of the Settlement. I regret it as much as the

[1] Presumably, to Gandhiji's letter of August 14, 1931; *vide* pp. 290-1. According to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Viceroy had stated that "Government would continue to avoid resort to special measures so far as possible restricting action to the requirements of the specific situation", describing Gandhiji's not attending the Round Table Conference as "failure of one of the main objects of the settlement".

Government, but the Working Committee was helpless.

Attendance at the Conference was conditional upon the fulfilment of the Settlement by the Government. Rightly or wrongly the Working Committee came to the conclusion, and I associate myself with the conclusion, that the Provincial Governments have in more instances than one failed to implement the Settlement. With that belief it is not possible for the Congress to be represented at Round Table Conference unless a way is found, namely, the appointment of a tribunal or reasonable satisfaction to the Congress in some other manner.[1]

In the midst therefore of conflict of opinion there should be a referee. My suggestion for a tribunal is, therefore, the most natural corollary. What shape that tribunal should take is undoubtedly a matter for mutual discussion and accommodation. Personally, I should be satisfied so long as there is reasonable assurance of impartiality from the tribunal. The appointment of such a tribunal can in no way diminish the dignity, prestige or authority of the Government. I hold that such an appointment is an ordinary function of a well-ordered Government and if this very Government has appointed committees of enquiry for matters outside contractual relations, how much greater there must be the need for such a tribunal when parties to the contract are dissatisfied as to the conduct of each towards the other and arising out of the contract itself?

The Hindu, 23-8-1931, and *The Times of India*, 24-8-1931

410. ANSWER TO QUESTION

AHMEDABAD,
August 22, 1931

If instead of replying whether the Truce terminates or continues, the Government arrests leaders, will the Congress renew the fight automatically, or will permission be required? This was one of the questions put to Mr. Gandhi this evening at prayer time. Mr. Gandhi replied that the fight could not be renewed till the Working Committee gave permission. He had, however, received the Viceroy's reply in which it was stated that the Government did not desire to terminate the Truce. The fight could not, therefore, be renewed automatically.

The Times of India, 24-8-1931

[1] In *The Times of India* report this and the preceding paragraphs are placed at the end.

411. BURNT ROPE RETAINS TWIST

Ordinarily, when we burn wood, cloth and such other things, they are reduced to a small heap of ashes. About the coir rope, however, people believe and the belief is correct, that when it is burnt its twisted shape remains. It will disappear only when we crush the ashes with our hands. Something similar may be said about this Government. If this were not true, why should it be reluctant to agree to set up an impartial tribunal to resolve the difference that has arisen regarding the implementation of the Settlement signed by the Government and the Congress? This Settlement is a kind of contract. Any dispute that may arise about a contract is decided by a court, no matter whether we call it a board of arbitrators or a court of law. The basic point is that only a disinterested party should decide the issue. Is there anything special about the Settlement between the Government and the Congress that the Settlement cannot be submitted to a tribunal? If the Government alone could decide in case of difference of opinion between it and the Congress, where was the utility of such an Settlement at all? And why should the Congress have accepted such a Settlement? The necessity for obtaining the decision of an impartial court or tribunal would arise only when the Congress did not agree with the Government's interpretation of any of its clauses. If, in such an event, the Government itself assumes the role of a judge, what attitude should the Congress adopt? What will the world think? If the Congress keeps quiet, the only possible interpretation would be that the Congress had become altogether powerless. How can the Congress, an organization acting in the name of and on behalf of millions, tolerate remaining in such a helpless condition? It exercised patience and endured the situation. It was only when it had no alternative left and saw that injustice was being done to the poor cultivators, that it decided to tolerate the situation no longer and not to send its representative to the Round Table Conference. It may be said that by taking that decision it has proved that it truly represents the country. The Government's attitude, revealed at the end of the negotiations, suggests that if we are to get swaraj only through its favour, swaraj is still a long way off. To me at least it seems dangerous simple-mindedness to believe that the Government officials, who

are unwilling today to allow a court of law, set up as part of its own machinery, to inquire into their actions, will tomorrow relinquish power and hand it over to the people.

Fortunately, no nation's freedom depends on the will of a foreign government or a foreign power. It depends only on the people's own will and their ability to enforce it. If the Congress lacks the strength to secure justice in a very simple matter in India, it will be able to secure nothing from England. Looking at the matter from this standpoint, it would make no difference whether or not the Congress representative went to England. When it becomes necessary for a representative to go there to carry on negotiations for swaraj, his path will be clear. The refusal to meet the demands made on behalf of the Bardoli cultivators is in my opinion the plainest and clearest hint to the Congress not to send its representative to England. Those who were eager that I should go need not at all be disappointed. My view has always been that the nation ought not to look to England or Simla or Delhi for swaraj. The right course for the people is to rely on themselves. As we advance through our strength we may occasionally have to visit Delhi or Simla or England or any other place, but the people should understand that if we win anything it will be through our own strength and in the measure of our strength.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-8-1931

412. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 23, 1931

HIS EXCELLENCY VICEROY
SIMLA

THANKS YOUR WIRE[1]. AS I WANT LEAVE NOTHING UNDONE THEREFORE THOUGH I HAVE NO DIFFICULTIES NOT KNOWN TO YOU AND THOUGH MY WIRE LEFT WITH YOU DECISION REGARDING DESIRABILITY OF PERSONAL DISCUSSION I GLADLY TAKE THE BURDEN UPON

[1] Of August 22, which read: "Your telegram of twenty-first August. If you consider that a further discussion will help to remove your difficulties I shall be glad to hear from you informing me what day you will arrive in Simla". (S.N. 17575)

MY SHOULDERS AND AM LEAVING FOR SIMLA TONIGHT REACHING THERE TUESDAY. AM INVITING PRESIDENT WORKING COMMITTEE[1] PANDIT JAWAHARLAL AND ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN TO BE WITH ME DURING MY STAY SIMLA. AS MATTERS SOMEHOW OR OTHER LEAK OUT ALMOST INVARIABLY IN GARBLED FORM CREATING MISUNDERSTANDINGS IT SEEMS TO ME NECESSARY IN PUBLIC INTEREST TO PUBLISH WIRES RECENTLY EXCHANGED. AM THEREFORE HANDING THEM PRESS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17582

413. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 23, 1931

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANANDBHAWAN
ALLAHABAD

AM PROCEEDING SIMLA TONIGHT VALLABHBHAI ACCOMPANYING. WE BOTH CONSIDER YOUR PRESENCE AND ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN'S NECESSARY. PLEASE START.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 17578

414. TELEGRAM TO DR. KHAN SAHEB

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 23, 1931

DOCTOR KHAN SAHEB[2]
PESHAWAR

REACHING SIMLA TUESDAY. PLEASE REQUEST KHANSAHEB COME SIMLA. WIRE CARE DOCTOR ANSARI.

GANDHI

From a copy: S.N. 17579

[1] Vallabhbhai Patel
[2] Brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

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415. TELEGRAM TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
August 23, 1931

DOCTOR ANSARI
DARYAGANJ
DELHI

LEAVING FOR SIMLA [TO]NIGHT WITH SARDAR. PLEASE MEET STATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17580

416. TELEGRAM TO R. S. HUKERIKAR

VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD,
August 23, 1931

R. S. HUKERIKAR
DHARWAR

DON'T PUBLISH. LEAVE THE THING ENTIRELY TO ME.[1]

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17581

417. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

ASHRAM,
August 23, 1931

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

Jamna believes that you now wish to get married or are willing to consider a proposal. If this is true, let me know and also tell me whether you have already chosen the girl. If I am to choose for you, tell me whether you wish to respect the restrictions of caste or Province. You know my own views in the matter. We

[1] *Vide* "Letter to R. S. Hukerikar", p. 339.

wish to do away with such restrictions but in a matter like marriage I would certainly not insist on my own ideas being followed. The inclination of the person who wishes to marry should prevail. Write to me frankly and tell me what you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 902. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

418. A NOTE

VIDYAPITH,
August 23, 1931

Supply to Lalji the goods connected with weaving mentioned in Shri Narandasbhai's letter. The sum of Rs. 20-12-0 [lying with us] from the time that he was in Udyog Mandir should be adjusted against the cost of these goods. That sum is with Mama at present. See that he does not get more than Rs. 50. Mama will take a receipt from him. The goods are to be sent when Mama writes again about them.

2. Send immediately three Yeravda wheels to Mama. If he asks for more, send up to nine wheels. Write from there to Bardoli for three wheels.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

419. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

NEW DELHI,
August 24, 1931

A Press representative asked Gandhiji:

Considering that the Government agrees to appoint a tribunal mutually acceptable to enquire into the allegations and counter-allegations made by the Congress and the Government, and considering further that the Government disputes the intermediary status of the Congress being implied in the Settlement, will you agree to place this issue also before the tribunal for its decision? Mr. Gandhi replied:

If the Government appoints such a tribunal and disputes even this elementary question which I consider a part of the Pact, I will have no objection to placing even this before the tribunal and abiding by its decision.

The Hindu, 25-8-1931

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420. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

Silence Day [On or after *August 24, 1931*][1]

CHI. PREMA,

Even if you stop finally writing to me, I must write to you. But you are not doing right in not writing to me. Will you write if I order you to write?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10262; also C.W. 6711. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

421. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

SIMLA,
August 25, 1931

Interviewed by the Associated Press representative, . . . Mr. Gandhi declined to offer any opinion on the fall of the Labour Cabinet remarking:

It is too high politics for me.

Asked whether the formation of the new Cabinet might in any way tend to alter his programme, Mr. Gandhi said:

I don't think so.

Gandhiji added that his going to England depended on Government giving satisfaction to the Congress in respect of his demands. Pressed to explain the ways in which satisfaction might be given to the Congress, especially in view of his having waived the demand for an enquiry, Mr. Gandhi stated:

I don't want an enquiry for enquiry's sake, and there is no intention to humiliate the Government. But there are three ways of satisfying the Congress. First, by conceding the Congress demand in full, secondly, by satisfying that the demand is wrong and un-

[1] According to *Bapuna Patro–5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne*, this letter was written between August 12 and September 6, 1931. The first Silence Day after August 12 fell on August 17, but both Gandhiji and the addressee were in Ahmedabad on that day. The letter, therefore, was probably written on or after the next Silence Day.

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just and thirdly, by giving satisfactory assurance that satisfaction would be given.

The Hindu, 25-8-1931

422. INTERVIEW TO "THE STATESMAN"

August 25, 1931

He [Gandhiji] was uncommonly cheerful and optimistic, and though he said that the Government's answer to his charge-sheet was perhaps not the last word (he did not say from whom) he appeared to be reasonably impressed by it.

He stoutly denied that it was Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who was standing in the way of his co-operation in London. He said:

I am capable of forming my own judgments.

The Statesman, 26-8-1931

423. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

SIMLA,
August 26, 1931

Mr. Gandhi had three hours' satisfactory talk[1] with the Viceroy at the end of which he informed the Associated Press that he would be sailing from Bombay for London on 29th instant.

Interviewed, Mr. Gandhi declined to disclose the result of his interview on the question of enquiry into breaches of the Pact, but said his interview was fairly satisfactory.

On his way back to "Firgrove" Gandhiji refused to stand beyond a minute before a group of photographers at Cecil Hotel remarking:

I have no time and I cannot stand your tyranny any longer.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-8-1931

[1] *Vide* Appendix IX.

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424. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

SIMLA,
August 26, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Through the telephone you have asked me to send you the amendments that I passed over the telephone to the draft communique given me by you this afternoon. Those amendments were suggested by my colleagues who are here. With slight alterations I give them below:

Here is the first amendment:

"Mr. Gandhi, while stating that the Congress were desirous that nothing should be done to the prejudice of peaceful conditions, wished to make it clear that this did not imply any undertaking *restricting the future action of the Congress in the matter of continuing grievances or in respect of unforeseen developments*."

The portion underlined[1] represents the amendment suggested in the first sentence of paragraph 5 by my colleagues. I need hardly say that I entirely endorse the suggestion.

You will observe that with the exception of the portion underlined, we have accepted the amendment telephoned by you. I may say that there is no desire to insist upon the wording suggested here. All that is sought to be made perfectly clear is that paragraph 3 of the draft communique does not in any way fetter the future action of the Congress. Nor does it mean that for every grievance large or small there is to be insistence upon an enquiry by the Congress. But the Congress should not be expected to waive the right to seek redress, and failing redress to adopt such measures as may seem to it to be necessary. As a matter of fact, this is an elementary principle which does not need any enunciation. It is brought in here to avoid any possibility of a charge of breach of faith on the part of the Congress. This clearance has become all the more necessary because of the inferences you draw from our conversations at Richmond.

The Council's suggestion that the sentence, viz., "To this the Government of India take no exception" be dropped is accepted.

It is further suggested on behalf of the Congress that the rest of paragraph 5 should be dropped. You will recognize that the sen-

[1] Here italicized

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tence beginning "so long as the Settlement . . . provisions" is a repetition, with slight changes, of para 2 of the communique. The remainder of the paragraph giving a long quotation from the letter from H. E. the Viceroy addressed to me and dated the 19th inst. torn from its context bears an altogether different meaning. My colleagues have pointed out that the bare quotation would seem to carry an interpretation which commits me and the Congress to an endorsement of the claim that the Government of India have hitherto followed the policy of restricting action to the requirements of the specific situation. You will agree that neither the Congress nor I have ever endorsed the claim. On the contrary we have had the misfortune often to point out to Government that their action has in numerous cases gone beyond the requirements of specific situation. I venture to suggest that the reminder, in a communique designed to secure peace and facilitate my departure to London on an errand of peace, that the Government possess certain powers which the Congress may not question is hardly opportune or advisable. I do not know that the powers of the Government become any the more emphatic or operative by reason of the recital. It had a meaning in a letter which was addressed to me to serve a purpose wholly different from the purpose that we all, I hope, have in view.

You have, in the course of the last conversation that we had over the phone, told me, on behalf of the Council, something very startling and distressing. I can only hope that I have misunderstood your message. It sounded very much like a breaking up of the negotiations which His Excellency, you and I had believed, had almost reached their fruition. Surely there is nothing extraordinary in the amendments suggested herein as to lead to such a tragic end. I can therefore only hope that having come so near, it will not be said of us, no matter whose fault it was, we had come near only in order to separate. In my opinion there is ample room for discussion and accommodation if we mean the same thing. If we do not, the sooner the agony of suspense ends the better.

I note your warning that the draft communique is provisional and confidential. Confidence will be respected.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 17601

425. *MILLS AND LABOUR*

The Congress lives for the labourer, and for the capitalist in so far as the latter subserves the former's purpose. Therefore the Congress is in alliance with the mill-owners in the matter of boycott of foreign cloth, only because boycott is calculated to benefit the labourer and the vast mass of consumers in the very near future. The alliance is voluntary and capable of being broken up at the option of either party. It can be and will be broken up when the mills find it profitless. It may and must be broken up by the Congress if it injures khadi, or if it injures or exploits the labourer, or if it exploits the consumer. Khadi may suffer temporary check as perhaps it has. The consumer may, for a year or two but no longer, pay a protection duty by way of higher prices, not for the higher profit of the shareholders but for the economic working of mills. But the Congress can never allow the labourer to be exploited. In other words, his position must not be worse than before the boycott. On the contrary, the alliance imposes a greater duty upon the Congress of seeing that the labourer's position is all the better for it. The Congress has to ascertain the condition of the labourers of a particular mill before it enters into any contract with it.

It was because the Working Committee realized this special obligation, that it passed the following resolution at its last meeting:[1]

> The Working Committee draws the attention of owners and managers of mills, especially those recognized by the Congress, to the resolution[2] of the Working Committee dated July 10th, 1931, and draws further attention to the fact, that the Working Committee has received complaints about the treatment of textile labourers and the growing discontent amongst them, as also of proposed reduction of wages in some mills.
>
> The Committee hopes, that the owners and managers will remove all causes of discontent. The Working Committee believes, that representing, as the Congress does predominantly, the interests of millions of agricultural and industrial workers, any recognition by the Congress of the mills

[1] Held in Bombay from August 9 to 14

[2] This read: "The Working Committee is of opinion, that the Textile Mills Exemption Committee should endeavour, wherever possible and necessary, to prevent by amicable arrangement any penalization or victimization of labour in the mills which have signed the Congress declaration, and to help in the bettering of labour conditions in these mills."

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will be inconsistent with the claim, wherever there is previous justification for such complaints.

Among the private resolutions referred to the Committee by the A.I.C.C. at its last session was one referring to mill workers. It was a drastic resolution. I have before me a list of mills that are said to have threatened a cut in the wages. The Working Committee therefore passed the foregoing mild resolution. It enunciates its policy and duty in the matter. It constitutes an assurance to the labourers, that the Congress will never be party to any injury to labour and it is a notice to the mill-owners of the Congress policy regarding labour. It must not on any account be treated as a threat of any kind whatsoever. It should be as much the mill-owners' interest as that of the Congress to guard the well-being of labour. The peaceful road to swaraj lies through a co-ordination, not antagonism, of all national effort. And this co-ordination must move towards one grand consummation — Freedom of Labour, whether on the field or in the factory.

Young India, 27-8-1931

426. NOTES

The Congress Flag

It was but meet that the All-India Congress Committee adopted[1] a flag by the following resolution almost unanimously passed:

> The National Flag shall be three-coloured, horizontally arranged as before, but the colours shall be saffron, white and green, in the order stated here, from top to bottom, with the spinning-wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe; it being understood that the colours have no communal significance, but that saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white peace and truth, and green shall represent faith and chivalry, and the spinning-wheel the hope of the masses. The proportions of the flag should be fly to hoist as three to two.

It should be remembered, that the white, green, and red tricolour flag was never authoritatively adopted by the Congress. It was conceived by me, and I had certainly given it a communal meaning. It was intended to represent communal unity. The Sikhs protested and demanded their colour. Consequently a Committee was appointed. It collected valuable evidence and made useful recommendations. And now we have a flag, which has been

[1] At its session from August 6 to 8, 1931

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authoritatively robbed of any communal meaning, and has a definite meaning assigned to each colour. The red has been replaced by saffron colour, and is put first purely from the artistic standpoint. White has been put between saffron and green in order to heighten the effect, and to show off the whole flag to advantage. The wheel is to be shown on the white strip in blue black. There can be no doubt that this is an improvement. It is a matter of great joy that the wheel has been retained as 'the hope of the masses'. It has proved itself as such. Wherever it has gone, it has brought happiness, and banished pauperism. It is now the duty of Congress workers to explain the meaning of the national flag, and let me hope that we shall translate the full meaning into our own lives. No doubt it will be defended with our lives, but the true defence will consist in assimilating the qualities represented by the colours and giving the spinning-wheel a place in every home. Then we shall need no picketing of foreign cloth. If we will die for the flag, let us first learn to live for it.

To the Parsis

Brave Abid Ali, being mistaken for equally brave Nariman, got nearly killed by seven injuries inflicted by some unknown Parsi's infuriated projectiles, — what they were I do not know. This happened, while Davar Bar was being picketed, and S. Abid Ali was trying to disperse a crowd of donothings. My appeal then is to the interested Parsis and to the great Parsi philanthropists and reformers. To the interested liquor dealers and their friends I say: My sympathy is with you as with foreign-cloth dealers. My sympathy compels me to warn both against your trade. Both the trades must go for the sake of the poor. And you cannot keep up either by hooliganism. Parsis are surely shrewd enough to recognize this fact, and are resourceful to find out some other calling. To the philanthropists I say: You have a brilliant record of philanthropy before you. Will you not add to your record by taking in hand the Parsi dealers in liquor and put them on to some honourable occupation? No philanthropy can possibly be compared to the one I am suggesting. What can be nobler than that your riches are utilized for ridding the nation of the soul-destroying curse of drink?

Trials by Jury

A correspondent reminds me that the A.I.C.C. has omitted from its recital of fundamental rights that of trial by jury. I do not know the mind of the other members. Personally I would have resisted the inclusion. I am unconvinced of the advantages of

jury trials over those by judges. In coming to a correct decision, we must not be obsessed by our unfortunate experience of the judiciary here, which in political trials has been found to be notoriously partial to the Government. At the right moment juries have been found to fail even in England. When passions are roused, juries are affected by them and give perverse verdicts. Nor need we assume that they err always on the side of leniency. I have known juries finding prisoners guilty in the face of evidence and even judge's summing up to the contrary. We must not slavishly copy all that is English. In matters where absolute impartiality, calmness and ability to sift evidence and understand human nature are required, we may not replace trained judges by untrained men brought together by chance. What we must aim at is an incorruptible, impartial and able judiciary right from the bottom. I regard village *panchayats* as an institution by itself. But thanks to the degradation of the caste system and the evil influence of the present system of government and the growing illiteracy of the masses, this ancient and noble institution has fallen into desuetude, and where it has not, it has lost its former purity and hold. It must, however, be revived at any cost, if the villages are not to be ruined.

Bogus Provident Companies

Complaints about these companies still continue, which shows that the warning issued by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has not had its full effect upon these companies. And some of them have even the audacity to threaten proceedings against the officials of the Vigilance Society established in Ahmedabad. Some of them offer most extravagant and tempting terms, that could never be fulfilled, and yet those who are in a hurry to be rich do not mind running into these traps. Unfortunately these companies trade upon the gullibility of poor peasants, whom they see only once, namely at the time of collecting the fee. A correspondent asks how he is to distinguish between a sound company from a bogus one. I would say: 'Shun them all. Do not run after these tempting offers. But if you cannot help subscribing to one of these companies, refer to the Vigilance Society and abide by its advice.' The society has only honorary members. It has come into being purely from philanthropic motives, and for the purpose of saving poor people from avoidable losses.

A Swadeshi Philanthropic Company

The Swadeshi Electric Clock Manufacturing Company has its workshop in Sastri Hall, Grant Road. Some days ago I had

the pleasure of visiting this workshop in Jamnalalji's company. Satishbabu of Khadi Pratishthan was also with me at the time. But as he is an expert in these matters, I asked him to visit the works again, and give me his own impressions, which he has done. He speaks highly of the possibilities of this enterprise. It owes its origin to the educational activities of the Tilak Rashtriya Pathshala of Nipani, a national school in Karnatak. The school was established during the Non-co-operation days of 1921. Industrial education was part of its syllabus. In Shri M. D. Joshi, a life-member, the school had a technical expert of great ability. The management therefore wanted him to take regular training, and he took the engineering course and stood first in the final examination. Then he served as an apprentice in the B.B.&C.I. Railway Parel Workshop, and then in the Royal Indian Marine Dockyards. During all this time he devoted his spare time to experiments in the manufacture of electric clocks. The upshot of all these labours was the present concern which became possible through the voluntary support of Sardar Dajisaheb Patwardhan of Poona. He lent Rs. 20,000 as capital to the company without any interest, and without even requiring any security. Its directors are Principal Limaye of the Tilak Mahavidyalaya, Poona, Dr. R. N. Datar, Sr. Joshi and Sr. Naravane. These directors get no remuneration. The whole concern is based on the principle of self-sacrifice. It gives technical education to students from national schools. If there are any profits, they are to be devoted to the advancement of education. The company sold clocks for nearly Rs. 15,000 last year, and they are said to have given perfect satisfaction. The mechanism of these clocks is original and patented. "Every part of the machine is manufactured and other processes completed in the workshop." These clocks are designed not for the use of individuals but for offices, factories and public institutions, which require a number of clocks fitted in the same building. They require no winding, and all the clocks in one circuit show exactly the same time. There are six students already working in the workshop from the Nipani school. But I must not give any more space to a description of this enterprise. I invite those who are interested in genuine swadeshi enterprises to visit the institution and study its working.

Young India, 27-8-1931

427. CATTLE IN ANCIENT INDIA[1]

The reader must not run away with the idea that here there is any desire to revive the alleged ancient cruel form of racing. And since this article is intended to apply to all Princes, the word '*go*'[2] must mean all cattle wealth, and 'Brahman' must mean the wealth of true knowledge.[3]

Young India, 27-8-1931

428. LETTER TO VICEROY

Personal

SIMLA,
August 27, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

One stage in the journey is reached. I know that I have caused you endless worry. But the only consolation I can derive for myself and give to you lies in the fact that I have given myself no less worry and anxiety. It never is a matter of pleasure to me to continuously differ from friends or opponents. You will therefore believe me when I give you my assurance that if I have seemed to be obstinate or exacting all this has been in spite of myself and in response to the imperative call of duty. Though the colleagues that have been with me have given me their heartiest co-operation I know that the ultimate responsibility rests upon my shoulders. I have not come to the decision to go to London without fear, trembling and serious misgivings. Things from the Congress standpoint do not appear to be at all happy but I am relying upon your repeated assurances that you will give personal attention to everything that is brought to your notice. Do please trust Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the other members of the Working Committee. I assure you that your trust will not be misplaced. I would like you also to trust Khan Abdul

[1] The article by V. G. Desai is not reproduced here. In order to show how strong and swift the cattle were in ancient India the author had quoted from Pliny's account of races in which oxen competed with horses.

[2] Cow

[3] The author had desired the Princes of India to do something to justify the title of sustainers of '*go-brahman*'.

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Ghaffar Khan. The more I see him the more I love him. He is extremely frank, has no mental reservations and tells me that non-violence with him is not a policy but an article of faith.

Remember me please to Lady Willingdon and tender to her on my behalf a thousand apologies for being the cause of anxiety and worry to her husband. I know that I carry with me your joint blessings.[1]

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD WILLINGDON
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 17601

429. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

SIMLA,
August 27, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have to acknowledge with thanks your letter of even date enclosing the new draft. Sir Cowasji has kindly also communicated to me the amendments suggested by you. My colleagues and I have very carefully considered the amended draft which we are prepared to accept subject to the following remarks: In paragraph 4 it is not possible for me on behalf of the Congress to subscribe to the position taken up by the Government. For we feel that, where in the opinion of the Congress a grievance arising out of the working of the Settlement is not redressed, an enquiry is a necessity of the case, because of the fact that civil disobedience remains under suspension during the pendency of the Delhi Pact.

But if the Government of India and local Governments are not prepared to grant an enquiry, my colleagues and I have no objection to the clause remaining. The result will be that, whilst the Congress will not press for an enquiry in regard to 'the other matter hitherto raised' on its behalf, if unfortunately any grievance is so acutely felt that it becomes a paramount duty of the Congress to seek some method of relief, in the absence of an enquiry, in the shape of defensive direct action, the Congress should be held free to adopt such remedy notwithstanding the suspension of civil disobedience.

[1] The Viceroy's reply to this read: "Delighted to receive your letter last night and to learn your decision. Am sure you are right. Send you my blessings and all good wishes. You can entirely rely upon my assurance to you" (S.N. 17601).

I need hardly assure the Government, that it would be the constant endeavour of the Congress to avoid direct action and to gain relief by discussion, persuasion and the like. The statement of Congress position given here has become necessary in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding in the future or a charge of breach of faith on the part of the Congress.

In the event of a successful issue to the present discussions, I assume that the communique[1], this letter and your reply would be simultaneously published.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 3-9-1931

430. ALONE, YET NOT ALONE

[*August 28, 1931*][2]

Reynolds as well as other friends have wanted me to take Jawaharlal with me to London at least. He is fearless, yet gentle, being a stranger to weakness and weakening diffidence, detects weakness in a flash, having no diplomacy about him, hates diplomatic language and insists upon going straight to the point. And as I consider myself to be in advance of him in idealism, he returns the compliment by dismissing my claim. I honour him, and therefore share the wish, energetically expressed by so many friends, that Jawaharlal should be with me to keep me on the straight path and to serve as my dictionary of reference in case of doubt. Other friends have wanted others to be by my side, even though they may not be delegates. They are so thankful that Malaviyaji and Sarojini Devi will be with me as persons entitled to nomination by reason of their distinguished status apart from their being members of the Congress and their being past presidents. There is weight in every one of the suggestions made by these friends. All the considerations were with the Working Committee, when, after a full and prolonged debate[3], it came to the conclusion that there should be sole delegation on behalf of the Congress. I fully share the unanimous view expressed by the

[1] For the text of the communique as finally published, *vide* Appendix IX.

[2] Gandhiji mentions dictating this in the train while on his way to Bombay. He left Simla late in the evening on August 27, so August 28 would seem to be the most likely date.

[3] At its sitting from June 9 to 11, 1931

members of the Working Committee. But just before the way became clear for me to go to London, and more when the way was opened at 7 p.m. on the 27th, my weakness burst upon me as never before, and I have not got over it even as I dictate these lines on the train taking me to Bombay.

Something within me told me that I must not bear the burden of the Simla visits single-handed, but that as the Frontier Province and the United Provinces were storm centres and as Gujarat was the special care of Sardar Vallabhbhai, he, Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should be by my side, and that I should take no decision without their full consent and approval, and so in my telegram to the Viceroy,[1] I told him that these three would accompany me to Simla. As I had to pass through Delhi, I telegraphed to Dr. Ansari also, so that I could have half an hour with him. He was not in Delhi but in Mussoorie attending to a patient. My wire was repeated to him there, and he went down post-haste to Kalka to meet me since he could not catch me at Delhi, and so he too came along to Simla. And I can thankfully confess that the presence of each one of them was most valuable to me, and I can give out the secret, that but for their presence and especially of Jawaharlal's frank and insistent criticism, the Second Settlement[2], though identical in substance, would have taken a form very different from that in which it finally emerged, and I must own that the form in which it has emerged is far superior to the one to which I alone, in my trustfulness even in official nature, would have subscribed. With that very useful experience in front of me, the reader would be entitled to say that I must either be too conceited or too dull to see that I must take these very colleagues with me to London even though they may not be with me as co-delegates.

But I am not aware of any conceit in me nor of special dullness that would conceal the reality from me. These colleagues too still feel that sole delegation is the proper thing, and that their own place is not in London either as delegates or as counsellors, but at their respective posts of duty in India. Their presence in India would be a much greater help than what is to be gained by their being available for discussions in London.

I must go to London feeling my weakness in its fulness. I must go to London with God as my only guide. He is a jealous Lord. He will allow no one to share His authority. One has

[1] *Vide* pp. 352-3.
[2] *Vide* Appendix IX.

therefore to appear before Him in all one's weakness, empty-handed and in a spirit of full surrender, and then He enables you to stand before a whole world and protects you from all harm. When I think of the prospects in London, when I know that all is not well in India, that the second Settlement is bereft of all grace and is charged with no pleasant memories, there is nothing wanting to fill me with utter despair. The horizon is as black as it possibly could be. There is every chance of my returning empty-handed. That is just the state which realization of weakness finds one in. But believing as I do that God has made the way to London clear for me through the Second Settlement, I approach the visit with hope, and feel that any result that comes out of it would be good for the nation, if I do not prove faithless to the mandate given to me by the Congress.

The Charge-sheet and the Reply[1]

I am sorry that the Government have published the replies of Provincial Governments to the charges mentioned against them in the charge-sheet. In my opinion the categorical denials, if they prove anything, prove the necessity for an enquiry. An accused person does not quash a complaint by a denial of the charge against him, however emphatic his denial may be. He has to prove his innocence before a judge. So far as Congressmen are concerned, the denials from the Provincial Governments simply confirm them in their suspicions. The public therefore will hear more of the charge-sheet. Mahadev Desai has given his stray impressions. But a rejoinder is in course of preparation,[2] and I have no doubt, that when it is published, it will be found that the Congress has a good case. If the Provincial Governments are as innocent as they claim to be, why should they shirk an impartial investigation? But according to the Second Settlement they refuse to face an enquiry. The Congress has submitted to the refusal. But it has also made it clear, that submission to the refusal need not mean submission to the injustice involved, and if there is a wrong to which, in the opinion of the Congress, it would be against the interest of the nation to submit, the Congress has reserved the right, in spite of the Settlement which contemplates suspension of civil disobedience, to take it up as a measure of self-defence. It is the only alternative to an enquiry when discussion, negotiation and petition fail. Let me hope however that even defensive civil disobedience will be found to be unnecessary. I know that Sardar Vallabhbhai

[1] *Vide* pp. 166-77.

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", p. 372.

and the Working Committee will not lightly permit any such resumption. So far as it is humanly possible, pending the result of the London visit civil disobedience should be avoided. But it cannot be and must not be avoided at the cost of national self-respect or well-being. Let Congress Committees and individuals know that it is not open to them to take up civil disobedience on their own responsibility. Permission of the Working Committee or the President is absolutely necessary.

Young India, 3-9-1931

431. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

MY DEAR AMTUL,

So we shall not meet for some time now. You will go away for change if you are weak and ailing and return when you have recouped yourself and the malarial season at Sabarmati is over. In every case you must keep yourself perfectly at peace and cheerful. Don't worry about anything. But do such service as you can. Let there be not a single idle moment. You can do *takli* spinning, grain cleaning, sewing, cotton cleaning and many other such items of light labour. They are just as useful as heavy labour. All these things come naturally to those who will concentrate not upon themselves but upon the good of all and the contribution that they can make towards the promotion of that good. You must write to me. My address you will learn from Narayandas.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 245

432. LETTER TO SIR MALCOLM HAILEY

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I know you will not consider me to be discourteous because I did not acknowledge your wire in reply to mine[1] from Bombay.

[1] Dated August 5; *vide* p. 250.

The reason was simple. I did not know what reply to send at the time. It is only now that I can send a reply, and this I am doing during the few moments I can get on the train that is taking me to Bombay. You will not mind my saying that your telegram was capable of being read as a promise of hope or of none. I propose now to read in your telegram a promise of hope. I am not aware of the legal position but I do know that you have a reputation of being able to find a way out of every difficulty, that is, if you are convinced that a way should be found out of it. The chief difficulty in U.P. as it seems to me is the evictions already obtained and the evictions that are still continuing. They may all be lawful but there is something wrong in a system which allows of so many evictions. You have said in your telegram that the evictions this year do not show any excess over last year. That may be so. But I hardly think you will justify them on the score of a bad precedent. With the tremendous awakening that has taken place all over India there is a sensitiveness to wrongs which was not felt 12 months ago. I would ask you therefore to recognize this sensitiveness and deal with the wrong. And I venture to suggest that you cannot make a better beginning than by sending for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and establishing a direct touch with him. Seeing that the Settlement continues I venture to suggest that Congress may be trusted and all necessary help requisitioned from it. I am certain that the trust will not be misplaced if the cause is common as I take it is the case between us.

I have written freely because there is no other way of strengthening bonds of public friendship as of private. I hope therefore that you will not resent my letter as a presumption.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR MALCOLM HAILEY
NAINI TAL

From a photostat: G.N. 8811; also S.N. 17608

433. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

DEAR C.R.,

What shall I write to you? Do you know that not a day has passed but I have thought of you and also felt the need of your presence? But I was not to have it and as ill luck will have it, I cannot have even a few words with you before sailing. There are two men whom I would like by my side in London, you and Jawaharlal. But I feel that even if both of you were available I must not have you by me. Somehow or other I do feel that you will both be helping me like the others by being here. Only your presence with me will have lightened my burden. But I must bear the Cross alone and to the fullest extent. When I think of myself with all my limitations and ignorance I sink in utter despair but I rise out of it immediately, as I think and feel that it is God within Who is moving me and using me as His instrument. He will give me the right word at the right moment. That does not mean that I shall make no mistakes. But I have come to believe that God as it were purposely makes us commit mistakes if only to humble us. I know that this is a dangerous belief which can be utilized to justify any error. But I have no doubt about its correctness in respect of all unconscious errors. But this is not a letter to air my philosophy. This is written to ask you to give me through weekly letters, sent even by air mail, what I cannot get through your presence. I would like you also to write for *Young India* every week. I do not think there is any legal necessity for advertising a new editor during my temporary absence. If there is a legal necessity I would like you to wear the editorial mantle.

I would like you to prepare a rejoinder to the Madras Government's reply to the Madras charge-sheet and bring the latter to date and send your rejoinder to the Sardar.

By way of preliminary send me by air mail your detailed reflections on what you expect me to do in London. Copies of whatever you send by air mail should be sent through the usual weekly service.

How is Papa? I do hope she is better.

From a photostat: S.N. 17609

434. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

Unrevised

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Will you please look after the columns of *Young India*? The idea is that there should be no change of name as editor. I do not think the law requires such change during the temporary absence of the editor in charge. But if such a change is required C. Rajagopalachari should appear as the editor, and in any case whenever you are in doubt or opinion among our own coterie differs, C. Rajagopalachari's should be the final voice when a reference is at all possible. When such is not possible Jairamdas's should be the final voice and when even that is not possible yours should be the final voice unless Kaka Saheb chooses to decide. I do not want him to bear this burden. But he has a right whenever he considers intervention necessary. I have already written to Rajagopalachari to send something regularly and I am asking Jairamdas too to give you a weekly contribution or contributions. I have asked Jawaharlal also to do likewise and he is likely to send you a weekly budget of U.P. news as also anything else he may wish to write. This therefore should not prove too great a strain on you. But if all these fail as they may you will fill in the columns somehow or other. Of course I expect to be able to send something every week. In all your writings I would like you to make as little criticism as possible but give as many facts and figures as possible.

If you find time you can study the economics of drink and show by facts and figures what a tremendous waste the drink habit means apart from the actual money value of the drink consumed. You may also take up the whole subject of economic waste that goes on in our midst through preventable disease, through wrong feeding, through the criminal waste of human excreta as manure. This waste has been worked out by Poord. I believe his works we have in the Ashram. The double waste through wrong feeding has been very partially worked out by Col. Macanister—or some such name—the medico who has written on vitamins. I have simply thrown together a few hints that should be sufficient for you to make explorations and discoveries. Economics treated

in this manner can really become fascinating, interesting and instructive for the masses. Nor do these explorations require very deep or prolonged study for one like you who has studied the science of economics. If you find that these are hints thrown out by a man who knows nothing about economics you are at liberty to brush aside the whole of this paragraph. Please share this letter with Kaka Saheb. I expect to be away not longer than 3 months at the outside and not less than six weeks in any event.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10098

435. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

Personal

ON THE WAY,
August 28, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Perhaps H. E. will show you my personal letter[1] to him. This is to tell you how grieved I felt in Simla over what appeared to me to be your obstructive tactics. I hope I am wrong in my fears and that you were not responsible for the exasperating situation that led to the waste of precious three days. The securing of a constitution is nothing to me compared to the joy of discovering human contacts by which one could swear.

I shall soon forget the sad memories of the past three days and I know you will forgive me if I have unwittingly misjudged you. But the future fills me with fear and misgivings. If you will distrust Sardar Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal and Abdul Ghaffar Khan an explosion is almost unavoidable. You will most certainly avoid it by trusting them. I think I know the influence you have. May I assume your promise to use it aright?

I have written thus freely in the exercise of a privilege of friendship and therefore hope not to be misunderstood.

My right hand needing rest, I have to write with the left hand. I could not dictate a personal letter like this.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17601

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Viceroy", pp. 365-6.

436. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I had no time to take a statement from Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan about Akbarpura and the treatment of prisoners whom, for want of a better distinguishing term, I describe as political. The Khan Saheb gave me a harrowing description of the prisoners in the Peshawar jail who were convicted in connection with a drama about which you would remember we had a discussion. Khan Saheb tells me that the prisoners are kept in irons and given the heavy work of turning the *kharas*. I do not mind heavy work being given to able-bodied men, but the ablest-bodied men have also limits to their capacity for exertion and it is no joke to work a *kharas* with irons on one's legs. I enclose herewith a statement made by Shrimati Khurshedbehn regarding what she saw of injured men and women in Akbarpura. I would like you not to brush aside all these statements as false or exaggerated. Her statement about Dera Ismail Khan which also I enclose herewith is worthy of attention.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 17607

437. LETTER TO D. N. BAHADURJI

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

In the Frontier Province, as it appears to me from accounts received, a great deal of repression is going on. Only recently in Akbarpura apparently without any justification several hundred men and women were charged by the military and received more or less serious injury. In Dera Ismail Khan there was a Hindu-Muslim riot and it is said that there was connivance on the part

of the police. Political prisoners are undergoing harsh treatment. Khurshedbehn who will give you this letter knows something about all these things. If you could go to the Frontier Province and quietly inquire into these events and report upon them, your report might be of inestimable value and might ease the situation. Whether you should be authoritatively appointed by the Working Committee or not I do not know. Such an appointment might conceivably defeat the end in view. The Frontier Province is a non-regulation province. Many things are done there which in our part of India we would believe to be impossible. The Government may even prohibit the inquiry and if an appointment made by the Working Committee is thwarted by the Government there might arise an undesirable situation. But the first thing is whether you could spare the time to go to the Frontier Province, and if you could, whether you would like to take up this responsibility. If you can, you will please confer with Sardar Vallabhbhai and then decide whether a quiet informal enquiry would be preferable to an enquiry authorized by the Working Committee. You will not hesitate to say "no" if for any reason whatsoever you find that you cannot shoulder this burden.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. D. N. BAHADURJI
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 17610

438. LETTER TO DR. MRS. COMMISARIAT

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

DEAR DR. COMMISARIAT,

You will remember your having told me when we met at Naini Tal that you were ready to take up some national service for which you might consider yourself fitted. I want to take you at your word. You know Khurshedbehn Naoroji. She has just taken up work amongst the women of the Frontier Province. She tells me that if there was a lady doctor working amongst the women of this province, it would be a good thing which the Frontier people would appreciate. If you have the time and the inclination, I think you are the person for this work. If you are at all free and inclined to give your time for this work, please correspond with Miss Naoroji, whose address for the next ten days will

be 78 Napean Sea Road, Bombay. She expects to leave for the Frontier Province inside of a fortnight.

Yours sincerely,

DR. (MRS.) COMMISARIAT

From a microfilm: S.N. 17611

439. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 28, 1931

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I was glad to have had even that brief chat. You must keep perfectly cheerful and calm. You must shed your shyness and begin to speak Hindi freely, no matter how bad or ungrammatical it may be. By the time I return I expect you to be able to talk fluently in Hindi and you must write also as often as you can. This want of self-confidence in you, an educationist, is a terrible drawback and you must get out of it. An educationist is always a student. Nothing is beyond him and he is never too old to learn a new thing if the learning of it is necessary for the task before him, and you have realized that a competent knowledge of Hindi is indispensable if you are to serve through the Ashram. You should write to me. If Ratilal is there try to befriend him. A good educationist would delight in handling semi-lunatics like Ratilal and by his moral force weaning them from their lunacy. I do believe that Ratilal is not past praying for. He is very responsive to any kind attention that might be given to him. Being brainless he has no friends. Nobody has taken a loving interest in him. Hence he has felt neglected and the feeling of being neglected made him sour, angry and, in the end, mad.

From a microfilm S.N. 17614

440. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 28, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your two letters. They give no news about Ratilal.

Send *Mumbai Samachar* to Prabhavati.

I have already sent a note to you about Lalji. Send him goods worth up to Rs. 50 when Mama writes about them. Deduct

from that amount the sum of Rs. 20 which you have already sent. That is, you have now to send Rs. 30. Three Yeravda wheels being manufactured in Bardoli are to be sent to Mama just now. Nine more may be supplied later when he writes for them.

Now that I am going, I am leaving a heavy burden on you. But you are capable of shouldering it. Mahadev must have sent you my address. Write to me from time to time. I believe I shall return in six weeks at the shortest and twelve weeks at the longest. It is nearly ten now. I feel sleepy and, therefore, don't write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

To the others I will write in the morning or from the ship.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

441. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

ON THE FRONTIER DOWN MAIL,
August 29, 1931

The very first question . . . was as to whether his recent conversations with the Viceroy had been such as to convince him that there has been a "change of heart" on the part of the Government, Mahatma's decisive reply was:

I am afraid not.

Q. What is your reply to your critics who suggest that you have not been consistent in your demand? According to this section you started with a demand for an impartial inquiry into the breaches of the Truce by the Government, then you modified it to an inquiry by a High Court Judge, then you said you would be satisfied with a one-sided inquiry, and, finally, you have agreed to no inquiry at all in places other than Bardoli.

A. The public are justified in thinking that I am inconsistent. But I must be allowed to have the same right and to say that I am not inconsistent. My insistence was on an inquiry. I had suggested many things. But the indispensable minimum was an open impartial inquiry into the Bardoli charge. And that open inquiry has been granted. Whether it will be also impartial or not I do not know.

Though I had put forth a claim to an inquiry into all the charges that claim is not withdrawn but if the Government do

not grant or face an inquiry into other charges that could be no ground for refusing to proceed to London. An enquiry is a substitute for civil disobedience. That right has been specially reserved as you will see from the correspondence published.

In my opinion nothing of an essential character has been given up.

Q. In the Charge-sheet published by you, you have given a "catalogue" of breaches of the Truce by the Government. These have occurred in spite of your presence in the country and your strenuous efforts not to precipitate a crisis. Do you expect the same Government to observe the terms of the Delhi Pact while you are away in London?

A. The fear underlying your question is not groundless. Nevertheless as a man of trust I do expect the same Government to observe the terms of the Delhi Pact. You will see in the communique[1] an unequivocal declaration on the part of the Central Government that they will secure observance of the Pact. I have also the solemn assurance of the Viceroy himself but to what extent this declaration in the communique and the solemn assurance will be carried out into practice the future alone will show.

But in any event for a big national organization like the Congress no man's presence is indispensable however efficient he may be for service. An organization that has weathered storms for an unbroken period of nearly fifty years is well able to take care of itself in spite of my absence and I really feel that the Government having sent me to London will make it a point of honour to see that the terms of the Truce are better observed now than before.

Q. Will you advise Congress organizations to resort to direct action if the Government continues the same policy and does not make amends for the injustice already done?

A. In the first place you should understand that the Congress has not abandoned any of the charges because the Congress will not get an inquiry into them. Negotiations will still proceed and I have not a shadow of doubt that where any grievance is so felt as to make some action absolutely necessary the Congress will adopt it.

Q. The agrarian situation in the U.P. is becoming more and more acute. It is reported that peasants are giving up cultivation of lands and migrating to the cities in search of employment. The movement is spreading. What remedy

[1] *Vide* Appendix IX.

do you suggest to ease the situation and what part should the Congress play to secure a better atmosphere?

A. I am painfully conscious of the ever-worsening situation in the U.P. I had a very long chat with Pandit Jawaharlal over this situation on the train. We have together mapped out a course of action and I have ventured to address a communication to Sir Malcolm Hailey.[1] He is one of the strongest Governors we have in India at the present moment. And I know he could be strong in action for securing justice. I do not despair of his coming to the help of the Congress to avert a crisis.

Q. Are you optimistic about the results of the Round Table Conference?

A. No, if I am to judge the future from the present appearance. But being a born optimist I have never lost hope even in the midst of impenetrable darkness. But let us take care of the present. Let every Congressman do his duty, observe non-violence and truth in thought, word and deed and I promise that all will be well.

Q. What will be your minimum demand at the R.T.C.?

A. My minimum demand is happily chalked out by the Congress in the mandate given to me. To be worthy of the confidence reposed in me I may be expected not to move away from the terms of the mandate by a hair's breadth.

Q. Will you reiterate your eleven points?[2]

A. My eleven points are as dead as Queen Anne. But they have revived in an invigorated form in the so-called Fundamental Rights resolution[3] of the Congress. Whatever of these is to be part of the Constitution will be part of any constitution acceptable to the Congress.

Q. Will you accept a Constitution which may fall short of the Karachi resolution for Independence, or as you put it "Substance of Independence"?

A. Nothing short of Substance of Independence will be acceptable to me personally, let alone Congress resolution.

Asked to state his attitude regarding the National Debt question, Gandhiji said that as ever his attitude was to demand an impartial tribunal to examine it.

[1] *Vide* pp. 370-1.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 432-5.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 370-2.

The conversation then turned to the Congress formula for communal solution,[1] which was not acceptable to a section of Muslims. Would Gandhiji accept a compromise for the sake of presenting a united front at the Conference?

A. The Congress resolution has left me no room for accepting any compromise not acceptable to the parties concerned. The unanimous consent was, therefore, necessary for any compromise.

Gandhiji deplored that this had been rendered foolishly impossible by excluding the official representation of the Nationalist Muslim opinion.

It may be hopeless minority or it may represent the largest section of enlightened Muslim opinion. But whatever the extent of its influence it is not an opinion that can be summarily rejected not at least by me when I know that the Nationalist Muslim Party contains some of my oldest Mussalman comrades and noblest Muslims in all India.

Q. Have you agreed to visit Lancashire and to explain the character of the boycott movement?

A. Yes. I have promised a visit if it is desired by Lancashire men.

Questioned whether he proposed to visit any other European country besides England, Gandhiji said:

If I can possibly do so I would certainly respond to the invitations I have received from all over Europe. But that will depend upon the movement of the political barometer.

The Mahatma informed that his London hostess was Miss Muriel Lester, who, like him, was a representative of paupers.

Q. If the R.T.C. concedes the national demand, do you propose to remain in political life? Gandhiji smilingly said:

If the R.T.C. concedes the National demand I shall only just enter political life.

Gandhiji was urged to give an "exclusive" message to the country through the *Chronicle* when he exclaimed.

I belong to the *Chronicle*. Belonging as I do to the *Chronicle*, there can be no exclusive message to it from me.

Gandhiji could not be induced to say anything more and to a volley of questions put to him, he said:

You have pumped everything out of me by your 17 points. Now you must thank me and run away.

The Bombay Chronicle, 31-8-1931

[1] *Vide* pp. 139-41.

442. LETTER TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
August 29, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

At the end of our conversation at Simla, I opened the question of Dr. Ansari's delegation at the Round Table Conference and I wanted to mention the delegation on behalf of the Federated Chambers of Commerce. As to Dr. Ansari, as you know, Lord Irwin believed that I should have carried the impression that his delegation would be a certainty. As to the delegation on behalf of the Federated Chambers I have the correspondence between Lord Irwin's Private Secretary and the Chairman of the Federation. From this correspondence it is clear that there were to be three representatives and the correspondence closed with the names being finally submitted by the Federation. These were Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Seth Jamal Mohammed and Seth Ghanshyam Das Birla. Of these, only Sir Purushottamdas received the invitation and as you are aware, the Federation would not think of sending him without the other two also receiving the invitations. Here I think the plighted word of an ex-Viceroy is concerned and should, in my opinion, be respected. But this is not the point that I wanted to urge. The point that I wish to urge is that my usefulness would be largely curtailed if the interests represented by these three gentlemen and the interests represented by Dr. Ansari are not to be represented at the Round Table Conference. The Federation is to a certain extent working in conjunction with the Congress and so is the Nationalist Muslim Party of which Dr. Ansari is the head. If there were any negotiations in connection with Hindu-Muslim question or in connection with Indian Commerce I should be perfectly helpless without the assistance and co-operation of these gentlemen and the very purpose for which I am being sent to London is in danger of being defeated. I would therefore ask you, if you have authority, to consider the advisability of these nominations from the standpoint I have suggested. If you have not, I would like you to telegraph the purport of this to the Prime Minister and if it is at all possible repair what seems to me to be a glaring omission. I may add that

Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also are associating themselves with the contents of this letter.

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD WILLINGDON
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 17601

443. LETTER TO NATIONAL CHRISTIAN PARTY

MANI BHUVAN,
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY,
August 29, 1931

DEAR FRIENDS,

I thank you for your address which I must confess I have not been able to read. I shall certainly carefully read it, but I can give you this assurance in anticipation that as a representative of the Congress, the interests of the Christian community will be just as dear to me as those of every other community. I hope that all the Christian friends, men and women, will carry out the Congress programme personally as you know there are many things that both men and women can easily do. For instance, spin in the name of the poor every day, adopt khadi to the exclusion of every other cloth, and those who are given to the drink habit can abstain from drink.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-9-1931

444. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BOMBAY

August 29, 1931

Speaking from the balcony of a private house Mr. Gandhi addressed a huge enthusiastic crowd (who stood in drenching rain) for quarter of an hour.

Mr. Gandhi said he had signed the Second Agreement with the Government. They could read it. Some of them could ask what this man had gone and done again. But Mr. Gandhi himself was aware that the nation had shown enormous trust in him by electing him as the sole delegate to the Round Table Conference. In ordinary circumstances, but for their trust he would have refused to go to London, but their trust would support him. He knew full well his own shortcomings and weaknesses, but truth and non-violence

would be his guiding principles and he hoped they would come out in their fullness in his work in London.

I am a cripple, but it is only natural that a crippled nation should have a crippled delegate who alone can understand the difficulties and miseries of the millions.

Mr. Gandhi assured his hearers that he would abide by the Congress mandate. He would deceive nobody, neither Englishmen nor anybody else, much less India's teeming millions.

If I deceive you, even to kill me would not be violence. I have no enmity with Englishmen, nor with Mohammedans, nor for the matter of that with anyone else.

The Hindu, 29-8-1931

445. STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS[1]

s.s. "RAJPUTANA",
August 29, 1931

Though I see nothing on the horizon to warrant hope, being a born optimist, I am hoping against hope. My faith is in God and He seems to have made my way clear for me to go to London. Therefore I expect He will use me as His instrument for the service of humanity. For me service of India is identical with the service of humanity.

Though Congress may be repudiated by sections of the people of India, it aims at representing the whole of India and, therefore, to deserve the trust that had been reposed in me and imposed upon me, I shall endeavour to represent every interest that does not conflict with the interests of the dumb millions for whom the Congress predominantly exists.

I hope that Provincial Governments, the Civil Service and English mercantile houses will help the Congress to realize the mission it has set before itself. Representing, as the Congress does, the message of non-violence and truth, it can only succeed by the goodwill of all component parts of the nation and I am therefore hoping that goodwill will be extended to the humble representative that is going upon his errand.

The Hindu, 30-8-1931

[1] Gandhiji gave the statement just before sailing.

CWMG-XLVII

446. STATEMENT ON BARDOLI INQUIRY

[After *August 29, 1931*][1]

With reference to the revenue collections in Bardoli and Borsad it was from the very beginning a clear understanding that the Khatedars affected by the civil disobedience were to pay only as much as they could without borrowing. This was repeatedly brought out in the conversations between the Collector Mr. Perry of Kaira and his successor Mr. Bhadrapur and Mr. Kothawalla, Collector of Surat. The correspondence carried on with them confirms this statement. So far as the terms of reference to the Inquiry Officer are concerned I have distinctly understood that the standard referred to therein means ability to pay without borrowing.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/39-Poll, 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

447. LETTER TO JUNGBAHADUR SINGH

NEARING ADEN,
Silence Day [*August 31, 1931*][2]

BHAI JUNGBAHADUR SINGH,

I have your letter. I don't see the necessity of marrying Krishnakumari's sister to a Kshatriya from U.P. only. Why may she not be married outside U.P. ? Why particularly to a Kshatriya? What can [Raja of] Kalakankar do in the matter? I also feel that a fourteen-year-old girl is not ready for marriage. I shall return in a short while. Write to me then. Krishnakumari is happy these days.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1338

[1] This statement "relating to the basis of the agreement" on the Bardoli inquiry was sent by Gandhiji after he had sailed for England on August 29, 1931.

[2] Gandhiji reached Aden on the morning of September 3; the Silence Day before that fell on August 31.

448. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

ON BOARD THE S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
Silence Day [*August 31, 1931*][1]

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. About Lakshmi I have sent a message with Joshi. If Maruti is ready, they may marry at any time. We should put no pressure on him.

Krishnakumari's eczema must have been cured by now.

Why don't you try and cultivate a perfect understanding of heart with Narandas? Formerly you used to like him so much. Has he changed now? I have not felt that he has.

The Ashram is yours, whatever it is, and it is there that you must seek your happiness and peace of mind, if you can get any. If you resolve thus, you will get everything there.

You should, however, continue to pour out your grievances to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 61. Also C.W. 8787. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

449. MESSAGE TO INDIAN PEOPLE

S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
September 2, 1931

Now that I am drawing away from India's shores, let me appeal to the Indian people to preserve absolutely a non-violent atmosphere during my absence, and let them follow out the constructive programme of Congress—namely, remove the fourfold curse of drink, drugs, foreign cloth and untouchability. Let them revive the village industry of hand-spinning and promote unity among all classes, which is indispensable for India's freedom. I should like, also, to appeal to Englishmen, including officials, to trust the Congress and Congressmen, if they really believe that power must pass from them to India.

The Times, 3-9-1931

[1] *Vide* footnote to the preceding item.

450. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI

ON BOARD THE S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
September 2, 1931

BHAISHRI VALJI,

I have your letter. I expect to go through the translation of the article on the vow of *aparigraha* and despatch it along with this letter. Sardar Vallabhbhai wanted to meet you again. If he has not detained you, I think you must have gone to Almora by now. There was no reason to change any of our arrangements because of my leaving for England, and that is why I did not leave the burden of *Young India* or *Navajivan* on you. It is very necessary that you should get back your strength as early as possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this letter after dictating it.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7416. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

451. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

ON BOARD THE S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
Wednesday, September 2, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

It is about 8.30 p.m. just now. It must be about 11 by your watch. Where has Surajbhan gone away? Has he left Yashodadevi behind? How is she? Read my letter to Qureshi. Ascertain Imam Saheb's view. There is no urgency about sending Qureshi. Do keep me informed about Ratilal. I shall return within three months at the latest. It should not, however, be surprising if I return within a month and a half. After Saturday, Mirabehn has left her bed only today.

I felt sleepy while writing this letter and slept for a while. It is 9.45 now and so I will stop here. I will write later the letters which I intended to write to others.

CWMG - XIVII

Tell Premabehn that her not writing to me pains me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, part I, p. 276. Also C.W. 8193. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

452. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ON BOARD THE S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
September 2, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

I could read your letter only on the ship. As you have been keeping good health, you should spend some more time there and take rest. You must have now got a more comfortable place. Climb as many hills as your health will permit you to and see all the scenery. It is no mean education to see it, to contemplate nature and through it to know God. You need not undergo more strain than the body can stand. You give no news about Premavati in your letter. We shall return at the most after three months, and at the least it will be a month and a half.

I have not revised this after dictating it.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9330

453. STATEMENT TO REUTER[2]

ADEN,
September 3, 1931

I shall strive for a constitution which will release India from all thraldom and patronage, and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony.

[1] This sentence is in Gandhiji's hand.

[2] A Reuter correspondent had asked Gandhiji what his programme in England would be.

CWMG - XLVII

There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable.

All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous.

This is the India of my dreams for which I shall struggle at the next Round Table Conference. I may fail, but if I am to deserve the confidence of the Congress, I shall be satisfied with nothing less.

The Hindustan Times, 5-9-1931

454. SPEECH AT RECEPTION, ADEN[1]

September 3, 1931

I thank you for the honour you have done me. I know that the honour is not meant for me personally or for my friends. It is an honour done to the Congress whom I hope to be able to represent at the Round Table Conference. I came to know that there was a hitch in your proceedings on account of the national flag. Now it is inconceivable for me to find a meeting of Indians, especially where national leaders are invited, without the national flag flying there. You know that many people sustained lathi blows and some have lost their lives in defending the honour of the flag, and you cannot honour an Indian leader without honouring the Indian national flag. Again there is a Settlement between the Government and the Congress, which is no longer a hostile party but a friendly party. It is not enough therefore to tolerate or permit the Congress flag, but it must be given the place of honour where Congress representatives are invited.

On behalf of the Congress, I give you the assurance that the Congress does not stand merely for isolated independence, which may easily become a menace to the world. But the Congress, with its creed of truth and non-violence, cannot possibly be a menace to the world. It is my conviction that India numbering one-fifth

[1] A reception was held immediately after Gandhiji's boat reached Aden at 4.50 a.m. A purse of 328 guineas was presented to Gandhiji on the occasion. Before delivering the speech reproduced here he spoke in Gujarati. The text of that speech, however, is not available. This report is reproduced from Mahadev Desai's account of the meeting.

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of the human race, becoming free through non-violence and truth, can be a great force of service to the whole of mankind. On the contrary India having no voice in her affairs is today a menace. It is a helpless India exciting the jealousy and greed of other countries which must live by exploiting her. But when India refuses to be exploited and is well able to take care of herself, and achieves that freedom through non-violence and truth, she will be a force for peace and make for peaceful atmosphere in this troubled globe of ours.

It was therefore natural that the Arabs and others joined the Indians in organizing this function. All who desire peace must join together to perpetuate peace. This great peninsula, the birth-place of Mahomed and of Islam, can help to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. It is a matter of shame to me to confess that we are a house divided against itself. We fly at each other's throats in cowardice and fear. The Hindu distrusts the Mussalman through cowardice and fear, and the Mussalman distrusts the Hindu through equal cowardice and imaginary fears. Islam throughout history has stood for matchless bravery and peace. It can therefore be no matter for pride to the Mussalmans that they should fear the Hindus. Similarly it can be no matter for pride to the Hindus that they should fear Mussalmans, even if they are aided by the Mussalmans of the world. Are we so fallen that we should be afraid of our own shadows? You will be surprised to hear that the Pathans are living in peace with us. They stood side by side with us in the last struggle, and sacrificed their young men on the altar of liberty. I want you, who belong to the country of the Prophet's birth, to make your contribution to the restoration of peace between Hindus and Muslims in India. I cannot tell you how you are to do it, but I may remind you that where there is a will there is a way. I want the Arabs of Arabia to come to our rescue and help to bring about a condition of things when the Mussalman will consider it a point of honour to help the Hindu and *vice versa.*

For the rest, I would also give you the message of spinning and weaving in your homes. Some of the Caliphs led lives which were models of simplicity, and if you help yourself by making your own cloth, there is in it nothing derogatory to Islam. There is also the problem of drink which for you should be twice cursed. There should be not a drop here, but as there are other communities too, I think the Arabs will have to persuade them to make Aden dry. I do hope our relations with one another will now grow richer and closer.

Young India, 24-9-1931

CWMG - XLVII

455. TELEGRAM TO EDITOR, ALLINEWSPA HOLD, LONDON

[On or after *September 3, 1931*][1]

THANKS MARCONIGRAM. HAVE YET ACCEPTED NO FIXTURES BUT TIME PERMITTING AND SUBJECT APPROVAL BY FRIENDS LIKE ANDREWS WOULD GLADLY VISIT PROVINCIAL TOWNS INCLUDING BRISTOL. PLEASE ESTABLISH TOUCH WITH ANDREWS.

From a photostat: S.N. 17638

456. INTERVIEW TO REUTER

S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
September 4, 1931

I shall prepare nothing in advance. Everything will come to me spontaneously when I face Mr. MacDonald and other delegates to the Round Table Conference in London.

Provided the Conference does not break down at the start over fundamentals, Mahatma Gandhi expects the session to last until the 1st November. His first duty upon arriving in London, Mahatma Gandhi said, would be to confer informally with Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin, Lord Sankey, Viscount Peel, Lord Reading and others and tell them frankly what the Congress demands are.

When Reuter's correspondent . . . asked him if dancing did not disturb him, Mahatma Gandhi replied with a twinkle:

I don't listen to the muse of dancing. I heed only to the promptings of Goddess Sleep.

The Hindustan Times, 6-9-1931

[1] This was in reply to a radio message of September 3, 1931, asking if Gandhiji would be able to address a meeting at Bristol.

457. APPEAL TO PEOPLE OF BOMBAY

S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
[Before *September 5, 1931*]

I appeal to the generous public of Bombay to come to the rescue of the flooded Bengal. Donation may be sent to Dr. P. C. Ray, College of Science, Calcutta.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-9-1931

458. TELEGRAM TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE[1]

September 5, 1931

SUBHAS BOSE
CALCUTTA

NO PARTIALITY. HAD FERVENT APPEAL FROM DR. RAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17647

459. TELEGRAM TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

September 5, 1931

SPECIAL REACHES DIJON AFTER MIDNIGHT. COULD YOU NOT COME MARSEILLES WHERE WE REACH EARLY MORNING STOPPING SEVEN HOURS. TRUST HEALTH WILL PERMIT YOU TRAVEL.[2] BUT NO CASE WILL I LEAVE EUROPE WITHOUT SEEING YOU THEREFORE WOULD NOT LIKE YOU ENDANGER YOUR HEALTH. SHALL BE DELIGHTED ANY CASE SEE YOUR SISTER MARSEILLES IF POSSIBLE.[3]

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17647

[1] *Vide* the preceding item; also "Letter to Dr. B. C. Roy", p. 309.

[2] Romain Rolland was prevented by ill health from meeting Gandhiji at Marseilles.

[3] Madeleine Rolland met Gandhiji with a message from her brother.

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460. LETTER TO GANGABEHN AND NANIBEHN JHAVERI

September 5, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN AND NANIBEHN,

I got the letters of you both. I could not see either of you, but that does not matter. After all, I am not going away for a long time. I shall be in England maybe two weeks, or at the most two months. That time will pass quickly.

As for the work to be done by you, you may do what you choose after consulting Kakasaheb. If Pannalal has gone to Peshawar and Khurshedbehn wants you, I should like you to go and join her.

I was very happy to learn that Nanibehn's health is steadily improving. By the time this letter reaches you, I hope she will have completely recovered.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3118

461. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING[1]

S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
[*September 5, 1931*][2]

Prayer has been the saving of my life. Without it I should have been a lunatic long ago. My autobiography will tell you that I have had my fair share of the bitterest public and private experiences. They threw me into temporary despair, but if I was

[1] This is extracted from Mahadev Desai's account in which he reports: "The morning prayers are too early to attract these friends, but practically all Indians (who number over 40), —Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs,— and a sprinkling of Europeans attend the evening prayers. At the request of some of these friends a fifteen minutes' talk after prayer and before dinner has become a daily feature. . . . A question is asked each evening, and Gandhiji replies to it the next. One of the Indian passengers—a Mussalman youth —asked Gandhiji to give his personal testimony on prayer, not a theoretical discourse but a narration of what he had felt and experienced as a result of prayer."

[2] From *Diaryke Panne* by G. D. Birla

able to get rid of it, it was because of prayer. Now I may tell you that prayer has not been part of my life in the sense that truth has been. It came out of sheer necessity, as I found myself in a plight when I could not possibly be happy without it. And the more my faith in God increased, the more irresistible became the yearning for prayer. Life seemed to be dull and vacant without it. I had attended the Christian service in South Africa, but it had failed to grip me. I could not join them in prayer. They supplicated God, but I could not do so, I failed egregiously. I started with disbelief in God and prayer, and until at a late stage in life I did not feel anything like a void in life. But at that stage I felt that as food was indispensable for the body, so was prayer indispensable for the soul. In fact food for the body is not so necessary as prayer for the soul. For starvation is often necessary in order to keep the body in health, but there is no such thing as prayer-starvation. You cannot possibly have a surfeit of prayer. Three of the greatest teachers of the world — Buddha, Jesus, Mahomed — have left unimpeachable testimony that they found illumination through prayer and could not possibly live without it. But to come nearer home. Millions of Hindus and Mussalmans and Christians find their only solace in life in prayer. Either you vote them down as liars or self-deluded people. Well, then, I will say, that this lying has a charm for me, a truth-seeker, if it is 'lying' that has given me that mainstay or staff of life, without which I could not bear to live for a moment. In spite of despair staring me in the face on the political horizon, I have never lost my peace. In fact I have found people who envy my peace. That peace, I tell you, comes from prayer. I am not a man of learning but I humbly claim to be a man of prayer. I am indifferent as to the form. Everyone is a law unto himself in that respect. But there are some well-marked roads, and it is safe to walk along the beaten tracks, trod by the ancient teachers. Well, I have given my practical testimony. Let everyone try and find that as a result of daily prayer he adds something new to his life, something with which nothing can be compared.

Young India, 24-9-1931

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462. TELEGRAM TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY

[On or after *September 5, 1931*][1]

BROCKWAY
33 BUSHWOOD ROAD
KEW GARDENS

THANKS. AM OFF ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS BUT CONSULT ANDREWS.

From a photostat: S.N. 17652

463. TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS

[On or after *September 5, 1931*][2]

ANDREWS

TAKING BOAT SPECIAL DO WHATEVER PROPER.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17653

464. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 6, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I wrote a letter[3] to you from Aden. This will be posted in Suez.

As Mirabehn and others write to you from time to time, you will get all the news. Tell all the inmates of the Ashram that I do not have time to write to everyone. I rest, see people, read the literature about the Round Table Conference, write for *Young India* and *Navajivan* and write letters. Moreover, the right hand

[1] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's telegram of September 5, saying "May we arrange friendly meal with members of Gandhi Society on October 2. . . ."

[2] Gandhiji scribbled this on the same sheet of paper on which he drafted the telegram to A. Fenner Brockway, the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* pp. 387-8.

does not give service. I cannot, therefore, write to as many people as I would like to. Let me see how I fare in England. It is certainly a matter of shame that small thefts still occur in the Ashram.

Parasram must have arrived by now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

465. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

September 6, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

You have still not written to me. I shall now get your letter when I reach England only if you have posted one by air mail. Or I may get one on the 19th.

You are causing me worry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10263

466. APPEAL TO EGYPTIAN MUSLIMS

September 6, 1931

Mahomed was an apostle of peace. As his followers you can do nothing less than establish unity. Upon India's unity and independence, the peace of the rest of the world indirectly depends, but there can be no real international peace so long as India remains fettered by a foreign power.

The Hindustan Times, 9-9-1931

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467. STATEMENT TO "AL AHRAM"[1]

[s.s. "RAJPUTANA",
September 6, 1931]

Conditions in India are good so far as the strength of civil disobedience is concerned, but they are truly deplorable so far as Hindu-Muslim unity is concerned. Hitherto all effort at reconciliation has failed and we sorely need the goodwill of the whole world and especially of Mussalmans. They can by sheer strength of friendliness shame both the communities into coming to agreement.

My expectations of the Conference are zero if I am to base them on a survey of the horizon. But being an optimist I am hoping that something will turn up to make the conference a success from the national Indian standpoint. In the event of failure there can be only one consequence—revival of civil disobedience and suffering for the people of a much bitterer type than last year. The Congress is prepared to pay the cost whatever it may be for gaining freedom.

My message to the Nationalists of Egypt is: Like us you are an ancient people. I hope you will not slavishly copy all that is Western. If I have understood the events of your country correctly real freedom for Egypt has still to come and I feel sure that if you can appreciate and assimilate the method of non-violence and truth in matters political, you will surely reach your goal much quicker than by any other method I know. And if I may humbly put it I would like to say that Egypt will come to her own much more quickly if India gains true deliverance in the course of the next twelve months. It is my firm belief that if India gains her freedom through non-violence and truth it will mean a great deal to the whole world certainly to all the Eastern nations.

From a photostat: S.N. 17643

[1] This was issued in writing to a representative of *Al Ahram* in response to five questions sent to Gandhiji by the Editor in advance. These were: (1) the situation in India; (2) the communal question between Hindus and Muslims; (3) what he expects from the Round Table Conference; (4) what would be the consequences if the Round Table Conference failed; (5) his message to the Egyptian nationalists.

468. *INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH"*

S.S. "RAJPUTANA",
Sunday, September 6, 1931

Working his spinning-wheel all the time, Mr. Gandhi said he had enjoyed the voyage. He did not appear to be sanguine as to the success of the Round Table Conference. He said:

On the horizon I see nothing but impenetrable darkness. God's ways are inscrutable. I am an optimist. There is nothing to warrant hope, but still I do not lose hope.

He was most indignant at Shaukat Ali's statement that he was compelled to part from Gandhi, because he only aimed at communal objects, the subjugation of the Moslems to the Hindus. He declared:

My whole life is a steady testimony against such an accusation. There is no trace of communalism in me. I would be a party to no settlement subjugating any community to another in India.

The Mahatma, who is still clothed only in a loin cloth, said he did not fear the alteration in temperature awaiting him in England. He would make additions to his apparel if necessary, in the shape of a woollen cloth twisted round his body, and a jacket, but he would not change his diet.

The co-operation of East and West, he remarked, would be a strong means to establish world peace, provided it was not based on brute force.

. . . Mr. Gandhi was also assailed by Egyptian journalists who endeavoured to draw him out on various questions of general interest to the Orient but directly affecting Egypt. To the question: "What is your advice to the peoples of the Near and Middle East in their struggle for independence?" he earnestly replied:

They should conduct the struggle on absolutely non-violent lines. If they so do, they gain their end far quicker than in any other way.

The Daily Telegraph, 7-9-1931

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469. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING

s.s. "RAJPUTANA",
[*September 6, 1931*][1]

Well, it is beyond my power to induce in you a belief in God.[2] There are certain things which are self-proved, and certain which are not proved at all. The existence of God is like a geometrical axiom. It may be beyond our heart-grasp. I shall not talk of an intellectual grasp. Intellectual attempts are more or less failures, as a rational explanation cannot give you the faith in a living God. For it is a thing beyond the grasp of reason. It transcends reason. There are numerous phenomena from which you can reason out the existence of God, but I shall not insult your intelligence by offering you a rational explanation of that type. I would have you brush aside all rational explanations and begin with a simple childlike faith in God. If I exist, God exists. With me it is a necessity of my being as it is with millions. They may not be able to talk about it, but from their life you can see that it is part of their life. I am only asking you to restore the belief that has been undermined. In order to do so, you have to unlearn a lot of literature that dazzles your intelligence and throws you off your feet. Start with the faith which is also a token of humility and an admission that we know nothing, that we are less than atoms in this universe. We are less than atoms, I say, because the atom obeys the law of its being, whereas we in the insolence of our ignorance deny the law of nature. But I have no argument to address to those who have no faith.

Once you accept the existence of God, the necessity for prayer is inescapable. Let us not make the astounding claim that our whole life is a prayer, and therefore we need not sit down at a particular hour to pray. Even men who were all their time in tune with the Infinite did not make such a claim. Their lives were a continuous prayer, and yet for our sake, let us say, they offered prayer at set hours, and renewed each day the oath of loyalty to God. God of course never insists on the oath, but we

[1] According to Mahadev Desai this was the second discourse and was delivered the "next evening"; *vide* footnote 1, p. 393.

[2] The question asked by the youth was: "But, Sir, whilst you start with belief in God, we start with unbelief. How are we to pray?"

must renew our pledge every day, and I assure you we shall then be free from every imaginable misery in life.

Young India, 24-9-1931

470. TELEGRAM TO MUSTAFA NAHAS PASHA

[On or after *September 6, 1931*][1]

HIS EXCELLENCY MUSTAFA[2]

SINCERELY THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND MESSAGE. I RECIPROCATE THE KIND WISHES. SHALL BE DELIGHTED TO VISIT YOUR GREAT COUNTRY IF IT IS AT ALL POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17667

471. TELEGRAM TO MOHAMED MAHMOUD PASHA[3]

[On or after *September 6, 1931*][4]

THANKS WIRE. RECIPROCATE GOOD WISHES. WOULD LOVE VISIT YOUR GREAT COUNTRY IF POSSIBLE ON RETURN.

From a photostat: S.N. 17662

[1] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's message, dated September 6, which read: "In the name of Egypt who is now fighting for its liberties and its independence I welcome in you the foremost leader of that India who is also struggling to attain the same end and I convey to you my hearty wishes for a safe journey and a happy return. I also ask God to grant to you success in your quest a success equal to the greatness of your determination. I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you on your homeward journey and trust that the land of the Pharaohs will then be favoured by your visit thus enabling the Wafd and the Egyptian nation at large to express to you whatever be the result of your journey both their appreciation of your noble achievements to promote the welfare of your country and their reverence for the greatness of the sacrifice made by you in support of your principles. May God prolong your life and crown your endeavours with a victory far-reaching and abiding. Our representatives both at Suez and at Port Said will have the honour of conveying to you by word of mouth our welcome and our best wishes" (S.N. 17659).

[2] President of the Wafd Party

[3] Leader of the Constitutional Liberal Party of Egypt

[4] The addressee's message was dated September 6.

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472. TELEGRAM TO SAFIA ZAGHLOUL PASHA

[On or after *September 6, 1931*][1]

MADAME ZAGHLOUL PASHA[2]
CAIRO

MY RESPECTFUL THANKS FOR YOUR KIND AFFECTIONATE MESSAGE. PRAY ACCEPT MY BEST WISHES FOR YOUR GREAT COUNTRY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17667

473. SPEECH TO INDIAN RESIDENTS IN EGYPT

[On or after *September 6, 1931*][3]

I thank my countrymen for their address and costly gifts. I hope that in their foreign land they are representing the best traditions of the motherland and so conducting themselves as to be of service to the country where they are earning their livelihood. I hope too that they will ever bear in mind the starving millions of India.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-9-1931

474. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

September 7, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

We have just left Port Said. The Big Brother joined us here. Today is my day of silence. We meet tomorrow for a talk. Here are interesting cuttings from the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Telegraph* some friends from shore brought us. They are meant for your amusement and recreation. You may pass them on to Vallabhbhai after you have done with them.

[1] This was in reply to a message of greetings, dated September 6, 1931.
[2] Widow of Zaghloul Pasha, founder of the Wafd
[3] The source gives no indication as to date or place. Gandhiji reached Suez on September 6.

Devdas has given me your further letters to Indira. I have not yet had the time to look at them. My time has been fully taken up with preparing for *Young India* and *Navajivan*, writing letters and keeping some appointments with sleep thrown in.

I hope the situation in U.P. has improved. I am anxious for news from you. I know you will not hesitate to use the cable when necessary.

Are you keeping touch with A. Ghaffar Khan?

How is Jayaprakash doing?

You will know from *Y.I.*[1] all about affectionate messages from Egypt.

Malaviyaji has been keeping very good health. The sea did not trouble him except for one day. Mirabehn had the largest share of seasickness. Pyarelal and Devdas had a fair share. Mahadev has been quite free. And he has worked the most.

Yours,
BAPU

Encl. 3 cuttings

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

475. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

September 7, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

You must have received my letter written from Aden. I hope you are keeping good health. I had replied to all your questions while I was in India. I have given you my address. I keep excellent health. My diet is still what it was there. I didn't drink any milk for four days. I didn't need it either. I carry it with me. It is kept in a refrigerator, so it does not turn sour. There is plenty of fruit, too. Actually we have to give away some. Mirabehn had seasickness. Mahadev did not suffer at all. I, too, never suffer from it. We still dress in the same manner as when we left India. We have not felt the cold at all. I can't say, though, what will happen after a few days. Today is my Silence Day. We shall reach England on Saturday. I expect you to write to me while I am there. You should

[1] Dated September 24, 1931

write to the Ashram and ask them to send you anything you require.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3420

476. TRIBUTE TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA[1]

EN ROUTE TO ENGLAND,
September 7, 1931

I have always been a hero-worshipper of Malaviyaji Maharaj and how can such a worshipper express his homage? Whatever words he may write would seem inadequate to him. My first sight of him was through a photograph in 1890. It appeared in the journal *India* brought out in England by Mr. Digby. Believe me, the same image is before my eyes even today. As in his dress so in his thoughts, a continuity has been preserved and this is based on his charm and devotion. Who today can match Malaviyaji's patriotism which has had an uninterrupted flow from his youth down to this day? The Banaras Hindu University is his life-breath and he in turn is the life of the Banaras Hindu University. May this hero among men live long for our sake.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a facsimile of the Hindi in *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*

477. TELEGRAM TO CHERIFA RIAZ PASHA[2]

ALEXANDRIA,
[After *September 7, 1931*][3]

THANKS FOR GOOD WISHES.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17661

[1] This was included in the Volume which was presented to Malaviyaji on February 11, 1932. His 70th birthday fell on December 25, 1931.

[2] President of Women's Saadist Committee

[3] Gandhiji reached Port Said on September 7 and Marseilles on September 11. He must have been at Alexandria on some day after September 7.

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478. STATEMENT ON DEATH OF K. C. ROY[1]

s.s. "RAJPUTANA",
September 8, 1931

Mr. Roy's death[2] is a painful shock to me. Indian journalism has suffered a grievous loss. I preserve very pleasant recollections of Mr. Roy's high character and happy manners.

The Times of India, 9-9-1931

479. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

s.s. "RAJPUTANA",
September 8, 1931

If the meeting[3] is held on Monday I shall be placed in a most embarrassing position. Monday is my day of silence, and when I took my vow of silence I made three exceptions. Whether a meeting of this character is covered by one of them is debatable; I am, however, hoping and praying that I shall not be obliged to reach a final decision, but that a way out of the difficulty will be found.

Asked to specify the exceptions Gandhiji said:

The first is if I am in distress and can only be assisted by speaking; the second if somebody else is in distress who can be helped by my speaking, and the third if exceptional circumstances prevail, such as an unexpected call from the Viceroy or other high official who must be seen in the interest of the cause.

Thus my appearance at the committee on Monday can only come under the third exception, but only by a considerable stretch of meaning, seeing that it is not a sudden unexpected call. In such circumstances people have generously accommodated me. What can happen in London I don't know.

Gandhiji pointed out that since he must hold himself in readiness for private conferences with two of the highest Government officials on Sunday, he

[1] Founder of the Associated Press of India

[2] On September 7

[3] Of the Federal Structure Committee which was adjourned till Monday, September 14.

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could not anticipate the period of silence, nor postpone it until Tuesday, because the Committee would be sitting all the week.

The Morning Post, 9-9-1931

480. TELEGRAM TO SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE

[On or after *September 8, 1931*][1]

SORRY. HAVE PROVISIONALLY CONSENTED ALREADY WORLD-WIDE BROADCAST THROUGH ASSOCIATED PRESS NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY.

From a photostat: S.N. 17670

481. TELEGRAM TO T. B. SAPRU

[On or after *September 8, 1931*][2]

AGREED.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17676

482. TELEGRAM TO INDIAN STUDENTS' CENTRAL ASSOCIATION, LONDON

[On or after *September 9, 1931*][3]

SEE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

From a photostat: S.N. 17675

[1] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated September 7, received on September 8, 1931, which read: "Prominent Americans insistent you address millions here on arrival London over Transatlantic Telephone and United States Broadcasting Stations. Arrangements completed for your talk on thirteenth. Wireless immediately your consent".

[2] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's telegram received on September 8, 1931, which read: "Request you Malaviyaji keep absolutely free Sunday night for most essential discussions before Monday with two British friends. Reply—Sapru Dorchotel."

[3] The telegram was in reply to a telegram received on September 9, 1931, which read: "Masses desiring opportunity showing sympathy. Procession essential. Formal reception at station not enough. Procession helpful creating favourable popular feeling for Indian freedom. Reply urgently awaited—Indisca London. . . . "

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483. TELEGRAM TO INDIAN MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION, PARIS

[On or after *September 9, 1931*][1]

DELIGHTED MEET MERCHANTS 6.40 SATURDAY MORNING.

From a photostat: S.N. 17674

484. A FICKLE FRIEND

[Before *September 11, 1931*][2]

Thus writes an English friend who has known me for years:

> No one has for some time told you quite bluntly, and in good English, that you are making an unmitigated fool of yourself, and out of personal vanity and the desire to act the dictator, are descending to lies and subterfuges which even ordinary men, who lay no claim to special sanctity, do not indulge in.
>
> You know full well, that the main reason for your not attending the Round Table Conference is due to your inability to solve the Hindu-Muslim question, and that you have used petty matters as an excuse. Your Congress Committee man at Allahabad, Mr. Sundarlal, has publicly made this statement, and you know full well the text of your motion, moved at the Working Committee meeting, when you were turned down by your Committee. You admitted in that resolution the failure of Hindu-Muslim negotiations and your inability to put forward any political proposals at the Round Table Conference, and that you would confine yourself solely to work for the amelioration of the condition of the masses.
>
> You, who prate of worshipping at the altar of truth, the same altar that I worship at, are by half-truths, cunning words and deliberate deception trying to force the blame of your deliberate pre-arranged determination not to go to the Round Table Conference on the Government.

[1] The telegram was in reply to the following message received on September 9, 1931 : "Indian Merchants Association anxious meet yourself and party while passing through Paris and respectfully request wire time of arrival."

[2] This and the following three articles were written on board the ship. Gandhiji reached Marseilles on September 11.

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When, as you now boldly declare, sedition is the creed of Congress and the overthrow of this Government its objectives, are you not, with calculated deliberation, forcing the Government to take action? You may throw dust successfully in the eyes of your followers, but at least you do know that you cannot deceive His eyes. Go and introspect. Call on that inner voice honestly, not as Gandhi the politician, who, without the political guidance of Pandit Motilal Nehru, is making a fool of himself, and forcing events towards an upheaval which will benefit nobody but goondas, but to the other Gandhi, whom millions, and I include myself in that list, respect for his creed of love and the splendid work he is doing for the depressed classes. That Gandhi is overpowered. Your personal pride and autocratic spirit has vanquished the other Gandhi.

I want, every European wants, to see India politically free, and the Round Table Conference is the constitutional means for that purpose. You, however, deliberately seek her freedom through blood, because your pride received an enormous shock when you found that the Conference would go on without you, though you will call it 'passive resistance' and other names. You cannot evade these facts.

Go, I beg of you, and introspect, and after purification come to the altar of truth.

In order that I may not miss his wrath through any mishap, he registered the letter. The letter could be handed to me only on board. The best answer to the letter is that I am writing this on the steamer that is taking me to London. Indeed I might have suppressed the letter. But I did not, as it is typical of many I have received in the course of my life. When I do something that pleases them, my English friends issue embarrassing certificates. And when I do something that displeases them, forgetful of what they said in the past, they swear at me. They will not stop to inquire of me why they see an inconsistency between my past conduct and the present. They will not have the patience to discover the perfect harmony between two seemingly inconsistent acts. When I find such friends, I distrust their praise and its disinterestedness, and hence remain unaffected by their censure. Take the writer of the foregoing elegant censure. Only a few months ago, I was a good man. Now suddenly I have become all that is bad, even a liar, because he suspects that I would not go to London because of my failure to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. He will not even condescend to ask me for an explanation, and believes a garbled report of my speech at the last A.I.C.C. meeting. Let him and the public know, that I hold in my bag a wire from Pandit Sundarlal, saying that he never made the remark attributed

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to him. But I suggest that even if Pandit Sundarlal did make the remark attributed to him, that would be no basis for a friend to found an accusation against me. A friendship, that cannot bear the slightest strain and would believe any rumour or report against a friend is not worth much, if anything. Let those English friends who have sent me wires or letters of congratulations, be warned against rushing to unjust judgments, the moment they hear reports about my doings which may displease them. The reports need not always be false, as was the case in the present instance. If the common purpose is well understood, friendships formed to advance that purpose should weather all storms of misunderstandings, misreportings and the like.

I will therefore state the purpose. It is complete freedom from the alien yoke in every sense of the term, and this for the sake of the dumb millions. Every interest therefore, that is hostile to their interest, must be revised, or must subside if it is not capable of revision. This freedom does not, need not, exclude partnership with the English on terms of absolute equality and terminable at the will of either party. Those Englishmen, who sincerely desire the immediate consummation of such an event, will never need to repent of their having issued to me a certificate of merit. The others will see nothing but evil in my most innocent acts.

Young India, 17-9-1931

485. "URDU NAVAJIVAN"

[Before *September 11, 1931*]

Dr. Yudhvirsinh has been, on his own responsibility, issuing at Delhi a weekly Urdu edition of *Navajivan* containing his selections from both *Navajivan* and *Young India*. He assures me, that the Urdu edition will be conducted strictly along the lines of *Young India* and *Navajivan*. It will accordingly take no advertisements, and will publish only such material as appears in the two weeklies. The annual subscription is only three rupees. I am glad of this enterprise. I have always felt that Urdu-knowing people should know the message of these weeklies. I congratulate Dr. Yudhvirsinh on his patriotic effort. I hope he will be encouraged by the Urdu-knowing public. The address is *Urdu Navajivan*, Chandni Chawk, Delhi.

Young India, 17-9-1931

486. 'THE OTHER SIDE'

[Before *September 11 1931*]

Under the above mentioned heading a correspondent has written a long letter, protesting against my condemnation, of the attempt made by a student of the Fergusson College on the life of the Acting Governor of Bombay. I give below a very much condensed summary of the letter:

> I was extremely pained to read your note in the last issue of *Navajivan* under the heading 'madness' (*gandpan*). I must at the very outset make it clear, that I have been a non-violent non-co-operator since 1921, and accept the Congress creed of non-violence by faith as farthest as possible, and as a policy in exceptional circumstances alone, such as the molestation of the honour of women or of the National Flag. True non-violence is possible even in the most provoking circumstances as long as these two are not in actual danger. But whenever women are molested or the National Flag is dishonoured, I fear my non-violence will melt away, and if it does not, it would be so not out of any merit in me, but on most occasions owing to the weakness of the flesh, and on exceptional occasions only, on account of studious self-restraint. I was, if I can say so with modesty, the first to start the idea of offering civil disobedience to the Martial Law at Sholapur and suffer imprisonment after actual disobedience. This much by way of personal explanation.
>
> It is, in my opinion, no use denouncing one who is almost in the jaws of death. He deserves pity if anything. Violence in action is a merit or demerit, which can neither prosper by mere public praise however great, as it is a question of life and death; nor can it be wiped out by the strongest public denunciation or by Government repression, or by both, as it is the outcome of rebelling emotions. Those who fear not the gallows will not be daunted by public opinion. Virtue or vice, it is exceptional, bursting out only after severest repression or molestation of women; it can be wiped out permanently, only if the rulers mend their ways or end themselves.
>
> We may justly wish to remain safe and unhurt till doomsday, only if we are virtuous and sin-fearing; but what right have we, after committing the most heinous of sins, to feel pain for treachery practised against us? And especially when we have blocked all open, honest, honourable, untreacherous ways of revenge? The glory of no country however great,

not even of India, lies in meekly suffering injustice, *zulum* and beastly atrocities. 'Nothing is unfair in love and war' is a general maxim, and it is the truer, in the case of unequal parties, for the weaker.

Now the philosophy of hosts and guests. Whose guest was Mr. Hotson? Of the Fergusson College? Surely of the Principal, and professors' too; but never of the unwilling students. Were the students consulted before inviting such a worthy guest? Was not the Prince of Wales too a guest of the Indian Government and consequently, by the same argument, of India? But how was he welcomed? Sri Gogate in this case therefore is the last to be blamed for not having extraordinary self-restraint; the real responsibility or irresponsibility is of Sri Mahajani, and the real offender or rather the real instigator of the offence is the Acting Governor, who ought to be advised to behave better.

I appreciate the courageous presence of mind shown by the Acting Governor, as well as the extraordinary coolness with which just after the unsuccessful outrage he told Sri Gogate, 'That was a foolish thing to do, my boy', and inquired, 'What made you do a thing like that?' But this generous and seemingly affectionate mood of the Acting Governor was very short-lived. Had it been courageously preserved by him a little longer, leaving Sri Gogate to himself as if nothing unusual had happened, what a dramatic effect it would have produced on the revolutionary mentality in the country! The Acting Governor, always under the protection of his A.D.C. and the military guards, need not fear foolish things done by stray Gogates. The time is not yet gone. Trust begets trust. Forgiveness melts bitterest enmity. But the forgiveness must be of the strong, never of the weak. The Acting Governor is the right man to make a beginning in this direction. But the signs of the times clearly show there is very little chance that good sense will prevail.

As this note is being written on board the s.s. *Rajputana*, it will therefore be printed three weeks after it is written. The subject-matter being unfortunately an evergreen, the note need not be considered stale. It is very much to be feared, that the correspondent represents a mentality prevailing amongst many students. But the attitude is all the more poisonous and harmful, because it is honestly held. It is contrary to experience to say, as the correspondent says, that emotional youth will act on the spur of the moment irrespective of the atmosphere surrounding them. There is no doubt about their reckless bearing, but I refuse to believe that they are so devoid of pride as to be wholly indifferent to praise or blame. I am quite certain that if they knew that their acts would be universally condemned, they would never throw away their precious lives. I have no doubt therefore in my mind that it is the duty of everyone who realizes the

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immense wrong done to the cause by such deeds to condemn them unequivocally. It is altogether misleading to hold the Acting Governor responsible either for the Sholapur Martial Law or the acts done under it. It is the system that is at fault. The Congress therefore having realized the central fact is trying to assassinate the system, and not the helpless administrators. Even if an angel was put to administer the system based upon the exploitation of a vast country like India by a powerful corporation, that angel would plead helplessness, and on due occasions do exactly what the Acting Governor did. The ten-headed Ravana was no human monster, but it was the system personified in Ravana, who had new heads popping up as soon as the old ones were cut off. It was only when Rama's attention was drawn to the root from which the heads sprang up, that he was able effectively to deal with Ravana.

We have had many assassinations, and in the place of each official assassinated another has been posted, and the system has gone on as merrily as ever. But if we once succeed in dealing with the root of the mischief, we shall have no more repetitions of Sholapur and the distasteful hangings. So far therefore as the condemnation of the many wrongs which rankle in the youthful breasts is concerned, I would be just as strong as they are in condemning them. Let them leave aside all specious reasoning, and join hands with the Congress in destroying the system. The way of assassination of persons gives it a new lease of life. The war of non-violence shortens its life and if it can be completely assimilated, it ensures complete eradication of the system. Let those who argue like the correspondent remember that the cult of assassination, if it is not checked in its progress, will recoil on our own heads, and our last state may be worse than the first. Let us not run the very grave danger of reviving the system under a new garb. The same system administered by brown men instead of white men will work the same havoc as now, if not infinitely greater.

Young India, 24-9-1931

487. LEST WE DELUDE OURSELVES

[Before *September 11, 1931*]

As I get nearer England I find my hopes of meeting with any success there receding. I cannot point to any particular reason for this. I place before readers the thoughts that arise in my mind. I feel ashamed when I think on the one hand, of what the world expects of India and on the other compare our resources with those expectations. I met an educated Arab at Aden. He it was who had read out the welcome address in Arabic. He said: "Our hopes are pinned upon you—on your non-violent struggle." These are his very words, "We have been watching you. May you triumph." Similar cables have been sent from Egypt by the Muslim journalists there. I believe that as we proceed, we shall hear such utterances from the people of Europe also. Perhaps the world would not have looked to India the way it is looking now, if we had been waging our war of independence by means of physical force. It means that the world is weary of hypocrisy and of rivers of blood. Wherever it casts its eyes, it finds falsehood and, though it participates in it, it has come to abhor it. And it is for this reason that it accepts India's claim to truth and non-violence and derives consolation from this and desires that India may triumph, that is, become independent with the help of these two weapons. How can this expectation be fulfilled?

While closing this mail, I think of Gujarat, ignoring the other parts of India. Gujarat has a leader like Vallabhbhai; Gujarat is the headquarters of satyagraha; nowhere also are as many volunteers working as in Gujarat; everyone, even the Government, agrees that Gujarat has made a sizable contribution to the struggle. However, can Gujarat be regarded as having passed the test of truth and non-violence one hundred per cent? Are the volunteers of Gujarat, both men and women, totally free from greed, malice, anger, fear, fraud, and so on? Khadi is a mighty external symbol of non-violence. Are Congressmen in Gujarat always clad in khadi from head to foot? Do they do sacrificial spinning every day for the sake of the poor? Has Gujarat succeeded in boycotting untouchability, liquor and foreign cloth? These too are external symbols of collective non-violence. These and similar questions keep coming up in my mind and I feel agitated. On the

one hand, I make the claim that the country has accepted truth and non-violence — there are strong grounds for the claim — on the other, while reflecting on it I also find that this claim does not contain the whole truth. I cannot claim that we have properly accepted all that I now regard as the characteristics of truth and non-violence. Being an optimist, I keep on piloting my boat in the hope that we shall somehow make up for our failings. But I must proclaim that underlying all my expectations is my faith in Gujarat. If Gujarat fulfils my expectations, the rest of India will then follow suit and, if India does so, despite the despondency that may well be found in all quarters in England, the sun of hope will shine through that darkness of despair.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-9-1931

488. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

s.s. "RAJPUTANA",
September 11, 1931

Unless the Government changes the day for the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee next week, Mr. Gandhi will sit throughout the discussion on Monday listening but saying nothing, Monday being his day of silence, but on Tuesday he will be prepared to present his views. During the sittings of the Committee of the Round Table Conference he will speak extemporaneously, relying on the circumstances of the moment for inspiration. In an interview today he said:

I have prepared no plans, no speeches, no arguments and no programme for my stay in England. I shall do everything on the spur of the moment, depending upon my inner voice. If England realizes the strength of the nationalist movement I expect she will heed our demands, but if unhappily she thinks we are in a minority, then I must be prepared to return to India to renew the fight.

The Yorkshire Post, 11-9-1931

489. *INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY HERALD"*

MARSEILLES,
September 11, 1931

We were talking, just the two of us, in his little second-class cabin in the *Rajputana* soon after she docked this morning.

I am pessimistic. But I am also optimistic. The facts, as I saw them when I left India, made me pessimistic. Nor do I know of anything that has happened since to change my judgment. But, in spite of appearances, my faith makes me optimistic, as I have always been an optimist!

"How far", I asked him, "have you a free hand to negotiate?"

I am bound—absolutely—by the Karachi Congress resolution[1]. But within that boundary I am free.

The Karachi resolutions demand control by India of finance, the army and foreign relations subject to safeguards "demonstrably in the interests of India" but also gave the delegation rather loose power to make adjustments necessary in the interests of India.

If I am satisfied in principles, if we are agreed in principle—that is the bedrock—then adjustments can be made.

I shall, at first opportunity, make my position—the conditions of my mandate—plain to the conference. Then it will become clear whether on that basis we can hopefully discuss details. If it seems that we can—good. If not, I shall have failed in my mission and I must return to India.

"And then?" I asked. The face grew grave. The calm eyes looked into the distance.

Then probably civil disobedience must come again. But that is not a threat that if I fail in London civil disobedience will at once be proclaimed in India. I do not want to embarrass the Government. People in England do not believe that. That is because they do not understand. It is not we that embarrass the Government. It is the situation that has been created, the wrong that has been done in the past that causes the embarrassment. It

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLII.

is inevitable. It is always so when a wrong that has been done has to be righted. But we want to reduce that embarrassment to a minimum. We want to help. The wrong must be righted. That is the bedrock of principle.

I wish to make the righting of it as easy as possible both for England and for India. For I am—let me say again what I have said so often—a friend of the English people as well as my own people.

The Daily Herald, 12-9-1931

490. REPLIES TO CUSTOMS INSPECTOR

MARSEILLES,
September 11, 1931

Asked by the Customs Inspector whether he had anything to declare, Gandhiji replied:

I am a poor mendicant. All my earthly possessions consist of: six spinning-wheels; prison dishes; a can of goat's milk; six homespun loin-cloths; one towel; and my reputation, which cannot be worth much.

The Inspector pursued, "Have you any cigarettes, cigars, alcohol, fire-arms or narcotics?"

Oh, no, I never smoke, never drink, nor indulge in drugs. Besides, being an advocate of non-violence, I never carry fire-arms.

The Daily Mail, 12-9-1931

491. INTERVIEW TO "THE NEW YORK TIMES"

MARSEILLES,
September 11, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi has no intention of visiting the United States because he believes he is "not wanted" there, he said in an interview with *The New York Times* when he landed here. . . .

He explained that he refused to contemplate such a visit unless and until he could feel certain that Americans would receive him as the spokesman for India's cause and not as a social curiosity. His American friends had told him, he added, that this was not now possible.

[In reply to another question he said:]

To climatic conditions I am indifferent. If the political weather is favourable, I will go anywhere where I am needed.

I am afraid there is no hope for India at the Round Table Conference as far as external appearances are concerned. But, as an irrepressible optimist, I hope against hope that something will turn up which will alter the aspect of the horizon. But since such a hope is only based on faith, not on reason, it may prove illusory.

I have come to London with neither a programme nor proposals. I have simply accepted the invitation of the British Government, and I am ready to place myself at their disposal, to answer questions and to give them all the information within my power. I have come expecting to remain in London only two weeks, but I am ready, if necessary, to remain two months.

The only engagement I have made is in the nature of a pilgrimage. I have promised to visit my friend, Romain Rolland, the celebrated French writer, who is lying sick at his home near Territet, Switzerland, and whose sister, Madeleine Rolland, was among the old friends who greeted me on my arrival at Marseilles.

Asked if he believed the recent change in the Government of Great Britain would change the British policy toward India, Mr. Gandhi said unhesitatingly:

No. Besides, the new Government has already given me assurances it will carry out the policy of its predecessor, as far as the India Conference is concerned.

With regard to the critical Hindu-Muslim differences, however . . . the Mahatma admitted:

I fear the Hindu-Muslim question has now become almost insoluble for reasons on which I don't wish to enlarge. But I am still not without hope that a solution may be found. It is open to the Muslims to block the way to a settlement of the future of India as it is equally open to the British Government to make their opposition an excuse for not granting India self-government. But if the British Government is in earnest in its desire to make a friendly settlement with India it should not take shelter behind the Muslims.

I asked Mr. Gandhi if he was fully satisfied that Muslims and other racial or religious minorities would receive justice under a swaraj home-rule government, mainly Hindu, as it would be if appointed on a population basis.

He replied that the claims of the minorities must receive the fullest satisfaction in any future settlement. He himself, he recalled, had frequently urged his fellow-Hindus to accept all the Muslim claims, partly on sentimental grounds and partly because he was convinced some of them were unrealizable in practice. But he said emphatically that Muslim opinion must be conciliated

and satisfied before swaraj was possible. He confessed, however, that he did not know in the present state of confusion and unrest how this was to be effected.

I then challenged Mr. Gandhi to explain apparent inconsistencies in his attitude regarding the 60,000,000 out cast Hindu 'untouchables', certain of his statements concerning this grave problem having provoked much criticism from his friends, both in India and in America.

Mr. Gandhi said with the greatest earnestness:

Believe me, my attitude on the question of untouchability has never wavered in the slightest degree. My position regarding the untouchables is unanswerable. Before my critics were born I defended the rights of the untouchables. The misunderstanding which arose regarding my attitude was apparently due to the fact that I rebuked the leaders of an untouchables' deputation which interviewed me early last year. But I am always rebuking someone, and usually my dearest friends.

What I told this deputation was that I refused to declare publicly that the untouchable classes must be made a 'reserved' subject in any home-rule settlement. I refused because I did not believe it possible. Nor do I today.

But I believe sincerely that no swaraj government could exist for twenty-four hours which continued to uphold the principle of untouchability. No untouchable need fear that his interests under swaraj will be neglected, as they are neglected now. At the present moment the untouchables cannot be protected by the British Government, since the British cannot afford to offend the various interests interested in maintaining untouchability. But a real Indian government would not be forced to surrender to these interests, for it would have a much greater interest to serve—that of national unity.

I reaffirm my statement that India's national existence will stand or fall on the question of the untouchables.

The New York Times, 12-9-1931

492. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

MARSEILLES,
September 11, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi confessed that he felt "nervous" on approaching England after an absence of seventeen years. He said that he had had a happy voyage due "to the unfailing kindness of the Captain and the entire crew".

Gandhiji has confided to friends that he expects much more to be accomplished in private conference between the leaders in London than at the ac-

tual sittings of the Federal Structure Subcommittee or the Round Table Conference.

I am going to England to realize the dream of my life — freedom of my country.

He added that the thought of the change of Government in England would not influence his policy.

Sir Samuel seems to me to be a typical British gentleman. I think his sympathies would be rather with than against me.

Questioned whether he would visit Buckingham Palace Gandhiji said :

I am a prisoner of the English Government — a willing prisoner if you will.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-9-1931

493. INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY MAIL"

September 11, 1931

I asked him if he would go to Lancashire. He replied :

I will go even if they lynch me, but I will not go without an invitation. I am irresistibly optimistic. I think Sir Samuel Hoare is a real English gentleman, though I have never met him, and I hope to secure freedom for India at this Conference.

I want, above all, to meet my enemies. I want to meet all those who speak and write against me, including Mr. Winston Churchill and Lord Rothermere.

The Daily Mail, 12-9-1931

494. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

MARSEILLES,
September 11, 1931

Mr. Gandhi told the Associated Press today that he believed the British Government was faced with such staggering domestic problems that it was not likely to refuse India's demands for self-government.

Refusal would mean the renewal of the civil disobedience campaign, he said, and the boycott of British goods on a scale greater than ever before. He promised that he would not take such a step until every possibility for arbitration had been exhausted. He said :

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If the fight should be renewed, which God forbid, the consequences will be infinitely more terrible than the last struggle. It will mean, I fear, that not only Indians would be shot down but Britishers would be killed. You cannot hold 360,000,000 people without liberty in the leashes of non-violence forever.[1]

If England is wise, she will weigh carefully the present strength and potentiality of the Nationalist movement and hearken to the appeal of that vast sub-continent for independence. She should not deny others the gift which she cherishes most herself.

He emphasized that any safeguard proposed by England must be demonstrably in the interests of India as well, saying:

We must have complete financial and fiscal autonomy. We must have an effective dominion status, but that does not exclude India's partnership in or alliance with the Empire.

The New York Times, 12-9-1931

495. INTERVIEW TO "THE NEWS CHRONICLE"

MARSEILLES,
September 11, 1931

I want to proclaim from the housetops that I am a man of peace. Of course, I am a soldier as well and, as such, must be prepared for war, but from my heart I desire peace.

On the communal problem he was hopeful.

I have had long talks on board ship with Shaukat Ali and found him friendly and reasonable. The communal problem is the most vital of all internal problems.

On external problems I can express no opinion till I meet your politicians. Remember, I am an agent, not a free lance. I must stand by the Karachi mandate.

Don't worry about dissentient Princes. When other problems are settled, Federation, in my view, will offer no real difficulty.

I hope the Government will respect my days of silence. I cannot break my rule. On Silence Days, I shall attend Conference meetings but shall not speak.

I am anxious to meet the King and as many of your public men as possible. If I am invited to meet the King, I shall certainly go. I am no enemy of the King.

[1] In a letter to Juliet E. Blume, dated September 29, 1931, Gandhiji denied having made this statement; *vide* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 91-2.

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I shall wear these clothes in England. I have too many warm friends to feel cold there.

The News Chronicle, 12-9-1931

496. INTERVIEW TO REUTER

MARSEILLES,
September 11, 1931

In conversation with Reuter's correspondent who had accompanied him from India, the Mahatma predicted that if the Round Table Conference did not break down for the first fortnight over the differences of opinion on fundamentals, the conclave might last until November 15th.

In answer to a question whether he intended to press England to bear a share of the huge debt incurred by the British Government in India . . . Mr. Gandhi replied:

There is no question of pressing England to admit anything, but whatever cannot be agreed to in the matter of taking over debts should be referred to arbitration.

Mr. Gandhi stated that a swaraj government would more than make up for a loss in revenue from alcohol and from the land by reducing the present ruinous expenditure for the army, the Civil Service salaries, etc.

Asked what his programme was, he replied:

How should I know? You have seen the Congress mandate. That is my programme.

Asked to look up for the photographers, the Mahatma said:

I never look at photographs. I am not at your disposal and am now going to my cabin.

The Manchester Guardian, 12-9-1931

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497. SPEECH AT MEETING OF STUDENTS, MARSEILLES[1]

September 11, 1931

Since I visited France as a student to see the Exhibition held at Paris in 1890[2], some greater and more permanent links between you and me have been formed. The forger of those links is your own distinguished countryman Roman Rolland who constituted himself an interpreter of the humble message that I have been trying to deliver to my countrymen for the last 30 years or more. I have learnt something of the traditions of your country and of the teachings of Rousseau and Victor Hugo and on my entering upon my mission—very difficult mission in London—it heartens me to find a welcome from you fellow-students.

And as he expounded the message of non-violence to the youths belonging to a martial race, as he explained that non-violence is no weapon of the weak but of the strongest and that strength does not mean mere strength of muscle, "and that to a non-violent man possession of the muscle is not a necessity but possession of a strong heart is an absolute necessity", they cheered him most enthusiastically. He explained by taking the example of the muscular Zulu quaking before a European child holding a revolver in his hand and contrasting him with the women of India who stood lathi blows and lathi charges without quaking. To kill and to be killed in fighting an enemy is, comparatively speaking, an act of bravery but to stand the blows of your adversaries and not to retaliate is a greater form of bravery, and that is precisely what India has been training herself for. He concluded by touching on another aspect of the same question.

This struggle through non-violence has been otherwise described as a process of purification, the underlying idea being that a nation loses its liberty owing to some of its own weaknesses and we find that immediately we shed our weaknesses, we regain our liberty. No people on earth can be finally subjected without their co-operation voluntary or involuntary. It is involuntary co-operation when for fear of some physical hurt you submit yourself to a tyrant or a despot. . . .

[1] The meeting was organized by the Association of the present and past students of Marseilles to honour the "spiritual ambassador of India". The report has been extracted from Mahadev Desai's "London Letter".

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 67-9.

In my wanderings among the students I made the discovery at an early stage of the movement that in order to conduct a movement of this kind character must be the foundation. We also found that real education consists not in packing the brain with so many facts and figures, not in passing examinations by reading numerous books but in developing character. I do not know to what extent you students of France lay stress upon character rather than upon intellectual studies, but I can say this that if you explore the possibilities of non-violence you will find that without character it will prove a profitless study. I hope that the meeting will not be the beginning and end of our acquaintance. I hope that this acquaintance will be the beginning of a living contact between you and my countrymen. In a movement, such as we are conducting in India, we need the intellectual sympathy of the whole world, and if after a careful study of the movement and means employed by us to attain our freedom you feel that we deserve your sympathy and support I hope you will not fail to extend that sympathy.

Young India, 1-10-1931

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ADDENDA

1. WHEAT OR CHAFF[1]

Everyone must have read the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. It says in substance that if other conditions are favourable and if I am invited, I should attend the Round Table Conference to put before it the Congress demand even if the communal question remains unsolved. I did not like the resolution. I opposed it. I even placed before the Committee for discussion a draft resolution along the lines I desired. But I was defeated and the resolution to the above effect was passed by a majority.

Though I am often described as an autocrat, I consider myself a man who accepts the supremacy of the people's voice; it is in my nature to give in to a *panch*. *Panch* means the voice of the people. I, therefore, accepted the resolution passed by the majority. There is an exception to this rule. We cannot give in to anyone on a question of principle. But there are not many principles in life. One who at every step refuses, in the name of principle, to listen to others is autocratic and selfish. Questions of principle arise only rarely. Here there was no such question, and so I gave in. I had often declared my determination not to attend the Round Table Conference if the Hindu-Muslim, i.e., the communal, question was not solved. But I could not convince the Working Committee of the correctness of my position. Ordinarily it would not be proper for me to put before the public my argument. No member has a right to publish anything that is discussed in the Working Committee. But in this case, the Committee has given me permission to do so. The Committee felt that in order to enable me to explain my position as also its own policy it was necessary to give me such permission.

The reasoning behind my reluctance to go to the Round Table Conference without solving the communal question was as follows: Even if the question was solved, the acceptance of the Congress demand in England was unlikely, but if it was not solved the sanction behind the demands would be lost. 'You cannot put your own house in order and cannot unite yourselves,

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 24.

and still you ask for independence!' Even if the members do not say this openly out of politeness, they would think thus and we would read their thought in their eyes. And they would, on the whole, be justified in taunting us thus.

It would be better to accept our weakness rather than invite ridicule by going in such a pitiable condition. A satyagrahi never hides his weakness. According to the law of satyagraha, from the admission of weakness new strength is born. The first step in conquering weakness is its admission.

No one should conclude from my argument that the Working Committee's resolution is an attempt to hide our weakness. It reflects the consequence of weakness and hence amounts to unconscious hiding of it. The logical consequence of the admission of the weakness would be not to go to the Round Table Conference. That alone would be true admission of the weakness. One who does not have the strength to walk and admits that in words but actually tries to walk, has not truly admitted his weakness and by walking weakens himself all the more. He may even faint and collapse.

Now if we admit our incapacity to solve the problem and do not send a representative of the Congress to the Round Table Conference, what should we do instead? That would not mean that we give up our fight for *purna* swaraj. The Round Table Conference is only one means of securing it. We may have to let go that means. Everyone will understand this much at once. But we should even give up the desire and the hope to secure *purna* swaraj through the Round Table Conference. We have then to swallow one bitter dose, and that is that whatever fight we start will not be for *purna* swaraj in name, though the result would be the same.

If the communal question cannot be solved satisfactorily now, then it means that the methods which we have tried so far to solve it were wrong or inadequate. The attempts so far made aimed at bringing about understanding among the Hindu and Muslim politicians. They were of the nature of a fight for power among them. From such fighting no unity can come, none has come at least. If, therefore, the Congress desires unity of the heart, it should get out of that field and try to gain power over the hearts of Muslims and the other communities as it has gained over those of the Hindus. Such an attempt is bound to result in a unity of hearts. There is no scope for failure in it. The power of the Congress has its source in service of the people. If the Congress programme is so organized that the Muslims and the

others continue to get equal benefit, then they also will come to know the Congress.

It is not that today nothing is done for their service. Nevertheless we must acknowledge the fact that Muslims, Sikhs and others do not respond to the Congress as much as the Hindus do. Instead of finding fault with these communities for this state of affairs, it would be better and more graceful for the Congress to admit its deficiency.

When the Congress will be overflowing with Indians other than Hindus, then there will be no difference between a communal solution and a national solution, the Muslims or other communities will not be afraid, because they are fewer in number, of the far more numerous Hindus, and the Hindus, physically weaker though in a majority, will not be afraid of the physically stronger Mussalmans or Sikhs. Each community's strength will benefit the other communities. Unless such conditions are created, paper swaraj will fly off with a puff like the sheet of paper on which it is written.

What is paper swaraj, and what is the other swaraj? Let us see. The swaraj got through the Round Table Conference means the swaraj constitution accepted by us and passed by British Parliament into law. This is the swaraj on the statute book, i.e., paper swaraj. Behind it, there would not be the signatures of the millions; in fact the millions would not be trusting one another. If Hindus and Muslims in Kanpur and Kashi are fighting one another, then such swaraj would be no better than chaff.

True swaraj is that which will have signatures of the millions behind it, whose cool shelter the millions would enjoy, and in which the incidents at Kanpur and Kashi would be past history to us and we would laugh heartily at our past follies. Whether or not such swaraj has become statutory, it would be true swaraj and would be like wheat, for it would be nourishing.

I am of the view that if we cannot solve the communal question satisfactorily and if we decide to fight for the swaraj of my conception, then our boycott of the Round Table Conference will be a sign of our strength and will uphold our self-respect.

This is the fight of my conception. Even if the communal question is not solved and the representative of the Congress does not attend the Round Table Conference, something is bound to be done. Let the communal-minded Hindus and Muslims and others share a little power with the British under that Constitution and think that they are participating in ruling the country. The

Congress instead of asking for power from that Government will demand the things for which they want power and, if they are refused, it will fight through satyagraha. We do not want political power for its own sake, we want it for a certain end. That end is service of the millions. If we cannot get today the reins of power in our hands to improve their economic, moral and social conditions, we need not on that account stop that work.

By giving such a turn to the fight for swaraj, we can bypass the communal tangle and invite all the people to join the fight. Nobody will be able to keep out of it. Those who refuse to join will lose their face. All those who have the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage cannot but join in the demand for what is necessary for the uplift of the millions.

For example, a fight for revision of the land revenue laws to make them more equitable and to reduce the burden of land revenue would be for the benefit of all communities and in time everybody would join it. Such a fight would result either in the desired reforms being effected or in those holding power handing over the power to the rebellious people. Either result would mean the same to us. As a result of such a fight communal discords would disappear and the people would know who their servants were and who their masters. The people's strength would increase day by day, they would get true political education and know where their interests lay. This, according to me, would be true swaraj. If we adopt such a course, in time we would find *purna* swaraj in our lap.

But I could not convince the Working Committee of the soundness of this scheme. The majority of the members felt that as the Settlement had been signed, if other circumstances were favourable I must attend the Round Table Conference despite the absence of a solution of the communal question. I will go out of respect for the collective decision of the Committee. And if I go, I will use all my ability to present the Congress demand and to get it accepted. But if the communal question is not solved, I believe it highly improbable that our demand will be accepted, and if it is not accepted and if it is decided to resume the fight, I would try to give the fight the turn I have explained above.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-6-1931

2. LETTER TO BHULABHAI DESAI

BARDOLI,
July 26, 1931

BHAISHRI BHULABHAI,

I had been arguing with myself whether or not it would be correct to thank you for the trouble you took over the report of the committee on financial transactions between India and Britain. And today I came to the decision that I must write to you. I have anyway ventured to write to Bhai Bahadurji. You will yourself say that there was nothing much about what you have done. But since we do not come across many who take such pains we needs must thank those who do. Kumarappa said that you all took great pains. And we are going to be obliged to give you still more trouble. The time is bound to come. I thank you now and hope I can take work from you then.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers, (File No. G-1). Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON[1]

SIMLA,
July 4, 1931

In your letter of June 14, you suggested that the time had perhaps arrived for the appointment of a permanent Board of Arbitration to decide questions of the interpretation of the Settlement and as to the full carrying out of the terms by the one party or the other. Again in your letter of June 20, you made the further suggestion that in regard to picketing, the Government of India should advise local Governments to appoint a Board of Inquiry, consisting of a nominee on their behalf and a nominee on behalf of the Congress, to conduct a summary inquiry into the allegations on either side and wherever it is found that the rule of peaceful picketing has been violated picketing should be entirely suspended, the Government undertaking on its part to stop prosecutions wherever it is found that they have been undertaken in spite of peaceful picketing.

I much appreciate your object of removing the possible causes of dispute arising out of the Settlement, but there are, I am afraid, serious difficulties in the way of accepting either proposal. To take the lesser one first. Its scope, as I understand it, is mainly limited to cases in which it is alleged that the methods of picketing have contravened the ordinary law and that the police have, therefore, prosecuted or propose to prosecute the picketer. One effect of your proposal would be that before bringing the law into operation there should be a summary inquiry carried out by a nominee of Government and a nominee of Congress and that further proceedings would depend on their decision.

In other words, the duty of maintaining the law in this particular respect would be transferred from the police, who have statutory duties, to a Board of Inquiry, the members of which might well arrive at different conclusions. While the police, of course, must act only in accordance with the law, it is not practicable nor was it intended by the Settlement that their duty in this respect should in any way be abrogated.

In cases of this kind a practical test as to whether the law has or has not been contravened is the decision of the Court, which tries the case, and unless its decision is reversed on appeal the finding of the Court that picketing has contravened the law and consequently the terms of the Settlement should *prima*

[1] *Vide* pp. 19-20.

facie be followed automatically by a suspension of picketing. The above illustrates one of the difficulties, that would also arise in the case of Standing Boards of Arbitration.

The obligations imposed on Congress by the Settlement relate largely to matters affecting Law and Order, the freedom of action of the individual and the carrying on of the administration, that is to say, any serious breach of it has important reactions on one or other of these matters. So far as individual breaches contravened the ordinary law, the position would be the same as for picketing. If general breaches of it raised questions of policy affecting Law and Order or the effective working of the administration, it would be clearly impossible for Government to restrict their freedom of action by reference to a Board of Arbitration. This was not contemplated when the Settlement was made and in particular when the last clause of it was drafted. Nor would it be consonant with the discharge by Government of fundamental responsibilities.

It seems to me that the working of the Settlement must depend primarily on the good faith of the parties to it. So far as Government are concerned they desire to adhere strictly to its terms and our information shows that the local Governments have been scrupulous in carrying out the obligations imposed on them. Doubtful cases are of course inevitable, but local Governments are prepared to give them most careful examination and the Government of India will continue to bring to the notice of local Governments any cases that are reported to them and if necessary satisfy themselves in regard to the facts.

Young India, 20-8-1931

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM SIR ERNEST HOTSON[1]

MAHABALESHWAR,
June 30, 1931

I have been asked by His Excellency the Viceroy to ascertain privately, before an official invitation is addressed to you, whether you are willing to serve on the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference in London from the 5th September next.

Will you kindly let me have your reply as soon as possible, and in the mean while treat this communication as strictly confidential?

Young India, 27-8-1931

[1] *Vide* p. 98.

APPENDIX III

H. W. EMERSON'S NOTE ON DISCUSSION WITH GANDHIJI[1]

July 15/16, 1831

I saw Mr. Gandhi this afternoon. He had not his papers with him relating to the alleged breaches of the Settlement, and our discussion was discursive covering a number of subjects, to some of which we shall return later.

2. I asked him first about Gujarat. On the whole, he seemed satisfied with the course of events there. His chief complaint was about the issue of warning notices and coercive processes for collection of unauthorized arrears. His main contention was that he himself and other Congress workers had assisted in the collection of land revenue and had honestly done their best to get revenue-payers to pay as much as possible, that in some cases notices and processes had been issued without giving them the opportunity of collecting what was possible, and that generally he and his friends were in a better position to assess the capacity to pay than the officials. I said that everyone was agreed that he himself had done his utmost to get the revenue-payers to play the game, but that the same could not be said of some of his friends, and that the practical test of whether there had been deliberate delay in payment seemed to be provided by the fact that as soon as notices and processes were issued a large number of revenue-payers immediately paid up. There seemed to be no difference in principle between the Government of India, the local Government and Mr. Gandhi. All were agreed that anyone who could pay should pay whether the current year's demand or unauthorized arrears, and the difficulty arose in particular cases as to whether payment was or was not possible. He admitted that, despite his efforts, there might be some persons who deliberately shirked payment, but he claimed that collections had in fact exceeded the expectations of local officers and that the limit had practically been reached within which collections could reasonably be made. He had apparently just seen the Collector of Surat, to whom he had proposed that the Congress assistance should be used to a greater extent in collections. The Collector, he said, was non-committal. I took the opportunity of saying that the special circumstances in Gujarat had made it convenient in Kaira to have very close co-operation between Government officials and Congress in the collection of land revenue, but that it was not possible to contemplate, as an ordinary feature of land revenue administration, the intervention of a third party, who practically decided what revenue could be paid, and I asked him what was to happen if the unauthorized arrears now outstanding were formally suspended. He said that they would be

[1] *Vide* p. 134.

collected as a matter of course after next harvest, provided of course that there were no seasonal calamities. I suggested that in that case collections would have to be made next harvest in the ordinary course of land revenue administration, that Congress would disappear from the picture, and that processes, etc., would be issued in accordance with the ordinary canons. Mr. Gandhi accepted this and said that he in fact was telling the revenue-payers that Congress was not going to intervene after this harvest, that they must conserve their resources and be ready to pay anything that was not suspended. I was careful not to suggest to Mr. Gandhi that the local Government were prepared to admit that the limit of present collections had been reached. At the same time, the definite understanding that after this harvest revenue administration in Gujarat will revert to ordinary methods seems to be of some importance.

3. I then said that lately allegations had been widely published that Government were guilty of breaches of the Settlement, that the latter did not admit that this charge had any foundation, and that on the contrary their case was that Congress had been guilty of serious breaches. I distinguished between two classes of complaints, namely, first, allegations that specific clauses of the Settlement had not been observed, and secondly vague allegations which, when examined, did not constitute a breach within the terms of the Settlement, but had reference to action taken by local Governments in the course of ordinary administration. I said that, generally speaking, we regarded the latter as not directly relevant to the Settlement and that they related to general issues which would be discussed later. In regard to specific breaches, I instanced non-release of prisoners, non-restoration of property that had been seized, collection of the cost of additional police imposed in connection with the civil disobedience movement. I said that Government were very anxious that they should not remain under any imputation of breaches of this kind, and reminded him that when I last saw him two months ago I asked him to give specific instances which he had not so far supplied. He said that he had not done, because they had been trying to settle the cases direct with local Governments, but that he would let me have a list.

4. We had some discussion about picketing, and he mentioned that he had just received a telegram from Rajagopalachariar from Madras, saying that the local Government were definitely forbidding the picketing of liquor auction sales. I said that in ignorance of the facts it was not possible to express an opinion whether the action of the local Government was justifiable or not, but, at any rate, even if picketing of auction sales came within the terms of the Settlement, I could not believe that it really advanced any temperance movement, and that generally the Congress appeared to be doing little permanent good by the methods they were pursuing. I found it very difficult to believe that anyone, who wanted to bid at an auction in the hope of making profit if he was successful in obtaining the licence, would refrain from doing so unless there was an element of coercion or at least of inconvenience. I told him that

even in the case of those forms of picketing which came within the Settlement, Congress were making mistakes in arousing a great deal of resentment, and that feeling was growing. I instanced the case of Jawaharlal's action at Allahabad, and told him that both the District Magistrate and the local Government had seriously considered the necessity of an order under section 144 Cr. P. C. in order to avoid the danger of a communal clash. I made it clear to him that specific provisions of the Settlement must be subject to the requirements of public tranquillity, and that if picketing in any place endangered the public peace and, in particular, if it was likely to cause communal disturbances, there would be no hesitation in applying section 144 Cr. P. C. He accepted this principle, but stated that as a matter of fact there was no danger of any trouble in Allahabad. He said that Congress were avoiding the picketing of Muslim shops. I told him that this was very advisable, since there is a movement among Muslims to picket Hindu picketers, and this might very well lead to clashes, also that there was a movement to encourage the trade in foreign cloth among the Muslims, and that this was again likely to create Hindu resentment against Congress methods. The latter generally were creating a great deal of resentment, and only today I had received information from the Punjab Government that in one town the Hindu dealers had revolted. Mr. Gandhi said that it was in fact difficult to get volunteers for picketing now that methods were unaggressive. I mentioned to him the resolution passed by the Working Committee about the Congress not permitting the sale of foreign cloth. I told him that the resolution had caused a great deal of criticism both in England and in India, and asked him that next time Congress found it necessary to enunciate their principles, they should do so in a form which was free from ambiguity and did not admit of wider interpretation than was intended. I told him that we had thought that it might be necessary to issue a communique explaining the position, and that we might still have to do so.

5. We then had a long discussion about the agrarian situation in the United Provinces, which covered much the same ground as that covered in previous discussion on the subject. I made it clear that Government had from the beginning regarded Congress activities in the U.P. as a very serious breach of the Settlement, and that 3 months ago Mr. Gandhi had been informed that the continuance of those activities would inevitably lead to trouble, which might force the local Government to take action under the ordinary law and also result in the application of special measures. He said that if Government regarded the activities of Congress as a breach of the Settlement, it was open to them to denounce it, but the course they had taken was, while not denouncing the Settlement, to carry on war against Congress. I explained that we had not denounced the Settlement, because we had hoped that the situation would improve and that things would settle down. For the same reason we had refrained from publicly charging Congress with breaches of the Settlement, because we realized that once we embarked on charges and counter-charges, the

maintenance of the Settlement would be very difficult, but that it would be impracticable for us to continue this policy if *ex-parte* statements continue to be made challenging the good faith of Government. I then gave him brieffy the information we had about the activities of the Congress in the U.P. He would not admit that this information was correct, and his general position was that taken up on previous occasions, namely, that Congress had always associated themselves with the *kisans*, that *kisan sabhas* were in fact Congress creations, and Congress could not dissociate themselves from the interests of the peasants without renouncing their creed. I challenged his statement that Congress was identical with the *kisans*, and suggested to him that the close identity of interest had been developed since the Settlement and was part of the policy of consolidation in rural areas as preparation for a new fight, that it was mainly the last feature that inevitably made all local Governments look with suspicion on Congress activities and prevented them from co-operating with Congress to the extent that otherwise would have been possible. I said that it would be quite easy to prepare an indictment of Congress action in the U.P. which would convince world opinion that Congress had been dishonest. His reply to this was that he had no apprehension whatsoever about a statement of Congress case in regard to the U.P. provided that the facts were correctly given. He said that the outstanding facts were that the remissions were inadequate, that Government had always supported the landlords against the tenants and that the latter were not having a fair show. He said that when he saw Sir Malcolm Hailey, the latter had admitted that remissions were not liberal enough, but had said that he must consider the financial situation and his duty to the administration. I challenged this and I suggested that what Sir Malcolm Hailey had probably said in effect was that he had to maintain a balance between the claims of Government, of the landlords and of the tenants, and that while neither he nor anybody else could say with absolute certainty in present circumstances whether the right pitch of remissions had been reached, it could be claimed that those given represented a first approximation. They were subject to the working principle, that if the actual process of collection showed that they were inadequate, then adjustment would follow as a matter of course, for it was the desire of the local Government that harsh methods of collections should not be employed either by Government or by landlords. I repeated all the old arguments about the difficulties of Government having been greatly increased by Congress intervention. Mr. Gandhi said that the situation in the U.P. was not dangerous or incapable of solution, and that a remedy could be found at once. I asked him what it was. He suggested that District Officers should consult Congress workers and, more or less on their advice, fix the amount of revenue and rent to be collected. I told him plainly that this was not a practical solution and that Government could not divest itself of the duty of determining these matters themselves, and that it would be as unreasonable for Government to accept the opinion of landlords as to what rent should be paid. He then

suggested that it might be possible to hold an enquiry, but admitted that Sir Malcolm Hailey had convinced him that a summary enquiry was out of the question. We then discussed the question of whether a more elaborate enquiry would be possible with the object of ascertaining what temporary adjustments in revenue and rent were necessary as a result of the slump in the prices. I made it quite clear to him that this was essentially a matter for the local Government and that, in the absence of their views and of local knowledge, our discussion was necessarily academic. I suggested that even if on examination by the local Government such an enquiry were considered to be desirable, it would certainly extend over some months, that even the general recommendations would vary considerably between the various Divisions of the Province, that even in these Divisions they would be liable to local adjustments, and that further adjustments would be necessary from harvest to harvest as prices changed, that the enquiry would have to be carried out by technical experts and the smaller the committee the more effective its work was likely to be, that it would presumably be a public enquiry and receive evidence from landlords on the one side and tenants on the other, and if Congress representatives wished to produce facts and figures before it, there would appear to be no objection. Mr. Gandhi appeared to be very keen on an enquiry of this kind and it seems to me that if it were possible to institute one at an early date it might do much to relieve the situation. The matter seems to be one which merits consultation with the local Government. I explained to Mr. Gandhi that even if such an enquiry were held, it could not affect present collections and that in regard to these the only possible course that I could see was for Government to proceed with collections, it being understood that they would, so far as possible, avoid coercive processes where land-owners were generally unable to pay and that while taking action under the law against tenants who contumaciously refuse to pay, they would not assist landlords in squeezing more out of the tenants than the latter could pay. Mr. Gandhi was not entirely satisfied with this statement of the position in regard to present collections. He claimed that many landlords were accepting the advice of the Congress and had recognized that it was to their advantage to do so.

6. Before we parted, the North-West Frontier Province was briefly mentioned. I told him that it was our second cause of anxiety and that any day we might be forced to take action. I told him the best thing he could do was to take Abdul Ghaffar Khan with him to London as one of his advisers. He laughed and said that he could not do so, as he was not going to take any advisers. He asked why we[1] did not get over the difficulty by inviting Abdul Ghaffar Khan as a Delegate to the Round Table Conference. I said jokingly that he could not, in any case, go as a Nationalist Muslim, since, as Mr. Gandhi knew, other Muslims very strongly objected to Nationalist Muslims going

[1] The source has "he".

to the Conference as such. He admitted that Abdul Ghaffar Khan could not go as a Nationalist Muslim but saw no reason why he should not go as a representative of the North-West Frontier Province.

July 16, 1931

7. My discussions with Mr. Gandhi continued on July 16th. He began by reading out a fairly long list of alleged breaches of the Settlement by Government, and he gave me the list, a copy of which is attached. So far as allegations of breaches of specific provisions of the Settlement are concerned, some are of a trivial character, some are too vague to allow of any provisional opinion to be formed, some are obviously outside the Settlement and a certain number are such as require the Government of India to satisfy themselves that no breach is involved. In fact, having regard to the danger of a breakdown of the Settlement, it will probably be necessary to give local Governments the trouble of furnishing the facts in all cases, so that no allegation may be left unanswered if the necessity arose. In addition to specific instances of alleged breaches of the Settlement, Mr. Gandhi gave a general note dealing with

(a) Bombay,
(b) the United Provinces,
(c) the North-West Frontier Province, and
(d) the other Provinces.

It will be necessary to ask local Governments to give us the facts in regard to allegations contained in this note also.

8. In regard to complaints about the North-West Frontier Province, the only incident about which I had information was that at Sarband, the facts of which are quite different from those presented in the note. I gave Mr. Gandhi the facts and told him that the gross inaccuracy of the account given to him suggested that the other allegations might, to say the least of it, be much exaggerated. I gave him some facts on the other side and explained to him the critical character of the situation in the North-West Frontier Province with special reference to tribal areas, possible reactions in Afghanistan, contempt for authority which the Red Shirt movement was creating, the seditious speeches of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the danger of the impression gaining ground that Government were afraid to tackle the movement, whereas the truth was that they were exercising, and intended to exercise, forbearance to the utmost limit in order to prevent a rupture, but that the limit might be reached any day. Mr. Gandhi himself was clearly unhappy about the Frontier, and it played a comparatively small part in the general discussion and, in particular, in regard to the difficulties which Mr. Gandhi expressed himself as feeling about his attendance at the Round Table Conference.

He raised the question of his visit to the Frontier but did not press it. I took the line that Government had no intention of forbidding a visit if he wished to go, but held the view that it was likely to complicate rather than assist the

situation. He said that Abdul Ghaffar had promised to obey any orders which Gandhi gave him and, in particular, had promised to see the Chief Commissioner, if the latter asked him to do so.

9. In regard to the allegation that workers doing peaceful constructive work have been arrested in the Midnapore District, I explained to Mr. Gandhi the information we had received regarding the institution of parallel courts and the interference of Congress workers in criminal matters and their levying of fines. I told him that the local Government had reported the situation to the Government of India, who had agreed that, in the first place, representation should be made to local Congress leaders, that if this had no effect, the ordinary law should be applied, and that if this again failed, the Association concerned should be declared unlawful association, provided that their activities went beyond the sphere of legitimate methods of arbitration. He told me that he had in fact heard that the Congress had adopted his principles of arbitration (which excluded interference in criminal matters and also levying of fines or penalties). A letter since received from the Bengal Government gives confirmation to this statement. Mr. Gandhi also said that there were two parties in Midnapore, viz., the terrorist party and the Moderate Congress party, and that the latter were doing their best to oust the former.

10. The greater part of the discussion today centered round the situation in the United Provinces, and, although this was taken at various times, it will be convenient to bring it together in its relation to representation of Congress at the Conference. I abstained from asking Mr. Gandhi whether he was going to attend or not until a late stage. In reply he said that he wished to attend, but his attendance must be conditional on Government disengaging him from his responsibilities in India. I asked him what exactly he meant. He said that he could not contemplate a visit to England if he thought that while he was there he would be constantly receiving telegrams about lathi charges, prosecutions of members of Congress and generally repressive measures. I said that it would be dishonest for Government to attempt to induce him to go to London on a definite assurance that no incidents would happen while he was away, that even in ordinary peaceful conditions, incidents were always happening in India, and the Government of India could not possibly fetter the discretion of local Governments in carrying out their responsibility for law and order in the manner that such an assurance would certainly involve, that, on the other hand, everyone wanted to avoid prosecutions and special measures, so far as this was possible, and that there had not been, and would not be, any inclination on the part of local Governments to take measures in excess of actual requirements that the best insurance against members of Congress being prosecuted was for them to keep within the law, and that where such prosecutions had been necessary it was evidence rather of a breach of the spirit of the Settlement by Congress than of a breach by Government, and generally that the only way of securing reasonable peaceful conditions was for the Congress to close down

agitation and to suspend war preparations, at any rate for the next 3 or 4 months, until the Round Table Conference is over. Government would certainly respond to action of this kind. He said that he felt that Provincial Governments were out to kill the Congress and that, in particular, he had been told that members of the I.C.S. would be glad if Congress were not represented at the Round Table Conference. I repudiated both these statements, and suggested to him that, in regard to the latter, it was ludicrous to suppose that the members of the Service largely responsible for law and order would welcome developments which might be expected greatly to increase their work and responsibility. In regard to the supposed attitude of local Governments I reminded him that Government had on several occasions made it clear that the war preparations of Congress added greatly to their difficulties in co-operating with the Congress, and that if local Governments had been forced to take action against members of the Congress it had been with great reluctance and only because their activities made action unavoidable. He pursued the argument (which he had adopted on several previous occasions), namely, that the Settlement between Government and Congress placed the latter in a special position which justified previous consultation with them before any action was taken against their members and that Government and Congress should work together in close unity. I asked him what he had in mind, and he gave several specific examples. He said that, for instance, a prosecution under section 124-A., I.P.C. should not be launched against a member of the Congress without giving the Congress an opportunity of bringing the person into the line. I explained to him the existing principles on which prosecutions were launched under this section and I said that while, on particular occasions, it might be desirable to give *a warning* and that this course was sometimes followed, it was not possible to accept as a general rule that a person belonging to a particular organization, when he offended against the law, should be placed in a privileged position in comparison with other persons who did not belong to such an organization. The next example he gave was that no proceedings under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code should be taken against a *kisan* in the United Provinces until the Congress had been given previous warning. I asked him how the District Magistrate was to know that a particular *kisan* belonged to the Congress and declined to accept the suggestion that every *kisan* in the U.P. was a member of the Congress. I also explained that the security sections were often used when there was imminent danger of breach of the peace and it was out of the question to expect the District Magistrate to delay what might be emergent proceedings while he was referring to a third party. Mr. Gandhi, I think, realized that these particular suggestions were outside reasonable limits and did not press them. He then [dealt with] the case of the United Provinces at great length and took the line that there was active war going on against the Congress as such. I said that, so far as I understood the position, action was being taken against individuals, not because they were members of the Congress, but because they

were carrying on particular activities and that similar action was being taken against persons who carried on such activities whether they were members of the Congress or not. If a great majority of the persons against whom action was being taken were members of the Congress, this was because Congress were responsible for a campaign which was definitely assisting towards the creation of dangerous conditions. I repeated the view of Government that the rent campaign of Congress in the United Provinces was a definite breach of the Settlement and that while one object might be the relief of the economic conditions of tenants, it was impossible to dissociate it from the declared policy of Congress to consolidate their position in rural areas in preparation for a new struggle if this were to occur. Mr. Gandhi did not accept this statement and maintained the position that Congress had always been most closely interested in the welfare of the *kisans* and that they could not possibly forgo this part of their work. I reminded him that just before the Settlement very little agitation of this kind was going on in the United Provinces and that it was since the Settlement that activities had been organized and conducted on a scale not previously known. He claimed that Congress leaders and workers in the United Provinces were only desirous that tenants should not be made to pay more rent than they could reasonably pay, but he did admit that their aim was a radical change in the landlord system and the permanent alleviation of tenants' conditions apart from the present crisis. He disclaimed any intention of a confiscatory policy against landlords, but while I still think he is not prepared to go as far as Jawahar Lal, the general trend of his conversation today showed that the legitimate interests of landlords had a very small part in his plans compared with the interests of tenants. His aim is clearly to establish the position of Congress as the champion and mouthpiece of the tenants. His case at present is that Government are taking side with the landlords against the tenants, are sanctioning rents which the tenants are unable to pay, are giving more than legitimate assistance to the landlords in their collection, and are condoning, if not approving, acts of oppression by bad landlords. I, of course, strongly contested this view. I asked him several times what his solution was of present difficulties in the U.P., and his reply was always the same that Government should definitely associate Congress with them and accept the advice of the Congress as to what rents should be collected. I told him that this would mean that Government would abrogate its functions in favour of a political party that had taken up the side of the tenants against landlords and that it was quite impracticable. He denied that this was his aim, but he was unable to give any alternative explanation of its practical effect. I said that I myself could see no solution of immediate difficulties unless Congress called off its activities in the U.P. and left it to Government to do its utmost to preserve the balance between landlords and tenants. He said that he might be willing to call off the whole force of volunteers and workers if Government gave an undertaking that they would not use coercive measures in assisting landlords to collect rents, but would leave the

whole matter to methods of persuasion. We pursued this suggestion, but on examination it was found that it would involve, according to Mr. Gandhi's ideas, the abstention of Government from executing the decree of landlords for possession against evictable tenants. In other words, it would mean that tenants would pay as little as they liked without fear of consequences and that landlords would be left without the remedy secured to them by the law. Mr. Gandhi had a good deal to say about evictions in general and stated that landlords were taking advantage, in many cases, of existing economic conditions to obtain the ejectment of statutory and occupancy tenants and to replace them by tenants at will. This was a matter about which I could say little in ignorance of the facts, but did suggest that even if this were so, Congress were making matters much worse by embittering the relations between the two. I then read out to him the portion of the weekly reports of the C.I.D., United Provinces, since the beginning of June relating to rural agitation. He was obviously taken aback by the continuous record week after week and from district after district of the activities of Congress workers, and I fancy he felt that the presentation of the Government case would very gravely prejudice the success of the appeal which Congress evidently intend to make to world opinion, if there is a break. He expressed regret that these reports had not been brought to his notice before. I reminded him that in March he had been informed of activities in the United Provinces and of their dangerous possibilities, that early in April he had been given specific instances and had been told the view of the Government of India in regard to the action it would probably be necessary for the local Government to take, that, again in May, I had discussed with him at great length the situation and had given him many facts, that he had seen Sir Malcolm Hailey at Naini Tal and presumably had learnt from him also what was happening, that the position in the United Provinces for months past had reference not to isolated incidents but to a campaign organized by Congress on a very large scale, and that it was unreasonable to suppose that the local leaders did not know what was going on, even if they had not stated the facts to Mr. Gandhi. We failed to make any further advance in regard to the United Provinces. I said we would probably consult the local Government both in regard to present conditions and the possibility of an enquiry as to the future, that in regard to the former I could see no chance of a solution that would meet the point of view he had expressed and that in regard to the enquiry it was of course primarily a matter for the local Government.

11. Mr. Gandhi's views regarding his attendance at the Round Table Conference, as expressed today, may be briefly interpreted as follows. He will not attend unless—

(a) Government can give a general assurance in regard to proceedings against members of Congress that would in effect place them in a privileged position in comparison with other members of the public and would effectually tie the hands of local Governments in carrying

out their responsibilities for the maintenance of law and order, and

(b) the local Government of the United Provinces scraps its present scheme of remissions, throws over the landlords and accepts the advice of Congress in regard to the pitch of rents, thus surrendering its functions to that body.

We discussed the position many times from different points of view. These were the practical conclusions that invariably emerged. I doubt if he would seriously take his stand on (a) as a ground for rupture, and it is possible that he is bluffing about (b). If, however, Congress refuse participation in the Round Table Conference it will be mainly on the United Provinces issue supplemented by allegations of a general character regarding the supposed hostility of local Government towards Congress as such.

12. I told Mr. Gandhi that if he were himself to go to the Round Table Conference, there would, so far as I could see, be no difficulty in continuing liaison with the Government of India in matters regarding the Settlement through the nomination by Mr. Gandhi of a representative to take his place. I added the qualification, which he accepted as reasonable, that whoever the representative might be it would be up to him to avoid making speeches, etc., that might make meetings between him and the representative of the Government of India open to misunderstanding and misconception.

13. I did my utmost to convince Mr. Gandhi of the mistake Congress would make if it refused to be represented at the Conference, and I used the various arguments employed on previous occasions. I emphasized the fact that the Settlement was only a means to an end, namely, to facilitate an agreed constitutional solution, that in its main features it was a temporary measure that the sooner it merged into the ordinary administrative machine the better for everyone, and that even if it were admitted that peaceful conditions could not be completely assured during the next few months, nonetheless the best means of obtaining ultimate peace was through the Round Table Conference. In particular I urged the influence he himself might exercise in London in facilitating a communal settlement and also the part he could play, if things went well in England, in convincing Indian public opinion of the sincerity of Great Britain's intentions towards India. I emphasized the probable results of the decision of Congress not to attend, and I suggested that the general verdict would be that Congress had shown a lamentable lack of political sagacity. I left him in no doubt that the Conference would go on whether the Congress decided to be represented or not.

14. Many times during our discussion Mr. Gandhi asked why, if Government considered that Congress had not observed the terms of the Settlement, they had not denounced it. I gave the obvious reasons. But the suggestion was made so often as definitely to indicate that it would have suited the Congress game better if Government had relieved Congress of the responsibility for running out.

15. I pointed out to Mr. Gandhi that the refusal of Congress to be re-

presented at the Conference would mean that the Settlement had broken down in an essential respect. He agreed that this was so. I then asked him whether this meant that the Congress would restart the civil disobedience movement. He said that this was not necessarily the case, and I gathered that they would await the course of events. I pointed out to him that the failure of an essential part of the Settlement would inevitably weaken the sense of restraint which the maintenance of the Settlement had necessarily imposed and that this was an additional reason for keeping it intact. He recognized this and, I think, anticipates that once the decision is reached events are likely to move more rapidly than during the past four months.

From a photostat: C.W. 9372. Courtesy: India Office Library

APPENDIX IV

SIR JAMES CRERAR'S NOTE ON DISCUSSION WITH GANDHIJI[1]

July 17, 1931

I had one and a half hours' conversation with Mr. Gandhi this afternoon. He traversed a good deal of the ground already covered in his conversations with Mr. Emerson, which it is unnecessary to recapitulate. I put strongly before him the obvious arguments in favour of his going to London, but on this point he still maintained a somewhat ambiguous attitude. The position to which he most obstinately adhered was that particularly in the United Provinces, the attitude of Government, or at least of its officers, was definitely hostile to Congress and to its members as such. He referred to instances in which members of Congress, who had made complaints to Magistrate's courts, had received, as he considered, no redress. I pointed out that in that event the proper course was to take the case up on revision or appeal. He agreed to this, and said such steps were being taken. He mentioned also, a number of cases in which notices had been issued to *kisans* and others warning them against any contact or association with members of Congress. His most insistent plea was that there was a large number of cases in which, as he said, he was convinced the Settlement had been broken both in letter and in spirit. He considered the only possible means of enabling him to go to London would be some assurance that these cases would be examined by an impartial authority. By this, he said, he did not mean anything in the nature of a joint Congress and Government Arbitration Board to consider breaches of the Settlement, but something similar to the kind of impartial enquiry which, when there is a *prima facie* case of administrative abuse, the administration is ordinarily prepared to hold. His summing up was that unless he had some substantial assurance on this point, he would consider that his primary duty was to remain in India to preserve the peace

[1] *Vide* pp. 146-7.

rather than go to London. I endeavoured to dissuade him from this view, but without much success. He disavowed any intention of resuming the strife, and said that unless he could be convinced that he could safely go to London, his main object would be to maintain the peace in India in order that the Conference could proceed with its work. Our conversation was, throughout, perfectly friendly.

(Sd.) J. CRERAR

From a photostat: C.W. 9374. Courtesy: India Office Library

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON[1]

SIMLA,
July 30, 1931

I write to thank you for your letter of July 21st, in which

(a) you request that an impartial tribunal be appointed for the decision of matters of interpretation of the Settlement of March 5th, and

(b) you state 11 specific points which you desire to be referred to the tribunal, if appointed, on failure of an agreement between Government and Congress as to their interpretation.

In your previous letter of the 14th of June you made a suggestion "for the appointment of a permanent Board of Arbitration to decide questions of interpretation of the Settlement and as to the full carrying out of the terms by the one party or the other".

In my D.O. letter No. F. 33/1/31-Poll, of the 4th of July, 1931, reasons were given why Government were not able to accept the suggestion.

2. In your interview with His Excellency the Viceroy on July 21st, you expressed the view that, while it might not be possible for Government to accept the general proposition made in your letter of June 14th, it would be unreasonable for them to refuse to accept a more narrow proposal relating to arbitration on questions of interpretation of the Settlement. After some discussion, His Excellency suggested that you should communicate the specific points which you consider suitable for submission to arbitration, and he undertook that on their receipt the Government of India would examine the proposal.

3. The Government of India have given the matter their most careful consideration. They observe that while you do not wish to press, at the moment, for a tribunal to examine questions of fact in the event of difference between Government and the Congress, you do not waive this demand, and you suggest that occasions may arise when it may be necessary to press it. You will doubtless agree that the only distinction between this request and the suggestion made in your letter of the 14th of June is that you now desire to hold in suspense the

[1] *Vide* pp. 179-80.

broader question, while asking for the immediate agreement of Government to arbitration on questions of interpretation. For the reasons stated in my letter of the 4th July, the Government of India regret that they are unable to alter the views already expressed on the former question.

4. They have given further consideration to the more restricted proposal, namely, the reference to arbitration of questions relating to interpretation. In reaching a decision they have given particular attention to the eleven points stated in your letter, which you regard as coming within this category, and to the implications which acceptance of arbitration on these points would necessarily involve, with special regard to the responsibilities and functions inherent in Government. You will no doubt recognize that it would not be possible for Government to agree to any arrangement which involved the suspension of the ordinary law or of the regular machinery of administrations, or which included the appointment of an external authority to whom Government would delegate the responsibility for reaching decisions in matters closely affecting the administration, or of which the effect, direct or indirect, would be to provide special procedure, to the benefits of which members of the Congress could lay claim and from which other members of the public would be excluded and which would trench upon the jurisdiction and discretion of the courts of law. The Settlement of March 5 did not, of course, contemplate any provisions of this kind.

5. I am now to examine some of the points stated in your letter with reference to the above principles. The first three relate to picketing and are of a general character. The action that it may be necessary to take in particular cases of picketing is obviously dependent on the nature of the particular circumstances, and Government can clearly not agree to any decision of a general character which might have the effect of prejudicing this discharge by the executive or judicial authorities of their responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, or of interfering with the liberty of individuals. General references of the nature you suggest are precluded by these considerations. Nor can Government agree to the reference of particular cases, for, apart from the reasons given in my letter of July 4th, the effect would often be to give to the individuals concerned in them a position not enjoyed by members of the public in similar circumstances.

In regard to the fourth point, the Government of India have no information which suggests that local Governments are condoning breaches of the excise law in the manner suggested. In so far as the matter relates to the administration of excise matters within the law, you will no doubt realize that it is not practicable to set up a tribunal with power to decide, in effect, how local Governments should conduct the administration of excise, which, it may be observed, is a provincial transferred subject.

Points (10) and (11) raise a different issue, but one of great importance. The questions mentioned in them were neither discussed during the conversa-

tions leading to the Settlement, nor was any provision made in the Settlement regarding them. The reference of these matters to a tribunal would, therefore, involve acceptance of the principle (which would clearly be capable of unlimited extension) that the tribunal should be competent to extend the operation of the Settlement beyond its original scope and intention, and without the concurrence of Government.

6. These instances appear to Government sufficiently to indicate that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of arbitration even although references be ostensibly confined to matters of interpretation. There would be constant disputes as to whether the matter was one of interpretation or not, and the arrangement would create new difficulties rather than remove old ones.

7. Several of the 11 points have in their general aspect already received the careful consideration of Government, and in this connection I would refer you to my letter No. D. 4291-Poll, dated the 2nd of July 1931, which related to students, and to my letter No. D. 3801-31-Poll, dated the 20th of June 1931, which related to arms licences. The list of alleged breaches of particular provisions of the Settlement which you gave to me at Simla contained specific instances coming within most of the 11 points. This list was referred within a few days of its receipt to local Governments for communication of the facts, and the Government of India and local Governments will satisfy themselves as to whether any breach of the Settlement is involved. They are similarly prepared to satisfy themselves in regard to future cases of alleged breaches of specific provisions, for, it is a matter of honour with Government to observe the Settlement and they have no doubt that this is equally held by you. It is by approaching the matter in this spirit and not by resort to arbitration that Government believe that difficulties can best be surmounted.

Young India, 20-8-1931

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM LORD WILLINGDON[1]

July 31, 1931

I write to thank you for your letter of July 29th. Emerson wrote to you officially yesterday regarding the proposals for arbitration, and I should like you to know that the proposals received the most careful consideration of my Government, and that they were only not accepted because the difficulties presented themselves as insuperable. This does not mean that your charge-sheet, as you have called it, will not receive full attention. I have, of course, taken a personal interest in everything pertaining to the Settlement and shall con-

[1] *Vide* the letters to Viceroy, pp. 222-3 and 290-1.

tinue to do so and, in particular, in regard to the list of alleged breaches of the Settlement, about which we await reports from local Governments. I know that in the Provinces the Governors similarly take a personal interest in matters connected with the Settlement, and you can rest assured that there will be no disposition to treat allegations of breaches of it other than as matters of importance.

We have not yet received full reports regarding Gujarat but I hope that the difficulties are clearing up and that your discussion with the Bombay Government will prove satisfactory to everyone concerned. So far as my information goes, the general situation is rather easier than a month or even a fortnight ago, except for terrorist crime, which cannot fail to have important reactions if it continues, and for the position in the North-West Frontier Province, which is a cause of much anxiety. I am glad to hear that you are doing all you can to stop the insensate campaign of assassination.

I should like, with you, to feel that the atmosphere is entirely free from clouds, and you may be sure that I and my Government will unceasingly work towards this end. But I am quite sure that the best way to obtain a real and lasting solution of present difficulties is through the Round Table Conference, and that you can best assist the real interests of the country in sharing in this great constructive work.

Young India, 20-8-1931

APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM R. M. MAXWELL[1]

GANESHKHIND,
August 10, 1931

I am directed by His Excellency to send you his considered reply on the points raised at your recent interview, so far as material is now available. As you will doubtless realize, some little time will be required to make enquiries about some of the more detailed matters which you mentioned, but His Excellency understands that it will be more convenient to you if his reply on the more important issues is not delayed until all other matters are cleared up.

2. His Excellency has carefully considered all the points you urged regarding land revenue collections in Gujarat, and particularly in Bardoli. On the information before him he is satisfied that no breach of the Settlement is involved in the steps taken to collect land revenue in Bardoli. It was clearly contemplated by the Settlement that the current demand and arrears would be paid promptly by all who could pay. The Collector did, however, show special forbearance in regard to the employment of coercive processes, and it was only

[1] *Vide* pp. 249, 281 & 281-2.

after some months' delay, and then only in carefully selected cases, that he resorted to them. The prompt response of the revenue-payers and the negligible extent to which attachment became necessary showed then that there were many persons able to pay who had not done so, and established the fact that action had become necessary only in consequence of their failure to observe the Settlement.

3. Nor is His Excellency able to agree with you that there has been any breach of faith on the part of the Collector. All that the Collector undertook to do was to consider any lists which might be submitted to him by Congress workers containing the names of revenue defaulters whom they believed to be unable to pay either the whole or a part of their dues, just as he was also willing to consider applications of a similar character received direct from the Khatedars, while reserving the right to decide each case on its merits. Neither the Government nor the Collector have ever accepted the position that the collection of land revenue should be dependent on the advice of the Congress, and His Excellency has no doubt that you will yourself realize that the decision as to whether particular persons can or cannot pay must rest with the Collector. Holding, therefore, as he does, that there has been neither a breach of faith nor a breach of the Settlement in any action which has been taken, His Excellency in Council is unable to approve of the refund of any sums already collected.

4. I am to explain, however, that this particular issue is no longer one of practical importance for the following reasons. It is common ground that all who can now pay should do so, and further that normal methods of land revenue administration should be pursued when the time comes for the collection of the next instalment due in January or February next. The practical question, therefore, concerns the intervening period. With regard to this the usual practice is to allow measures of collection to slacken after the end of the land revenue year, i.e., the 31st July. In accordance with this practice active coercive measures would not ordinarily be resumed until after the end of the monsoon, and His Excellency has no doubt that in ordinary circumstances most of the balance of the arrears might have been recovered in October next. I am, however, to inform you that in view of the special circumstances of this year and in order to facilitate the working of the the Settlement, His Excellency in Council has decided not to adopt any further coercive measures for the collection of arrears unless they remain unpaid at the time of the next instalment, i.e., in January or February, 1932.

5. The position therefore is that those who can now pay should freely do so, and that any arrears then outstanding will be collected together with the current demands at the time of next instalment in accordance with the ordinary rules of revenue administration.

6. While the situation in Bardoli is the immediate occasion for these orders, it is intended to apply similar orders to the whole of the districts of Surat, Broach and Kaira, so far as the local circumstances render them applicable.

7. In order to prevent any misunderstanding I am to explain that these orders will not mean that no efforts will be made to collect unauthorized arrears before the date of the first instalment, but such efforts will be confined to the ordinary methods of persuasion. I am also to add that some further inquiries into the means of the defaulters may be necessary for the purpose of distinguishing those arrears which might possibly be suspended from those which should be classed as unauthorized, and His Excellency hopes that any such inquiries will not be misinterpreted.

8. I am to mention here that the sales of attached goods in Jambusar taluka, to which you draw His Excellency's attention, have now been suspended, and that the cases in question will be governed by the general orders now being issued.

9. As regards land revenue collections in the Sirsi and Siddapur talukas, the position was explained to you at the time of your interview, and His Excellency considers that since practically all the revenue in these talukas has already been collected with scarcely any use of the major coercive processes no further action is called for.

I am now to refer to some of the more detailed matters which you brought to notice.

10. I am to invite a reference to the last paragraph of my letter to you of the 10th of July, in which the position was explained. The lands in question are Kaze inam lands held for service, and since they had passed into the possession of a person incapable of performing the service for which they were granted, their resumption and regrant to another person was in accordance with the ordinary rules and did not fall within the scope of the Settlement.

11. While, as His Excellency explained to you, it is not the policy of Government to restore all forfeited licences until they are assured that the situation will remain tranquil, orders are in process of being issued authorizing District Magistrates to use their discretion in suitable cases, and the case of Mr. Shroff will no doubt receive fresh consideration under these orders.

12. His Excellency finds that orders have twice been issued for the reinstalment of the former Patel, but on each occasion it has been necessary to cancel the orders on account of the very severe persecution to which the new Patel Fakirbhai Mahomedbhai was subjected by the people of Butwada. His Excellency has before him a number of fully authenticated instances of this persecution, as a result of which the Government have lately sanctioned the retention of Fakirbhai in the patelship for a further period of one year, after which the case will be re-examined and decided on a consideration of the villagers' conduct during that period. Any act of persecution during the period will be taken as a sign that the village does not intend to abide by the Settlement.

13. It has been ascertained that the enquiry into the conduct of Jehangir Patel has already been taken up by the Mamlatdar on the 1st of August, when

two complainants out of five appeared and stated that their witnesses would not come unless summoned. Every facility will be given to any complainants who wish to appear to produce their evidence in open court.

14. The number of Talatis who have not been reinstated in the Kaira district is found to be 11. In 10 of these cases the posts had already been filled and in the remaining case the Talati was not reinstated because he had been dismissed for repeated insubordination. In the Surat District the Talatis who have not been reinstated are 1 in Olpad, 2 in Jalalpur and 2 in Chikhli. The situation in this district is that a number of posts of Talatis are due for reduction in accordance with the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23 and these posts are gradually being absorbed as vacancies occur. While therefore it may be possible to absorb some of the resigned Talatis in future vacancies, it is not now possible to recreate appointments which have been abolished owing to their superfluity.

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APPENDIX VIII

TELEGRAM FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY[1]

NAINITAL,
August 6, 1931

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TELEGRAM DATED AUGUST FIVE. I AM RECOVERING FROM THE ATTACK OF INFLUENZA WHICH I HAD AT LUCKNOW. AS REGARDS EVICTIONS OF TENANTS BY LANDLORDS WE HAVE NO REASON TO THINK THAT THE NUMBER OF EVICTIONS THIS YEAR HAS BEEN EXCESSIVE. A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF EJECTIONS TAKES PLACE EVERY YEAR IN ORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES BUT I AM ASSURED THAT IN SOME DISTRICTS AT LEAST THEY HAVE THIS YEAR BEEN BELOW NORMAL FIGURE. THERE ARE ONE OR TWO AREAS IN WHICH THEY ARE SAID TO HAVE EXCEEDED NORMAL BUT WE HAVE ALREADY CALLED FOR FIGURES OF EVICTIONS AND AS SOON AS THESE FIGURES ARE AVAILABLE WE SHALL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO APPRAISE THE SITUATION. MY IMPRESSION BASED ON CONVERSATION WITH MANY PERSONS CONCERNED IS THAT LANDLORDS HAVE IN MANY DISTRICTS BEEN AVERSE FROM MAKING EJECTMENTS OWING TO DIFFICULTY OF SECURING NEW TENANTS IN A PERIOD OF FALLING PRICES AND I KNOW ALSO THAT DISTRICT OFFICERS GENERALLY ARE USING INFLUENCE TO GET LANDLORDS TO ALLOW EJECTED TENANTS TO REENGAGE. AS REGARDS COERCIVE PROCESSES GENERALLY FOR RECOVERY OF RENT WE HAVE NO REASON TO THINK THAT THE NUMBER HAS BEEN

[1] *Vide* p. 250.

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MUCH ABOVE THE NORMAL THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE. BUT WE ARE MAKING FURTHER ENQUIRIES ON THIS POINT TO SATISFY OURSELVES THAT NO AVOIDABLE HARDSHIP IS BEING CAUSED TO THE TENANTRY. GOVERNMENT POLICY BOTH IN ACTION AND IN INTENTION IS WHILE HOLDING SCALES EVEN BETWEEN THE LANDLORD AND THE TENANT TO USE EVERY ENDEAVOUR TO SEE THAT CULTIVATORS DO NOT SUFFER UNDULY FROM PRESENT UNFORTUNATE ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES. GOVERNMENT HAVE PREPARED PROVISIONAL SCHEME FOR GENERAL ADJUSTMENT OF RENTS THROUGHOUT PROVINCE TO MEET FALL IN PRICES AND THIS WILL BE CONSIDERED NEXT WEEK BY COMMITTEE REPRESENTING ALL PARTIES IN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Young India, 20-8-1931

APPENDIX IX

THE SECOND SETTLEMENT[1]

SIMLA,
August 28, 1931

1. As a result of the conversations between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the Congress will now be represented by Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference.

2. The Settlement of March 5, 1931, remains operative. The Government of India and local Governments will secure the observance of the specific provisions of the Settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established, and will give their careful consideration to any representation that may be made in this respect. The Congress will fulfil their obligations under the Settlement.

3. In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat district, the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli taluka and Valod Mahal which were visited by revenue officials accompanied by a party of police during the month of July 1931, more severe demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue-payers and enforced by coercion exercised through the police than were made from and met by revenue-payers of other villages of the Bardoli taluka. The Government of India in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay have decided, that an enquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference: "To enquire into the allegations that Khatedars in the villages in question were compelled by means of coercion exercised through the police to pay revenue in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied which was adopted in other villages

[1] *Vide* pp. 357, 366-7, 367-9 and 381-4.

of the Bardoli taluka where collections were effected after March 5, 1931, without the assistance of the police, and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid." Within the terms of reference, evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute. The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector of Nasik, to hold the enquiry.

4. In regard to other matters hitherto raised by the Congress the Government of India and the local Governments concerned are not prepared to order any enquiry.

5. In regard to any further matters of complaint by the Congress not coming within the specific provisions of the Settlement, such complaints will be dealt with in accordance with the ordinary administrative procedure and practice, and if any question of an enquiry arises, the decision as to whether an enquiry shall be held and if so the form it shall take will be made by the local Government concerned in accordance with such procedure and practice.

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Aaj: Hindi daily published from Banaras.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE: Records of the Indian National Congress.

Amrita Bazar Patrika: English daily of Calcutta which first appeared in 1868 as a Bengali weekly; a daily since 1891.

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Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine (Gujarati): Ed. Chhaganlal Joshi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1962.

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne (Gujarati): Ed. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960.

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I (Gujarati): Ed. Narandas Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1964.

(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*: English daily published from Bombay.

BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1931: Official records of the Government of Bombay.

(*A*) *Bunch of Old Letters*: Jawaharlal Nehru, Asia Publishing House, 1958.

(*The*) *Daily Herald*: Published from London.

(*The*) *Daily Mail*: Published from London.

(*The*) *Daily Telegraph*: Published from London.

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian literature and documents; *vide* Vol. I, p. 341.

Gujarati: Gujarati weekly published from Bombay.

Hindi Navajivan: Hindi weekly edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad.

(*The*) *Hindu*: English daily published from Madras.

(*The*) *Hindustan Times*: English daily published from New Delhi.

INDIA OFFICE RECORDS: Housed in the India Office Library, London, these records comprise papers and documents relating

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to Indian matters with which the Secretary of State for India was concerned.

Malaviya Commemoration Volume: Banaras Hindu University, 1932.

(*The*) *Manchester Guardian*: Daily newspaper published from Manchester.

(*The*) *Morning Post*: Daily newspaper published from London.

National Archives of India, New Delhi.

National Library, Calcutta.

Navajivan: Gujarati weekly edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad.

(*The*) *New York Times*: Daily newspaper published from New York.

(*The*) *News Chronicle*: Daily newspaper published from London.

Sabarmati Sangrahalaya: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 341.

(*The*) *Statesman*: English daily published from Calcutta.

(*The*) *Times:* Daily newspaper published from London.

(*The*) *Times of India*: English daily published from Bombay.

(*The*) *Tribune*: English daily published from Ambala.

(*The*) *Yorkshire Post*: Daily newspaper published from Yorkshire.

Young India: English weekly edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad.

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June 18—September 11, 1931

June 18–24: Gandhiji continued in Borsad.

June 22: Exhorted farmers in Borsad taluka to pay as much land revenue as they could.

June 24: Left for Bombay.

June 25: Reached Bombay; told Press reporters that he would attend Federal Structure Committee meeting also if he attended Round Table Conference; told mill-owners that they should not use foreign-manufactured yarn in their mills; addressed Young Europeans' Dinner Club.

June 26: In Bombay; spoke at women's meeting and later at "Depressed Classes" meeting.

June 27: Left Bombay for Borsad; spoke at meeting of Parsis at Udvada.

June 28–July 6: In Borsad.

June 29: Issued statement regarding change of venue of Congress Working Committee meeting from Sachin to Bombay.

June 30: Sir Ernest Hotson asked Gandhiji on behalf of Viceroy if he was willing to serve on the Federal Structure Committee. Gandhiji appealed to H. W. Emerson for release of Pandit Jagat Ram. In interview to Press, said that he would, if invited, visit Lancashire to place before mill-owners Congress position regarding boycott of foreign cloth.

July 6: Left for Bombay.

July 7: In Bombay; attended Congress Working Committee meetings.

July 10: Spoke at meeting of Gandhi Seva Mandal, Bombay.

July 11: Viceroy invited Gandhiji for discussion with H. W. Emerson on alleged breaches of Settlement by Government.

July 12: Gandhiji left for Surat.

July 13: Reached Surat; left for Simla to have talks with H. W. Emerson.

July 15–22: In Simla; held discussions with H. W. Emerson on the breaches of Settlement.

July 17: Held talks with Sir James Crerar, Home Member.

July 18: Had talks with Viceroy, Lord Willingdon.

July 20: In interview to Associated Press, said that he might start on August 15 to attend Federal Structure Committee meeting in London.

July 21: Gave "Charge-sheet" to H. W. Emerson at Simla listing instances of breaches of Settlement. Had second round of talks with Viceroy; in interview to Associated Press, said that talks were inconclusive.

July 22: Left Simla in afternoon. Attempt on life of Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Governor of Bombay.

July 24: Gandhiji reached Bardoli; demanded open impartial enquiry into complaints of forced collection of land revenue and repression of tenants.

July 25: In Bardoli; assured H. W. Emerson that no precipitate action would be taken without informing him.

July 27: District and Sessions Judge Garlick of Alipore was shot dead in his court-room; Gandhiji left for Borsad.

July 28–31: In Borsad.

July 31: Left Borsad and arrived in Ahmedabad; gave interview to Associated Press.

August 1–2: In Ahmedabad.

August 2: Opened family temple of Chinubhai Madhavlal to untouchables.

August 3: Arrived in Bombay; at night left for Poona.

August 4: In Poona, had talks with Governor of Bombay, Sir Ernest Hotson; in evening returned to Bombay.

August 5–14: In Bombay.

August 5: Congress Working Committee met in Bombay.

August 6: Gandhiji spoke at A.I.C.C. meeting.

August 7: Spoke at meeting of Parsis.

August 8: Laid foundation-stone of an eye hospital; spoke at A.I.C.C. meeting.

August 9: Spoke at meeting of Hindustani Seva Dal.

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August 11: Wired to Viceroy and Bombay Government that Government attitude was not favourable to enable him to proceed to London.

August 13: Congress Working Committee passed resolution to continue honouring Delhi Pact, but not to take part in Round Table Conference. Gandhiji spoke to Press representatives.

August 14: Gave interview to Press; left Bombay for Ahmedabad at night.

August 15–23: In Ahmedabad.

August 18: Released correspondence regarding breakdown of negotiations with Government; gave interview to Press.

August 22: Interview to Associted Press.

August 23: Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Simla.

August 25: Reached Simla at 11 a.m. accompanied by Vallabhbhai Patel, Prabhashankar Pattani, M. A. Ansari and Jawaharlal Nehru; met H. W. Emerson.

August 26: Had three hours' talk with Viceroy in morning; announced to Press that he was sailing from Bombay for London on August 29.

August 27: Left Simla for Bombay in evening.

August 28: Government communique, known as Second Settlement, released.

August 29: Gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* on train; reached Bombay; addressed public meeting; sailed for London by s.s. *Rajputana* to attend Round Table Conference.

September 2: Appealed to Indian people to preserve absolutely non-violent atmosphere during absence and follow constructive programme.

September 3: Reached Aden; gave interview to Reuter; was presented address and purse at reception in reply to which he said that free India could be a great force of service to whole of mankind.

September 6: Reached Suez.

September 7: Silence Day. Gandhiji reached Port Said; in interview to Cairo's *Al Ahram*, said if Round Table Conference failed consequence would be resumption of civil disobedience movement; urged Egyptian nationalists to fight non-violently; in special interview to *The Daily Telegraph*, said he would

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not be a party to any settlement subjugating any community to another in India.

Received Mustafa Nahas Pasha's welcome message inviting him to visit Egypt on his homeward journey.

Expressed disappointment on arrival at Port Said as large number of admirers were prevented by authorities from meeting him.

September 10: In interview on board ship said he had prepared no plans, no speeches, no arguments and no programme for his stay in England.

September 11: Landed at Marseilles; was received by Madeleine Rolland on behalf of her brother, Romain Rolland, who was ill; told Pressmen: "I am going to England to realize the dream of my life—the freedom of my country."

In interview to *The New York Times* said he had no intention of visiting the United States as he believed he was "not wanted" there.

In another interview to Press said he would, provided he was invited to, go to Lancashire even if he was to be lynched.

Left at 4.30 p.m. by P. and O. Express for Calais.

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[NOTE. The following abbreviations are used throughout. All-India Congress Committee = AICC, Civil Disobedience = CD, Congress Working Committee = CWC, North West Frontier Provinces= NWFP, Round Table Conference = RTC]

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ADDENDUM–II

*On page 99, to item 123, "Letter to G. Findlay Shirras", 3-7-1931, add source-line:

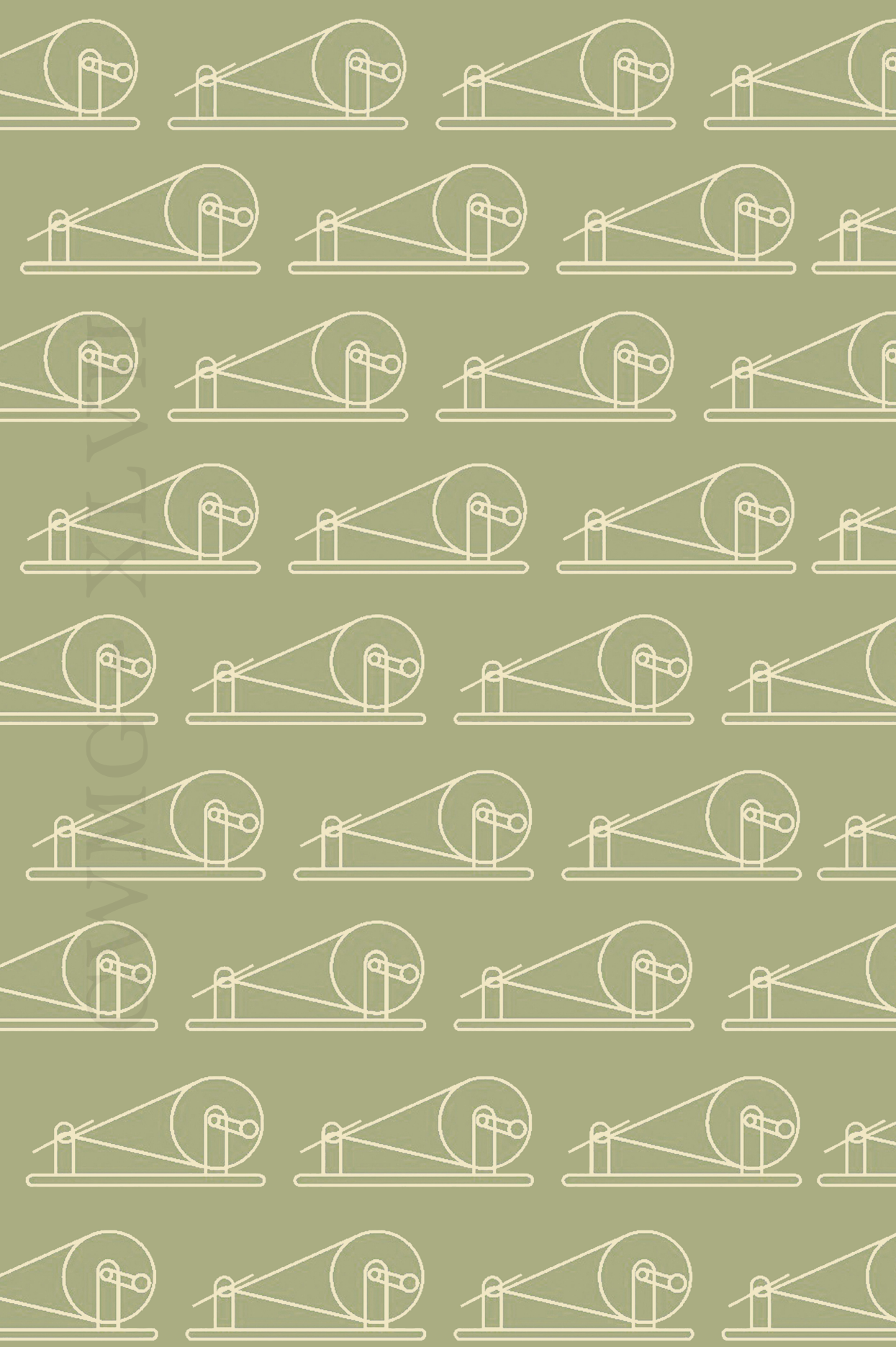
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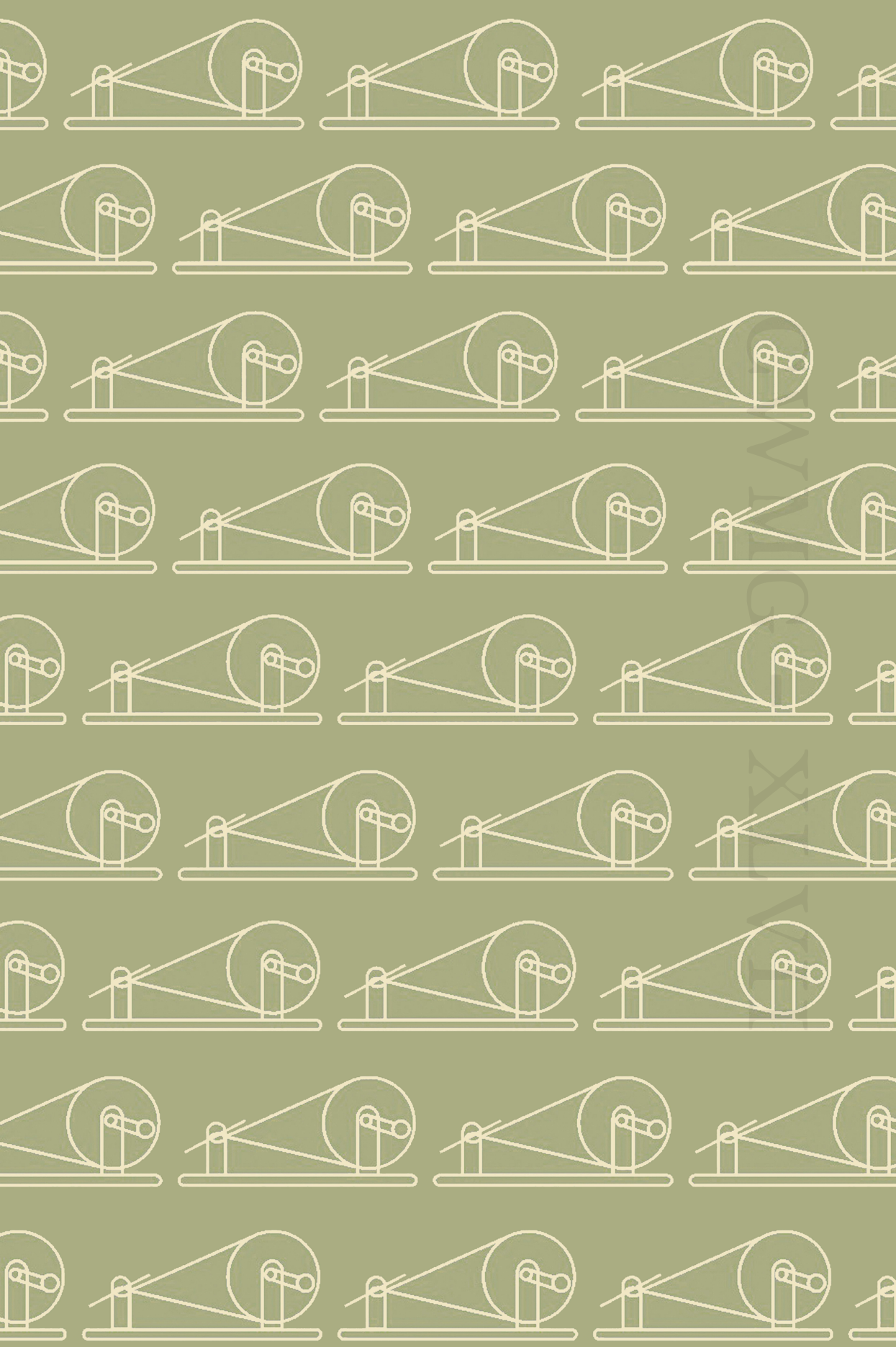
ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
27	*Line 3	shake of	shake off
55	Paragraph 2, line 2	visit	visits
165	*Footnote 2	telegram	telegram dated July 20
220	*Item 247, line 3	draught	drought
387	*Item 450, source-line	Fulchand K. Shah	Valji G. Desai

*Due correction made.

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