THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXIV (1941)

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

VOLUME SEVENTY-FOUR



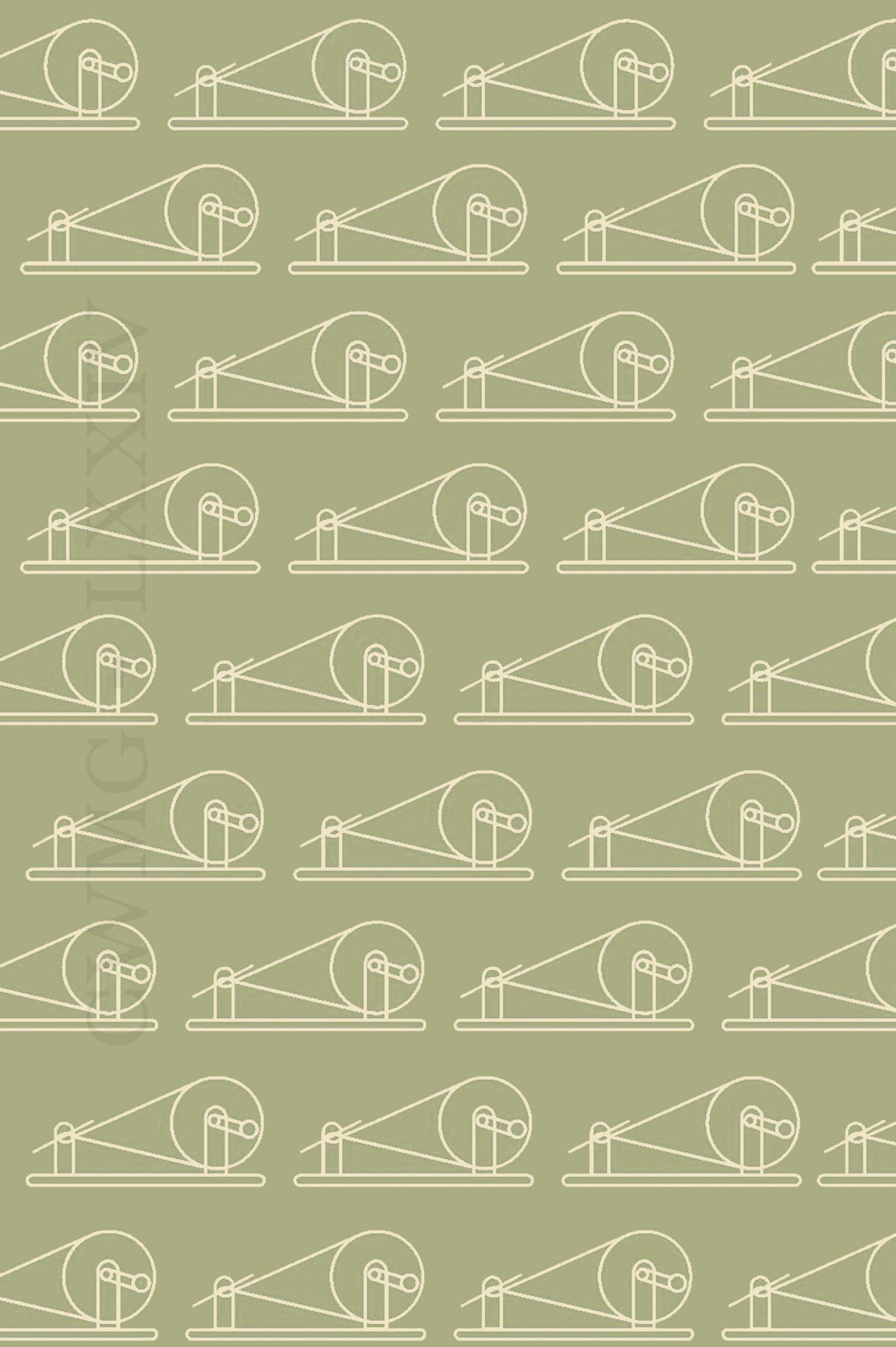
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(April 16 – October 10, 1941)

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SPINNING WITH THE DHANUSH TAKLI

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MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXIV

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

The individual civil disobedience launched in October 1940 with Vinoba Bhave as the first satyagrahi (*vide* Vol. LXXIII) continued to run its silent course during the period of this volume (April 16 to October 10, 1941). All important Congress leaders were in jail and censorship saw to it that newspapers did not report the progress of the struggle or reproduce Gandhiji's statements. When on June 22, Hitler attacked Russia, what had till then seemed a struggle between Imperialism and Fascism for world domination acquired a new ideological dimension. The British Government, in an attempt to give the appearance of national support to the war, announced on July 21 expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council to include some more Indian members and the formation of a National Defence Council. Gandhiji did not consider that the step affected the Congress stand or met the Congress demand to any extent (p. 181) and Prime Minister Churchill's statement in the House of Commons on September 9 excluding India from the application of the Atlantic Charter, jointly announced by him and President Roosevelt on August 14, confirmed the Indian leaders' doubts about British intentions. Gandhiji refused to comment on Churchill's statement, saying, "... my silence is much more eloquent than any words that I may utter" (p. 315).

Though the civil disobedience had made very little outward impression and the Secretary of State Amery even claimed that it had fallen flat (p. 15), Gandhiji was fully satisfied with its progress (p. 296). He had not, he said in a statement to *The Times of India*, expected a "sudden miracle" from the movement and had not intended it to "create an appreciable impression upon the war effort ". It was conceived to be, he explained, "a silent declaration of unquenchable faith in the power of non-violence" even in the midst of the "terrible" and "baffling" circumstances which faced the world and was also "a moral, and from that standpoint a grand, protest against the conduct of the war in the name of a free people." In keeping with this intention, he was taking "extraordinary precaution ... to keep the movement within limits and absolutely innocuous" (pp. 2-3). He was keen on quality and not quantity, Gandhiji told a Congress worker, and expected prospective satyagrahis to keep a log-book of their daily activities in furtherance of the constructive programme.

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Permission to offer satyagraha was to be granted only to deserving persons after an examination of their diaries (p. 62). He was, Gandhiji explained in another Press statement, in no hurry to fill the jails. The virtue of the movement lay "in the people learning through the restricted civil disobedience the necessity of discipline, suffering and self-sacrifice", for every true example of satyagraha, he believed, "acts as a leaven working itself in the mass mind". Gandhiji therefore warned Congressmen to expect increasing stiffness on his part in enforcing the condition about the constructive programme which he held to be "the foundation for civil disobedience" (p. 150).

Gandhiji's chief consideration in this vigilance in the conduct of the satyagraha was to reduce "embarrassment to the minimum" whilst the British, as he said, were "engaged in a deadly life-and-death war" (p. 149) and he therefore ruled out intensification of the struggle "during the pendency of the war". For Gandhiji this policy of non-embarrassment was a logical consequence of his non-violence and he did not expect the British Government to reciprocate his chivalrous stand and concede the right of freedom of speech (p. 296). Even so, he was greatly pained by Amery's pronouncements which, he felt, betrayed "callousness" and "contemptuous disregard of the situation" as it existed in India and which lacked "the elementary grace to acknowledge the studied moderation of the Congress . . ." (pp. 13 and 15). "The Secretary of State," he complained to Agatha Harrison, "never speaks but to irritate almost everybody" (p. 132) and he felt sad to think that the distress through which Great Britain was passing had "not sobered Mr. Amery even to the extent of respecting cold fact" (p. 17). Gandhiji's sympathy for the British as fellow human beings was still as fresh as in the beginning and he wrote to Mirabehn: "War news continues to be sensational. The news about the destruction in England is heart-rending. The Houses of Parliament, the Abbey, the Cathedral seemed to be immortal." But he now felt, "Nevertheless pride rules the English will" and wondered, "Is it still bravery?" (p. 80). And writing to another correspondent Gandhiji admitted the virtues of the British people but also referred to "their intoxication of power, highhandedness and blatant lies, seen here in India", which, he said, showed "that their civilization is rooted in selfishness and love of pleasure" (p. 80).

Gandhiji seems to have felt a similar conflict of mind in regard to Russia. He refused to express any opinion on the situation arising out of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, for, as he explained to a correspondent, "As long as I am not able

to do something with all my heart, it is my nature to keep silent.'' In international affairs he relied for guidance on Jawaharlal Nehru whose policy, he said, ''has been the policy of the Congress'', and since he was in prison Gandhiji's mind did not work. He had admired Lenin, but Lenin's Russia, Gandhiji said, ''was no more'' (p. 169) and though he recognized the worth of what Russia had done he did not ''understand what is now going on'' (p. 339). ''Once it took help from Germany,'' Gandhiji explained his difficulty to a third correspondent, ''and now from England.'' It was his faith that out of the prevailing violence non-violence would be born if there were some truly non-violent people. ''I believe we are such people,'' he said, though he could not say how ahimsa would be born (pp. 336-7). He had full faith, Gandhiji told an interviewer, ''in a Divine Power guiding the destinies of India and of the world'' and it was that living faith, he added, ''that sustains me in the present crisis'' (p. 297). It was out of this sense of mission that Gandhiji had appealed to friends, in his statement to *The Times of India*, not to ask him ''at this supreme moment in the life of the world and my own life, to deny a faith that has sustained me for nearly half a century'' (p. 4).

Gandhiji's faith in ahimsa was going to be put to the severest test by a new development in the Indian political scene which began to emerge during the period of this volume. Communal riots broke out in quick succession in Dacca, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Bihar in March, April and May of the year. These riots, Gandhiji wrote to Agatha Harrison, had no resemblance to riots in the past but were ''a rehearsal for civil war'' (p. 132) or, as he described them in a Press statement, ''a miniature civil war'' (p. 113). He was convinced that they were ''intended to intimidate the Congress'' (p. 319), though he also recorded his ''shame and sorrow'' at ''the cool, calculated and unprovoked murder of a Muslim family including an infant girl, three years old'' (p. 108). Gandhiji was deeply pained and distressed by the arson, loot and killing of innocent people including children and by the thousands of people fleeing from their homes. ''We have proved ourselves barbarians and cowards in these places,'' he wrote (p. 26). He believed that it was ''the inherent right and the bounden duty of a man to defend honour non-violently if he knows how, otherwise violently'' (p. 298) and urged, ''nobody shall be a coward'' (p.103). For Congressmen, however, Gandhiji insisted on the strictest adherence to non-violence. He saw in the riots the failure of Congress non-violence as a positive force and asked Congressmen

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to "examine the contents of their non-violence" (p. 27). "Let us learn from the British people," he urged, "the art of recklessly losing life and property. . . . We shall never learn the art of mutual forbearance and toleration till some of us, though perfectly innocent, have staggered Indian humanity by losing our lives" (p. 28).

Gandhiji advised those who favoured violent resistance to leave the Congress "and shape their conduct just as they think fit and guide others accordingly". If the majority of Congressmen held that violent resistance in riots was not inconsistent with the Congress creed, they should openly declare their opinion and guide the people (p. 74). To Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, who held such an interpretation of the Congress creed, Gandhiji wrote: "You should come out openly with your view and try to cultivate public opinion in accordance with it. This is an age of action. All of us will be judged by our actions." To Bhulabhai's son Dhirubhai, also a Congress worker, Gandhiji gave the same advice: "Now it is going to be a time for real action, when half-hearted people will prove a burden" (pp. 133-4). K. M. Munshi, a leading Congressman of Bombay, doubted the practicability and efficacy of non-violence in riots and accepted Gandhiji's advice to leave the Congress. Justifying his advice, Gandhiji explained that, when there was conflict between thought and action, remaining a Congressman would drag a person down. "For the spring of non-violent action was non-violent thought. If the latter was absent, the former had subjectively little or no value" (p. 113). Gandhiji sympathized with Munshi's "agony", but reassured him that it would take him forward. In his impatience, however, Munshi had in a public speech in Benares suggested seeking foreign help "in order to protect India's nationalism and unity". "The fight about Pakistan," Gandhiji reasoned with him, "is a fight between two brothers", and one could get reconciled to one brother being defeated at the hands of the other, but either of them winning with the help of a foreign power would enslave both (pp. 312-3).

So exercised was Gandhiji by the spreading communal fury that for a while his mind was full of only that one thought (p. 83). He appealed to the rival parties both advocates and opponents of Pakistan, to cultivate tolerance for each other's views and to agree to "settle all our differences through negotiation and peaceful effort including arbitration" (pp. 36-7). And in any case he wanted them "to avoid the use of the law of the

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jungle'' (p. 105) and eschew ''goondaism for enforcing claims'' (p. 193). Gandhiji was convinced that ultimately truth and non-violence would triumph (p. 99) and people would gradually regain their sanity (p. 103), and would themselves ''decide these questions and bypass us all'' (p. 319). It was the presence of the third party, the British Government, that stood in the way of such a process. The Government, Gandhiji feared, would allow the people to kill one another and intervene only when their own control was in danger (pp. 26-7). ''Let them withdraw from India,'' Gandhiji suggested, and promised ''that the Congress and the League and all other parties will find it to their interest to come together and devise a home-made solution for the Government of India. It may not be scientific; it may not be after any Western pattern; but it will be durable'' (p. 14). Gandhiji felt the urgency of the problem so deeply that he thought of going on a tour of the affected parts. ''We must find some way of reconciliation,'' he wrote to Vallabhbhai Patel, but such a way could be found only by opening one's heart to a higher influence. Trusting in that Higher Power, Gandhiji was neither ''panicky nor worried'', and yet not unconcerned. ''I observe things,'' he said, ''and try to remain engrossed in my duty'' (pp. 39-40).

Among the things which claimed Gandhiji's daily attention were some Ashram problems which seem to have considerably taxed his patience. One worker from Bengal whose domestic relations do not seem to have been happy and who seemed likely to Gandhiji ''to take mental sannyasa and sever his connection with the family'' was advised by him to go to Dacca and work for restoration of communal harmony (pp. 17-8). The experiment proved ''disastrous'', for the worker sought ''notoriety and not service'' and Gandhiji suggested to him that he would ''serve the nation by bearing the family burden'' (pp. 29 and 41). ''You must now come down to mother earth and do as other men do—labour to earn an honest cowrie and subsist on it,'' wrote Gandhiji (p. 127). Another worker, who could not ''tolerate in others the freedom'' that he wanted for himself (p. 158), suffered from ''the letter-writing mania'' (p. 19) and wrote one ''terrible'' letter which, Gandhiji said, showed ''the limit of mental confusion'' (p. 57). To another ''painful'' letter from him Gandhiji replied, ''. . . perhaps your good lies in your leaving'', and suggested that he should go either to Pondicherry or to Shri Ramana Ashram (p. 126). Gandhiji's final advice to him was: ''You will be calm only when you stop thinking altogether and devote yourself exclusively and ceaselessly to work'' (p. 188).

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So numerous were the problems that Gandhiji confessed to Kishorelal Mashruwala: "I have experienced such disappointments regarding the Ashram that I have lost all interest in embarking on new ventures" (p. 55). Gandhiji did not, however, agree with Mirabehn's suggestion to disband the Ashram. The Ashram's growth, Gandhiji said, "had been spontaneous, and the destruction or the reshaping will have to be likewise." He had set up homes and disbanded them time and again in the past. "All came in their due course," he wrote. "Heaven only knows where I am to be flung again. No, my safety lies in praying and waiting. 'Lead Thou me on'." To Gandhiji's Vaishnava mind, the world was inseparable from oneself and one should, therefore, learn to accept its imperfections and work with them (p. 54). "No one can be unworthy of living in an institution," Gandhiji wrote to another worker. "The world itself is an institution. Can anybody stay outside it?" The family also was an institution and in between the world and the family there were other institutions or sub-institutions like the Ashram and one had to live and grow harmoniously through one's roles in all those imperfect institutions (p. 156).

Man progressed from imperfection to perfection. "You should understand," Gandhiji wrote to a worker, "that all of us in the Ashram are imperfect; even then we try to be good" (p. 385). If one sincerely followed the light as one saw it, one "will discover the truth by and by" (p. 49). Even limited non-violence, when it is "honestly worked . . . automatically expands" (p. 233). The practice of non-violence "seemed more difficult than of truth", for "the fruits of untruth were more indetectable than those of violence" (p. 114). It was Gandhiji's faith that "thought is more effective than speech and writing". If his thoughts were pure, "they must be having their effect" (p. 117). For purity of mind the best means was Ramanama and "when the mind is not reciting Ramanama or doing His work, then the Devil takes possession of it" for "Nature abhors a vacuum" (p. 306).

"Whatever I do," wrote Gandhiji to a correspondent, "is spontaneous and natural to me" and no "appreciation is . . . needed for doing what is natural . . ." (p. 133). For a similar reason Gandhiji urged another correspondent: "But please don't expect my co-operation in anything to perpetuate the memory of anything done by me. If the things I do have no vitality in them, let them perish" (p. 170).

Writing to Amrit Kaur about Rabindranath Tagore who died on August 7, Gandhiji said: "He was a rare combination of goodness and genius" (p. 226).

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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 by Gandhiji, 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 are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

Where an item has no date in the source, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. 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 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 the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G. N. refers to documents, M.M.U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. to the photostats of the Sevagram collection available in the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi 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. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
April 16, 1941

You need not write in Hindi. You misunderstand me.[1] I cannot be blind to your faults but they cannot affect my regard for you.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10350. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

2. TELEGRAM TO NIZAM OF HYDERABAD[2]

[On or before *April 18, 1941*][3]

H. E. H. NIZAM
HYDERABAD

MY RESPECTFUL CONDOLENCES YOUR BEREAVEMENT.

GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 21-4-1941

3. LETTER TO MANUBEHN AND SURENDRA MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 18, 1941

CHI. MANUDI[4],

You are suffering very much indeed.[5] That is always so. Even if an operation becomes necessary, there is no need to get

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, p. 432.
[2] & [3] The addressee, who had lost his mother, received the telegram on April 18, 1941.
[4] Harilal Gandhi's daughter
[5] The addressee had a tumour in her stomach.

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frightened. There is no risk at all in it. Keep Ba informed. I must have letters from you during your illness.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SURENDRA,

If Manudi is too lazy to write, you should write. I was awaiting a letter, when I got the postcard today.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANUBEHN MASHRUWALA
"BAL KIRAN"
SOUTH AVENUE
SANTACRUZ, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2679. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

4. *STATEMENT TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"*[1]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 19, 1941

I have very carefully listened to the advance Press notes of *The Times of India*'s leading article which must have appeared this morning in Bombay. I acknowledge the friendly tone of the article, and I wish I could have given an encouraging reply; but I cannot.

I adhere to all that I said at the initiation of the struggle[2]. When I launched out, I had no foolish illusion about a sudden miracle happening. It was conceived to be, and it remains, a silent declaration of unquenchable faith in the power of non-violence even in the midst of circumstances so terrible and so baffling as face the world today.

I believe more in the efficacy of the incalculable force of inscrutable divinity than in the efficacy of the calculated and calculable forces that the combined powers of destruction can bring into play on this little planet. That incalculable force has somehow or the other to act through human agency. How and when I cannot say.

[1] This was given to the special correspondent, who met Gandhiji for an answer to the appeal by *The Times of India* for the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

[2] In October 1940; *vide* Vol. LXXIII.

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Whether that agency is the Congress or not, I cannot say. I proceed upon the faith that today the Congress is the only organization, however imperfect, however wanting in faith as an organization, still the only organization that stands definitely for peaceful measures.

That being my position, so far as I am concerned, there is no drawing back. Whether civil disobedience is offered by one or many is of no moment. It must continue against all odds. Congressmen can certainly repudiate it in more ways than one. It will then cease to be an organizational movement, and therefore I will admit it will cease to be effective in any shape or form. But I would be content if I still retain the faith to be the solitary witness of the power of non-violence.

I must resolutely deny that this movement, whether in conception or in execution, is communal or anti-Muslim or anti-English. There is sufficient evidence for those who want to notice it to show that extraordinary precaution is being taken to keep the movement within limits and absolutely innocuous.

Many Government people have admitted that it is wholly ineffective according to their conception. The writer of the article has said as much from his standpoint. And both are right. It was never intended that it would create an appreciable impression upon the war effort, but it is a moral, and from that standpoint a grand protest against the conduct of the war in the name of a free people. It is a token of the yearning of a political organization to achieve the freedom of 350,000,000 people through purely non-violent effort and therefore to affect the future destiny of the world. Again an ambitious claim, but it is there.

If I can help it, the Congress will disdain freedom at the sacrifice of a single legitimate interest that is consistent with the interests of the dumb millions, whether they are Hindus, Muslims or others. I must deny that if the Congress had held on to office in the seven provinces the Pakistan cry would have been less loud than it is today; but the giving up of office had an infinitely more moral basis than the avoidance of a tussle with Muslim interests or any other interests. The fundamental basis was India's dissociation from the war effort to which it was never invited to be party. This is putting it in its lowest term and in bald political language. As you know, my own basis is still more abstract, still more moral and still more universal, but on that account none the less real or less practical.

I make bold to say that when the clash of arms has ceased and we have settled down to peace, permanent or impermanent, history

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will record that the Congress fight in its totality was a supremely moral fight and free from any injury to man's dignity.

To conclude this very unsatisfactory reply, as it would appear, to a friendly gesture, I want to plead one thing. Would friends ask me at this supreme moment in the life of the world and my own life, to deny a faith that has sustained me for nearly half a century? And let me interpolate one thought, however unwelcome it may be: I am convinced that if Britain will only be true to India, then, whether the Congress withdraws the struggle or not, everything can be settled satisfactorily. But unfortunately British statesmen have chosen the wrong path and have put imaginary obstacles in the way of India's freedom. But that is a chapter on which I have no desire to dilate.

The Times of India, 20-4-1941

5. *LETTER TO DUNICHAND*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 19, 1941

DEAR LALA DUNICHANDJI,

I arrived here on the 16th evening but was only able to put your questions before Gandhiji yesterday.

1. In regard to M.L.A.s who in spite of reminders do not court imprisonment the question had better wait for an answer in view of Mian Iftikhar-ud-din's[1] pending early release.

2. The same applies to A.I.C.C. members whose date has already been extended to the 30th instant.

3. Gandhiji is agreeable to having the spinning and weaving of certified khadi test done by the A.I.S.A. appointees. He is, however, in agreement with you that those who cannot afford to or for some equally legitimate reason are unable to present themselves before the appointed examiners and who can get the necessary certificate of *bona fides* from the President or Secretary of District Congress Committees may be exempted from the A.I.S.A. test.

4. In regard to members of local bodies resigning, the matter had better wait till Mian Iftikhar-ud-din's release.

5. The same as regards Congressmen of all grades who refuse to offer civil disobedience.

6. Members of the Provincial Congress Committees are included among the number that is to offer civil disobedience.

[1] President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee

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7. Members of Working Committees of all grades are to offer civil disobedience.

8. Gandhiji fears that no undertaking of loyalty to the movement will be worth anything with those who are determined to deceive.

Your list of 212 satyagrahis has come. I note that the names have been accepted by the local President or Secretary and you told me that you had seen to it that these officers are reliable persons. In any event we would like to have the answers to the questionnaire from each person from the local officers. And what about a test for them? How soon can the A.I.S.A. arrange for the latter?

There have been some complaints regarding the revisions undertaken by the *Amicus curiae* Bar Association Committee in Lahore. Gandhiji's opinion is that the idea of such a committee in itself is all right. But it should be allowed to function on its own without any interest, instigation or interference in its work on the part of the satyagrahis. You should issue strict injunctions to the latter in this regard.

I am afraid my programme must have tired you as it did me. I trust you are rested by now and well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

[PS.]

Since writing the above your covering letter of the 15th instant has come in.

LALA DUNICHANDJI OF LAHORE, BAR-AT-LAW
C/o PRESIDENT, PUNJAB CONGRESS COMMITTEE
MOZANG ROAD
LAHORE

From a copy: C.W. 997. Courtesy: Jagannath

6. *LETTER TO SAMBHAJI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 19, 1941

BHAI SAMBHAJI,

I have gone through the terms of the agreement. They are certainly harsh. I am considering the matter. What I would suggest is that an impartial arbitrator should be appointed and only such terms should be laid down as he accepts. Strictly speaking, of course, every employer has a right to fix his own terms for

recruitment and every worker has a right to reject them. It is up to one's liking. But since I know the press authorities I have suggested the appointment of an arbitrator.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

7. *LETTER TO KHWAJA*

SEVAGRAM,
April 20, 1941

MY DEAR KHWAJA,

I was much touched by your long letter. I had your note too from Delhi. I am glad you met Ba.

You will have no difficulty in believing me that I am the same confirmed believer in unity that you saw in 1919. Let me correct you about dates and facts. I presided at the Hindi Sammelan in 1918[1] and that with the deliberate intention of making Hindi inclusive, not exclusive. There was no criticism then of my presiding. Muslim friends were enthusiastic about my definition of Hindi. At that time it was only my definition when I presided. Again my definition was accepted by the Sammelan. How could there be criticism when I broadened the basis so as to give recognition to Urdu script on a Hindi platform ? The first note of opposition was sounded when I attempted to use Hindi as a term synonymous with Hindustani. Again it was an attempt in the right direction. But I had lost caste by then and every act of mine had begun to be suspect. Into the causes for this phenomenon I need not go. But from the above narrative it is clear that nothing that I have done could possibly be a cause for the Hindi-Urdu controversy. But the controversy having arisen, I could not escape unscathed. I would not call the Sammelan[2] a communal organization any more than I would so call the Urdu Anjuman[3]. Both forms exist and votaries of both also exist. There need be no rivalry between the two but the wretched spirit which has nothing to do with the languages pervades every department

[1] The source has "1917". *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 292-7.
[2] Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan
[3] Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu

of life. When it goes, as it will and must some day, the languages will remain what they are but they will provide us no food for quarrel. Meanwhile both are subserving the common cause. In the end the extreme forms which have no living reality behind them will disappear or will exist as corruptions of a past age. Be that as it may, let us few keep our heads cool and do the right, cost what it may.

Your plan about the dictionary is good. I am discussing that and other points with Dr. Tarachand[1] and Pt. Sunderlalji.

My love to you and the whole family.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

8. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 20, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

I got your letter. The news that you give does not seem correct; but even if it is true, we must keep ourselves ready. I hope both of you[2] are quite prepared. You may write whatever you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9179

[1] Of Allahabad University
[2] The addressee and his wife Anandi

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9. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 21, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter full of beautiful description.[1] I am glad you are in such peace and you have the benevolent company of Harakhchandbhai. Durgabehn[2] is well now.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6478. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9873

10. LETTER TO SACHINDRA NATH MITRA

April 21, 1941

DEAR SACHINDRA BABU,

Your letter. I gave you the minimum.[3] But a satyagrahi who has the call may go from one end of the earth to the other. So far as your forming a sevadal[4] is concerned please see the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee people.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SACHINDRA NATH MITRA
5/2 KANTAPUKUR LANE
BAGHABAZAR, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 7186

[1] In *Bapu's Letters to Mira* the addressee explains: "I was staying in a mud cottage in the midst of a magnificent fruit garden, twenty acres in extent. It was full of gorgeous peacocks some of whom would now and then come and dance in front of me while I was spinning."

[2] Wife of Mahadev Desai

[3] The reference, presumably, is to the instructions given by Gandhiji for the guidance of satyagrahis. *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, pp. 377-8.

[4] A voluntary service corps

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11. LETTER TO DR. AMUTHU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 21, 1941

DEAR DR. AMUTHU,

I am surprised. Why did you take the train? How can you say you walked to Delhi? You must not write to the Viceroy. You should return to Tamilnad and do constructive work silently and by way of penance. You have proved an unworthy satyagrahi.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: A.I.C.C. File, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

12. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

April 21, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

Vasumatibehn[1] has given me your message. How can I forget Anandi or you? But Anandi seems to have completely forgotten me.

What is this that has happened in Ahmedabad?[2] Have the Pathans ruined your work?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9180

[1] Vasumati Pandit

[2] The reference is to the communal riot that had broken out on April 18.

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13. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

April 21, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

See that the accompanying letters reach their destination. I hope to hear something from you about the Ahmedabad riot.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9121

14. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

SEVAGRAM,
April 21, 1941

CHI. RUKMINI[1],

I got your letter just now. Indubehn is sitting beside me. She knew him[2]. His ship had sunk, but he was in a small boat for a few days and finally reached Scotland. From there he took another ship and Miss Harrison[3] had heard that he had reached South Africa. After that Indubehn does not know anything. Let us hope he will arrive safely. Remain calm, all of you.

Ba is still in Delhi.

Blessings to both[4] *from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10129. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

15. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA

SEVAGRAM,
April 23, 1941

DEAR GUHA[5],

Your letter dated 18th instant. I shall do what I can. But relief by way of clothing or food has not much attraction for me.

[1] Maganlal Gandhi's daughter
[2] Rameshwarlal Bazaj, addressee's father-in-law
[3] Agatha Harrison
[4] The addressee and her husband Benarsilal Bazaj
[5] Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

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The problem is why do riots take place in spite of Congressmen functioning in all the three places—Dacca,[1] Ahmedabad and Bombay? Congress influence is strongest in Ahmedabad, then in Bombay. You are under a handicap. Why were so many thousand people so helpless as to fail to defend their homes? They could have done it either violently or non-violently. Congressmen must not be satisfied with mere relief work. That is for social workers who have specialized in the field, such as the Marwari Relief Society. Congressmen have to find out the why and the way to combat the evil. You are a seasoned worker, no arm-chair man. I would like you to apply your mind to the task. We may not expect governments to help in such things. If there are people who can be easily frightened, there must be those who will put them in fright.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI A. GUHA
BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
32 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also File No. 3001/H, Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay

16. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE[2]

SEVAGRAM,
April 23, 1941

It is not merely audit that is going on. It is also going to be a proper system of account-keeping.

Nothing has to be procured at any cost. Oranges may be stopped altogether except for the properly sick. We will use lemons liberally instead of the *papita*[3]. We shall issue mangoes almost daily like today. When mangoes are issued other fruit like bananas may be stopped.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1462. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Communal riots had broken out in Dacca on March 18.
[2] The addressee was in charge of distribution of food in Sevagram Ashram.
[3] Papaya or papaw

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17. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 23, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

If one thinks deeply over it, the examination point of view, the knowledge point of view and the proficiency point of view, all are one and the same. A person takes an examination in order to become an expert, i.e., to acquire perfect knowledge. Kanchan[1] does become restless at times, but there is no cause for worry. She is under my constant observation. Do you write harsh letters to her? Ask her to show me all your letters, so that you may keep your pen under restraint and it will be easy for me to guide you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MUNNALALJI
CHARKHA SANGH, KHADI VASTRALAYA
MOOL, DISTT. CHANDA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8503. Also C.W. 7135. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

18. ADVICE TO SIND CONGRESS DEPUTATION

WARDHAGANJ,
April 24, 1941

Apart from the decisive fact that Maulana Saheb does not want civil disobedience in Sind, I am clearly of opinion that on merits, too, there should be none. Every Congressman in Sind should bury himself in the villages and devote himself to constructive work.

The Hindu, 26-4-1941

[1] Addressee's wife

19. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
April 24, 1941

With the exception of those crossed, they should do with lemons.[1]

From a photostat: C.W. 10386. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

20. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

April 24, 1941

BHAI AMRITLAL,

Give to Vasumatibehn papaya or whatever fruit she wants.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 1463. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

21. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
April 25, 1941

I have read painfully the long report of the debate in the House of Commons on India. Distress has been known to have softened people's hearts and made them mindful of facts. But Britain's distress has evidently left Mr. Amery absolutely cold and untouched.[2] This callousness makes me more than ever confirmed in my opinion that the Congress must abide by its policy of non-violence in spite of the heavy odds facing it.

Mr. Amery has rendered no service to Great Britain by his contemptuous disregard of the situation as it exists in India and the

[1] The addressee had submitted a list of persons requiring fruit. Gandhiji wrote this on the addressee's letter and marked a cross against the following names: Chimanlal, Ramdas, Dr. Das and Amrit Kaur.

[2] L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, moved a resolution in the House of Commons on April 22, 1941, to extend for another year the proclamation under which the Governors of Indian Provinces had assumed the powers of the Provincial Legislators.

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facts that stare one in the face. He talks glibly of British rule having given peace to India. Did he not know what was happening in Dacca and Ahmedabad? Who was responsible for keeping the peace in these two places? I hope he will not throw in my face the fact that Bengal, at any rate, has self-government. He knows what a mockery that self-government is. He knows what little power for such emergencies toy Ministers have, whether they wear the Congress label, the League label or any other.

I ask the very pertinent question: Why has this long spell of British rule left the people so emasculated as to disable them from standing up against a few hundred goondas? It is a humiliating spectacle, more for the British than for us, to see thousands of people running away from their homes through sheer fright, because a few hundred goondas have found a favourable atmosphere for resorting to arson, murder and loot. The first act of any government worth the name would be to teach its people the art of self-defence, but the foreign British Government had no concern about this fundamental welfare of India's citizens and so it deprived the people of the use of arms.

All the handsome tribute that Mr. Amery pays to Indian troops falls flat on Indian soil, because, leaving aside Congress non-violence for the time being, if India had been equipped and trained for self-defence and if India had become a voluntary ally of Great Britain, I hold that all European Powers combined for destruction would not have touched Great Britain.

Mr. Amery has insulted Indian intelligence by reiterating *ad nauseam* that Indian political parties have but to agree among themselves and Great Britain will register the will of a united India. I have repeatedly shown that it has been the traditional policy of Great Britain to prevent parties from uniting. 'Divide and rule' has been Great Britain's proud and ill-conceived motto. It is the British statesmen who are responsible for the divisions in India's ranks, and the divisions will continue so long as the British sword holds India under bondage.

I admit that there is unfortunately an unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Why do not British statesmen admit that it is after all a domestic quarrel? Let them withdraw from India and I promise that the Congress and the League and all other parties will find it to their interest to come together and devise a home-made solution for the Government of India. It may not be scientific; it may not be after any Western pattern; but it will be durable. It may be that before we come to that happy state of affairs, we may have to fight amongst ourselves.

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But if we agree not to invite the assistance of any outside power, the trouble will last perhaps a fortnight and it will not mean even one day's destruction of human heads such as goes on in Europe today, for the simple reason that thanks to the British rule we are wholly unarmed.

Mr. Amery, in utter disregard of truth, misleads his ignorant audience that the Congress wants "all or nothing". Let me remind him that in order to placate British sentiment, the Congress descended to the Poona Resolution[1] and when at Bombay it undid the Poona Resolution,[2] I authoritatively stated that the British Government could not at the present moment grant or declare India's independence and that, therefore, for the time being, we should be satisfied with the complete freedom of speech and pen. Was that "all or nothing"? With Mr. Amery's state of mind, I suppose it is too much to expect him to have the elementary grace to acknowledge the studied moderation of the Congress in its desire not to embarrass the British Government whilst it is fighting for its very existence. Not having that grace, he turns the Congress moderation against it and claims that the Congress civil disobedience has fallen flat.

It took my breath away when I read his statement about India's prosperity. I say from experience that it is a legendary thing. India's millions are becoming progressively pauperized. They are miserably clothed and underfed. Because there is one man's rule, he is able to produce a budget of millions. But I make bold to say that it is not only no proof of the prosperity of the famishing millions, but it is proof positive that India is being ground down under the British heel.[3] It is the duty of every Indian who knows anything about the distress of the peasantry, to rise in rebellion against this autocratic rule. Fortunately for humanity, India's rebellion is a peaceful revolt and I hope it will be through exclusively peaceful effort that India will realize her natural destiny.

But I must not carry any further the painful dissection of Mr. Amery's performance. It hurts me to have to undertake even this very brief analysis of his speech. But it is so amazingly misleading that I felt I would be failing in my duty if I did not point out at least some of the most glaring discrepancies in that unfortunate utterance.

[1] The resolution, recommended by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on June 21, 1940, was passed by the A.I.C.C. at Poona on July 28, 1940. For the text of the resolution, *vide* p. 113.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, pp. 1-3 and 4-13.

[3] The following two sentences were struck out by the censor.

Surely he could have rested content with the undisputed sway that he exercises over the destinies of over four hundred million people.

The Hindu, 27-4-1941

22. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS*[1]

[*April 25, 1941*][2]

1. In answer I must repeat my former statement that British statesmen and publicists have covered the whole Indian question with unreality. The reality about the *Times* [*of India*] criticism is that nationalist India, for some reason or other, is against co-operating in the war effort.[3] But when one understands that the whole of India is a prison and that the jailers are able to make the prisoners do what they like, it is small wonder that the British Government is able to impress what money and recruits they like. I have shown before now that the modern titled classes, including the ruling princes, are essentially a British creation.

2. If the proposals[4] of the Bombay Conference are accepted *in toto* I shall admit that though the proposals are likely to be unacceptable by the Congress, their acceptance will be some evidence of a desire to part with power.

3. To describe me as a dictator is laughable, if only because I have no sanction behind my instructions save the willing and affectionate endorsement thereof by Congressmen. I have imposed no views on anybody. Imposition of non-violent views is a contradiction in terms. It is true that I cannot change what is described as my policy because my policy is my creed.[5]

I am amazed at Mr. Amery's effrontery in saying that the Congress wants "all or nothing" and "refused even to discuss the matter". He knows that the Congress descended so far as to make the Poona offer and he should know that at Bombay when the Poona offer was withdrawn the Congress realized that the Government could not be expected at the present moment to grant the Congress demand, and therefore the resolution asked for freedom of speech which has been categorically refused.

[1] & [2] Enclosing this in his letter dated April 25, 1941, to Frank Moraes who had raised these questions on behalf of *The News Chronicle*, London, Mahadev Desai wrote: "Here is what G. has given in reply to questions 1, 2, 3 and 5. He wants to say nothing in reply to question 4."

[3] *Vide* pp. 2-4.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, Appendix XIII.

[5] What follows is presumably the answer to question 5.

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Equally false is the description of the Congress as a totalitarian body with totalitarian ambitions. The essence of totalitarianism is that it should have violent sanction behind it. Mr. Amery knows that the Congress is pledged to non-violence and I challenge him to produce a single instance of an authoritative resort to violence by the Congress to impose its will upon its opponents.

On a par with the foregoing two statements is Mr. Amery's assertion that "the main constitutional task is inevitably for the moment far more in the hands of Indians themselves than in ours" when he knows that there is nothing in the hands of the Indians themselves, except to perform the almost impossible task of undoing the traditional policy of 'divide and rule'. Imagine a Hitler in occupation of England and successfully dividing Englishmen as Indians are divided in India and then mocking at them by saying, 'I will ratify an agreement among you.' I assert that in India we have Hitlerian rule however disguised it may be in softer terms. And since he has chosen to disregard truth, I must not wonder at his deliberately misleading an ignorant audience by saying that individual civil disobedience has created a situation naturally embarrassing as it was meant to be. The written letter stands, and it is that the Congress by its civil disobedience did not mean to embarrass. That it has not proved embarrassing is acknowledged by Mr. Amery himself in his speech when he declared with great gusto that the Congress action has not affected the war effort in any part of India, "generous funds having flowed in from every class for every purpose of war or for mitigation of suffering". Instead of paying a tribute to the exemplary moderation of the Congress, he has gracelessly accused a half-century old organization of doing what it has never intended and what, in fact, it has never done. It makes me sad to think that the distress through which Great Britain is passing today has not sobered Mr. Amery even to the extent of respecting cold fact.

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 48 and 49

23. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 25, 1941

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I purposely write to you in English. Under my advice[1] Amrita Babu returns to Bengal. He ought not to coerce his

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, p. 423.

family. He is therefore likely to take mental sannyasa and sever his connection with the family. His two boys[1] remain here for the time being. The two girls[2] he takes with him. I think their place is with their mother with whom they have more in common than with Amrita Babu. I would like you to advise and guide the family. So long as they accept your guidance I shall continue to send the money I am sending. I would like both the sisters to do some national service and earn their living. But you will know better. Amrita Babu has high ambition in the shape of service. He would rather die in the attempt to still the rioters[3] than anything else. You will guide.

Abha has no sari. You will please equip her simply and send me your bill.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10300. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

24. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

April 25, 1941

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

What is this? Why should exertion lay you low? You know the trick. When there is undue exertion fast partially or wholly. Partial fast means living on juicy fruit only. When there is fever fast is obligatory. I wish you would be soon in Coonoor.[4]

I am glad you were able to go to Kodambakkam.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10152

[1] Sailen and Dhiren
[2] Vina and Abha
[3] At Dacca
[4] The addressee was to go to Coonoor for a change.

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25. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 27, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your very long letters. They were welcome. But you should get rid of the letter-writing mania. I do not believe that you have overcome your attachment to Sevagram. In this matter I am only giving you my own views. You must keep Kanchan with you wherever you stay. You may separate afterwards. It was a condition that if you got fever you would leave Mool. Please, therefore, come back.

[PS.]

Wrote this much despite the weakness. Today is the third day of fasting.[1] I will break the fast in the evening.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8502. Also C.W. 7134. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

26. TELEGRAM TO MULKRAJ[2]

April 28, 1941

LALA MULKRAJ
SECRETARY, JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND
AMRITSAR

YOUR ACTION APPROVED. YOU MUST NOT GIVE PERMIT UNLESS ALL PARTIES MEET AND PRESENT YOU WITH A PLAN CLEARLY SHOWING PARTS OF BAGH THEY WILL OCCUPY AND SATISFY YOU THAT THEY WILL ABIDE BY THEIR PROMISE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] It is likely Gandhiji undertook the fast in connection with the riots.
[2] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated April 22, 1941, regarding reservation of Jallianwala Bagh for the different unions of Amritsar for observing May Day.

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27. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

April 28, 1941

BHAI NANABHAI[1],

You have completed three score. I do hope that you will regain your health and will complete two score more in order that you may go on serving.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6694. Also C.W. 4339. Courtesy: Nanabhai I. Mashruwala

28. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
April 28, 1941

BHAI SHRIMAN,

Your suggestion is good. Today Rajendra Babu is coming. I shall see what can be done. You know perhaps that Madalasa[2] is making good progress. She walks a lot. I do hope she will be fully restored.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 300

[1] Brother of Kishorelal Mashruwala and father of Sushila Gandhi
[2] Addressee's wife

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29. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

[*April 30, 1941*][1]

CHI. KAKA, REBEL,

Why don't you see that, though you are a rebel, to work on the [opponent's] committee and follow his style in correspondence is a sign of your being a non-violent rebel?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KAKASAHEB
40–A RIDGE ROAD
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10940

30. LETTER TO URMILA M. MEHTA

[*April 30, 1941*][2]

CHI. URMI[3],

I got your slips. I kept silent because there was no need for a reply. What are you reading at present? I miss you very much. All of you should come at the earliest in May. What do you read and what is your diet? Let me know your weight. Do you go out for walks?

Use ink for writing. In what form are you studying? It is quite hot here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI URMILABEHN
C/O SHRI M. P. MEHTA
TOP FLOOR, 71 DARYAGANJ
DELHI

From Gujarati: C.W. 10116. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

[1] & [2] From the postmark
[3] Daughter of Maganlal P. Mehta and Manjula M. Mehta

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31. LETTER TO EDITOR, "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

May 1, 1941

DEAR SIR,

You write[1]:

> Mr. Amery may well retort that the "discrepancies" with which Mr. Gandhi charges him are also evident in the Congress leader's statement[2]. Certainly the accusation that India has been "emasculated" because of the alleged British policy of keeping her "wholly unarmed" comes strangely from the arch-protagonist of non-violence.

In 1908[3] when I first expounded the life-saving and the life-giving truth of ahimsa I wrote that disarmament was the blackest page in British history in India. I repeated the same thing in 1918[4] when I was collecting recruits for the British army with a zeal that brought me serious illness and a fair measure of unpopularity. My statement passed muster then. But times have changed and I have become inconsistent for stating an unchallengeable fact. I suggest that non-violence cannot be imposed upon anyone. It has to come from within. The British measure was undertaken to make British rule safe, not to make the people non-violent. It has made them impotent even for mischief. Good, impotent persons[5] can never do. It is no matter for pride or credit that one representative of the British power can hold in abject subjection, say, a village of 1,000 souls. My non-violence does admit of people, who cannot or will not be non-violent, holding and making effective use of arms. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that non-violence is of the strongest, not of the weak. It is a force mightier than violence, though radically different from it in quality and effect.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 48 and 49

[1] Under the column "Current Topics" in *The Times of India*, 28-4-1941
[2] *Vide* pp. 13-6.
[3] A slip for "1909". The reference is to *Hind Swaraj*; *vide* Vol. X.
[4] *Vide* Vol. XIV, p. 441.
[5] The source has "Good and impotent persons".

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32. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 1, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. You must appear for the examination. You must become proficient in khadi science, in respect of both production and sale. After you have done that you are sure to settle down somewhere.

You must take all necessary measures for preserving your health. But asking for everything to be sent from here will not help. You will yourself feel embarrassed. I had assumed that as per our agreement you would immediately return. I still suggest that you do. None the less, if you wish to stay on, you may, and see that you make good progress.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8500. Also C.W. 7136. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

33. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 2, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I don't know what can be done about Jayaprakash[1]. We have got to endure it. Continue to make inquiries from time to time. If I think of anything I will write. In any case go on doing your work. Do not worry about other things. Rajendra Babu had a talk with me. He will write about it himself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3565

[1] Jayaprakash Narayan, addressee's husband, was interned in the Deoli Detention Camp.

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34. FOREWORD

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 3, 1941

I have not read this collection. But it is enough for me that it recounts the noble qualities of Deenabandhu and that the money it brings in will all go to the Deenabandhu Memorial [Fund].

M. K. GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Deenabandhu ko Shraddhanjaliyan; also G.N. 11694

35. TELEGRAM TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU[1]

[*May 3, 1941*][2]

AGREEABLE.

GANDHI

The Hindu, 5-5-1941

[1&2] This was sent in reply to the addressee's telegram dated May 2, which read: "Mr. Jinnah, without reference to me, has released for publication my letter to him dated 6th February and his reply to me dated 10th February, 1941. I ask your permission to publish our correspondence beginning with 25th January and ending with 10th March, 1941. Please wire." In his statement dated May 4, the addressee explained: "After reading day before yesterday the statement of Mr. Jinnah in the newspapers, issued from Mysore, and the correspondence between him and me, which he has released to the Press, I sent day before yesterday evening a telegram to Mahatma Gandhi. . . . Last evening, I received the . . . reply from the Mahatma. . . . As Mr. Gandhi is agreeable to my releasing the correspondence which has taken place between him and me, I am issuing it to the Press. In his statement, Mr. Jinnah says that he showed his willingness 'to meet Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader to have a heart-to-heart conversation'. He would have been more accurate if he had drawn attention to the following sentence in his own letter to me: 'I have always been ready and willing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community and do all I can to help in the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.' The words 'on behalf of the Hindu community', which he has omitted in his statement, but which are found in his letter, would go to show that he wanted Mr. Gandhi to see him in that professed capacity. Mr. Gandhi, as will appear from his letter, was not in a position to agree to this condition. There the matter ended, and it was no use my carrying the matter further with Mr. Jinnah. . . ." For Gandhiji's letters to the addressee, *vide* Vol. LXXIII.

36. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 3, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

Yes, I had all your letters.[1] I should have written earlier, but I could not do so. I was glad you were doing so well, and were keeping to the simple life. Do continue to write.

Love.

BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 191

37. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 3, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I was distressed to see your pompous statement[2] to the Associated Press. I told you to work silently and under Satis Babu's guidance. You have taken no mission or authority from me. You know that you have been sent for a domestic reason.[3] You have therefore told a deliberate lie. Unless you somehow correct yourself, I shall have to repudiate you entirely. I am sorry. I had expected better things from you.

Here is a letter from Sailen.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10301. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Gandhiji had asked the addressee to send him a fortnightly diary while she was under training in midwifery. *Vide* also Vol. LXXIII, "Letter to F. Mary Barr", p. 410.

[2] According to the addressee this statement, dated May 1, was on "his mission to Dacca where a Hindu-Muslim riot had broken out".

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", pp. 17-8.

38. COMMUNAL RIOTS

SEVAGRAM,
May 4, 1941

Hindu-Muslim riots that have broken out in many important places in the country must have saddened all sane people. My grief however is special. The Congress influence seems to have been practically unfelt during the dark days.

We have proved ourselves barbarians and cowards in these places. Arson, loot and killing of innocent people including children, have been common in almost all the places. Thousands have run away from their homes for fear of their lives.

Congress influence was not to be measured by the number of members on the Congress register but by its leavening quality. It has been shown clearly that the influence is negligible in riots and the like. Individual cases apart, the Congress produced little or no influence over either the Muslims or the Hindus in the affected areas. From the accounts received it seems that Muslim fanatics in Dacca and Ahmedabad did their worst in inflicting damage on Hindu property by looting and burning with a deliberation that showed premeditation. Hindus, instead of boldly standing up and facing the mischief-makers, fled in their thousands from the danger zone. And where they did not, they were as barbarous as the assailants. These were all untouched by the Congress non-violence. And yet these are the men who form the bulk of the Congress meetings.

If the Congress has no control over the masses on such occasions, there is not much value in Congress non-violence as a positive force. The Congress cannot take charge of the Government if the British suddenly withdraw. They are not likely to do so without a desperate effort. But British valour cannot make Congressmen brave or fit for shouldering the responsibility of Government.

At the present moment the British Government is preoccupied. It is a marvel how they hold sway over four hundred million people. Their amazing self-confidence and their skill in the use of destructive weapons enable them to hold India in bondage. But they may not be expected to keep the peace even to the extent they do in normal times. They will ensure their control anyhow but

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they will allow us to kill one another and come in only when that control is in danger.

Congressmen's course is clear. They must examine the contents of their non-violence. If it does not go as far as the regulation of inter-communal and such other relations, it is of no use for the acquisition of independence. I prophesy that without pervasive non-violence of the brave, when the question of real transfer of power comes, it won't be the Congress who will have the privilege and the responsibility of delivering the goods. The power will descend to those who are able to make effective use of violence.

In Europe two forces, equally matched in destructive skill and bravery, are ranged against one another. The goal before both is domination. In spite of all the will in the world, I have found no difference in kind between the two. The difference in degree does not interest me. The British heel is bad enough for me. As a man wedded to independence and non-violence, I must fight Nazism and Fascism equally with the enslaving British Imperialism. But has the Congress really the non-violent strength even to fight this imperialism which we know through and through? Hitherto it was a case of seizing power bit by bit. But every Indian politician knows that there never was the slightest move on the part of the British to part with real power. And now we have it in its nakedness from Mr. Amery that we may expect no such thing peacefully from British authority. We have to fight for it either violently or non-violently, whether it is the Congress or the League or the Hindu Mahasabha that fights for it. I am satisfied that the two sectional organizations will never win independence for the masses, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Parsi, Jew. The Congress is the only organization that has laboured for national solidarity from the beginning. But that labour will be vain if the Congress does not prove true to its trust. I do not mind Congressmen changing their creed in spite of many leaders being in jail or openly leaving the Congress. I can see my way to rebuilding the Congress with five true men with whom there is neither Hindu nor Muslim nor any other. Religion is a personal matter. It ought not to affect the political field.

Then what should a Congressman do? He must resolutely refuse to take sides and defend with his life and without the use of violence the person who is in distress as did for instance three women in Ahmedabad. I have no doubt there are many such individual instances unknown to me. Cowards will never bring peace or independence. He must therefore tell the masses never to fly from danger and that if they cannot follow his way they must defend

themselves in the best way they can. What is required is a brave heart—a possession which is in nobody's giving and which therefore can never be taken away. He must instil into his neighbours the lesson that even violence can be both decent and indecent. It is no bravery to kill unawares an innocent person because he does not belong to one's religion or to burn his property. Those who do so disgrace their religion and themselves and positively mar the effort for independence.

Let me give some further illustrations of what a Congressman should do in given circumstances.

A Congressman has no enemy. While he will not seek the protection of the police or the military, he will not interfere with them in the performance of their duty but he will not hesitate to lose his life if need be in checking them when they are partial or exceeding their authority. This will appear a dangerous doctrine. But it is not if it is enforced fully. For if the Congressman concerned has erred, he will be the sufferer and not the police or the military. I know that a young man, because he was brave, by timely interference saved perhaps a hundred lives by simply holding the bridle of an officer's horse and telling him in firm accents, that he may not give the order to fire and that he—the young man—would reason with the crowd and disperse them.

Supposing there is a Hindu procession which has a right to pass through a Muslim locality and a Congressman has no influence over either, he will still give his life in begging a passage from the opposing Muslims. The immediate result may be zero. But the Congressman will have left a legacy of non-violent bravery. It will be good practice in non-violence. Let us learn from the British people the art of recklessly losing life and property. The same rule applies to a Muslim procession passing through a Hindu locality. We shall never learn the art of mutual forbearance and toleration till some of us, though perfectly innocent, have staggered Indian humanity by losing our lives.

A crowd is bent upon setting on fire the property of one community or another or desecrating a mosque or a temple. Congressmen whether one or many will give their lives to prevent mob fury.

A stray man attempts to stab a passer-by. At the risk of his life, a Congressman will pluck the knife out of the hands of the would-be miscreant.

Congressmen may gasp on reading this note and particularly the illustrations and say 'impossible'. Well, attainment of independence is still more impossible whether by violent or non-violent

means. But what seems impossible to one lacking faith will become possible to those who have faith. And it is said that faith can move mountains. I know this, that neither independence nor communal unity is possible without ample sacrifice, bravery and self-confidence which is but another name for faith.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942, File No. 3/42/41—Home Department, Pol. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also A.I.C.C. File, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

39. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 4, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

Your letter distresses me.[1] You seek notoriety and not service. You had no business to give the interview. Do please retrace your steps. If you go to Dacca, you will go on your sole responsibility. As to the girls, if they cannot be under Satis Babu's guidance, I must disown all responsibility. They should be in some institution there. But that is your concern. I shall not be responsible for financial support, if you cannot put yourself under Satis Babu's guidance.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10302. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

40. LETTER TO PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS

May 5, 1941

Don't know what I can do.[2] You should seek out ways and means. You can have a Deoli Day. Perhaps . . .[3] might be helpful.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee wanted to go to riot-affected Dacca. *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 25.

[2] The addressee, General Secretary, Congress Socialist Party, had informed Gandhiji of the impending strike on May 4 by the Deoli Camp jail detenus if their demands remained unfulfilled.

[3] Illegible

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41. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 5, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

I had your letter. Now that Kishorelalbhai and Gomati are going over there it will cheer you up. Do not needlessly make yourself unhappy. Harilal went and stayed with Ba at Delhi for some days and then ran away. Ba will return in June.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1580. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

42. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

May 5, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

Follow the example of Asquith[1]. When he fell ill he went on a cruise in the Mediterranean even while the War was going on. Why worry about Ahmedabad? Your job is to return completely restored. You may worry about all other things after that.

Blessings to both of you or all from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 7659. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] Herbert Henry Asquith, Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1908 to 1916 and leader of the Liberal party

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43. LETTER TO URMILA M. MEHTA

May 5, 1941

CHI. URMI,

I got your letter. Your description is good. You must leave a margin when you write a letter. Write a clean hand. Munno[1] should be made to sit in cold water. The prickly heat will subside. During the day I wrap a wet sheet even round my body, so that I do not feel the heat. In this weather one should give up pulses, and oil, too. You may add a little ghee to the vegetables, though there is no need even for that. Tell Manjula she may if she wishes eat these things in winter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 1618. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

44. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

May 5, 1941

CHI. HEMPRABHA[2],

I got your letters. Before me is your letter from a village which is 22 miles away [from Sodepur]. Yes, you get satisfaction in such activities. I pray to God that He may give you health so that your strength to serve may grow.

How is Arun[3]?

Did Amritlal Chatterjee go there? Whatever he has written in the newspapers is all wrong. I have not made him my representative. Let him go to Dacca and immolate himself. He has been told to do as Satis Babu directs him. I have said the same thing regarding his daughters. If he comes, guide him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2737

[1] Dharmapal, addressee's younger brother
[2] Wife of Satis Chandra Das Gupta
[3] Addressee's son

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45. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 5, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Today I finished reading your article on the economic condition of India. I liked it very much. To do justice to it, a gist should be given in the beginning. There should be more of such articles, and they should be printed in pamphlet form and translated.

If it is necessary to go to Bihar, I am fully prepared. I read again about Schuster, etc. I do not feel there is any need for suggestions from here. We should put our own house in order and clean it. Time is on our side. They have to move forward. We must secure control over things. At least freedom of speech and the Press should be allowed and the detenus should be released. Even communists should not be detained without trial.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8042. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

46. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 5, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

What does Lilavatibehn say? Tell me about the stove, etc. Who does all the shopping?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4386

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47. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 6, 1941

DEAR BARDOLOI,

I was delighted to have your letter. You are certainly making the best use of your time. I am glad too that you are all spinning.

I do not mind your writing about me.[1] But you will offend all orthodoxy by bracketing me with the avatars or prophets and I think rightly. You cannot write of a living man in the same way as of the dead who, by common consent, have been acclaimed as great teachers.

Your second question is difficult.[2] I believe with those Muslims who think that the Prophet's years in Mecca were the years in which he taught and lived pure non-violence. He became an administrator in Madina and thus ceased to be a pure teacher. In any case the net effect of the Koran is that non-violence is an obligation but violence is permissible. We are bound to accept as authoritative the interpretation generally given by the Muslim world and not the one I have preferred.

As to Krishna's advice to Arjuna you should read my introduction to *Anasaktiyoga*[3]. If you have not read it, you will tell me and I shall send you a copy.

I would advise you all[4] to learn well both Urdu and Hindi. Then only shall we evolve an all-India speech.

Yours,
BAPU
(M. K. GANDHI)

From a photostat: G.N. 2

[1] The addressee who was in Jorhat Jail had sought Gandhiji's permission to include a life-sketch of Gandhiji in his Assamese book on religious teachers, meant for children.

[2] The addressee had wondered how to reconcile the ahimsa doctrine with the action of prophet Mahomed in Madina, where he took up arms, and Shri Krishna's advice to Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gita* to fight.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 90-101.

[4] Some Congress M.L.A.s had also been imprisoned along with the addressee.

48. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

May 6, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

Now that Mahadev is there with you, this is not of much use. But I read your letter only last evening. As the matter is very important, I am giving a brief reply. Mridula[1] is of course made of steel. God will protect her.

I will not be satisfied with watchmen. I am assuming that the truly non-violent can be counted on one's fingers. The others should defend themselves. If this is not done, the same story will repeat itself. Keep this in mind in whatever you plan. Those who employ watchmen will not be able to rule. The few who can be counted on one's fingers must of course meet the Mussalmans. They should try to win over as many of them as they can.

If the Muslim community is bent on fighting, I would not reject the idea of boycott. I would consider boycott more decent than stabbing with daggers, burning houses, etc.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that we should guide even those who resort to violence as much as we can. As I am writing this with my left hand I have been brief.

Add this to what Mahadev tells you or keep this in mind in whatever you do. Mahadev himself will fit it into what he advises.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The enclosed letters are for Kaka and Babu.[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9122

[1] Mridula Sarabhai, daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai, who moved about fearlessly in the riot-affected areas in Ahmedabad

[2] The letters are not available.

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49. LETTER TO SURAJRAM PUROHIT

SEVAGRAM,
May 6, 1941

BHAI,

I have read your letter. I could not decipher your signature and Mahadevbhai is not here.

You will be stronger if you leave your native place. Whatever the amount you may earn outside, you can give a good fight from there whether you are one or five. The vital thing is that you should go out and earn in a spirit of *yajna*. Then you will spend your wealth for the welfare of the people.

The other way is what you have suggested. If you land in jail there, then that is indeed welcome. If you are guided by the considerations of safeguarding your body or wealth, it is a vain endeavour.

This covers replies to all your questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

SURAJRAM PUROHIT
SANSTHAN RAJPIPLA LOKSABHA
136-140 MEADOWS STREET, 2ND FLOOR
BOMBAY

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

50. LETTER TO VICHITRA NARAYAN SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
May 6, 1941

BHAI VICHITRA,

I have your letters. I do not fully understand the situation, but I have faith in your capacity and your devotion to duty. So all will be well. Our work goes on, doesn't it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

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51. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
May 7, 1941

I have just read an account of the unfortunate riots in Bihar. As soon as a wire was received on the 3rd instant by Rajendra Babu from Shri Sachidanand Sinha that a dangerous situation was developing in Bihar, he responded by hastening to Bihar.

The account of the riots makes painful reading. I have studied the various statements regarding them also. Rajendra Babu has gone to Bihar to put in the whole of his weight in favour of sanity and peace. This is his first wire to me after reaching there:

> Situation improving but still panicky uncertain. Mathura Babu[1], Shah Sahib[2] touring. Myself proceeding with volunteers.[3]

I know that he will give a good account of himself. Peace will somehow be restored if it has not been already by the police and the military. But this can only be a superimposed peace. Rajendra Babu's as every Congressman's and for that matter every sane citizen's business is to find out the cause of the riots. Unless this is done, there is no likelihood of permanent peace. I observe that the riots started with the resentment over the observance of Anti-Pakistan Day[4]. Pakistan and anti-Pakistan observances and the like have come to stay. As national consciousness grows and ambitions rise high, such observances will multiply. But why can we not conduct ourselves decently in spite of these? Why should we be so utterly intolerant as not to suffer one another's views? And then why should we show our intolerance as if we were savages?

[1] Rajendra Prasad's Secretary

[2] Shah Mohammed Uzair Munimji

[3] In his *Autobiography* Rajendra Prasad writes: "... I decided to go at once to Bihar Sharif. Fortunately Abdul Bari arrived in Patna the same day and he consented to accompany me. We engaged a couple of motor-lorries and with a batch of teachers and students of Bihar Vidyapith and some other workers left for the place...."

[4] In protest against Pakistan Day which was observed on March 23, at the instance of M. A. Jinnah

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I am quite convinced that the chief burden for the voluntary preservation of peace lies on the shoulders of the Congress, the oldest, the best organized and the most popular organization in India. It must be admitted that the vast majority of Congress members are Hindus and Bihar is a predominantly Hindu province. Therefore it should be comparatively easier for the Congress to ensure peace there without the aid of the police and the military. It should be a point of honour for the stronger party to protect the weak against harm to life or property. It is a difficult task but it has got to be tackled. When I lay this burden on the Congress, I do not mean to suggest that the Congress alone should or can do it. The Congress has to invoke the assistance of all parties, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and others. Each may have its political programme. But if we are not intent upon imposing our respective programme on the opponents by force of arms, expressed today through goondaism, surely we may all agree that we shall settle all our differences through negotiation and peaceful effort including arbitration. The Congress may fail to produce joint action. If so, it will be a noble failure. It must, however, continue to work even single-handed, if its non-violence has any meaning in it.

At present Bihar is the province that can lead the way and set the example. Rajendra Babu has a gentle and unique hold in his province such as no other leader has. He is the hero of the earthquake[1] days when the whole of India put its trust in him. May he have too the privilege of being the messenger of peace in Bihar and through Bihar maybe throughout India.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942, File No. 3/42/41–Home Department, Pol. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

52. LETTER TO K. B. MENON

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 7, 1941

MY DEAR MENON,

I had both your letters. The first did not call for a reply. I note what you say about the meeting.

[1] Of January 15, 1934; *vide* Vol. LVII, p. 111.

As Seth Jamnalalji had a talk with Shri Vaze[1] and as the latter is understood to have undertaken even the editing of the paper[2] I have written to him and am awaiting his reply. I would therefore suggest your holding the meeting after I have had the reply.

I think your reply to Shri Jainarainji[3] was correct.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PS.

I have your further letter today. If the Standing Committee ceases to function, J.N. also does likewise. But hand the enclosed[4] to J.N. and show this letter too to him. I shall give you further instructions after I hear from J.N.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

53. LETTER TO JAINARAYAN VYAS

May 7, 1941

BHAI JAINARAYAN,

Menon saw me. Now I have three letters from him. Is there some bad blood between you? I have expressed my view. You will have known about it. But now I feel that I ought to hear what you have to say and then make up my mind. Of course strictly speaking I have no right to interfere in the matter. But since Panditji[5] wants it I am giving my opinion to Menon. But if there is friction between you my position will become untenable.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] S. G. Vaze
[2] *States' People*, an organ of the All-India States' People's Conference
[3] Jainarayan Vyas, one of the three Secretaries of the All-India States' People's Conference. The addressee had written to J. N. Vyas that along with those of other members of the Standing Committee his powers also were suspended.
[4] *Vide* the following item.
[5] Jawaharlal Nehru

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54. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 7, 1941

CHI. MANI,

Nandubehn [Kanuga] was complaining against you very much, saying that you were obstinate and ruining your health. You are not eating properly, she said. I regard this as a sign of despair. A satyagrahi will always keep his health in the best of conditions. I, therefore, strongly advise you to improve your health.

My blessings to all the women. I do get reports about the work there.

I keep excellent health. Ba is in Delhi. She has become very weak.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN PATEL
PRISONER
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
YERAVDA

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 127

55. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 7, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I had your reply. As I am writing to Manibehn, I am writing to you also. My work is going on as usual. Health is excellent. The heat does not seem to affect me. A wet piece of cloth protects the head.

I now feel like going on a tour somewhere. I will go where God leads me. I have in mind Ahmedabad, Bombay and Bihar. I will see. We must find some way of reconciliation. Or the

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Congress must sacrifice itself in the attempt to find one. I cannot think of any other way. Can I? But such a way can be found only when God reveals it. I am thus neither panicky nor worried. I observe things and try to remain engrossed in my duty.

Do not draw any inferences from what I have said. I have written down everything that came to my mind.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
POONA

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 247

56. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.
May 7, 1941

CHI. DAHYABHAI[1],

If the accompanying letters can be delivered to the persons concerned, please pass them on. Send the letter for Mahadev as it is or take out a copy and send it.

I trust everything is all right at home. Ask Baba[2] to drop me a few lines.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 161

[1] Son of Vallabhbhai Patel
[2] Vipin, addressee's son

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57. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 8, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I got your astounding wire[1] from Narayangunj to which I sent you a reply[2]. I hope you had my letters[3]. In them I have made it clear that you went with no authority from me. I merely gave you advice which you were free to follow or reject. Now my firm opinion is that you are wholly unfit for responsible work on your own. You have long neglected your domestic duty. You will serve the nation by bearing the family burden. If you can restrain your sexual appetite, you will create no progeny but do your duty by those for whose creation you are responsible. Your worth will be judged by what you are able to do in this direction. I shall continue to send money till the end of this month. Thence you will bear your own burden. Please remember that I was in no way obliged to spend any money on you. But thinking that you were a deserving national servant, I spent money on you.

I shall still try to train Sailen and Dhiren. I shall go on for a little time. If they prove worthy I shall continue, or else I shall send them on to you. I am intensely sorry for what has proved a disastrous experiment. But my sorrow will be turned to joy, if perchance you wake up, become humble and rebuild your ruined home.

You will see my letter to Vina.[4]

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10303. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] According to the addressee, this was "regarding the riot situation and soliciting Gandhiji's instructions".

[2] This is not available. *Vide* however letter to the addressee, pp. 45-6.

[3] *Vide* pp. 25 and 29.

[4] The letter is not available.

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58. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
May 8, 1941

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I forgot to send you blessings for your birthday, didn't I? What can I do? But you know that you have them. All the same have them in writing too. Since you are getting them late, have them with interest. Anyway you know how things are. I have Narandas's[1] letter. If it needs a reply, I will send it by and by.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

59. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL K. CHHAYA

May 8, 1941

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

What will you do here with me? I am always engrossed in my work and do not get even a minute to look at anyone. You should, therefore, stay there and, availing yourself of the company of Narandas and others, shape the course of your life as you wish. How much longer will my presence be available? What trust can one put in it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2594

[1] Addressee's father

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60. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

May 8, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I got your letter. I also read Gopal Rao's statement; everything seems to be going on well.

I got no acknowledgement for my letter. I gave the post box address.

All that you told Seth Rameshwardas was correct. I shall not be able to guide you much, because in a gymnasium you have to teach the use of weapons for self-defence and defending others. So act according to your own lights. Rameshwardasji cannot at all mean that non-violent exercises should be taught. Now it is to be seen how far you can take up responsibility for training in violence. In this everything depends upon your attitude. Consult Nathji[1]; nowadays Kishorelalbhai is also in Bombay. This is a complicated question. What your conscience prompts you to do should be considered proper.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5647. Also C.W. 2958. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

61. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

SEVAGRAM,
May 9, 1941

MY DEAR VAZE,

Many thanks for your prompt reply. I have told Menon to continue the paper. The financial part will demand consideration. I am glad you are out of the wood.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni

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62. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 9, 1941

CHI. LILA,

I hope you reached there safe. From today's letter I can see that it was a good thing that I sent you there. Now, while you are there, let not your health suffer and try to overcome whatever shortcomings you have. Speak little and that too after due thought. Here everything is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9595. Also C.W. 6567. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

63. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 9, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. We have a number of different methods. One is yours, the second Lakshmidas's[1], the third Vinoba's, the fourth (perhaps) Jajuji's[2], the fifth that of the Meerut Ashram (that is, Kripalaniji's), the sixth Mathuradas's[3], the seventh Diwanji's[4]. Still more names can be added. None of these methods is perfect. If any of them was, it would have been universally adopted. But only a creation of God can be perfect. Since I have faith in you, I did not permit the formation of the committee which you could not join. Now that you are ready, you may certainly form one along the lines you have suggested and intensify your work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8582. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Lakshmidas Asar
[2] Shrikrishnadas Jaju
[3] Mathuradas P. Gandhi
[4] Dilkhush Diwanji

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64. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

May 9, 1941

BA,

I got your letter. The fast was for 72 hours.[1] I didn't feel it at all. I am regaining strength. Whenever you are ill I get worried. Get well soon. I am having my normal food now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2140

65. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

May 9, 1941[2]

CHI. LAKSHMI[3],

Because you need help or Ba needs a companion I am sending Lilavatibehn. Even earlier I had thought of Lilavatibehn, thinking that Ba would need an escort if she were required to come before Sushila does.

I hope the children are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2137

66. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 10, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your letter.[4] Evidently you did not attend to what I said. I told you, you were not to use my name about anything you did. You were sent because Vina and Abha had to go and for that matter even Sailen and Dhiren had to go. I did

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Munnalal G. Shah", p. 19.

[2] & [3] The source has these in Gujarati.

[4] According to the addressee, this was written on May 7, from Dacca, in order "to dispel misunderstanding", and to seek "Gandhiji's permission to carry on the peace effort".

advise you to go to Dacca but not as my agent or messenger. You needed no introduction. You know that I have no confidence in your judgment. I merely suggested what you might do, if you cut yourself from your family. But I must not labour the point. If you will let friends know that you were acting under an obvious misunderstanding and that you were in no way my representative it would be enough. My Dacca wire stands. If you work in the limelight you will fail. If after telling Annada or whoever is in charge that you are acting on your own, they keep you for Dacca work, you may stay provided they pay your full expenses. If they do not you must go to the family and attend to that primary duty. I shall not be responsible for your expenses after May for which month I now understand you have already taken the money in advance. I was sorry to hear that you had taken away the things you had got from others as for instance the blanket from Chimanlal.

Surendra[1] has left the Ashram without telling anybody.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10304. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

67. LETTER TO DR. NATHUBHAI D. PATEL

May 10, 1941

BHAI NATHUBHAI,

Mahadev is in Ahmedabad. You are worrying too much about Durgabehn. She sleeps more than enough. The pain in the thigh is gradually subsiding. She is taking salicylate and occasionally Epsom salts too. Urine, etc., are normal. She can sit up by herself. She comes down at will from the raised platform in the open with somebody's help. In spite of this evident daily improvement, do you still want her to be admitted to the hospital? What do you suspect? She eats thin *khakharis*, *bhaji*, fruit, etc.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. N. D. PATEL, M.D.
BACKBAY VIEW, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2721. Courtesy: Dr. Nathubhai D. Patel

[1] Surendranath Sarkel, a political sufferer from Bengal to whom Gandhiji had given asylum

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68. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 10, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letter today at 11.40 along with the other letters.

You have written Friday in your letter. Today is Saturday. A letter written on Friday cannot reach here on Saturday at 11 o'clock. The date on the envelope is also that of Thursday.

It seems I must now stop issuing statements to the Associated Press. The U[nited] P[ress of India] has stopped on its own. Several papers have published my statement[1] in full. You fought quite well. But I think by and by even that will not be possible. Or you people will have to . . .[2] I see that you have published my statement minus the portions censored.[3] This was not right. It would have been much better if you had not published the statement at all. In any case you should have said "censored" at places where some portions are omitted. *The Hindustan Times* will come out poor in comparison with other papers. It wouldn't have mattered if such an impression had no foundation in fact. But here it will be well-founded. But what is done is done. Henceforth I should like my statements to be published in full, if they are to be published at all.

I was glad to learn that you found Ba in good health. I had no doubt at all about Lakshmi's capacity for service. All the same, I have sent Lilavati to lighten her burden. It seems now that Ba will not return before June.

Mahadev will be here on the 13th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2146

[1] *Vide* pp. 13-6.
[2] The source is illegible here.
[3] The addressee was Editor of *The Hindustan Times*.

69. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

May [*10*][1], *1941*

CHI. MANI,

I have written one letter[2] to you. You will get it in the jail. This is in reply to your letter. I got it yesterday and could read it only late at night.

How can I share your belief that, had I been in Ahmedabad, the riots would not have taken place? It is difficult to make such a statement about anybody today. I follow where God leads me. He has brought me and kept me here. I know there are many villages like this one in Gujarat and I could have settled in one of them.

Manubhai[3] is showing great courage. The whole family was present at the prayers yesterday.

Ba is in New Delhi just now. She is laid up. She is having fever. She writes and says there is no cause for worry. Yesterday I sent Lilavati to Delhi. Janakibehn's[4] health is very good indeed. Why did Nandubehn say it was bad? These days she is taking long walks as she never used to do before. And she eats well.

Kanu's betrothal has been put off for the present. It may be assumed that it is not coming off in the immediate future. The girl[5] also has gone home to her parents.

Mirabehn is spending the summer in Chorwad. Durgabehn's health is improving rapidly.

I do wish that you should spend two or three days with me after you have put things in order there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] The source has "20", evidently a slip, since Gandhiji mentions Lilavati being sent to Delhi the previous day. Lilavati left for Delhi on May 9. *Vide* "Letter to Lakshmi Gandhi", p. 45.

[2] *Vide* p. 39.

[3] Manshankar Jaishankar Trivedi, whose father J. P. Trivedi had passed away

[4] Wife of Jamnalal Bajaj

[5] Abha Chatterjee

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CHI. DAHYABHAI,

To be handed over to Manibehn when she comes.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 128-9

70. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

May 10, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

I got your carbine. I am simply captivated by your purity of heart. But why blame khadi and the spinning-wheel? Of course, I didn't mind your having acted as you thought proper. If you continue thus you will discover the truth by and by. If on further reflection you think you can stick to khadi and the spinning-wheel, please do so. Do however what your conscience tells you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VAIDYAJI
A.I.S.A. KHADI BHANDAR
396 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5746

71. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 11, 1941

CHI. PREMA,

This time I have delayed in replying to you. There is heavy pressure of work, and, moreover, your letter lay buried in a heap of other letters.

I do get reports about that place.

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I keep excellent health.

Everybody is being severely tested.

Amtul Salaam is always in poor health. Ba is in Delhi and has become rather weak just now. Sushila is looking after her with the utmost care. She is hopeful that Ba will get well. I have sent Lilavati to help in looking after her.

Mahadev, who has gone to Ahmedabad, is now expected back on the 13th.

I am sure all the women there spin as much as possible. I hope the prayers are going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10419. Also C.W. 6858. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

72. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL

May 11, 1941

BHAI RANCHHODLAL,

I got your letter. I am doing the best I can.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 742

73. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

May 11, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

I don't think any purpose will be served by sending the papers to the magistrate and to the Secretary to the Governor. You are angry at the moment. Please calm down a little. Stop writing and speaking and look deeper into yourself. You may, if you wish, come here for a day or two and recover your peace of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5747

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74. LETTER TO RAMMANOHAR LOHIA[1]

May 11, 1941

BHAI RAMMANOHAR,

I was very glad to have your letter. I have written to Haridattaji. It is good that almost everyone spins. Your father's journeys continue. He keeps sending me his diary. My blessings to everyone.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

75. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

May 11, 1941

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have all your letters. Mahadevbhai has been regularly answering them. It is strange that you have not received his letters.

I have understood all your problems. We should work according to our lights. The result is in the hands of God.

It is good that your *Gita* class is going on. I wish that in the same way Koran classes were also held, and we respect each other's religion.

I got Bhai Farid's[2] letter. I am not replying separately. His speed has improved. It is good that all of them are learning both the scripts—Devanagari and Urdu—and also Hindi and Urdu styles. I find its result very heartening. We should be so equipped as to read and write with ease both Hindi and Urdu. Congressmen in particular ought to do this much.

As for Behn Satyawatiji[3] it is as usual. She wrote that she would come to Sevagram some time. I hope she will do so after summer.

[1] The addressee was in Bareilly Central Jail.
[2] Farid Ansari
[3] Grand-daughter of Swami Shraddhanand

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I am quite all right.
Vandemataram or blessings to all.
I hope you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2485

76. LETTER TO S. N. CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 12, 1941

DEAR SAILEN,

Your letter[1]. You write very carelessly. You make avoidable mistakes. You even omit your pronouns. If you are as slovenly in your work as you are in writing to me, you will fail. Janaki Devi is in Nagpur at Shri Mehta's. You may give the book to her to be sent to me. I shall then see what other book to send you.[2]

Father does write to me. I am dissatisfied. But you need not bother about it. He is otherwise well.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10305. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

77. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 12, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I have not yet received Jayaprakash's. Have you seen the resolution passed by the Socialists? Who were they? Why do you worry? Whatever is to happen will happen. We can only do our best. I am all right. The fast has no

[1] From Nagpur where he had been sent for training

[2] According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, Gandhiji used to send books, newspapers, etc., to the addressee in order to improve his knowledge. The addressee then submitted a synopsis of his study to be corrected by Gandhiji. Sometimes Gandhiji got them corrected by Amrit Kaur.

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after-effect. Ba is better. She is still in Delhi. I have sent Lilavati there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3559

78. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 12, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Yes, it is your job to get things for the kitchen, and decide what to get.

About the guests, what you say is correct.

You are also correct regarding kitchen cleanliness, etc. If you have to incur some out-of-the-way expense the Committee should be consulted. The expenses will be debited to the accounts falling within your sphere. These will be endorsed by you. But the manager can endorse them only in your absence.

It is your duty to distribute to various people the work in your charge. The same people can work in other departments also. You should arrange for this with the head of the other department.

Remember that our duty is to discharge the responsibility. Whatever authority we need to discharge it will come by itself. This has been my experience throughout the last fifty years.

You will have to arrange your work in such a way that a definite time is kept for supervising cleanliness. At that time you should have a small bucket, a shovel and a broomstick. The regular work would be done by others. But whatever faults you come across at the time of inspection you will yourself do as best as you can and draw the attention of the persons concerned. You will not try to do the bulk of the work yourself, and whatever you can conveniently do, you will not allot to others.

Show this to Chimanlal[1] and also your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4387

[1] Chimanlal Shah, Manager, Sevagram Ashram

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79. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

Unrevised

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 13, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your plan of disbandment reads well but means little. The cowshed is separate but Balvantsinha is not. The dairy is separate but Parnerkar[1] is not. The thing is that the world is inseparable from me. There are more Bhansalis than one. They all do not behave so handsomely as he[2] does. But there they are. You have not gone deeper into the thing. It is not the kitchen that is worrying me. The growth has been spontaneous and the destruction or the reshaping will have to be likewise. I can only help the process. Everywhere I have been overwhelmed. The Rajkot home gave place to the Bombay home. That to the Natal Home, the latter again to Bombay, then two in Johannesburg, then Phœnix, Tolstoy Farm, back to Phœnix, then Kochrab, Sabarmati, Maganwadi and Sevagram. I have omitted the intermediate shifts. All came in their due course. Heaven only knows where I am to be flung again. No, my safety lies in praying and waiting. "Lead Thou me on."

I have not seen the paragraph about you, you cannot be in hiding, unless you do as the anchorites do, which is absurd and unthinkable.

Mahadev returns tomorrow.

P's class is for the vacation. It will close about 10th June, I expect.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6479. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9874

[1] Y. M. Parnerkar, a dairy expert at Sevagram Ashram
[2] J. P. Bhansali

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80. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

May 13, 1941

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I had carefully preserved the draft of *Satyagraha Sathi*[1] which you had prepared on August 9, 1940. I had resolved to find time to go through it. I fulfilled my resolve today, if only to respect your enthusiasm and selfless labour.

I have experienced such disappointments regarding the Ashram that I have lost all interest in embarking on new ventures. I do wish that some of you should set up a brotherhood during, or even after, my lifetime. Let it be just a few in the beginning.

The supplement is useful. It gives good guidance. It can be touched up and published even now. I have deleted two clauses on page 6. I did not think it necessary to list the different types of violence as they are countless. Moreover, the ones you have cited are superficial examples. Violence lies latent in our hearts. If in my cursory revision I have spoiled the draft, please make necessary corrections.

You will understand what I mean by the cross on page 10. Appendix C becomes superfluous for the present.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10724. Courtesy: Gomatibehn Mashruwala

[1] Satyagraha Brotherhood

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81. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

May 13, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Why do you fall ill again and again? Those who want to serve should learn the art of keeping healthy. I hope with the grace of God the tour would be completed without any hitch.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7995. Also C.W. 3092. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

82. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 13, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Amtul Salaam wants to do some community work. Give her some if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4388

83. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 14, 1941

CHI. LILA,

I got your letter. Don't worry about your weight and eat according to natural appetite at regular intervals. You must have started your study.

Tell Lakshmi that I got her letter.

Ask Tara what kind of a friend one is who does not write to her friend at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9379. Also C.W. 6654. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

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84. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 14, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your letter makes strange reading. It shows the limit of mental confusion. You asked for one hundred rupees, and the sum was immediately sent. You now return it and say that if, after considering all the factors, Kanchan and I feel convinced and are fully satisfied, the money may be sent back to you! What is all this? You could have asked us whether or not we were satisfied.

After reading it, I am sending your terrible letter to Kanchan. You are not coming. If now I send her, you are prepared to have her. What is this? You have no consideration for her feelings nor for mine. If you were not to come or could not come, it was understood that Kanchan would stay there. She could have stayed. You sent her back as soon as she arrived. What is this? Your heart is not there, and still you are staying on. You have not got adjusted to everything there and are still obstinately clinging on. This is not right.

I have not told anyone that you are hiding any fact or thought from me.

That you do not want to come to Sevagram, I learnt only from your letter.

My advice is this: Ask for the hundred rupees whenever you need it. If you are not interested in appearing for the examination or if your health is not good, come over here and then go to some cool place. If you wish, you can go to Bordi. If you come here, we can have a quiet talk and decide what you should do. I do not agree with you that I have paid no attention to your problems.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8498. Also C.W. 7138. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

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85. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

[Before *May 15, 1941*][1]

The only advice I can give you at present is, that those who are allowed to be outside should devote themselves to constructive work, specially communal.

Really speaking, it is not unfortunate; for, we expected such arrests[2]. They test our strength and solidarity.

The Hindu, 16-5-1941

86. LETTER TO SARANGADHAR DAS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[Before *May 15, 1941*][3]

DEAR SARANGADHAR DAS,

I was delighted to read your very interesting letter to Rajkumari.

Yes, I remember having received your statement. I can remember nothing that jarred on my ears. Rajkumari was then in the Punjab.

I am glad you came in such close contact with Harijans. 'C' class is undoubtedly best. "A" and "B" are [an] eternal sore. It is of our making. I hope you are none the worse for your experience.

I know there is trouble outside. Rajen Babu cannot leave Bihar for the present. As I have already told Padhiary[4] we have all to learn the art of solving our own difficulties. . . .[5]

BAPU[6]

From a copy: C.W. 10516. Courtesy: Government of Orissa

[1] The letter was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, May 15".

[2] Arun Chandra Guha, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and other Congress office-bearers and workers in different parts of the Province had been arrested.

[3] The letter was reproduced by J. N. Ghosh, S.I.S., Cuttack, in his report dated May 15, 1941.

[4] Pran Krishna Padhiary, President, Orissa Provincial Congress Committee

[5] Omission as in the source

[6] The source has "Bapuji".

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87. "KHADI JAGAT"[1]

The sphere of *Khadi Jagat* is co-extensive with that of the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association. Theoretically speaking, the activities of the A. I. S. A. are unlimited. At present it provides employment to 2,24,421 spinners, of whom 1,67,996 are Hindus and 56,425 are Muslims, along with 20,643 other artisans, such as ginners, carders, dyers, weavers and washermen. The A. I. S. A. represents all those Hindus, Mussalmans, and others who are engaged in the various processes involved in the production of khadi, as also those who use khadi. Although these people are at present a mere drop in the ocean of Indian humanity, they are numerous enough to be scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. The A. I. S. A. is entirely a philanthropic institution. It is the largest institution of its kind in India and perhaps in the world. If the expectations formed about this institution materialize, the A. I. S. A. should represent the whole of the dumb and semi-starved millions of India. And if that event comes about, it would represent the aspirations of the whole of the submerged world. The bloody massacre going on in the present war is probably a demonstration of the fact that industrialism will lead the world to destruction in the end. Enlightened revival of handicrafts alone can save it. But here I am talking of the future and God alone knows what the future has in store for us. All the same there is such a thing in the world as human endeavour, and the endeavour of the A. I. S. A. is to propagate the spirit of khadi throughout India. Then alone can we get rid of the grinding pauperism of India's masses. The word 'khadi' must be taken in its wider sense here. For such extensive work, we require a much greater number of workers than have been hitherto available. Those who are already engaged in this work have to cultivate greater capacity for sacrifice. They must cultivate the habit of studying in a scientific spirit. Their knowledge must be steadily progressive.

The wheel is the centre of this activity because it alone can give employment and living to the millions of women. The wheel includes the *takli*. It is not to be taken merely as the widow's

[1] This appeared in the inaugural issue of *Khadi Jagat*, a Hindi monthly published by the A.I.S.A. from Wardha.

mainstay. It has been conceived as a symbol of India's economic uplift, Hindu-Muslim unity and therefore even of her independence in terms of her millions. Thus the science of khadi is a lofty study. Many experts are required to dedicate their energies in an organized manner for the furtherance of the cause. These include economists as well as highly skilled mechanics. A mason can build a village house, but it requires an engineer to plan and build a big building or a big dam. Much more talent, knowledge, application and research are required to improve the village implements than to build a bridge on the Ganga. When we are able to attract people of this type by our renunciation and methodical research, we will be able to make rapid far-reaching progress, not till then.

Looking at it from this point of view, *Khadi Jagat* is not an insignificant venture. It was because I regarded it as an ambitious venture that I supported the proposition of undertaking it. I hope, therefore, that all the articles published in this magazine will be of the required standard and be earnestly studied by the A. I. S. A. workers and those interested in the uplift of the villages.

To carry on the activities of the A. I. S. A. we require workers as well as money. The responsibility of getting both rests upon the present khadi workers. I think it will be well for me as the President of the A. I. S. A. at this stage to make a confession. The Association has suffered a loss of over two lacs because of my and a co-worker's, call it carelessness, or overtrustfulness. Thinking him to be a good man, Shankerlal Banker took a certain person on the A. I. S. A. staff. He overtrusted this man and did not supervise his work as he ought to have. His failing health was partly responsible for this. Though the auditing of accounts was done regularly, this man very cunningly succeeded in outwitting everybody and misappropriating over two lacs of rupees. This was detected when Shri Jajuji took charge of A. I. S. A. office. The delinquent has confessed his guilt, though we have not succeeded in getting back the money as yet. We are still trying for it. The Sangh is following its traditional policy of avoiding the law courts as far as possible, but if it becomes necessary, there will be no hesitation in going to the courts. The object of mentioning this incident here is to let the helpers of the A. I. S. A. learn of our carelessness and forgive us if possible. I make the confession also in order that we may become more vigilant. It is also hoped that as a result of this confession, workers of the A. I. S. A. all over the country will realize their responsibility and know that every pice misappropriated is so much taken out of the mouths of the poor. It will be well if

it can also awaken the guilty person to a sense of his duty. It will comfort Shri Shankerlal Banker who in his simplicity had put too much trust in this man.

One thing I must not omit. The Association has increased the wages of the spinners without any demand from the spinners themselves and completely ignoring the market wages. This will be always looked upon as a creditable adventure for the A. I. S. A. The khadi-lovers have helped the Association in this philanthropic move. The price of khadi was bound to go up, but these friends willingly paid the extra price. Consequently, khadi-workers have a double duty to discharge. They must see that in the first place the spinners get the full wages according to the standard laid down by the A. I. S. A. Secondly the customer buying khadi should be charged the minimum price compatible with the rise in the wages. There should be no attempt at making profit. If at some place profits have accrued they should be spent with the permission of the A. I. S. A. in lowering the price of khadi or otherwise in the interest of the poor. The progress of khadi does not depend upon the ups and downs of the market. It depends upon the purity of our transactions. If our transactions are pure they must result in at least three things.

1. We will attract spinners and artisans.
2. The number of khadi-wearers will increase and the necessary money will flow in, and
3. Greater number of workers will be attracted.

I say this on the strength of 55 years of public service. It will be the endeavour of the *Khadi Jagat* to achieve the three ends or in other words *Khadi Jagat* will strive to induce in the workers an ambition for greater purity, greater dedication and greater knowledge.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, May 15, 1941
[From Hindi]
Khadi Jagat, 25-7-1941

88. DISCUSSION WITH D. K. GOSAVI[1]

May 15, 1941

Q. Very few names from the third list of satyagrahis from Maharashtra (193 out of 1,072) are approved and permitted to offer satyagraha. This

[1] President, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, who was accompanied by Dr. Lagu of Poona. According to the source, this was "revised and corrected by Gandhiji" and was released to the Press with his permission. *Vide* also "Letter to D. K. Gosavi", 1-6-1941 and 8-6-1941.

permission business seems to be unduly delayed, and the satyagrahis are thus put to much inconvenience.

A. I propose to introduce a change in the technique about the passing of these lists of satyagrahis.[1] From the date on which the name of a prospective satyagrahi is forwarded to me for sanction by the Provincial Congress Committee the satyagrahi concerned has to stop his private activities and has to devote himself wholly to the working out of one or more of the items of the thirteenfold constructive programme, which expression is to be understood in the widest sense as explained in my article[2] headed "Implications of Constructive Programme" in the issue of *Harijan* dated 18th of August 1940.

Every prospective satyagrahi is expected to keep a log-book (or diary) in which he will daily enter the work done during the course of the day and the log-book shall be submitted to me through the P.C.C. concerned at stated intervals, say, fortnightly or monthly. After going through the diaries I shall grant permission for satyagraha to deserving persons. Others will have to follow the said course till they get permission.

The satyagrahi may not expect any financial help from the Congress.

I know that on this very strict basis the number of satyagrahis will be reduced to a very large extent but what I am keen on is quality and not quantity. I shall not feel sorry if the number is reduced to any extent. Moreover, whilst so many satyagrahis are wandering about, I am anxious not to add to the list of wanderers.

Don't you feel that you are unfair to the prospective satyagrahis in prescribing such a severe preliminary test to them only, while you allowed their predecessors in on a comparatively simpler test?[3]

I don't think I am unfair. One thing that you must remember is that the above movement is evolving. Exigencies of the situation may demand varying conditions.

Has the President of the P.C.C. any duty towards the satyagrahis when they come out of jail?

[1] For instructions issued by J. B. Kripalani "for the guidance of satyagrahis and Congress Committees in consultation with Gandhiji", *vide* Appendix I.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 378-81.

[3] This and the following three paragraphs are reproduced from *Congress Bulletin*.

Yes, he certainly has. He has to ask them to repeat satyagraha and find themselves again in jail, say, within about a week from the date of their release. The P.C.C.s. need only report to me cases demanding special treatment and the instructions that will be issued by me in these cases should be followed and executed by the P.C.C.s.

How long will this process go on?

Indefinitely; that is to say, till we achieve our goal. Deep down in me there is a feeling that the struggle will become progressively fiercer, and we must pass through all such trials.

In this respect we must take lesson from the British who, in spite of all the severe losses and heavy odds against them, have maintained fine morale and are determined to carry on. We may not do less.

If any satyagrahi who has enrolled himself on the original basis feels unable to accept the new basis, which will be the honourable way out for him?[1]

He is free to withdraw his name and there is no disgrace attaching to any such honest withdrawal. I must not be deceived. To deceive me is to deceive oneself and the nation. Every honest person can and should withdraw his name. He may continue to render whatever services he can to the country. He does remain and does continue a Congressman as before. Congress does require and does appreciate his services also. But he cannot remain on the satyagrahi list as it is now envisaged.

Can we start and develop a volunteer organization under the present circumstances?

By all means; the only condition is that it shall be organized only on the basis of non-violence—unadulterated non-violence.

No trifling with non-violence will do and therefore no laxity in that respect can be tolerated. One more point. The said organization should be pro-Congress and yet independent of the Congress. It can be an allied institution like A.I.S.A., etc.

Can decent violence in self-defence under emergencies by any member of such volunteer organization be tolerated as an exception?

No, it cannot be. No such exception can be contemplated or provided against in advance, in an organization which is started specifically on the sole basis of non-violence. Such a person will have to leave the organization.

[1] This and the following paragraph are reproduced from *Congress Bulletin*.

Non-violent resistance is the best method; failing that, even violent decent resistance is tolerable but cowardice is unthinkable and condemnable". That is what you have been preaching in this respect. But what you now say does not square with your above dictum.

That dictum is meant for those millions that have not yet accepted the creed of the Congress. It cannot apply to those organizations that are founded on the basic creed of non-violence. Those who desire to effect a change in the basic creed of non-violence must either change their General or go out of the organization.

The Congress being largely suspended as an organization, what should be our policy this year as regards the annual enrolment of membership?[1]

Under the circumstances there can be no obligation to enrol membership in the usual manner. New applicants, if they so desire, must however be enrolled as members and there should be no objection to realizing annual subscriptions from old members wherever practicable.

Do you desire the starting of peace-brigades?

Certainly I do. Some time ago (*vide Harijan* 18th June, 1938) I made certain concrete suggestions[2] in that respect. I know very few will be found, at least in the beginning, to enlist in such an organization. A beginning may however be made by any small number or even singly. Such an organization cannot be conducted on the lines of democracy. It can only be a body of persons with a definite purpose. If the pioneers are the right sort of people they may gather followers in due course.

What should be our attitude towards elections to local bodies?

As a rule, elections to such bodies should not be run in the name of the Congress. There may be no objection to Congressmen fighting the same on their individual responsibility. But this is a question which can be authoritatively decided only by Rajendra Babu and Acharya Kripalani[3].

Can enrolled satyagrahis fight such elections individually?

No. I am quite clear on this point.

What should be done in the case of those satyagrahis who have already put in their candidature for such elections?

[1] This and the following three paragraphs are reproduced from *Congress Bulletin*.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 125-7.

[3] General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee

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They have either to withdraw from the election or from the satyagraha pledge[1]; they cannot retain both.

What should be the Congress attitude towards the registration of voters to the Legislatures—both central and provincial?

The Congress must pay full attention to this work. Congress may not ignore it.

Congress Bulletin No. 6, 1942, File No. 3/42/41–Home Department, Pol. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 17-6-1941

89. LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA SENGUPTA

May 16, 1941

DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

I have your letter. I have not received the books you mention. In any case I am off writing prefaces. Please therefore procure release for me.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8709. Also C.W. 1494. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

90. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

May 16, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your letter[2]. You do not even read my letters fully. I have told[3] you that you are free to do what you like so long as you do not act as my agent or in my name or under my instructions. I have no confidence in your judgment. But if you have and if people want you, you would be wrong not to go.[4] I have also told you that I shall be no longer responsible for your expenses. It is no use your returning to Sevagram. If no public body will have you or pay for your keep, you should quietly settle down and

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXII, Appendix I.

[2] Dated May 13

[3] *Vide* pp. 25, 29, 41 and 45-6.

[4] According to the addressee, he had returned to Calcutta from Dacca "under protest, in obedience to Gandhiji's direction".

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earn your livelihood and reconstruct your broken home. Please read this carefully and act according to your own judgment.

Sailen and Dhiren I am trying to mould. It is a difficult task. Please tell Vina and Abha I have their letters. They should employ their time usefully. Why did Vina give two bangles to Kanchan ?

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10306. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

91. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 16, 1941

CHI. LILA,

You never write after careful thinking. I have taken care to write to you nearly every day, and still you ask how you can hope for letters from me! And what a funny spelling you have adopted for your name? Are you Leila[1]? The word is pronounced 'Laila'. Do you know who Laila[2] was? But you are 'Lila'[3]. What a difference between the two. In writing and in speaking, in general bearing and in thinking, in every detail of one's behaviour some propriety must be observed. I have told you to write or speak every sentence after due thought. But to whom may I complain about all this? You are deliberately blotting out your virtues. Be warned. Mahadevbhai has forwarded your application.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9380. Also C.W. 6655. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

[1] The name is in English.
[2] Heroine of a Persian romance
[3] The name is in English.

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92. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 17, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I see you have been again speaking to the papers.[1] What you are reported to have said is wholly false. If you do not come out with a correct statement, I must repudiate you publicly. You seem to have taken things through Surendraji, e.g., tooth-paste, soap, etc., for there is a bill from the merchants here of purchases made the same day that you went. I would like you to tell me what you took.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10307. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

93. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 17, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Who reprimanded you? I do not even remember if anybody told me anything against you. If it had been so I would have at least told you about it. Remember the three monkeys. Do not lend your ears to such idle talk. Tell yourself 'If there is any complaint Bapu would tell me' and ignore the complainants. Why do you feel hurt?

If you have work with me come any number of times, otherwise don't come at all.

Is it all right now?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4389

[1] According to the addressee, he had made a statement on May 13 "to a representative of the United Press regarding the riot situation in Dacca".

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94. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SEVAGRAM,
May 18, 1941

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

Better late than never.

I understand Bazmi's case. What have you done to your thumb? We are boiling here. Wardha heat can vie with Jacobabad's.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

95. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

May 18, 1941

CHI. VALJI,

I got your letter.

Durgabehn's health is improving.

When you come here I shall be prepared to hear whatever you have to say about Gopalan. By patience I did not mean waiting for years and months. I only meant that after you had all the facts of the case and were ready, you might come, accompanied by the witnesses. Asking me questions, piecemeal, will not help. For my part I will not delay. I will be ready to give two hours daily to the matter till it is finished.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

I had Mahendra's[1] letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7494. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

[1] Addressee's eldest son

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96. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 18, 1941

BAPA,

You did very well in going to Garhwal. It will do you good. I think the climate and water of that place are good.

Jainarayan came and saw me. I accepted Vaze's suggestion and so I told him to go to you and do nothing else. I have already communicated my view to you, namely, that the Standing Committee stands suspended and during the struggle the Emergency Committee should function. I certainly should not like the whole organization to remain under Amritlal Sheth's[1] control. I do not even like that the paper should run with his money. Jainarayan thinks that the Emergency Committee was a private body. There was no report about it in the papers nor is it likely to do any work. It is the Standing Committee which must have the sole authority. I had asked Jamnalalji. He says that the Emergency Committee was formed with the consent of Jainarayanji and others, and, therefore, the Standing Committee remains suspended at present. It was Balwantrai, and not J., who was keen on the States' People's [Conference]. Jawaharlal has conveyed to Menon that he should abide by my advice. That is why I have taken interest in the matter. My opinion is as above. If you also agree with it there will be no need for you to come. If you differ, however, then it is desirable that you should come here. I think there will be no difficulty if the States' People's [Conference] is run independently. I think we should meet and decide about that. I leave everything to you. I would certainly like your coming here. If you feel that anybody else should be present, you may arrange accordingly. Do you find it difficult to decipher my handwriting? I ask the question this time because I have had to write a rather long letter.

BAPU

[PS.]

After writing the above I got your letter full of joy. I had foretold your victory. Still you want a reward?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1187

[1] Owner of the *Janmabhoomi* group of papers

97. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 18, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I have written to Jayaprakash. You can certainly write to Jamnalalji. He does get letters. He is better now. Durgabehn is all right. So also is Ba. Perhaps she will return on the 25th. Sushila is going to Lahore on the 20th. Her examination commences on the 26th and will go on for six days. I take it that she will pass. Mridula and Gulzarilal[1] are here just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3566

98. LETTER TO GULAB CHAND JAIN

May 18, 1941

BHAI GULAB CHAND,

I got your letter. Even if a telegram had come regarding your father, I would not have understood it. It is but natural that a son feels the sorrow of separation.

How is injustice done to Mukundlalji? Injustice arises only when one is deprived of a right. To go to jail can only be a duty, but never a right.

If unworthy people from Delhi have been selected, you should tell Raghunandanji about it. I can act only on trust. If the reporter of *The Hindustan Times* accepts bribes, it is your duty to inform Devdas. So also about the policy of *The Hindustan Times*. I do not read newspapers at all. If what you say is correct, why hide the name? I will not write indirectly to Devdas. I can write to him if you allow me to mention your name.

[1] Gulzarilal Nanda

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I cannot give a definite opinion in your case. Do as your conscience bids you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7744

99. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
May 19, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

How can you catch my joke? Accept all the meanings of *swachchhata*[1] and the last one of *mugdha*[2]. If you stick to khadi and the spinning-wheel, they will ultimately give you peace of mind. Just as one who does not tire of Ramanama finally sees Rama, so is the case with the spinning-wheel. Surely all Muslims do not carry daggers. But your pure heart will finally see purity. When you feel like having a hearty laugh, come to Sevagram. I hope Ambu is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. VAIDYA
SHRIPAT BHUVAN
SANTACRUZ
BOMBAY 7

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5748

[1] Cleanliness
[2] "Full of admiration", literally, "infatuated", also "naive"

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100. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

May 19, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I got your letter today. I hope you will get this in the jail itself. I sent one letter[1] to Dahyabhai to be passed on to you. I was happy to learn that you had been taking care of your health.

If, after your release, you wish to spend a few days in Bombay you may do so, but do come and see me later. Mridula and Gulzarilal have come here to discuss the situation in Ahmedabad. They are with me just now and are discussing the problem. Father or you must not worry about these things from there. I need not write more. There is not the slightest cause for worry about Jamnalalji. Everything is going on well. Manu Trivedi is fine. Ba will return from Delhi in a few days. Lilavati is with her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 127-8

101. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

May 19, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Munnalal says that things are no better even after you have asked for pardon. You reprimanded Vithoba[2] by saying that even though he had betrayed a trust, you were asking for pardon. If this is correct, the plea for pardon is meaningless. The complaint

[1] *Vide* pp. 48-9.

[2] The mediator who had requested the addressee to buy a piece of land from a farmer who was in trouble. After the deal had been finalized, the farmer's son wanted the land back and this led to a dispute.

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of betraying a trust is very serious. I do not see betrayal of trust. You may call it lack of courage. This should be set right.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, pp. 286-7

102. LETTER TO SHAKUNTALA

May 19, 1941

CHI. SHAKUNTALA,

It is good that you will offer civil disobedience again in June.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1396

103. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 20, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

It is sad you won't understand the simple thing I have driven home. For your own sake, I must not pay you anything. I have harmed you by pampering you. You are able-bodied. You should do such work as you can find.

You need not return anything you have taken away.[1]

Surendraji has cheated right and left. His is a sad story.

Please understand you have now to look after yourself. You cannot come back. I shall be more than satisfied if I can make something of Sailen and Dhiren.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10308. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 67.

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104. LETTER TO BHOGILAL LALA[1]

[On or before *May 21, 1941*][2]

For four days, Mridulabehn, Gulzarilal and I have had talks to our hearts' content. If you and Sjt. Jivanlal Divan could have been also present, it would have been very helpful to me in arriving at a decision.

I gather that there are two opinions regarding what the Congress did, failed to do, and should do in future in case of communal disturbances. However that may be, everything considered, I am of opinion that, in a crisis like the present, an Advisory Committee (of which the personnel is given below) should be appointed, and everything should be done according to their advice. You will see that I have included Shri Mahadev Desai's name on the Committee. He will not be able to be there on all occasions, but he will try to be there whenever you all feel that his presence is essential.

Your first duty is to find out how many among our Congressmen firmly hold that violent resistance against an opponent in defence of oneself or others is out of the question. Those who favour violent resistance must get out of the Congress and shape their conduct just as they think fit and guide others accordingly. I am firmly of opinion that, if the Congress does not clearly define its policy in this matter, it will end in proving itself to be a useless organization.

If a majority of Congressmen hold that violent resistance against an assailant is a duty, and if they do not regard it as inconsistent with the creed of the Congress, they should openly declare their opinion and guide people accordingly. The absence of our leaders in jail should not deter anyone from declaring his opinion in this crisis. It can be revised in case it is found later to be wrong. The point is that no one should be in a state of indecisiveness.

[1] & [2] Secretary, Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee. According to the source, this letter was brought to Ahmedabad by Mahadev Desai for the guidance of Congressmen. Mahadev Desai left for Ahmedabad on May 21; *vide* the following item.

I am sure that, if all Congressmen had done their duty, we should not have had the *goondashahi*—the reign of the goonda—that we had recently.

That people should flee for their lives for fear of the goonda should be intolerable. They ought to possess the capacity of resisting *goondashahi* violently or non-violently. If my interpretation of the Congress creed is correct, the Congress and Congressmen may offer non-violent resistance only, and they are sure to succeed. But we should tell the people, in the clearest possible terms, that running away in fear is cowardice. It is their duty to offer resistance—even violent, if they are incapable of non-violent resistance, which is a worthy way.

Congressmen will not ask for the help of the Government, the police or the military. Those who believe in violent resistance will indeed ask for Government's help.

A Congressman may not directly or indirectly associate himself with gymnasia where training in violent resistance is given. But he will appeal even to the believer in violent resistance to observe certain rules of restraint. Even violent resistance admits of a certain amount of decency. Thus, for instance, murdering an innocent man in cold blood should be taboo. The fundamental thing to be borne in mind is that people should, under no circumstances, be cowardly or impotent. One need never be a goonda to fight a goonda. One who stabs another in the back and takes to his heels will never be counted as brave.

A Congressman can have no prejudices, and so he would go out of his way to meet members of the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other bodies in the interest of peace, and persuade them to combine in ruling out the law of the jungle, no matter how great their political differences. That these endeavours may fail should not matter in the least. It is their duty to appeal to everyone, and to flatter none.

The Congress will not claim compensation for losses sustained during the riots. That is not its concern. The people had to sustain losses as they lacked the capacity to defend themselves; and so they must bear them. I go so far as to believe that Government could not, even if they would, secure adequate compensation to those who have sustained losses.

I think it is terrible to think of protecting ourselves with the help of the Bhaiyya, the Sikh or the Thakurda. To engage an ordinary *durwan* or gate-keeper is a different proposition. There should be no young man among the mercantile middle-class community who has not gone through training for self-defence, violent

or non-violent. Engaging these foreign elements for defence, far from putting an end to *goondashahi* will put a premium on it.

Hindus staying in Muslim localities must not leave them, but stay on there even at the risk of their lives. Muslims living in Hindu localities should be ensured the fullest protection by the Hindus.

The practice of closing down shops at the slightest rumour of disturbance should be stopped and every shopkeeper should be ready for violent or non-violent self-defence. If they will cultivate this courage, the loss will be reduced to a minimum, and the riots would become a thing of the past. Riots such as we have in our country are unknown in the West, though there may be civil wars there. The reason is that the contending parties there are equally matched, and do not take to their heels at the sight of one another, nor do they ask for and accept police help. The use of the police is entirely for protection against thieves and robbers. In this respect we are absolutely barbarous and even impotent.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE: Mr. Mahadev Desai—President; Mr. Narahari Parikh—Vice-President; Mr. Bhogilal and Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda—Secretaries; Mr. Jivanlal Divan, Mridula Sarabhai, Indumati Chimanlal, Mr. Khandubhai Desai and Raojibhai Patel.

The Hindu, 25-5-1941

105. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

May 21, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have sent Mahadev today to Ahmedabad. There is much fear there. Most probably Mahadev will reach Simla. If you can stay here till the 27th, he will meet you here itself. Otherwise you will meet direct in Simla. Most probably I will have all of you here in Sevagram on the 24th. But I shall see. Ba must be fine. Tell Lilavatibehn that I have her postcard. I got Ramdas's letter also. All will meet here on the 24th. Durgabehn has gone to Bombay to undergo clinical examination.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2138

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106. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 21, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You may stay on there. You are giving most useful services there, and you are getting some peace of mind. Kanchan at any rate is getting it. Come only when you are quite convinced that there is no need for you to stay there.

Ask Kanchan to write to me sometimes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7139. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

107. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

May 21, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

I got your letter. I quite agree. May God protect you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9181

108. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

[On or before *May 22, 1941*][1]

Replying to a question put by me, in the course of a special interview, whether he felt that the British Government would not come to any understanding with India, that they would prefer to continue the policy of drift, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I am afraid, I have to say, 'Yes'. Quite; that has been their traditional policy and it seems that, even whilst they are fighting for their very existence, they do not or they will not revise their traditional policy.

[1] The interview was reported under the date-line: "Nagpur, May 22".

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Asked whether in the present circumstances the Congress should be content with merely recording its moral protest when moral values seemed to be the first victim in the war, Gandhiji replied:

The Congress has no other value and no other influence. Whilst it is true that moral values are the first victims in war, in the end they will emerge triumphant if there is any body of people ready to represent them. And I have every hope that the Congress is at least one such body to represent moral values. If I am asked for proof, I can't give it. Time alone will show.

When I drew Gandhiji's attention to the remark[1] he made in the course of his statement on communal riots that mischief-makers and their victims who failed to stand up to them were all untouched by Congress and yet these are the men who form the bulk of Congress meetings, Gandhiji replied:

Yes, I have been obliged to say that because Congress has not been able to gain control over rowdy elements. It does not matter to me whether these elements are supported by powerful organizations or, as some hint, encouraged by the British authorities. I have no manner of doubt that the mass mind has to shed all fear of goondaism. Whether that fear is shed violently or non-violently, it has to be shed before we can defend ourselves not only against British might but the world. The first condition of civilized life is that people are able to deal with goondaism, no matter how fomented.

Asked whether the report that no further list of satyagrahis is likely to be approved by him is correct, Gandhiji said that satyagraha is temporarily suspended in places where there is tension due to communal riots and where there are a large number of satyagrahis who have not yet been arrested.

To a question whether satyagrahis returning from jail will be required to offer satyagraha again, Gandhiji replied:

Every one of them, I suppose, will go to jail from time to time until the whole question is settled for which civil disobedience is being offered, that is, until the object of civil disobedience is fulfilled.

The Hindu, 23-5-1941

[1] *Vide* p. 26.

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109. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
May 22, 1941

DEAR BHARATAN[1],

Yes, Kumarappa may take the salts—mild doses. He must not leave Coonoor till the yellowness is entirely gone. If necessary you will wire.

As to the Bombay report, I agree with your suggestion.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10154

110. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 22, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter.

An inquiry has come from London whether the report is true that you have severed all connection with me and are living away from me! How wish is father to thought!

As you say if something drastic has to happen, it will do so even on some pretext appearing altogether flimsy.[2]

You should pick up good *bhajans* from Purushottam[3]. You know that he is almost as good as the late Panditji[4]. It would be good if Narandas goes to meet you.

Most of the reports you read in the papers are patent lies manufactured for pushing up sales. I am not going to Ahmedabad nor touring nor going to Simla. And yet any of these things may come to pass though at present unexpected. But these newspapermen will be able to say 'You see we were right'.

Ba returns on 24th. Devdas is also coming and Ramdas too.

[1] Brother of J. C. Kumarappa

[2] The addressee explains: "We were still corresponding on the subject of the Sevagram Ashram and what could be done about it."

[3] Purushottamdas Gandhi

[4] Narayan Moreshwar Khare

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Mahadev has gone to Ahmedabad to see whether he can help to promote harmony. Durga has gone to Bombay to undergo clinical examination.

War news continues to be sensational. The news about the destruction in England is heart-rending.

The Houses of Parliament, the Abbey, the Cathedral seemed to be immortal. And yet there is no end. Nevertheless pride rules the English will. Is it still bravery?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6480. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9875

111. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

May 22, 1941

CHI. MITHUBEHN,

I got your letter. Ba is in Delhi. She has gone there for treatment by Dr. Sushila. She will return on the 24th. She has improved in health, though she is still weak. I shall preserve your letter for her.

Your health department seems to be doing excellent work. Many find it a great help.

You have given no news about your health. May I, therefore, take it that it is fine?

You did very well in sending an extract from Jaiji's letter. It is excellent. Tell her when you write that I remember her quite often. What she says about the virtues of the British is correct, but the description is incomplete. It is necessary for us to realize that their intoxication of power, highhandedness and blatant lies, seen here in India, show that their civilization is rooted in selfishness and love of pleasure. If we do not get angry with them despite this knowledge and cultivate friendship, then alone will our ahimsa be worth the name. We have not yet developed such ahimsa.

I hope everything is going on well there. My blessings to all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2718

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112. LETTER TO DHIRENDRA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 22, 1941

BHAI DHIRENDRA,

I have your letter. I have not been able to understand your imprisonment. Let us see what further developments take place.

Saksena of course did right in refusing to be set free by giving an undertaking. But even if one cannot resist the pressure of family feelings and gives an undertaking for one's release, I shall put up with it. The best thing of course is not to seek release.

I shall certainly try to push the good work of village industries that you had been doing. But who can replace you? Everything is in the hands of God. Blessings to all.

Blessings from
BAPU
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

113. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE[1]

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
May 23, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I see that you took nothing from Surendraji. Did the girls take anything? If you would now take to private life, you need

[1] According to the addressee, this was in reply to his letter dated May 20, in which he had "repudiated the allegation of having taken anything through Surendraji as stated by Gandhiji"; *vide* letters to the addressee, pp. 67 and 73.

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not make any public statement. I have sent you copy of my letter to Annada Babu.[1]

Love.

BAPU

SHRI AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE
4/1 SHYAMA CHARAN DE STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 10309. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

114. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

May 23, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I got your letter. Our training should only be on non-violent lines. So we cannot teach the use of the sword and other such violent weapons. But we should certainly teach non-violent defence even through them. To use the sword against the sword is a violent defence. To snatch the sword from the murderer would be non-violent defence. The best defence would be to surrender before the murderer and die. For such defence we should have unlimited capacity for forgiveness. For such people there will be no need of exercise or any other kind of training. The training in exercise is for those who have not freed themselves from fear. I am writing this with the intention of training those who do not know the difference between violence and non-violence, and whom we want to train in non-violent exercises. I feel I have in brief covered everything.

Nathji and Kishorelalji may also see this and ask any other questions, if necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5648. Also C.W. 2959. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", p. 95.

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115. SPEECH AT NATIONAL YOUTHS' TRAINING CAMP[1]

WARDHA,
May 23, 1941

It is but natural that nowadays I don't feel like leaving Sevagram at all. If I express a desire to do so I get invitations to various places. But I am unable to complete the different jobs I have on hand at Sevagram. That is why it is not possible for me to take interest in other things.

But then I thought to myself that so many boys are coming to Wardha and I wouldn't like it if I am not able to mix freely with them or crack jokes with them. So I myself agreed to come and attend the Camp.

Today my mind is full of only one thing. I cannot think of anything except what has happened at Ahmedabad, Dacca, Bombay and in Bihar. Riots have again started in Ahmedabad. There are disturbances in Bombay, too.

I ask you, "What part are the youths supposed to play in these circumstances?" Every Indian should ask himself this question.

There are but two ways of facing this situation. One is the age-old way of the world—meeting violence with violence. There is yet another way of defending oneself—that is, to peacefully endure the suffering and not to take revenge. The first way is considered universal. It is unmanly to run away from danger. Dumb animals run away when beaten. We should not be like them. It only befits us to face the danger like men and sacrifice our lives while doing so if the occasion demands. The Congress has shown the path of facing violence through non-violence. This is the only right way. If you are not able to accept this, then it is your duty to fight the enemy as much as you like. But do remember this—you have to fight only the assailant; to take revenge on innocent people is a sign of inhumanity and cowardice.

I wish you to make yourselves worthy of accepting the new and better way—the non-violent way—of bravely dying for the cause.

[1] This appeared along with a note, which read: "This has been reported by newspapers also, but this is the authentic report of the speech which was delivered by Gandhiji at 8.20 p.m. on May 23, 1941, at Wardha."

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You should neither give blow for blow nor run away for your life. For the last twenty years we have been learning to put this supreme art into practice. Today the situation is such that it is a challenge to our faith in the new way of self-defence, i.e., non-violence. I hope you have been taught the art of facing such difficult situations.

At the moment every Congressman is put to a severe test. If the Congress does not stand this test it will not have a right to exist as a national institution. What counts most is that we should be true to ourselves.

[From Hindi]
Sarvodaya, June 1941

116. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 24, 1941

DEAR ANNADA,

I have your letter. My sending Mahadev there[1] would be of no use. He can do no effective work there. He cannot secure the co-operation of all Congressmen. So far as the reports are concerned I have ample material to judge for myself the extent of the damage done. How to combat the disease is for Congressmen to find. If you can tackle that proposition it will be worth while.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

117. LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE

May 25, 1941

DEAR TULPULE,

So far as I know the Poona resolution[2] is dead for ever.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7920

[1] To Dacca and other riot-affected parts of Bengal
[2] *Vide* p. 15.

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118. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

[*May 25, 1941*][1]

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I got your letter, as also Dhiren's. All of you take care of your health and acquire sound knowledge and get through the examination. Munnalal's fever has come down. Ba, Lakshmibehn, Devdas, Ramdas and the children arrived here yesterday. Lilavati is of course here. Akbarbhai left for Ahmedabad yesterday to be of some help following the riots. Tari's[2] and Umia's[3] keys have been found.

Blessings from
BAPU

ANNAPURNABEHN
KHADI KARYALAYA
MOOL

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9407

119. LETTER TO AGNIHOTRI

SEVAGRAM,
May 25, 1941

BHAI AGNIHOTRI,

I have gone through your letter to Kishorelal. Mahadev is not here. Your letter itself shows that I was right in laying down the condition I did. If the people are new they are not yet fit to be satyagrahis. If they have no interest in the constructive programme then again they are useless. We are going to derive no benefit by sending such people. I shall issue a statement concerning the matter. Please go through it and

[1] From the postmark
[2] Tara Mashruwala
[3] Urmila, wife of Shankerlal Agrawal

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then put to me any questions you may want to. We must not worry about people becoming despondent.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

120. LETTER TO ATTA MOHAMMED

SEVAGRAM,
May 26, 1941

DEAR ATTA MOHAMMED,

You should write to me in full before I can send for you.[1] But the best thing is for you to go to Ahmedabad and see Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

121. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

May 26, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

Your letter. Your holding every worker cheap and refusing to work with him is your curse.[2] It is a disease with you. Here too nobody seemed to you to be good. I want you to humble yourself. There is ample work for you in a national organization. You must live simply and humbly like others. The bangles have become a mystery.[3] I must explore it.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10310. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] The addressee had sought an interview with Gandhiji in order to explain to him his "sound and perfect remedy for eradication of the root cause of communal riots."

[2] According to the addressee, in his letter dated May 23 he had stated his "difficulty and reluctance to work in any public body in Bengal where party friction and tussle for power were so rampant".

[3] *Vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 65-6.

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122. LETTER TO URMILA M. MEHTA

May 26, 1941

CHI. URMI,

I got your postcard. All of us were hoping that you would all arrive here on the 28th. But of course Kashmir is better than this place. Here it is still very hot this year. Now the nights also are hot. Enjoy the cool air of Kashmir, therefore. Whenever you come, you will find the house ready. I will not put up other people in it. Magan[1] is determined to pass the examination. That is good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1615. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

123. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 26, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

I can't express myself in English. The reply is contained in your description itself. If a man is passing through a forest alone, and someone stabs him in the back, he cannot do anything. But according to your description, men were stabbed in many residential areas; in such places the assailant could easily be caught, or would be killed, provided the people are not cowardly. The murder of one innocent person cannot be avenged by killing another innocent person. If ignorance is added to ignorance, the sum can be only ignorance. Think over this calmly and, if I have misunderstood the facts, let me know. You may write in English.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5749

[1] Maganlal P. Mehta, addressee's father

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124. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

[*May 26, 1941*][1]

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I got your postcard after a long time. Do not worry about the loss of a few pounds if otherwise you keep good health. I received money sent by Jugatrambhai. I expect Rami[2] is with you. The children must be fine. Ba arrived the day before yesterday. She is all right. Devdas, Ramdas and Lakshmi also have come. Lakshmi and the children are going to Madras. Devdas will leave for Simla tomorrow. Ramdas will go to Ahmedabad.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUNVARJI KHETSI PAREKH
ZANDU PHARMACY
DADAR, BOMBAY 14

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9748. Also C.W. 728. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

125. LETTER TO RISHABHDAS RANKA

SEVAGRAM,
May 26, 1941

BHAI RISHABHDAS,

I have your letter. I am pained. I had just finished your letter when Girishwar came in. He came to give me some information on behalf of the Nagpur Bank. From what he had to say and from the auditor's report it seems you have made some mistakes. If that is so you must humbly admit it. In the circumstances I shall not send Kanubhai just now. When things have cleared up there, you can come and complete the accounts.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] From the postmark
[2] Addressee's wife, Harilal Gandhi's daughter

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126. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 26, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I did not like your letter. Anyway it is good that you have communicated to me the thoughts that arose in your mind. But why did such thoughts arise? Whatever you have written could have been decided with patience by you and Chimanlal. Once you have realized your position you should have the art to retain it with dignity. I can set right everything, but you will not gain thereby. Chimanlal says that he will be glad even if he is removed from the post of manager. If there is no manager and each department is responsible for its own work, and no one is responsible for all the departments; this too is not proper. What have you to say now?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4390

127. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 26, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I have your nice letter. Thakkar Bapa had written everything. Let us hope what has been done would become permanent. See that your health does not suffer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7996. Also C.W. 3093. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

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128. LETTER TO SAVITRI BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 26, 1941

CHI. SAVITRI[1],

Since you have passed in the first division, many must have congratulated you. If you want my congratulations you can have them. I am not at all surprised that you obtained the first division, because the subjects that you had to study were not difficult for you. The difficult and useful examination for our country is that of the Charkha Sangh. There all-round development is needed, and the examination to which I am referring is the *Prathama*. It is no doubt interesting. I hope you are keeping your word.

Here it is terribly hot.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3060

129. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
[*May 28, 1941*][2]

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You are well out of this sweltering heat.

I was afraid of a bad journey[3] for you and so it has proved to be. Never, so far as I remember, have you had to send such a wire as today's. Hope you were quite well after settling down in Bombay.

Here are four letters. I am writing to Shivaji[4]. Metcalfe's[5] letter is quite good. You may write to Cunningham[6], if you know him.

[1] Wife of Kamalnayan Bajaj
[2] From the postmark
[3] The addressee had gone to Bombay to attend a women's meeting.
[4] Brother of Vinoba Bhave
[5] Herbert Aubrey Francis Metcalfe
[6] George Cunningham, Governor of North-West Frontier Province

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My blood-pressure is quite steady–154/92, about the same in the morning.

Madalasa occupied your place. The night was a trifle better. Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4022. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7331

130. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 28, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter written from Champaran. You seem to have stuck to the place. Ba has returned. She is better. Lakshmibehn has left for Madras, and Mahadev and Devdas for Simla. Rajkumari has gone to Bombay for four days to attend a women's meeting there. It must be as hot there as it is here. How can it possibly be hotter than this?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3560

131. LETTER TO PRABHULAL

May 28, 1941

BHAI PRABHULAL,

Of course you have my blessings. If you think they can be a source of inspiration for you, use them for the purpose. If you publish them in papers, you may take it that they will lose the power, if any, of inspiring you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4136

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132. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 29, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. Strange no letter from you today. I do hope you have no more bad jaw. If it is not good, you must consult Jivraj[1].

Mani[2] coming here tomorrow.

Ba is keeping well.

I [am] first class.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Can you remember where Pakistan literature could be? Kanu searched and found nothing. If you have any notion, wire and tell me also how your jaw is behaving.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4023. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7332

133. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

May 29, 1941

MY DEAR MUNSHI,

I have your transparent letter[3]. I don't mind your having written it in English. I would not for a moment tolerate your suppressing your thoughts or simply parroting my views. It would not become either of us.

You have the fullest liberty of thought and expression. If there is an error, there is nothing to prevent us from correcting it. But do remember that non-violent resistance is far superior to violent resistance. And if that is so, how can a votary of non-violence resort to violence? I have already made it absolutely

[1] Dr. Jivraj Mehta
[2] Manibehn Patel
[3] *Vide* Appendix II.

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clear that violent resistance becomes the duty of those who have no faith in non-violence.[1]

But I would ask you not to worry about these things while you are there. Go to Kausani and soothe your eyes with the sight of the Dhavalgiri snows. Do stay there longer, if you must, for the sake of your eyes. There is no hurry at all. This work will be there awaiting you, no matter when you return after full recovery. Do come, on your return to Bombay.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7661. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

134. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

May 29, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

You give me useful information regularly. Whether one adopts the method of non-violence or of violence, one can succeed only if one has patience. Can we ever imagine what patience and self-control Hitler and others must be obliged to exercise? Stabbing cannot be stopped by stabbing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5750

135. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

May 29, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

I got your letter. You are doing good work. What work have you given to Akbar?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9182

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Bhogilal Lala", pp. 74-6.

[2] The addressee met Gandhiji on June 12/13; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941.

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136. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 29, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

If you have understood my letter[1], then the other two [questions] need no reply. The pity is that both [you and Chimanlal] are ready to give up work. What would you give up? Duty or right? Duty cannot be given up and there is no right. You cannot give up what forms a part of duty, what is left is only a burden. This applies to both you and Chimanlal. If Chimanlal does not enjoy the privilege of a manager, then he is free, but what remains as part of duty has got to be done. For example, if Surendra steals, then power has to be exercised to stop him from doing so. But if he insults anyone, the use of power should be shunned. Both of you should read this. Perhaps many things will then get solved by themselves.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4391

137. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*May 30, 1941*][2]

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note.

I am sorry the jaw is still giving you pain. You will carry out instructions.

I hope you got my letter of yesterday.

Your resolution is not up to the mark. We will discuss it when we meet.

Here everything goes well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4024. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7333

[1] *Vide* p. 89.
[2] From the postmark

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138. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 30, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am not satisfied with your letter. You are too simple to do any responsible work. The girls are deceiving you. You were near them. How could Surendra thrust those things on them without your knowledge? How could they accept S's word? You are spoiling your children. It seems strange that you should offer to send those things back or to sell them. I do not believe for one moment that the girls did not want to use those things. At any rate I do not want the price which you cannot get nor do I want the articles.[1]

As to Annada Babu, he must take you at his risk. I must say I have no confidence in your doing anything well.

You may send your draft[2] of what you will say and I shall see if I can correct it.

Why do you say I have prohibited you from saying anything about the Ashram or your connection with it? You are surely at liberty to say anything you like so long as you are truthful.

By private life, I meant taking any service on your merits. I would not call it private life if you take up khadi work as a patriot. It would be private if you take it up for the sake of a living.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10311. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] *Vide* also letters to the addressee, pp. 45-6, 67, 73 and 81-2.

[2] The addressee had proposed to make a public statement on the Dacca riot; *vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 81-2.

139. LETTER TO VINA CHATTERJEE AND ABHA CHATTERJEE

May 30, 1941

CHI. VINA AND ABHA,

Your letter is full of lies. Father was with you and you did not at all ask him. Can't you be truthful enough to say that you liked the thing, so you took it?[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10312. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

140. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 30, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have read your letter. The difficulty is there. The test of your intelligence would be in getting things done with whatever means you have. The work should be so divided that it can be taken from casual workers not recruited for it. In wars this is done. Everyone gets such training that he can do any work with ease. I do not find anything wrong in it. If necessary, talk it over with me.

Balvantsinha was telling me about the leafy vegetable. If you can satisfy him, do so; otherwise let me know what it is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4392

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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141. LETTER TO LAKSHMI SATYAMURTI

May 31, 1941

MY DEAR LAKSHMI[1],

Yes, I had your two letters. How I wish your next letter will tell me that Father had good sleep without drugs. I hope both you and Mother are quite well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: S. Satyamurti Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Also C.W. 10313. Courtesy: Government of Tamil Nadu

142. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES[2]

May 31, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

Your letter to Gandhiji has come. He wants you to let him know what exactly the skin trouble is. Also he says: Why cannot you buy your own flour and make your own bread or chapati? You should be able to do this.

In regard to your other question, you should go out of your way neither to cultivate nor to drop acquaintances. Take what comes your way, and you have not to *seek* or *wait for* opportunities to tell people anything. Your life should be your sole spokesman. . . .[3]

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 192

[1] Daughter of S. Satyamurti

[2] F. Mary Barr explains: "In May, Kamala wrote to say that she was having some skin trouble, and also to ask Gandhi's advice as to whether she should visit people whose addresses had been given to her by friends, but with whom she had had no previous contact. After one such visit she had doubted its value. Gandhi replied through one of his secretaries." *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 25.

[3] Omission as in the source

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143. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

May 31, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

It was naughty of you to have slipped. I hope you will soon be restored. Rajkumari is in Bombay. I wish she should have gone to see you.

Love.

BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 193

144. LETTER TO CHANDEL

May 31, 1941

BHAI CHANDEL,

You have done well to tell me the news of Kamala's accident[1]. I am glad to know that your work is progressing. . . .[2]

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 193

145. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
May 31, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Manibehn arrived yesterday. She has grown very weak indeed. Even so, I would have asked her to return to jail, but I think she can do very useful work in Ahmedabad. I have, therefore, asked her to proceed there. She will spend two or three days in Bombay.

She tells me that the condition of lavatories in the women's ward is intolerable. You should fight about this matter there. It seems to be less a matter of expenditure than of indifference or lethargy. I think you can, through judicious intervention, get

[1] *Vide* also the preceding item.
[2] Omission as in the source.

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things improved. Mani says what Hansabehn[1] has written is not enough.

Let not the riots worry you at all. What is destined to happen will happen. Personally I believe it is a civil war that has started. It remains to be seen how far it takes us. Nobody can influence the events now. I am not worrying at all. I am guiding people according to my lights. If necessary, I will go to Ahmedabad or Bombay or anywhere else.

It is truth and non-violence which will triumph ultimately. Whether or no we have these in us, we shall know now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 248

146. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 31, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have read your letter and also the enclosed. We should not even think of such things. I would do nothing here. Yes, in the end everything will be as God ordains. Then why should we worry? We should take necessary precaution and give up fear. I do not feel satisfied by keeping Gorkha watchmen and so on. We may keep them but at the same time give up all fear, and learn to defend ourselves through violence or non-violence. We would perish if we depended on others. People are cowardly, and that is why they are scared by such things; and there are lots of people in the world to scare them. On this occasion my advice to you is to give up all fear, and tell others also to do so. Such disturbances will go on and will increase. They can die out if Hindus become brave in the true sense. Such bravery cannot be gained in a day or two. We can be secure if we understand the situation and face it. It hurts me that our people even give up their moral stand. How can the weak maintain their moral position?

Mahadev will be reaching Delhi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8043. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Hansa J. Mehta

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147. LETTER TO ABRAHAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*May/June 1941*][1]

DEAR DR. ABRAHAM,

Here is a copy of the report on your letter. It will be a pity if there is difference of opinion on facts. It is likely that the riots had economic causes rather than religious. But you will give me your considered opinion.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

148. LETTER TO D. K. GOSAVI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 1, 1941

DEAR GOSAVI,

Our talk[2] was not for publication. Something has already appeared. It should not have. I do not understand Marathi well. But as far as I understand your notes, they faithfully interpret my answers. It would be however better for me to put forth the whole thing in a form fit for publication.

If the socialist friends or any others resent my restrictions, of course it is open to them to take independent action. This they can do by resigning from the Congress. It would be rebellion, if they act independently while they remain in the Congress. Their rebellion will be justified, if they carry the bulk of Congressmen with them in their revolt. So you will see that my instructions in no way interfere with the independence of any single person.

[1] The source places this among the papers of 1941. Riots had broken out in Dacca, Ahmedabad and Bombay in March and April. From the contents the letter appears to have been written in May or June.

[2] *Vide* pp. 61-5.

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One word for yourself. Where are you? I have a feeling that you yourself do not like the restrictions I have suggested. If so, you will fail in Maharashtra. You won't be able to carry on the struggle mechanically. You have to carry out the programme in faith and with resoluteness which comes from faith.

If I have misunderstood you, the part of the letter which refers to you must be regarded as not written at all.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

If you think it necessary to come again and discuss things, you can do so.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: G.N. 9232

149. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 1, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

If you wish to have a talk with me, you can do so tomorrow. I am observing silence today. But I can explain without speaking. Make a *dhanush takli* with a bamboo stick, and make the spindle from an umbrella spoke which I will send for. Make as many such *taklis* as you can. It is an easy job. You will also learn something as you do it. You seem just now to have forgotten altogether about the examination. Remember that you have to appear at both simultaneously.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8499. Also C.W. 7140. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

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150. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 1, 1941

BHAI VEPARI,

When is the inspection of *Harijan* accounts likely to be finished? If your health permits, I should like you to finish it as soon as possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

June 2, 1941

The above was written yesterday, after the time for sending the post. I got your letter today. I certainly feel that, if you sent an abstract of the [account] books, I would attend to the rest, for in any case I will have finally to go through the accounts myself.

BAPU

NATVARLAL J. VEPARI
361 HORNBY ROAD
BOMBAY 1

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10119

151. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 2, 1941

MY DEAR KAMALA,

Having heard about your accident I wrote to you[1] at your hospital, but I see you are at your old place. Yes, come when you like and you will stay as long as you can. You will have all the help you may need.

Love.

BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 194

[1] *Vide* p. 98.

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152. LETTER TO MAHENDRAPRASAD

June 2, 1941

BHAISHRI MAHENDRAPRASAD,

I got your letter. I am hopeful that the 4th will pass off peacefully. The duty of people like you is clear. You should reason with both the parties to preserve peace, even at the risk of your lives. In that way we shall gradually regain our sanity. In any case, one thing is certain, nobody shall be a coward.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

Do keep me well informed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 101

153. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 3, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

These days the well-water remains almost clean, so there is no problem. When the rains begin you will have to be careful.

Keep an account as far as you can of the fruit sent by Janakibehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4393

154. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

June 4, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

The letter has had no effect on me because I did not find anything new in it. If I had written anything about that, I would have given them another chance to tell lies, and it would have been of no use. The principle is that except for doing our

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own duty we should not bother about anything else. But my unwillingness had nothing to do with the principle.

I am glad to know that there is no atmosphere of fear in Calcutta. It would be very satisfying if at the back of this fearlessness is a restraint in taking revenge. Perhaps the riots, etc., will increase but it will be good if neither party goes beyond limits; any other course would do no good to the country. From today there is a change in the weather. A cool breeze has started.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8044. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

155. LETTER TO FAREED ANSARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
June 4, 1941

MY DEAR FAREED,

I had your letter. The affliction that has befallen you must be regarded as our common lot. I hope however that your mother has survived the illness. Of course no son wants to be away from mother's bedside.[1]

The fact is he[2] was a selfless friend and guide to so many. Such was his goodness. May his spirit sustain us and enable us to so conduct ourselves as to prove worthy of him.

You vainly approach me for relief and strength. I have none of his great medical skill nor do I possess the knowledge of you all that he had. But I know God has given you strength and courage enough to bear the separation.

The heat here too has been very great, hot winds blowing day and night. It seems to have cooled down a bit today.

You know that Jamnalalji has been discharged on medical grounds. He is much reduced but purposely. The question is whether he will be able to get rid of his arthritis. He is in Sevagram undergoing the same dietetic course he was having in the jail. Of course there is no cause for anxiety.

Is Shaukat[3] still in the same place? Please send me his address when you next write to me. Both he and Zohra have been

[1] Apparently some portion is missing here.
[2] M. A. Ansari
[3] Shaukat Ansari, Zohra's husband

naughty. For they have never written to me. I hope S. has been doing well.

Dr. Gopichand[1] is likely to come here soon.

I am glad to have the few lines from Brijkishen. He should get rid of his constipation. Satyavati wrote to me some time ago but she has been silent for a long time.

My love to you all.

BAPU
(M. K. GANDHI)

[PS.]

June 5, 1941

This letter was written last night, and Brijkishen's sorrowful message came in this morning. I have sent you a wire[2] which I hope you have received. Such is life. No life without death. We have to obey the law that admits of no exception. May God give you complete peace and strength.[3]

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 10373

156. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 5, 1941

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

I assume that you have seen my statements on the riots.[4] They have come in for much hostile criticism on the part of Muslim correspondents. I would like your reaction to my statements. If you have not read them, I would get the cuttings and send them. My remark that in Dacca and Ahmedabad the start was made by Muslim goondas has been specially resented. I wonder what you have to say to that remark. What disturbs me most are the indecent stabbings and the like. Whatever the political differences between parties or communities, a resolute attempt should be made to avoid the use of the law of the jungle.

[1] Gopichand Bhargava

[2] The wire is not available.

[3] The postscript is from a photostat of the original in Brijkrishna Chandiwala Papers.

[4] *Vide* pp. 26-9 and 36-7.

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At first I had thought of writing simultaneously to Zakir[1] and Khwaja. But as I began to write, I thought to myself I would first confine myself to you.

I know you will give me the whole of your thought.

Love.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji*, between pp. 128 and 129

157. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

June 5, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Somehow all these days I could not reply to your note. I had nothing special to say. It would be a very good thing if you just now devote yourself to the *dhanush takli* and learn to make it. That will give you both peace of mind and knowledge, besides enabling you to serve *Daridranarayana*. Afterwards you will of course appear for both the examinations simultaneously. We will send Kanchan to Valod or Bangalore when Sushilabehn returns. Her own wish is to stay here till you have fully regained strength. Don't hurt her in any way. She is a child, and you are mature and have seen life.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8497. Also C.W. 7141. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Zakir Husain

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158. ANSWER TO "THE HINDU" CORRESPONDENT[1]

June 7, 1941

After Tagore's reply[2], should I say anything? Nothing.

The Hindu, 9-6-1941

159. LETTER TO D. K. GOSAVI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 8, 1941

DEAR GOSAVI,

I have your clear and unequivocal letter. It was not a question of suspicion. But as you had not made your position clear in your letter or during our talks[3], I was bound to find out where you yourself stood. I well remember your being with Prof. Limaye and others. I do not need to refer to the friends you mention for confirmation of your assurance which I accept at its face value.

I return the questions and answers duly corrected. You are free to publish them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 9233

[1] Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M. P., in an open letter addressed to Indian friends, had said that she saw a risk that the attitude of most of her British friends who were concentrating on the question of how far the British Government might be blamed for Indian deadlock and what they could possibly do to end it might mislead non-co-operating Indians into thinking that all progressive-minded British people were with them in throwing the whole blame on the British authorities. Hence, she said, she was moved to take the opposite course by trying to set down the opposite side as she saw it—the case against non-co-operators. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji whether he wished to say anything in reply to Miss Rathbone's letter.

[2] Dated June 4, 1941; *vide* Appendix III.

[3] On May 15; *vide* pp. 61-5.

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160. LETTER TO KANWARLAL SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
June 8, 1941

DEAR KANWARLAL,

You may fight if you like but my advice is not to.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

161. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
June 9, 1941

I have read and re-read with shame and sorrow an official account of the cool, calculated and unprovoked murder of a Muslim family including an infant girl, three years old. Though Rajendra Babu is doing glorious work on behalf of communal peace in Bihar, it is impossible for me to suppress my own opinion on this cruel crime. The perpetrators, whoever they may be, have done no good either to themselves or their religion, if they have any, or to this country. This I say apart from my views on ahimsa. I suggest that on no ground, even of violence, can such murders be defended. Repeated on a wide scale they must reduce our fair land to savagery and make the country's freedom an impossibility. No government can cope with such crimes. They can only punish the miscreants after the event and that only if they are found. In the latter case, the punishment is likely to be as indiscriminate and savage as the crime itself. I, therefore, advise the perpetrators with all the force my words may possess to deliver themselves up unconditionally to the authorities for such punishment as the latter may think fit to award. This act of repentance, tardy though it will be, will somewhat recompense for the grievous crime committed. They will thereby

[1] The addressee, who was sentenced to one-and-a-half years' imprisonment for offering satyagraha, had sought Gandhiji's advice regarding the suspension of his licence of Pleadership under the Defence of India Rules.

purge themselves, their religion and their country to some extent of the disgrace that attaches to the crime. Such a confession, if it is frank and wholehearted, may also serve as an example and possibly prevent a recurrence of such savagery.

From a copy: A.I.C.C. File, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

162. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

June 9, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I got your letter. I am sending to Chandrashankar the papers sent by you, and asking him to send his reply immediately.

I see that Chandrashankar has no more trust in your impartiality. He often writes to Mahadev, and sometimes to me also, complaining against you, but I didn't think it necessary to take up your time by sending his letters to you. I have written to him that the final decision will be mine and that your report will cover only the figures.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10120

163. LETTER TO YUDHVIR SINGH

June 9, 1941

BHAI YUDHVIR,

I have your letter. I have been watching the conflict among the students with pain and detachment. I can thus neither send a message nor depute a leader. And it is in this that the good of the student community lies. You must resolve the quarrel amongst yourselves. How this is to be done I have explained in my exposition of satyagraha. Nothing should be done out of cowardice, nothing at all from malice and nothing to gain power. You should also keep away from active politics. If even a handful of students remember this and work accordingly, others will in time begin to follow them.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

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164. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 9, 1941

All must have missed me as I did not turn up at meal time. In fact there is no cause for disappointment. Because of my foolishness or ignorance I have mild dysentery and slight fever. If Sushilabehn had not forbidden me, I could have easily come to the dining-room. But I follow the instructions of the doctors as far as possible. No one should worry.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4394

165. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 10, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have read your letter carefully. It will be enough if you do not make up your mind that you cannot live with Kanchan. She will go to Valod when she is relieved by Sushila. It is but natural for a girl to wish to stay with her parents. It is not quite necessary that she should stay with you. You should remain here and do what you can. Let your thoughts mature, and preserve your peace of mind. Observe self-control and build up good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8496. Also C.W. 7142. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

166. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 12, 1941

MY DEAR AMALA,

Your letter. Mahadev is in Ahmedabad. He has not been ill. Durga is, and is in the Bhatia Hospital. I am glad you are

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to have a new companion in Sati. What is this about the college? You will let me know more about it.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

167. LETTER TO WALCHAND HIRACHAND

June 13, 1941

BHAI WALCHAND[1],

I am in receipt of your letter. As Rajendra Babu[2] is going [to Vishakhapatnam] there should be no necessity of a message from me. In view, however, of my old association with the late Sheth Narottam[3], I can quite understand that you would expect my blessings on this occasion. May your enterprise succeed and may it benefit the whole country.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 120

168. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

June 14, 1941

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I have your descriptive letter. I can well understand your and Mother's grief.[4] Have I not personally known what a domestic man Father was? His love for you all was boundless. His love of the country was a later growth. But it never diminished the family affection. Do I not remember how for your sake he came to Wardha[5]? It showed to me too that although our politics differed, the personal bond between us never snapped.

[1] Chairman, Board of Directors, Scindia Steam Navigation Company

[2] Who was to lay the foundation-stone for the first India-owned ship-building yard on June 21, 1941

[3] Narottam Morarjee, father of Shantikumar Morarjee

[4] The addressee's father, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, had passed away on May 19.

[5] In 1934

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You must be a tower of strength to Mother. Tell her I expect her to follow in the footsteps of Ramabai Ranade and bravely do such service [as] she can. She must not give way to grief.

Do come when you can.

Love.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Builders of Modern India: S. Srinivasa Iyengar*, between pp. 95 and 97

169. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL V. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
June 14, 1941

BHAI CHIMANLAL,

Received your letter. Do defend yourself by all legal means.[1] Don't submit. Let them fine you if they choose. Undergo imprisonment if they offer it. Let the press be closed down if there is no one to run it after you go. Or let the magazine[2] run only as a newspaper. If that too is not possible, then let things take their own course. I will only insist that you should not do anything under pressure. But since Munshiji is there, there is no need to consult me. Be guided by his advice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

170. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
June 15, 1941

Shri K. M. Munshi wrote to me the enclosed[3] from Nainital to which I sent a reply[4] in Gujarati of which the original and translation are herewith enclosed. In pursuance of the

[1] The addressee was sentenced to six months' imprisonment or to pay a fine of Rs. 2000.

[2] *Bharat Samachar* which was asked to stop publication

[3] *Vide* Appendix II.

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

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correspondence, Shri K. M. Munshi came to me[1] as soon as it was possible after his return to Bombay. In the course of the discussion, I discovered that whilst he accepted in the abstract the principle of ahimsa with all its implications, he felt the greatest difficulty in acting upon it, the more so as with his intimate knowledge of Bombay he was sure that he could not carry the Hindus with him, much less the Muslims. He knew that the numerous Hindus who were under his influence would look to him for guidance and would seek his advice. He saw no way of convincing them that they could defend themselves through ahimsa. As a political weapon and therefore of immediate use in the midst of the riots which looked more like a miniature civil war, he could not make any effective use of ahimsa. With him the question was not one of interpretation of Congress resolutions but of being truthful to himself and to the country. In view, therefore, of the following resolution[2] by the A.I.C.C. explaining the Wardha statement, I advised that the only dignified and brave course for him was to resign from the Congress and attain freedom of action unhampered by restrictions entailed by the Congress non-violence.

> The A.I.C.C. has considered the statement issued by the Working Committee from Wardha on June 21, 1940, and confirmed it. The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that as explained therein, while the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it is unable, in the present circumstances, to declare that the principle should be extended to free India's national defence. The A.I.C.C. desires to affirm that the Congress organization should continue to be conducted on the principle of non-violence and all Congress volunteers are bound by their pledge to remain non-violent in the discharge of their duty and no Congress volunteers' organization can be formed or maintained except on that basis. Any other volunteers' organization for the purpose of self-defence with which Congressmen are associated must likewise adhere to non-violence.

I told him that there came a time in every Congressman's life when being a Congressman dragged him down; that was when there was conflict between thought and action. For the spring of non-violent action was non-violent thought. If the latter was absent, the former had subjectively little or no value. Therefore it was good for him, the Congress and the country

[1] On June 12, 1941; *vide* Appendix IV.
[2] Passed at Poona on July 28, 1940

that he should resign and mould his action from moment to moment as he thought proper. And by his action he would open the door for those Congressmen to resign whose practice could not accord with their thought. The Congress was conceived to be a non-violent and truthful organization in which there should be no place for those who could not honestly conform to these two conditions. Strange as it might appear, the practice of non-violence seemed more difficult than of truth. For the fruits of untruth were more indetectable than those of violence.

My advice appealed to Shri Munshi. And he has decided to accept it.[1] He will go because he could not be disloyal to the Congress he has so long served. And it does not at all follow that his resignation means that from being a meek and mild man he suddenly becomes a fierce man, vowing vengeance on those whom he may consider to be opponents, or that he becomes a communal anti-nationalist. I have no doubt that for him every non-Hindu whose only home is India is as much Indian as a Hindu, born and bred in India. I congratulate him upon taking the step he will and I have every hope that his resignation from the Congress will enable him to utilize his faculties so as to make a decisive contribution towards the establishment of lasting peace in Bombay.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1941; also *Pilgrimage to Freedom*, pp. 415-6

171. REPLY TO BRITISH WOMEN'S APPEAL[2]

SEVAGRAM,
June 15, 1941

DEAR SISTERS,

We have very carefully studied your message addressed to India's women. We write this in our individual capacity, as also that of representative members of the A.I.W.C. which, as you know, is an organization of fifteen years' standing. We mention this to show that what we state here is not only our deep

[1] For K. M. Munshi's statement, *vide* Appendix V.

[2] Drafted by Gandhiji, this was signed by Sarojini Naidu, Rameshwari Nehru, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Amrit Kaur, Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Ammu Swaminathan and Radha Subbaroyan on behalf of the All-India Women's Conference and sent on June 21, 1941.

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personal conviction, but also, as far as we can judge, the conviction of a large body of India's women.

It is scarcely necessary to tell you that we appreciate the sincerity of your appeal. But we are amazed at the ignorance betrayed in it of the realities. Indeed your Prime Minister[1] by contrast shows a grasp of realities which is refreshing, however painful it may be. He has no misgivings about the status that India occupies in the British mind. It is a dependency which can and is being utilized at the British will. He knows that he does not need the consent or co-operation of India's thinking sons and daughters in anything that Britain wants for fighting her war. He takes care to pay tribute to the valour of the Indian soldiers who are part of the army of occupation in India. These soldiers you should know are wholly unconnected with the national life and activities. They may not freely see any nationalist without incurring heavy penalties, nor has your Prime Minister any difficulty in raising either by taxation or so-called voluntary contributions the money he wants. We cannot complain of this helplessness but we must not be blind to the facts. How can there be the association, in such a situation, of the India that is impatient of the foreign yoke with the forcible aid we have adverted to?

The fact is that you are wholly wrong in your estimate of things. We are surprised at your quoting the untruth contained in President Roosevelt's pronouncement. You quote: "Today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom."[2] The fact is that there is no such thing as human freedom for Asiatic races, certainly not for India, nor is there for the virile Africans. The result, whatever it may be, of the war will not alter their condition for the better, save through their own efforts. As we see the reality, it is this. It is a war between the British Empire and Nazis and Fascists for world domination, meaning in effect exploitation of the non-European races.

We cannot be in love with Nazism and Fascism. But we may not be expected to be in love with British Imperialism.

Now perhaps you will understand why we as women are against all war. Women's part is just now to stand up for truth and non-violence as against the untruth and violence which surround us. We admire the self-sacrifice of the British women of which you write with just pride. Here we wish you could have

[1] Winston Churchill

[2] The quotation is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 23-6-1941.

taken a braver and prouder part by telling your men to wash their hands clean of human blood. You might not have succeeded all at once. But you would have led the way to the establishment of permanent peace. We take leave to doubt the wisdom of women aping men in the black art of human slaughter on a scale hitherto unknown.

Lastly, let us point out the anomaly of British women asking India, though a slave nation, to help the slave-owner in distress instead of asking the slave-owner to undo the wrong and cure himself of the initial sin and thus ensure the moral justness of his position.

This presentation of the picture may appear unpleasant to you but it is none the less sincere. And we could not answer your sincerity except by being equally sincere.

From a photostat: C.W. 10360

172. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 16, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The way to hand over the kitchen to Harijans is to train those men and women who work steadily and to leave the others out. In the beginning one of us should supervise their work. This sort of arrangement prevails in all institutions.

The rules of the kitchen continue to be the same. The change is only in the case of fruit. It should be served to those who must have it and to others when available. Mangoes will go out in a few days now. Serve papayas when they become available. If you can give fruit to everyone by all means do so.

Nothing is to be given to anyone because he likes it but Ba is exempted from this rule. Shakaribehn can prepare something for herself, if she desires. In the case of others anything outside the menu may be prepared only if specially instructed by me. Of course you know about Shastriji.

This covers everything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4395

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173. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 16, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter today. I received the dhoti. I wore it the next day and will use it more. I understand the affection it symbolizes.

Only our actions will lead to the spread of ahimsa. *Harijan* cannot be published right now. Publishing it will itself harm the truth. But we should have faith that thought is more effective than speech and writing. If I hold pure thoughts, it is my firm belief, they must be having their effect, and this will spread.

What happened in Garhwal is rather sad. I feel that you or Bapa should go there. And if possible both of you should go. If the settlement is broken, you must go there and restore it. It is essential that at least one of you should visit the place at once. The path of service is hard indeed.

I hope you were not worried on hearing of my illness. Now I am quite all right. Whatever happened was due to my foolishness or ignorance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7997. Also C.W. 3094. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

174. LETTER TO GANESHDUTT SINGH

June 16, 1941

BHAI GANESHDUTT SINGHJI,

I was very glad to have your letter. Rajendra Babu tells me that despite your age you are taking considerable interest in public activities.

Even if all satyagrahis are released I cannot say that I will not send anyone to jail again. I am having consultations with Rajendra Babu.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8738

175. LETTER TO VIDYAVATI

June 16, 1941

CHI. VIDYA,

A great calamity has indeed befallen you. These are your moments of trial. You have to bear it with fortitude. There is a tuberculosis hospital in Delhi but it is for the benefit of Delhi people only and is always full. But the one at Bhowali is the best, where people belonging to the U.P. are given priority, and there is another at Dharampur. There is no cause for worry. If Rajendra observes restraint in diet he will recover. If the tuberculosis is in its early stages it is not incurable.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: Rani Vidyavati Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

176. LETTER TO JIVKRISHNA SHARMA

June 18, 1941

BHAI JIVKRISHNA SHARMA,

Your intention to hold an exhibition of the products of khadi and village industries and to give away the total profit to the Kamala Nehru Hospital[1] is indeed praiseworthy. I wish you success in the effort.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 89

[1] At Allahabad

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177. LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 19, 1941

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

I was delighted to see your signature after a prolonged silence. I do hope you will be fully restored to health under the kindly attention you are having.

Though there is no connection between what I did during the last war and what we are doing now, I quite agree with you that those who offer their services now need have no fear of any vindictive action by any Congress government.[1]

Please tell Lakshmi that I am quite well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 10202

178. LETTER TO S. RANGANAYAKI[2]

June 19, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I was delighted to have your note through Ambujam. She translated that letter for me. Of course, I consider myself a member of the family and shall follow its fortunes with personal interest.

Ambujam has given me her costly jewels which you have permitted her to donate in the sacred memory of the deceased patriot. I have decided to devote the proceeds to founding Harijan scholarships.

Love.

BAPU

Builders of Modern India: S. Srinivasa Iyengar, p. 67

[1] The addressee had asked Gandhiji to encourage medical recruitment on humanitarian grounds.

[2] S. Srinivasa Iyengar's widow

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179. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

June 19, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

I got your letter. You are doing great *tapashcharya*[1] indeed. May you succeed. Come whenever you wish to. I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VALLABHRAM VAIDYA
SHANTISADAN
MOUNT ABU

From Gujarati: C.W. 2914. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

180. TELEGRAM TO OBEIDULLAH

WARDHA,
June 21, 1941

OBEIDULLAH[2]
CONGRESS OFFICE
TRICHI

EXEMPTION VENKATACHALAM[3] GRANTED.

GANDHI

From a copy: A.I.C.C. File, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Penance
[2] President, Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee
[3] A released satyagrahi who was seeking election to Presidentship of the Trichinopoly District Board

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181. DRAFT LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, WARDHA[1]

June 21, 1941

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of 16th instant, I have to state that my sons are no longer members of a joint family. Each has his own means. But since there are funds with me belonging to my son Ramakrishna[2], I send you herewith notes for Rs. 300 being the total fine inflicted on him.

From a photostat: G.N. 3064

182. NOTE TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ[3]

[*June 21, 1941*][4]

Will not the remitting of this amount result in Ramakrishna's release ?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3064

183. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL V. SHAH

June 21, 1941

BHAI CHIMANLAL,

Received your letter. I find your article entirely innocent. I do not like that again and again you have to submit to the censors. But the newspapers have learnt the art of survival, of which I am completely ignorant. Therefore I cannot be of much help. Munshiji is there. Therefore I would ask you to act only according to his advice. If he has to ask anything about you he will ask me. I do not want to give my independent view when he is there. Show him this letter too and be guided by his advice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] On behalf of Jamnalal Bajaj; *vide* also the following item.
[2] Who had offered satyagraha on April 15, 1941, at Wardha
[3] & [4] Gandhiji wrote this on the margin of the English letter drafted for Jamnalal Bajaj; *vide* the preceding item.

184. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM,
June 21, 1941

BHAI HARIBHAU,

Rukmini's letter is enclosed.[1] I hope you are keeping good health. Ramnarayan says that the misunderstandings prevailing about municipal affairs at Ajmer can be removed if you devote some time to the matter. If there is some truth in this please spare the time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6090. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

185. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALAJA

[On or after *June 21, 1941*][2]

CHI. BALI[3],

You seem to have been born for the service of Harilal's children. So what advice can I give you?

It would be surprising indeed if you weren't ill. What else can you expect but to fall ill?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 1582. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

[1] The letter is not available.

[2] This letter is written on the back of a letter of this date, written to the addressee by someone.

[3] Sister of Harilal Gandhi's wife

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186. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Monday, June 23, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I have read the enclosed. It is a good collection[1]. All these verses have more meanings assigned to them than what you have found. But for us the literal meaning is enough.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6481. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9876

187. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

June 23, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter. I don't think Ba is likely to go there at present. She is all right. We will manage to get mangoes from somewhere. I was glad to learn that Ranjit had recovered. Would it not have been a discredit to you if he hadn't? So in the end you also had to seek mother goat's help. But Kalyanji is a farmer, and he must drown himself for being unable to keep a fine cow and to have her breed calves even if he has to undergo some hardships. Pragji should share the same fate.

Blessings from
BAPU

MITHUBEHN PETIT
MAROLI, *via* NAVASARI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2717

[1] Of hymns from the Rigveda

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188. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

June 23, 1941

CHI. MAHAVIR,

How is it your fever still does not leave you? Are you sufficiently careful about your diet? Such fever cannot be the result of simple fatigue. Whatever the cause, get rid of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6243

189. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[After *June 23, 1941*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

Your troubles are many. You have chosen the path.[2] I am trying to send Munnalal and possibly Ozaji with him. The use of the well is the most serious matter. Let us see what happens. Yes, Asha[3] is a good friend.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Here is what [I] have finished of the selections.

From the original: C.W. 6482. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9877

[1] The addressee places the letter between those dated June 23 and July 1.

[2] Mirabehn explains: "I had returned from Chorwad and was living in a cottage by a well in a newly-planted *bagicha* about half a mile from Sevagram."

[3] Ashadevi Aryanayakum. The addressee had gone to stay with her in order to revise with her assistance the English rendering of her selections from Vedic hymns.

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190. TELEGRAM TO ISHWARLAL G. VYAS

WARDHAGANJ,
June 25, 1941

ISHWARLAL
ASHRAM
BHADRAK

CONSIDER JIVRAMBHAI'S[1] DEATH BLESSING. NATHIBEHN[2] SHOULD REJOICE HIS FREEDOM FROM PAIN. REPORT FULLY.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5060

191. LETTER TO D. P. KARMARKAR

June 25, 1941

DEAR KARMARKAR[3],

As I know so little of municipal affairs they are all referred to Rajendra Babu and Acharya Kripalani. Both are just now away. Either follow the existing rule or write to Rajendra Babu at Patna.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: A.I.C.C. File No. 1293-A, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

192. TELEGRAM TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

SEVAGRAM,
June 26, 1941

I AGREE.[4] HOPE HEALTH IMPROVING.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Jivram Kothari; *vide* also p. 128.
[2] Wife of Jivram Kothari
[3] President, Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee
[4] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's advice on offering satyagraha immediately after his release.

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193. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 26, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I hope Chi. Kumari Vidyavati's wedding will pass off without any hitch. May both of them have a long life and serve the country. Mirabai has returned from Chorwad. She is happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10052. Also C.W. 6457

194. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 27, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your letter was a painful one. But perhaps your good lies in your leaving. I fear you will return after a bitter experience. I will be only too glad if the fear is proved false and if, like Janaki Prasad, you are able to settle down somewhere. I have suggested Pondicherry or Ramana Ashram. But if you cannot settle in peace anywhere you have of course a place here.

Jawaharmulji's advice regarding Hiramani is the best. Let her get trained slowly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8493. Also C.W. 7143. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

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195. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 28, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

It is clear to me that I can do nothing for you. You must now come down to mother earth and do as other men do—labour to earn an honest cowrie and subsist on it. You will then be able to learn what self-respect is.[1]

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10314. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

196. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

June 28, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

There have been no letters from you recently. But I learn that you keep good health. Write to me. Grandmother is all right. I am also quite well. Manojna and Krishnadas[2] have arrived. Prabhudas[3] also is here at present. He will soon be leaving.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1581. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

[1] The addressee had expressed his reluctance "to take a merely mercenary work to the exclusion of social service".

[2] & [3] Sons of Chhaganlal Gandhi

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197. BHAKTA JIVRAM

Jivrambhai is no more. In my view he was a true *bhakta* and a *bhakta* lives all the more after death. I refuse to believe that he is dead. Of course his ailing body has perished, it has turned into ashes. His radiant soul is immortal and pervades every particle of the province of Orissa.

Jivrambhai was rich. According to me he was an ideal trustee. He gave his money for the spread of the charkha among the poor of Orissa. He himself lived like the poor of Orissa and all the twenty-four hours his thoughts were full of the welfare of the people of Orissa. Shri Ishwarlal describes his last days thus:

> He suffered from diarrhoea for nearly three months. He stopped taking medicines from the 18th June, 1941. He said: "I have been taking medicines for the last three months and there is no improvement. So now let it be as God wills." He was using mud-packs. He had completely given up food. He took *mosambi* juice which also he gave up later. Since the morning of the 23rd he did not take even water. He used to rinse his mouth when his throat went dry. I told him: "Please take some water". He replied: "Don't you see I am losing my breath?" This he said in the morning and till ten minutes to three he was fully conscious. Within ten minutes all of a sudden he was unconscious and lay stiff. Without any movement, slowly the breathing stopped.

Let us all become like him. May God grant us such a noble death.

SEVAGRAM, June 29, 1941

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, July 1941

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198. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 29, 1941

DEAR MOTI BABU,

Shri Jajuji has sent me the file regarding Prabartak Sangha. I was distressed on reading it. The A.I.S.A. is a huge concern which has the poorest of the land as its only concern. It must put all its transactions on a sound legal footing. Then only can it be morally sound. I therefore do not understand the hesitation to give the required promissory note. Indeed, the debt should have been paid off long ago. And why this hesitation to get the certificate? If you cannot accept the requirements, surely the least you should do is to stop khadi work altogether.[1]

I am sure I have but to draw your attention to things to set them right.

I hope your eyes no longer trouble you and that otherwise too you are well.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 11054

199. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

June 29, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI[2],

I had replied promptly to Bhai Motichand Kapadia's letter. I have mentioned it in my note, too. Unfortunately I didn't keep a copy. But I remember the reply, which I enclose with this.[3] Read it and give it to Bhai Motichand.

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Motilal Roy", 18-7-1941.

[2] Son of Bhulabhai Desai

[3] Kanu Gandhi has added the following note to the letter: "A copy of the earlier letter to Motichandbhai has since been traced but since it is the same as the enclosed one I am not sending it."

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Your previous letter did not call for a reply. For after that Bhai Munshi resigned[1] and Mahadev also met him.

I hope you and Madhuri are keeping fine.

How is the atmosphere there?

Give the accompanying[2] to Bhulabhai if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

200. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

June 29, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I learn from the office that this is the third or fourth letter from you [though] containing fewer criticisms. Please warn your men.

I am sending your letters to Mahadevbhai. Since he has had a talk with you, you should write direct to him at Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati. He will reply to you. The point is that it will be enough if you give a report on the basis of the material you have received. For finally I myself will have to look into everything. I will, therefore, take your [help][3] if I particularly need it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10121

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 112-4.

[2] In another note Kanu Gandhi here says: "He will write this letter later, so I cannot enclose it with this."

[3] One word here is illegible.

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201. LETTER TO ZOHRA ANSARI

June 29, 1941

DAUGHTER ZOHRA,

I was delighted to have your letter. Faridbhai writes and says that you looked after his mother very well. God will look after your well-being. Have some patience. One day I shall certainly let you go to jail. I hope Shaukat is all right. Love to the children.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Urdu: *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 48 and 49

202. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 30, 1941

MY DEAR BARDOLOI,

I replied to your wire there and then.[1] I had a note from the Telegraph Office that you had left and that the wire was posted to you. You must have got it. In view of the notice given by you, I suppose you must court imprisonment, but if the Government had good grounds for releasing you, it would be violence to court imprisonment. But you are the best judge. Please keep me informed of your movements and doings. This is a long-drawn-out struggle in which there would be no haste. Everyone will have all the opportunity he needs to show his mettle.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3

[1] *Vide* p. 125.

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203. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

June 30, 1941

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have your letter introducing Mr. M. Lancaster. I have already given him an appointment. I do not know that I shall be of any help to him.

Yes, I did receive your letter about Andrews' sisters. Amrit it was who sent an acknowledgement. But who knows what letters reach addressees. The wonder is that in the midst of the terrible slaughter there is still so much order.

I have not yet been able to do anything about the sisters. Even the memorial is hanging fire. If I live long enough I shall collect the money.

The riots, floods and the struggle have upset all my plans. The riots this time have no resemblance to the former ones. This time it is a rehearsal for a civil war. My faith in the authorities is daily receiving rude shocks. It seems they will never learn, never forget.

The Secretary of State never speaks but to irritate almost everybody. The breach is widening. There is much make-believe. In spite of all this, I do not despair of my ahimsa working. Its effect is silent, torturingly slow, but sure. You may therefore be sure that no stone will be left unturned on this side to promote understanding and friendliness.

You must have seen India's women's answer[1] to the British women's appeal. I wonder if Ch. keeps up sending you cuttings.

Mahadev is in Ahmedabad and Amrit in Simla.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1521

[1] *Vide* pp. 114-6.

204. LETTER TO FARID ANSARI

June 30, 1941

MY DEAR FARID,

Whatever I do is spontaneous and natural to me. A votary of truth cannot do otherwise. No appreciation is therefore needed for doing what is natural, even as there need be none for a man being what he is.

Yes, Zohra has written. She asks for permission, but I have asked her to wait.[1] I do not wonder at Zohra having served mother well. She would have belied Dr. Ansari's teaching if she had done otherwise.

I am quite well. There was nothing but a passing distemper. I admit even that should not have been. I regard every distemper as a breach of nature's laws. That we are often unconscious is no excuse.

What is Satyawati's address?

I hope things are going well with you all.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

205. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

June 30, 1941

BHAI BHULABHAI,

Bhai Munshi had given me the substance of your talk with him. You must have seen from my statement[2] that the Congress policy is quite clear. The clarity was achieved after a long discussion. Hence those who do not accept that particular portion of the Poona resolution have no option but to leave the Congress, and that is why I persuaded Bhai Munshi to take the step he has taken. Now if what I understand about your views is correct, your path is clear. You should come out openly with

[1] *Vide* p. 131.
[2] *Vide* pp. 112-4.

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your view and try to cultivate public opinion in accordance with it. This is an age of action. All of us will be judged by our actions. A heavy responsibility rests on the Congress. It can be discharged only if there is perfect correspondence between our views and our actions. We claim to represent the 35 crores. I am addressing this to you personally, but I should like all of you to think over it. It is going to be a long and a hard struggle. What is going on at present is but a preparation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

206. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

June 30, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

I got your letter. You must have received my letter[1] of yesterday. Send me other cuttings from time to time like the one you sent regarding Bhai Munshi. I expect nothing but good from Bhai Munshi's step. Much will depend on his future course of action. Encourage others also who think like him to leave. Now it is going to be a time for real action, when half-hearted people will prove a burden. The path of ahimsa can lead to success only if all those who adopt it believe in it whole-heartedly. Nobody can be non-violent merely by professing non-violence.

I will send Chi. Kanu after his account work is finished.

Yesterday I could not write to your father. Please find the letter[2] enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* pp. 129-30.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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207. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

June 30, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Please answer this[1]. I hope you arrived safely.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

208. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 30, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

I had your cheering wire from Delhi. There should be one from Simla. Not yet received at 3.30 p.m.

Do you know anything about a cheque for Rs. 251 from Khambhatta?

Here is a letter from Rameshwari. I am fasting for 24 hours in compliance with the wish expressed by Osman Sobani for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity. The fast finishes at 5.20. Seven have joined me of their own accord. The rains have set in properly. It has been raining the whole night. It has stopped just now.

I have been working full speed, none the worse for the fast. Sushila has gone to Nagpur to accompany Usha for medical examination of her womb by Dr. Martin. She will see Pyarelal too.

Mahadev will be leaving Ahmedabad tomorrow for Dehra [Dun] to see Jawaharlal[2]. He returns here 9th. From Dehra [Dun], he will go to Bombay, thence to Panchgani to see Mathuradas[3].

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4025. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7334

[1] The reference is to a letter from Annada Babu about working in Kalimpong.

[2] He was in Dehra Dun jail.

[3] Mathuradas Trikumji

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209. *RENTIA BARAS*[1]

Along with his success, Shri Narandas's ambition and enthusiasm go on increasing from year to year. So should it be with all those who have faith. The scope for khadi is as wide, at least, as the boundaries of India. This terrible, suicidal war may perhaps show that khadi, i.e., the principle of self-reliance for meeting one's needs, is of universal application. Be that as it may, for India, at any rate, the spinning-wheel is the sole means of ending simultaneously both poverty and unemployment. I, therefore, hope that Kathiawar will completely fulfil Narandas's ambition.

It should be remembered that the use of khadi is spreading in Kathiawar. It should, therefore, produce locally all the khadi it needs. This will necessarily require more money. In view of this, all the money received this time will be used for production of khadi.

Narandas hopes to collect at least one lakh rupees in the coming 72 days. May this hope be fulfilled!

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, July 1, 1941

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8583. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

210. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM,
July 1, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Ramdas says at present he has not a man to spare. Can Undhru do the job under your directions? Can you procure labour from Varoda? Your difficulty is real. But I am helpless. Experiences like this show that labour is more than money.

[1] This note was appended to an appeal issued by Narandas Gandhi in connection with the celebration of Gandhiji's 72nd birthday according to the Gujarati calendar.

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Many moral problems arise from your letter but these I must not discuss here. You will tell me what you will have me do. Will you like me to procure labour from Wardha?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6483. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9878

211. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 1, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I had your wire from Simla and now I have your letter from Delhi.

Here is Balkoba's letter to you.

It is still raining. Your Hindi writing is almost perfect.

I have a batch of cuttings about Munshi. They make interesting reading. I may issue a statement.

I have advised Nandan[1] to accept Prof. Indra's[2] resignation. The more the merrier. The atmosphere will be cleared.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4026. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7335

212. DRAFT STATEMENT FOR AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

[*July 2, 1941*][3]

For domestic reasons in which the public is not interested I had to come back to Bengal leaving my two elder sons under Gandhiji's care. On arrival in Bengal I proceeded at once to Dacca as I had thought under Gandhiji's instructions. And I made a long statement about my going to Dacca. On seeing the

[1] Raghunandan Saran, President, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee; *vide* also "Letter to Raghunandan Saran", before 16-7-1941, and "Statement to the Press", 5-8-1941.

[2] Indra Vidyalankar

[3] The draft statement was sent along with a letter of this date; *vide* the following item.

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statement Gandhiji in a telegram[1] repudiated it and said that he had never given me any instructions but that he had said that if I felt like it I could go to Dacca on my own responsibility and without fuss immolate myself there whilst trying to serve both the communities. I am sorry I misunderstood his instructions. I well recall his repeatedly saying to me as to all workers that we had to work silently and selflessly. But in the impulse of the moment I forgot myself and was betrayed into making a long statement up to which I could not live. In Dacca I was in need of directions without which I could not do work. I wired to Gandhiji for them and he wired[2] saying he could issue none and that I should come away and work for my living which I am trying to do.[3]

From a photostat: C.W. 10361. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

213. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 2, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am sorry I was unable to send you my draft. I now send you one[4] in the place of yours. If you do not like my draft, you need not publish anything. The matter has become stale.

I hope Abha has become strong now.

You should find some work in a private firm and gradually earn your living. I regard your life as wasted in the manner you have lived. And you should make both Vina and Abha too earn whatever they can. You must not be ashamed of labour.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10315. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] & [2] The telegrams are not traceable.

[3] Amrita Lal Chatterjee disapproved of this statement and it was not published.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

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214. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 2, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters. I hope this will reach you safely.

Not a day has yet passed but I have written to you.

It is blowing cold. For the moment it is like Simla. It should delight S's[1] heart. I hope he was not shocked by your appearance.

All well here.

Sikandar is coming here today. I shall be at sea without you. But Damodar has made friends with him. He has promised to look after him.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Written amidst interruptions.

From the original: C.W. 4027. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7336

215. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 2, 1941

CHI. LILY,

I got your letter. It will never do to lose heart so soon. You should try to read with concentration and understand what you read. Take somebody's help if necessary. Never mind if your weight increases, but do include enough ghee and milk in your diet. It will do you no harm if your weight remains at 105 or even 110. If you do not eat nourishing food, your health will suffer and your mind will not keep fresh. It has been raining hard here for the last four days. It is very cold, too. I hope you make the tea light, as you told me you would.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Kunwar Shamshere Singh, addressee's brother

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[PS.]

Rajkumari has gone to Simla. Sushila is all right. Your expenses have been guaranteed by Shantikumar.

SMT. LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
KANJI KHETSEY KANYA CHHATRALAYA
65 MINT ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10109. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

216. LETTER TO SATIN SEN

SEVAGRAM,
July 3, 1941

DEAR SATIN,

Your letter just to hand. Though local factors ultimately determine the situation, I think if the division of opinion among you is not on communal lines you should accept earmarked donations, if you receive from both communities. If the Muslims are overwhelmingly opposed, you should not undertake communal distribution.

I do not wonder at the Marwadi Society's answer. You should do what you locally can.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

217. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here is Jhind's reply. It is bad, it is evasive. But what can you do? I am glad they were all agreeably surprised to see you looking so well. I am glad, however, I got nervous and packed you off. It was necessary for you to go to Simla, well or ill.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4028. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7337

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218. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 3, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your note. I missed you last night and yet was I wishing that you would not come. When I learnt that Undhru was sent to you, I thought you were being attended [to]. On inquiry just now, I find that only Undhru was sent. I hear just now that Undhru was sent with full instructions. Nevertheless I am sending Puri to see how you are faring. You will break your silence to speak to him.[1]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6484. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9879

219. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

July 3, 1941

DEAR BARDOLOI,

Your letter. I am quite clear that you must not court imprisonment till you are cured of all your illnesses. Please show this to the President.[2]

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 4

[1] In *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, in a note placed before a letter of September 7, 1940, the addressee explains: "The inner struggle had come to a crisis and such bewildering and delusive mists and fogs had enveloped my path that, in my anguish, I went into silence and seclusion that I might the better pray to God for help. The silence, with a few days' breaks for travelling, lasted 15 months. For part of the time my rule was to speak once a day for half an hour, if necessary, and for the rest of the time when I was in a cottage in the Sevagram fields, I spoke twice a week in the evening when I went to see Bapu."

[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 131.

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220. LETTER TO DILKHUSH B. DIWANJI

July 3, 1941

BHAI DILKHUSH,

I got your booklet. I will try to read it, and if I feel that I should write something, I will do so.[1] Since you are all coming, I would naturally like to have a special word with some of you but I have to restrain myself.

Blessings from
BAPU

DILKHUSH DIWANJI
"GANDHI KUTIR"
KARADI, *via* NAVASARI
B.B.&C.I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2648

221. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA[2]

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 4, 1941

DEAR ARUN BABU,

It was delightful to hear from you from the old haunt. The wonder is that you were not taken there earlier. You serve whether in or out. Yes, I had all your letters and dealt with them. Our work is undoubtedly hard but simple. We know what we have to do at a given moment. We are in no hurry for we are sure of success.

Perhaps no one will need to come to me from Bengal because Rajen Babu and the Professor were there and had a heart-to-heart chat with the workers.[3]

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee dated 21-7-1941.

[2] This was withheld by the censor and later allowed to go on July 22.

[3] On June 23, Rajendra Prasad and J. B. Kripalani discussed the communal problem with Bengal Congress workers in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee office in Calcutta.

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We shall some day play a decisive part in the solution of the communal question, if we remain strictly non-communal and non-violent. Do you not agree that without non-violence we cannot be wholly non-communal?

I hope all of you are keeping well.

With kind regards to all of you,

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI ARUN CHANDRA GUHA
SECURITY PRISONER
C/O ADDITIONAL SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE
MIDNAPUR
HIJLI CAMP

From a photostat: G.N. 8668

222. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 4, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are your letters. Yours has duly come. I am in no hurry about Jamnalal Bajaj.[1] And if you experience the slightest difficulty you will tell me without the slightest hesitation.

It is a grand thing to feel that your movements are fixed for you without taxing you. If servants do so they are faithful, if friends do so they may at least get that much credit. And imagine what opportunity you get for doing your work! But we are living in an ungracious world. What is to be done? Sikander is here feeling lonely without you. He goes to Hyderabad and will come later.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4029. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7338

[1] The addressee had sent a telegram to Gandhiji requesting him to send Jamnalal Bajaj to Simla to regain his health.

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223. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

July 4, 1941

CHI. PREMA,

The letter which I said I had not received, I got later.

What you say is true. Sometimes, while trying to rush through work, I do forget to reply to some letters and I reply to some twice over, as it happened in your case. Is it not better to reply twice rather than not reply at all? Even as I was writing to you I felt that I had replied to that letter earlier. As a rule, I reply to your letters by return of post. But in this case I did not note on the letter the date of my reply and hence the mistake. But all this is idle talk.

Sushila's[1] typhoid seems to have been quite serious. Radhabehn[2] gave me some more details about it. I am writing to Sushila today. Jamnadas[3] looked after her with great care indeed.

Appa[4] has certainly been doing very fine work. This time I do hope you will come here direct [from jail].[5]

You must have received the *dhanush takli*. If it is well made, it gives excellent speed.

Improve your Urdu to a good enough level. You must know both to read and to write.

Increase your weight.

I thought Kanu's betrothal was about to take place, but it is no longer so. The future is in God's hands.

Rajkumari has gone to Simla for a change of air.

Ba's health is fine, and so is mine. Mahadev has gone to Dehra Dun. He will return after meeting the people there today. He did excellent work in Ahmedabad.

Blessings to all sisters from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10420. Also C.W. 6859. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] Sushila Pai

[2] Daughter of Maganlal Gandhi

[3] Jamnadas Gandhi

[4] Appasaheb Patwardhan, popularly known as the Gandhi of Maharashtra

[5] One sentence following this was scored out by the prison authorities.

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224. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 4, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

As usual, I am sending you Premabehn's letter. You must have duly received my note[1] on your statement. I had a note from Jamna. There was nothing in it which called for a reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8584. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

225. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

July 4, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I had written to the Rao Bahadur even before he got your letter.

I felt your reply to Dr. Khare was lacking in spirit. How dare he compare himself with you? There is a lot of difference between you two. He violated all the principles of the Congress,[2] whereas you observed them in an ideal way and left the Congress in obedience to them. Nothing that anybody says or wishes can create a rift between us two.

I hope you are all fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7664. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] On *Rentia Baras*; *vide* p. 136.

[2] In July 1938 the Congress Working Committee had found Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-Premier of the Central Provinces, "guilty of gross indiscipline" and held him "unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organization." *Vide* Vol. LXVII.

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226. LETTER TO MADHAVDAS G. KAPADIA[1]

[*July 4, 1941*][2]

Are you doing something or are you still without an occupation ?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MADHAVDAS GOKULDAS KAPADIA
1ST FLOOR, SHYAMJI SHIVJI BUILDING
MANOHARDAS STREET, MODIKHANA
FORT, BOMBAY

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

227. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

July 4, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your postcard. You must now be getting ready to go to Deoli. I am sure you will come here on your way back. I had a letter from Jayaprakash. He seems to be somewhat dissatisfied with what I am doing. But then was he ever satisfied ? I am going to reply to him. Tell him that, though he remains dissatisfied [with me], I will be fully satisfied [with him] if he improves his health. Rajkumari has gone to Simla for a change of air. Rajen Babu must needs fall ill the moment he arrives there. Ba is fine. I am quite well. Sushila is still here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3561

[1] & [2] This is a postscript to a letter of this date by Kasturba Gandhi to the addressee, her brother.

228. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHA,
July 5, 1941

SETH JAMNALALJI
BIRLA AROGYA MANDIR
NASIK ROAD

SIMLA WIRE RECEIVED WELCOMING YOU.[1] COME.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 236

229. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Personal

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 5, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter and wire reached me today. According to your letter your wire should have reached me at the latest on 3rd. You will inquire how this discrepancy arose.

I have now wired[2] Jamnalal at Nasik. You may expect him there next week. I have kept your letter for showing it to him. All other letters are destroyed as soon as I have read them.

Your letters show at what tremendous sacrifice you live in Sevagram. It is clear to me that you have to pass all the hot months in the hills. You must not do violence to yourself. I quite believe with Shummy that violence will result in a sudden breakdown. Self-suppression ceases to be good when the saturation point is reached. I would like you to take your bearings in Simla this time. Deprivation to be healthy must bring joy within. It is good you will have Jamnalal with you.

Here is Shummy's letter. Let us see how fat you become by the stay in Simla.[3] When you return, you must not lose what you bring.

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 143.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 17-7-1941.

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Amtul Salaam continues to be a difficult problem. She is uncanny. Her asthma is not gone altogether. She is very weak. Her temper is just the same as it was.

Mahadev returns on 9th.

Of course the weather is quite cool. It is still raining though not incessantly. I sleep in our room instead of verandah. It is required for the inmates. Last night I slept between the two doorways. That produced a fresh breeze. Of course my companions were with me including Sankaran who slept on the *pat*[1] behind the wall on Pyarelal's side.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3675. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6484

230. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

July 5, 1941

DEAR KAMALABEHN,

Your note to Bapu. He is well now and attending his work and moving about as usual. Bapu says that you are there to train yourself and you should persevere with it, unmindful and undistracted by what may be going on around.[2] Yes, events in Europe are moving faster and faster day by day, and one does not know where we will be in the world events. But God knows it. Let us have faith that He will put us where we ought to be, whether that place brings us for the time being pain or pleasure. . . .[3]

With Bapu's love, . . .[4]

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 195

[1] Wooden cot

[2] The addressee had written about "the general unsatisfactoriness of the atmosphere" in Bombay, where she was undergoing training in midwifery.

[3] & [4] Omissions as in the source

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231. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
July 6, 1941

When Mian Saheb Iftikhar-ud-Din, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, and Dr. Gopichand were with me the other day, Mian Saheb told me that there was some misunderstanding among some Congressmen about certain things which required clearing. I should have dealt with them earlier. But pressure of work and my limited capacity for disposal are responsible for the delay. I take them up now.

When the Punjab Bar patriotically took up the honourable role of *amicus curiae* and decided to bring before their High Court for revision the cases of satyagrahis in which, in their opinion, obvious injustice was done, I was delighted, not for the sake of the relief such revision might bring, but for the sake of the Punjab Bar and of purity of justice. Whilst satyagrahis must be indifferent to the sentences pronounced against them, they must welcome exposure of injustice especially when it is brought about at the instance of disinterested parties. When, therefore, Ismet Begum wired and wrote to me that her husband was much displeased and disturbed over the prospect of revision, I urged her not to interfere and asked her to tell her husband that there was nothing wrong about the revision and that if he was discharged it would be open to him to offer civil disobedience again. Of course the matter wears a different and ugly aspect when satyagrahi prisoners request the *amicus curiae* that they should take up their (prisoners') cases. Such conduct would be quite contrary to the satyagraha code.

Complaints are being made in several parts as in the Punjab that the new lists of satyagrahis are not being passed as fast as they are sent. There is no lack of despatch in the Punjab or any other province as to the lists. But I am in no hurry to pass them. I repeat for the thousandth time that the present civil disobedience is not only not designed to embarrass authority but care is being taken as far as possible to avoid all embarrassment. The merit as also the strength of the struggle consists in reducing embarrassment to the minimum whilst the British are engaged in a deadly life-and-death war.

Moreover, since our struggle is going to be indefinitely prolonged —I give no less than five years—there need be no hurry to fill the jails. Mere filling of jails can bring us no nearer our freedom than we are now. The virtue lies in the people learning through the restricted civil disobedience the necessity of discipline, suffering and self-sacrifice. Every true example of satyagraha acts as a leaven working itself in the mass mind. During the initial stages I was purposely lax in scanning the lists. The result was that many crept in who had done no constructive work. Some had even no faith in it. These are a burden on the organization and positively hinder the march to freedom. I have said repeatedly that constructive work is the foundation for civil disobedience. It promotes discipline and conduces to the growth of non-violence in the worker. As time advances Congressmen must therefore expect increasing stiffness on my part. The conditions will be the same. Strictness will be confined to the enforcement. This is but natural if we are to grow from strength to strength and if we are to make the struggle increasingly purer. I can conduct it on no other terms.

Then Mian Saheb mentioned to me that some Congressmen had adversely criticized his move for achieving among all parties in the Punjab agreement about eschewing goondaism in the pursuit of their respective programmes. When the Mian Saheb told me that there was just a possibility of such an effort succeeding, I at once told him to make it and suspend for the time being his own civil disobedience and of those whose assistance he might consider necessary for the arduous task. Some Congressmen seem to have taken exception that Mian Saheb had invited to his meeting non-Congressmen and even communal leaders. The objectors forget that it is the essence of Mian Saheb's move to bring together all the opposite elements and see whether they could agree to eschew goondaism for the achievement of their respective purposes. Nor could there be in such a meeting decisions by counting heads. The end contemplated could only be achieved by the willing consent of the parties. In any event Congressmen should know that Mian Saheb has undertaken this difficult mission in consultation with me and with my whole-hearted consent. I hope that he will receive the closest co-operation of all Congressmen.

He is impatient to offer civil disobedience. As the head of the Congress in the Punjab, he thinks that his primary duty is to offer civil disobedience. I have told him that there is no such universal rule. On the contrary it is his clear duty, and of

those whom he may select, to refrain so long as he and they feel that they can contribute their mite to the attempt to eradicate goondaism.

There remains the question of those who were prematurely released owing to the Punjab High Court decision about the insufficiency for the purpose of conviction of mere notices to offer civil disobedience. When I learnt about the decision, I had informed Mian Saheb that he should not be in a hurry to send them to jail and that when he paid his contemplated visit to Sevagram I should discuss the question with him and decide. He came and I advised that those who were not wanted for the peace move should re-offer civil disobedience.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942, File No. 3/42/41–Home Department, Pol. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

232. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Personal SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 6, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter.

I have never missed a day. So you must get the missing letter.

I forgot to tell you about Farooqi's visit. We passed an hour in exchanging views. But it was only a preliminary talk. He said he would come again. I do not think anything is lost by having met him. Nandan ought to give me his opinion about Farooqi especially as he is a Delhi man.

Yesterday we had Purshottam Trikamdas here. Khan Saheb is arriving on the 9th. Jamnalal may be coming tomorrow or Wednesday for certain.

What business have you to develop headache?

Raja[1] has been released for the sake of the child. I had a note from him. Dhiru had asked the Police Commissioner for Raja's discharge.

Since when have you learnt the science of reading your past? How do you know that in your millions of previous births you were not worse than a Bania? In any case did I not suggest

[1] Gunottam Hutheesing

that if you would ask the paperman not to render any bill at all, he would accept your request? And I had told you that I would not feel at ease using that paper. His bill, as it was, was a true bill. He would exact that price from any other customer. But there is no hurry about a final decision. You will appeal to my reason and if you satisfy it, I would gladly use the pads.

The rains have been violent everywhere. Let us hope that it does not mean dry season hereafter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4030. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7339

233. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 6, 1941

CHI. LILY,

I got your letter. I did not like it. Your hardships are nothing to speak of. Many other women study under still greater hardships. Does it befit you to remain restless and to be unable to concentrate on your studies? Play well the part which you have accepted. Forget Sevagram for the present. I like your firm determination not to trouble Shantikumar. But your studies ought not to suffer for want of money. You must resolve to work hard and pass the examination. If you cannot do that, I will think that the three months you spent here were wasted and will feel sorry for having let you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9381. Also C.W. 6656. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

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234. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

July 6, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter today, and the telegram also I got only yesterday. So, though it was nobody's fault, Shakaribehn here felt very much worried. I did not worry at all. It was a fine test for you. Here the sky is clear today. Take care of your health. Khan Saheb is arriving on the 9th. Cart-load of good wishes to Anandaghan[1]! I have arranged about your book. I trust Chokhawala is keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10032. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

235. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letters have come unfailingly except once. But mine don't reach you, strange.

Here are three letters and your wire which I forgot to send you yesterday.

I shall send you intimation about Jamnalal's food when he is here. But nothing special. You have everything he can need. Fresh vegetables, fruit and milk.

Mahadev says he reaches on 10th. With the breaches on the railway lines, nothing is certain.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4031. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7340

[1] Addressee's son

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236. LETTER TO LAKSHMI BHARATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 7, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Regard being had to your poor health and other circumstances, you should not re-offer civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI BHARATI, M.L.A.
C/O SHRI L. K. BHARATI
PASUMALAI
MADURA (S. INDIA)

From the original: C.W. 9269. Courtesy: L. Krishnaswami Bharati

237. LETTER TO D. K. GOSAVI

July 7, 1941

MY DEAR GOSAVI,

Rajen Babu's return date is uncertain. He won't come before the middle of July. Deokinandan's argument is plausible but not convincing. You may anticipate Rajen Babu's return and come and bring D. with you.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI D. K. GOSAVI
CONGRESS HOUSE
POONA 5

From a photostat: G.N. 9235

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238. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

July 7, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

I had your postcard, and today there is a letter. It cannot be said that you have been lazy. You may come whenever you wish to, but without displeasing anybody there. And, moreover, it is your duty, when you come here, to resolve not to go on crying but to live cheerfully all the time. Yes, there has been heavy rain everywhere. Let us hope there will be no unduly long break later. Munnalal keeps fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. KANCHANBEHN
C/O SHAH MAGANLAL KALIDAS
VALOD, STATION MADHI
(SURAT), T. V. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8274. Also C.W. 7145. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

239. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Both the language and the writing are good. And if you write your Hindi as quickly as English, the progress is marvellous.

Jamnalal came in today. He looks very healthy. He wants to stay till 15th at the latest. He wants to finish certain things. I do not want to rush him.

You must not become cheap. I do not like the officers always sending you a polite 'No'. It is a hint that you must not expect anything now that you have openly come over to me. From their standpoint I would justify their conduct. You cannot blow hot and cold. All this would be sound argument

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from their standpoint. They can have no other. But if you think otherwise, you should act accordingly. For there would be nothing inherently wrong in your writing to officials. The same argument applies in Bul's[1] case. After her notice they have asked her to await instructions from them. She has consented to wait till 10th. There too you should use your independent judgment.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4032. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7341

240. A NOTE

July 9, 1941

I have read both the letters. Cariappa's fault is clear. It is also proper that Munnalal has begged for pardon. But Munnalal's views are wrong on many things. No one can be unworthy of living in an institution. The world itself is an institution. Can anybody stay outside it? The family is also an institution. It is a sub-institution; and in between the world and the family are institutions like ours. All are imperfect. The world is also imperfect. There is no such thing as a perfect institution because every institution is made up of imperfect human beings. Only God is perfect. Hence Munnalal cannot run away from an institution; he has to live in one or another.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8492. Also C.W. 7144. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Khurshedbehn Naoroji. *Vide* also "Statement to the Press", 4-8-1941.

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241. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL G. VYAS

July 10, 1941

BHAI ISHWARLAL,

I have read your very vivid letter. Let me know what arrangement has been made there now. Jivrambhai's money has been lying in different places. What do they propose to do about it? Who will manage the Ashram? I should like it if Nathibai came here. Give her the letter meant for her. Some memorial ought to be erected at the spot where Jivrambhai was cremated. Let me know if you have thought about anything. Where was he cremated? Have you preserved any portion of the ashes, or did you immerse the whole of them into the sea? We whom Jivrambhai has left behind will have been worthy of him when the seeds which he sowed grow into big trees.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5059

242. LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 11, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 9th. You ought not to think of going to jail until you are completely free from the complaint.[2] In the mean while, you will do what constructive work comes your way.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

SJT. C. A. TULPULE, ADVOCATE
TILAK ROAD
POONA

From the original: C.W. 2902. Courtesy: C. A. Tulpule

[1] *Vide* also p. 128.
[2] The addressee was a heart patient.

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243. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 11, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Even a person who becomes perfect as a man does not become God. Even Krishna the man died a miserable death.[1] He may have been the best among men but was not God. Just as a frog may become the highest among frogs, so a man may be the highest among men. Any institution, therefore, created by man is bound to be imperfect.

If, however, you feel unhappy in this institution, you must leave it. I merely wanted to say that what you had stated about all institutions was based on ignorance.[2]

I would certainly welcome your staying in another institution, namely, the family. That is what poor Kanchan wants. She has not known the joys of family life. Make her happy and let her feel satisfied.

Here we do have freedom. I am certain that you will enjoy nowhere else the freedom that you do here. If you reflect over the matter, you will see that you cannot tolerate in others the freedom that you want for yourself. Cariappa was certainly at fault in refusing to do anything, but you should have respected his freedom to do that. Likewise, you should respect Chimanlal's freedom not to keep Nimbarkar, just as he should respect your freedom to express your opinion. Whether justice or injustice is being done to Nimbarkar is for me to see. I shall look into the matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8518. Also C.W. 7147. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Lord Krishna was accidentally killed by a hunter's arrow while resting under a tree.

[2] *Vide* "A Note", p. 156.

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244. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 11, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I could not write anything yesterday. I did get your letter. What reply can there be? What is there to forget? In my view summer lasts for two or three months only. Yes, I do believe that we should not worry about the body. For individuals it is quite all right, but at times people staying in the neighbourhood are forced to worry.

This [letter] is from Sailen. Do write to him from there. Sushila has left for two weeks to gain some medical experience. Dr. Jivraj stayed back yesterday. Today he left for Calcutta. Khan Saheb has arrived. The rains have again started today. Nature is behaving in a strange way this season.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7874. Also C.W. 4241. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

245. LETTER TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, WARDHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 12, 1941

THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
WARDHA

DEAR FRIEND,

This is to confirm the phone message of Sjt. Jamnalalji to you that Sjt. Vinoba Bhave who was released today is to re-offer civil disobedience at Nalwadi on Monday the 14th instant at 6 p.m.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

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246. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 12, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

The enclosed[1] is the last. It is very interesting. The gods and men share the same virtues and vices and are familiar friends who often quarrel among themselves. The one invisible Power stands supreme and unbound.

You are cutting your way through difficulties. You can easily make chapatis of *juari* flour. Try and you will succeed.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6485. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9880

247. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

July 12, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

Appasaheb writes and tells me that he is restraining himself because you do not let him move out in Bombay. I feel, however, that you should let him move freely. There are very few persons like him and it is not proper that we should hold him back. Never mind if he is killed. He is gaining invaluable experience, which he will not get in any other way. If this reasoning appeals to you, permit him. You must have received my letter[2] of yesterday.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Selections from Vedic hymns which the addressee had been sending to Gandhiji. *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 123.

[2] This is not available.

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248. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

[After *July 12, 1941*][1]

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters after a long time. If you are happy I do not have to worry at all. Let me see when Sita comes. She should study there and grow as well. Let her stay with you. She can be of some help to you, too.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.][2]

Here also the leaders are rotting in jails. Vinoba was released and arrested again.

Where is Medh[3]? Instead of you and Medh both staying together in Johannesburg, shouldn't one of you go and stay in Phœnix? Sushila writes and tells me that you send the material for the paper[4] to her, or rather pass it on to her through somebody. She also says that there might be a revolt. I personally advise you to stay with Sushila.

Mahadevbhai is touring all over. The sporadic outbreak of riots in Bombay and Ahmedabad continues. Moreover . . .[5]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4917. Also C.W. 1330. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi

[1] From the reference to Vinoba Bhave's release and re-arrest. Vinoba Bhave was released on July 11, 1941, and re-arrested the next day. Also, Mahadev Desai was continually on tour from May to August, 1941.

[2] The postscript is from the C.W. copy.

[3] Surendra Medh

[4] *Indian Opinion*

[5] The letter is incomplete.

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249. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

July 13, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

Mahadev is in Delhi. I read your letter. It is the deluge. There can be no question whatever that all the resources of the Congress should be used to help the people. We will of course have to consider what help to give and where it should be given. We should decide that with reference to the circumstances of each place and bearing in mind our limitations. You can certainly utilize the permanent [relief] fund there.

I hope the people have forgotten about the riots just now. Mahadev will come here on the 17th. Only then can we think and decide whether or no he should go there. Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9123

250. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 14, 1941

MY DEAR AMALA,

You are foolish. Mahadev is in Delhi. He has to wander about just now. Why this hankering? True friendship does not require meeting or even letter-writing. Why not just treasure silent love? Or must you for ever remain mad?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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251. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

July 14, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

Your certificate is fine indeed. Did it have any effect on your mind? Did the charkha give you any peace of mind in the midst of the prevailing atmosphere of violence? I suppose you have kept up your practice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5751

252. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

July 14, 1941

BHAI BAPA,

Your ambition is boundless. By all means satisfy it. Your being the Secretary[1] will not come in your way. Ghanshyamdas and you have come together as co-workers and this union cannot be dissolved except by death. He needs—and so do I—your moral strength and your dedication. Your Secretaryship is but an indication of that. I don't think you will want to give up the Secretaryship even when you are free to give to the *Adivasis* as much time as you wish despite your being the Secretary. For your sake we held back Vaidyanatha Iyer with just a line. Surely it was not as if the others would not have worked. But we want the moral strength of saintly men for washing off this sin. Please do not forget that the evil of untouchability is being practised in the name of religion. The *Adivasis*, however, suffer from no such bar. I have no objection, of course, to your dedicating your life to the cause of *Adivasis*, too, but not at the cost of your connection with the other cause.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1188

[1] Of the Harijan Sevak Sangh

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253. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 15, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I got your letter. Today I have no time at all. Jamnalalji must have reached safely. I hope he is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7875. Also C.W. 4243. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

254. LETTER TO RAGHUNANDAN SARAN

[Before *July 16, 1941*][1]

You should invite primary members such as you have mentioned to withdraw. If they do not listen, you can take action; but you need not, for the simple reason that the organization is not functioning fully. But you should take public notice of their indiscipline.

The Hindu, 18-7-1941

255. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 14/16, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Your questions are good. In non-violent war, to mix poison in water or to burn grains, oil, etc., are forbidden, and should be so. It is one thing to non-co-operate with the enemy and quite another to stop water, etc., to harm him. The non-co-operator accepts suffering for himself. For example, a lawyer will

[1] This was reported under the date-line "New Delhi, July 16"

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starve because of non-co-operation. Motilalji[1] sacrificed lakhs of rupees. Students gave up their studies. Men working in offices gave up their jobs. We are not going to run away from the invaders and if we do so, unable to bear the sufferings, we would leave our property as the Dukhobors[2] had done in Russia. In following ahimsa there is no question of ever doing what Stalin was obliged to do.

A satyagrahi is not to protect his property, instead he may give up his life. A satyagrahi should be a non-possessor and he can defend others by being so. That is why I said that Englishmen may lose England but not their self-respect. To save his self-respect while doing no harm to his enemy, a satyagrahi has, for the time being, to allow his property to be looted. Anyway in a violent war too he would, on being defeated, lose his property.

The habit of getting help from the police has got to be tolerated even though it is against ahimsa. To control a madman by force would not be wrong if the man who holds him down has no self-interest in it. All such cases should be examined independently.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7998. Also C.W. 3095. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

256. TELEGRAM TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WARDHA,
July 16, 1941

GURUDEV
SANTINIKETAN

PRESS REPORTS DISTURBING. WIRE EXACT CONDITION.

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 10317. Courtesy: Visvabharati, Santiniketan

[1] Motilal Nehru

[2] A religious sect of Russia, first known in the 18th century, now settled in Canada

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257. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 16, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yesterday I was able to give you only a postcard. Here are two letters from your pupils. They would have been written earlier, if I had remembered your message. But your instructions to destroy your letters make it difficult for me to carry things in my head and reproduce them at the exact moment.

Khan Saheb has returned from Nagpur less all his teeth. Some were too strong for removal but Bareto was determined to remove all. He suffered much pain. He is better today. He will go to Bul as soon as he is better.

Mahadev returned with Ghanshyamdas yesterday. Ghanshyamdas goes to Nasik on Saturday for a change. He is not overwell.

White ants have invaded our hut and so Ramdas is digging up everything for tracing the mother. It means rebuilding walls, etc. More money. Terrible to contemplate!

Prabha is here and will be for a few days. She has to go to Jayaprakash again.

You need not bother about Sushila's exam. Col. A. has written to her how she failed, why and what she should do to ensure success. Her clinical experience is not up to the mark. And so she has gone to Bombay for a fortnight. That is the beginning. It is a difficult job to earn and study. She has got to do the trick. For she will take no scholarship. She is very wonderful in this as in other directions. And she is growing. Amtul Salaam is better.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4033. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7342

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258. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

July 16, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I will keep worrying about you. If you get the expected benefit there, I will feel greatly relieved. Much will depend on Rajkumari's selfless love. But your firmness of mind also will have a share. If you wish to make any change in diet or anything else, please write or send a wire to me.

Madalasa has stayed on with Mirabehn today. Her aspirations are very high. If her health improves and if she delivers without any complication, I think she will make good. Vinoba's training is bound to bear fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Khan Saheb's teeth have been removed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3016

259. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 17, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Yes, you should go to see Jawaharlal on 24th. Mahadev says Nandan is not going on 29th.

I hope Jamnalal reached there safely. Though I asked for no wire, I do expect.

The summer months you now understand. I have anxiety about you which I have not about others because I have a responsibility about you towards Shummy who does not fully approve of your staying with me. My anxiety arises from the fact that I am not always clear about my duty regarding you at a given moment. But that is nothing.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4244. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7876

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260. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

July 17, 1941

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

In the circumstances you mention, I agree you have no option but to give up all the responsible positions in the Congress. You deserve rest after 40 years' unbroken service.

As to your views on non-violence, satyagraha, etc., we have to tolerate one another's differences of opinion.

As to the incident referred to by you, there is no question of untruthfulness. It is at bottom a question of interpretation of your own actions. I had forgotten it all. Of course, your wife must remain by your side.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5593

261. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 17, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I could reach your letter only today. I did not like your draft. I have, therefore, written to Jivanji in the way I thought fit. A copy of the letter[1] is enclosed. If it has any effect, it will serve the whole purpose.

My spinning is going on ceaselessly. I try to spin a minimum of 75 rounds. I will keep up the effort for these 72 days. I do not have the courage to go beyond that.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] This is not available.

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[PS.]

Your statement will certainly be published in the *Khadi Patrika*. My note[1] also.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8585. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

262. LETTER TO SURESH SINGH

July 17, 1941

BHAI SURESH[2],

You have asked a proper question. I do not feel like saying anything. In such matters I have always given the first place to Jawaharlal's views and he is not here. His policy has been the policy of the Congress. Since he is in prison my mind does not work at all. Russia is not a country like Spain or China. The English are even now giving [them] help. I find a great difference between Lenin and Stalin. Lenin's Russia is no more. But this is going into the merits and shortcomings. I may be wrong in my observation. As long as I am not able to do something with all my heart, it is my nature to keep silent. I hope your ulcer is cured by now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8692

263. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 18, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

As far as possible I want to send you a daily line. But at times it becomes physically impossible.

I have your wire about Jamnalal's safe arrival. I do hope it will be all well.

[1] *Vide* "Rentia Baras", p. 136.
[2] Uncle of the Raja of Kalakankar

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I am 99½, blood-pressure 160-94. It has a tendency to rise at night. But I am quite well.

The rest from Mahadev.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4245. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7877

264. LETTER TO VIJAYARAGHAVACHARI

July 18, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Of course, I want to know all about your health. For I want you to live the full century in good order and condition. But please don't expect my co-operation in anything to perpetuate the memory of anything done by me. If the things I do have no vitality in them, let them perish. If they have any, then what need of any prop?

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

265. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 18, 1941

DEAR MOTI BABU,

I was delighted to have your prompt reply. The legal advisers of the Sangha insist that a promissory note is necessary. You will therefore please send the promissory note.

I am telling Shri Jajuji that you are and have been willing to be certified by the A.I.S.A. and to that end to conform to the usual conditions.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I hope your eyes may be restored. You are so identified with the Sangha that your nominal withdrawal will mean no change.

From a photostat: G.N. 11055

[1] *Vide* also p. 129.

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266. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 19, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your brief note.

You have your mouthful. May you have full success. I hope your tooth trouble will be completely dealt with. Mahadev is preparing to go to Bombay. No more possible today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4246. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7878

267. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 19, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You must put your health before everything else. The programme for training in village service is all right. But you must make a beginning with the resolve to be methodical and firm.

By all means study the Vedas, etc. Real study, however, consists in knowing and practising the mission of service.

As regards the question where you should stay, I have told you that I will arrange wherever you wish. Are you worried about the expenses?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8520. Also C.W. 7116. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

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268. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 20, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your first letter after Jamnalal's arrival there. Let us hope the climate of Simla won't worry him.

All well here. Kanchan and Kusum arrived here today. More from Prabha.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4247. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7879

269. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 20, 1941

What you say in your letter[1] is true. Don't be eager to go to Wardha for marketing. You may do that when you are all right, for you have a special aptitude for it. For the present, follow my advice and confine yourself to work in the farm—within the limits of your strength. That will restore your health. Give up all worries. Live chiefly on milk and curds. Eat whatever fruit you can get. Eat very little of bread, but eat greens in plenty.

Your second letter is fine. The best way of winning people's trust is through selfless work and service. The secret of this lies in "seeing oneself in all creatures". If this truth abides in your heart, nothing will make you unhappy. My plan regarding your expenses is this. I wish to draw from the money lying in your name for all extraordinary expenses till the amount is exhausted. You two will begin to progress rapidly only when it is fully exhausted. As long as the money is there, interest in possession will remain and you will continue to harbour the sense of proprietorship. Though it is true that both of you have practically gifted away the money, the knowledge that you own it does you harm. If you do not understand this distinction, ask me.

[1] Of July 19, below which this letter appears

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Let not the arrival of Kanchan disturb your peace of mind in the least. It is indeed a good thing that she has come. Stop regarding her as your property. You may start living as husband and wife after some time, but if you accept her right to enjoy the same freedom that you do, you will not get angry with her for anything she does. You may let her serve you, but you must not feel in the least offended if she does not do that to the extent you would like her to do. You wish to win her trust, too, don't you? Please remember that unbroken cheerfulness is the most important condition for your keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8519. Also C.W. 7117. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

270. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 21, 1941

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN[1],

I see that in your deep and extensive studies the art of begging formed no part. Malaviyaji is unequalled in that art. You will be begging in his name. Do you suppose that my recommendation can carry greater weight? Your innate modesty disables you from seeing that you cannot need any introduction from me. Some of the friends you mention I have probably not even met. Anyway, if my recommendation is of the slightest use, please use this letter and tell the friends whom you meet that I regard it as the duty of monied men to free Malaviyaji Maharaj from the anxiety about the B.H.U. by subscribing liberally towards the payment of the debt referred to by you. I do hope that your mission will be wholly successful.

You know that you will be welcome whenever you can come.

Sundaram has been the University Collector. Why not make use of him?

Many thanks for your inquiry about my health. I am well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University

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271. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 21, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Tu[1], *tum*[2] and *aap*[3] are one and the same if they convey the same feeling. If the attitude is otherwise, the particular form of address has no meaning. Am I not barred from speaking and writing in Hindi? If the correspondence is allowed freely in Hindi *tu* would become natural. Wouldn't it? [4]

I have wired you today to wire U.P. Government, i.e., Mudie[5], about Agra prisoners[6]. They ought not to be unreasonable or stingy.

Here Bhansali[7] is down with gout. He is fasting, and so better today. Veeramma was cross with her would-be husband and drank permanganate. It was known in time and she was saved.

J. should have the simplest vegetables, no starchy things, no fried things.

I had given you one month. You thought two were the least. So you may stay there till end [of] August. But if Jamnalal makes good progress and it becomes necessary for his sake to stay longer, of course you will stay. If he becomes strong physically, mentally and spiritually, it will be worth while prolonging the stay.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4248. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7880

[1] "Thou", generally used to convey extreme intimacy or contempt

[2] "You", used in addressing equals or juniors

[3] A third person plural pronoun used in second person also for expressing respect

[4] This paragraph is in Hindi.

[5] Sir Francis Mudie, Chief Secretary (officiating), United Provinces

[6] Who were on a hunger-strike which was called off on July 23

[7] Jayakrishna Prabhudas Bhansali

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272. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

July 21, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter. My prayers are continuing, and I have faith that you will do your best. You have the benefit of Rajkumari's company and in other ways, too, the atmosphere there is clear. I am, therefore, expecting much from your stay there. Madalasa is in very fine spirits and eats well. She likes the sweet made from *kunvar*[1] and I have permitted her to have as much as she wants. She relishes whatever she eats. Janakidevi also keeps cheerful. So everything is all right here.

Ghanshyamdas left the day before yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3018

273. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 21, 1941

Regarding the village people, the last course is the best. If we take interest in their local affairs, we shall not be able to serve them. You should, therefore, render to the poorest among them whatever silent service is possible. Such service is bound to bear fruit. It was with this idea that I made the suggestion about one or two boys. While training them, you also will get trained and will learn the art of serving people.

Let our way of living produce whatever effect it can on the *panchayat*. I shall certainly talk to Krishnadas and Chimanlal, but everything will depend on your being frank and gentle. If you mix with the people here as sugar dissolves in milk, your work will progress very fast.

What you say regarding possessions is correct. Land and other things also are included. If you can skilfully free yourself

[1] Aloe plant

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from the possession and the whole business, you will feel as light as a feather.

I think I have answered all your questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8516. Also C.W. 7148. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

274. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 21, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have already replied to your letter. The work is going on beautifully. It is bound to bear fruit.

Regarding Chi. Chhaganlal[1] we all feel that his staying on in Vijapur will do nothing but harm. Now he need not do any fixed work. He may, therefore, stay either with Krishna-[das][2] here or with Prabhudas[3] or with you at Rajkot. Kashi[4], too, will be able to live independently. And Chhaganlal himself will not feel lonely. Prabhudas, Krishnadas, probably Kashi also, and I, have all independently felt that Vijapur is not the right place for him now. If, however, Chhaganlal does not like the plan, I certainly would not force him to go elsewhere.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8586. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi, addressee's elder brother
[2] & [3] Chhaganlal Gandhi's sons
[4] Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

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275. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 21, 1941

BAPA,

We may receive help from or give help to the Mysore Congress as much as we like. Its policy will still remain what it is. Here also we help the Congress or receive help from it whenever necessary. I am thus happy that it is Congressmen who have been helping us most. It should be enough if we do not get involved in their other activities. Do you feel otherwise?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1189

276. LETTER TO DILKHUSH B. DIWANJI

July 21, 1941

BHAI DILKHUSH,

I have carefully gone through *Kantan Praveshika*[1]. The title is not appropriate. The book is not a *praveshika*. It offers useful suggestions to those who have become acquainted with the subject. I would, therefore, call it *Kantanarne Upayogi Soochano*[2] or simply *Kantanarne*.

Your instructions are incomplete in some ways. You have assumed that the spinner can tell when a spindle is bent or can judge about the point. My experience is that 95 spinners out of a hundred cannot do that. You should, therefore, explain what a bent spindle and a good point are. You should similarly explain about slivers, etc.

The third and easiest method of determining the count of yarn is not what you have suggested. The count is equal to the number of rounds in one-anna weight of yarn. The method you have explained does of course include this, but a beginner will not be able to see this. I found from experience that the method suggested by me was the best. I hit upon it while trying, day after day, to determine the count of my yarn in Yeravda.

[1] Introduction to Spinning
[2] Useful Suggestions for Spinners

You have suggested the use of cocoanut oil. My experience is that it smells and also attracts ants. I used to mix with cocoanut oil one-fourth or a little more of kerosene. This keeps away ants and less of dirt gets mixed with the oil.

From the above you will be able to think for yourself about other revisions. I had noted other points in my mind, but I don't remember them now. After saying all this, I do hold the booklet to be a fine one. I have made the above suggestions because I wish to see it perfect.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2649

277. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 22, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have another full letter from you. I have faith in your wisdom and discretion. In spite of Shummy's laugh, I persist in my advice about tennis. He won't have the professional touch but he can hit the ball to the amusement of all of you. It is a question of his passing 30 minutes in idle amusement in the open air.

Don't bring him many visitors on business.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4034. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7343

278. LETTER TO ANANTRAI THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 22, 1941

BHAI ANANTRAI[1],

I am certainly against your writing in English, just as I would dislike an English youth writing in Gujarati. Both of them can be said to have forgotten their duty. Anyway all this

[1] A theosophist

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is over now. But on reading your letter, I almost felt like weeping. You started writing by dipping your pen into a cup of venom and poured out the whole of it in the end. Why all this? I was sure that Dr. Arundale would come over. Had he come, he would have certainly spoken in English. It was with hesitation that I permitted Vishwanathdas to speak in English but I would have gladly permitted Dr. Arundale. You just cannot have any concrete reason to doubt this. I have no hostility towards Dr. Arundale nor towards any Englishman. I had none against General Dyer and I was a worshipper of Mrs. Annie Besant. Perhaps you might not have been born when I began to idolize her. This was in 1889-90. I beg your pardon if you were born about this time. I do not remember at all about the meeting where Shri Iyengar was present. Why should I oppose putting up a statue of Mrs. Annie Besant? I do not remember anything at all. I shall be obliged if you will give me the evidence you have.

In the end you have exceeded the limits. You have insulted the English language the way you have abused your own people. Perhaps you could not have poured out so much venom in Gujarati. As I have good relations with your family, your letter has shocked me. Your letter is full of rudeness and ignorance. Go through my letter carefully and pray to God that He may remove your ignorance.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile of the Gujarati: *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 48 and 49

279. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA[1]

SEVAGRAM,
July 22, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I finished reading *Bapu* just now. At two or three places the facts are wrong though they do not detract from the views expressed. I have marked the passages. Of course you can always put forward your own arguments about the calf incident[2].

[1] This letter is included in the revised edition of *Bapu* with a note from the publisher.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 310-5.

But I find some fundamental defect in it. The killing of the calf has no similarity with the killing of Ravana and so on. I had no self-interest in killing the calf, the only motive was to free it from pain. Primarily there was self-interest in the killing of Ravana and so on. There was burden on the earth and it had to be lightened. His destroyer was God in the form of Rama. Here the destroyer was no supposed incarnation. I hold that everyone in my situation can do what I did. Inspired and encouraged by me, Ambalal killed forty dogs. There was however some material advantage. But there is a lot of difference between the killing of Ravana and so on and this. And I have given a special meaning to these things. A discussion of it was necessary there. More about it on another occasion if considered necessary. The language is sweet. At some places the argument is repeated. This could have been corrected in proof-reading, and the flow of the language would not have suffered. Perhaps others may not have even noticed this repetition.

I hope you are well now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8046. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

280. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

July 22, 1941

When I asked Gandhiji, who was at work on his charkha when I called on him, whether he had read the communique[1], he said he had not and asked me to read it. With his hands busy operating his charkha, stopping only now and then to wind the thread, Gandhiji listened as I read the communique including the personnel of the National Defence Council. When I concluded reading, Gandhiji looked up and, laughing loudly, asked whether I had finished. I said I had, and asked him whether he wished to say anything. Gandhiji said that he had no statement to make and added:

I would rather observe silence, Monday silence, whatever it may mean and you can say so in the papers.

When I asked him whether it could be taken that he was not interested in the announcement, he said:

[1] Issued by the Government of India on July 21 from Simla announcing the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the formation of a National Defence Council

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I can't say so. That will be pedantic.

Then I handed him a sheet of paper containing a few questions drafted by me earlier. Gandhiji read the questions and remarked:

I can answer some of these questions. But I don't know what purpose it will serve.

Pressed further to say whatever he wished, Gandhiji replied to my first question, whether the Government of India's announcement affected the stand taken by the Congress and whether it met the Congress demand to any extent.

The announcement does not affect the stand taken by the Congress; nor does it meet the Congress demand to any extent.

To my next question whether the members of the A.I.C.C., if released from jail, will be permitted to consider the present situation in the light of recent developments in the country, Gandhiji replied:

I understand you to mean whether I shall permit A.I.C.C. members, if they are released, to consider the present situation. If that is the meaning of your question, I can at once say that I have no authority to prevent members of the A.I.C.C. from doing anything they wish. The authority given to me by the A.I.C.C. does not permit my interference with the fullest freedom of its members. And in any case the body that gave me the authority can at any time refuse it or withdraw it.

I certainly consider the demand made by the Mysore Legislative Council[1] as not only modest but any day opportune.

When I asked him whether the present situation in the country was an opportune one for embarking on the programme, Gandhiji added:

As a matter of fact it should have been made long ago. The present situation in the country cannot be allowed to interfere with elementary justice being done to Harijans.

When I asked him whether non-arrest of satyagrahis shouting anti-war slogans can be construed, as some people seemed to, as amounting to grant of liberty to preach against war, Gandhiji said:

There is no warrant for the belief implied in the opinion. Some Provincial Governments have clearly stated that they do

[1] For the appointment of a committee to ascertain public opinion on the question of allowing Harijans to enter temples and other religious institutions in the charge of the Government

not want to arrest unimportant members. But they are arresting those whom they consider important enough if they recite anti-war slogans.

The Hindu, 24-7-1941

281. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 23, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA[1],

Mahadev is in Bombay. I have read yours to him. Why "Mr. Mahadev"?

I have no faith in conferences at the present moment. We can do nothing when people come with mental reservations. Nevertheless I do not dissuade those who believe in them. Therefore, if you or Sir Tej convened one[2] and wanted me to come, I should gladly come in my individual capacity. But I am more likely to become a cause of discord than otherwise.

More love to the whole family.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2183

282. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 23, 1941

CHI. AMRITLAL,

You are fast leaving the years behind you and I still believe that you are the same today that you were when I knew you first. How can I shed this illusion? Remain the same that you were and put time to shame.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10801

[1] Ex-Dewan of Mysore

[2] The Non-Party Political Leaders' Conference met at Poona on July 26 and 27 under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

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283. INTERVIEW TO A. S. N. MURTI[1]

SEVAGRAM,
4 p.m. to 4.20 p.m., July 23, 1941

After the usual salutation, I waited just a minute when Mahatma said that he was [all] attention to me. And I began referring to the Poona resolution of the Congress, and invited his opinion to the possibility of arriving at an understanding on the basis of that resolution, if a way could be found for reconciliation. To this, Mahatmaji replied that the Poona resolution would not be revived. The psychological time is gone. I mention to him the restlessness that is becoming evident in the country, and if the Congress were not to revise its stand, it may lose ground. To this he said that even if the Congress were to find itself in the desert, it would prefer to be there, to sacrificing the country's interest and humorously said that sometimes the desert air did good. I mentioned to him that by the withdrawal of the Congress ministry, the little good that was attempted to be done had to be given up. He replied that weighing matters in the proper way, it was not worth while to put much emphasis on the attempted progress, when considerations far weightier were at stake. When Congress was out to put down imperialism, all these things were insignificant. Even if the Congress gave up non-violence, it had been found that as a purely political measure, the Poona resolution could not be revived.

From a photostat: G.N. 154

284. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

This is just for the sake of writing. I hope Jamnalal has recovered all the lost ground. I know that he will have all the

[1] Enclosing this with his letter dated July 27 to A. S. N. Murti of Sarvodaya Bhavan, Chatrapur, Kishorelal Mashruwala wrote: "Thank you for your letter dated 24th instant. Please find herewith your memo of the interview with Gandhiji as corrected by him. It is common ground that it is for personal record." Kishorelal Mashruwala was present during the interview.

loving care bestowed on him. He says the attention he is receiving is embarrassing.

Give a cart-load of love to Jawaharlal. You should try to see Anandmayi Devi who is somewhere near Dehra Dun. She was Kamala's[1] guru.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4035. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7344

285. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

July 24, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter. It throws much light on the atmosphere there. Let all those who wish to leave, do so. I would welcome that. They have not understood the meaning of the struggle. Chokhawala will regain his weight quickly. The *muni's* book is not available in the market. I will try to get a copy from Delhi. The cause of Anand's diarrhoea is clear, and there is, therefore, no cause for alarm. The food you are giving him is all right. Will you all still be staying there? Sushilabehn is coming tomorrow. She will leave for Delhi on the 28th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10033. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

286. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

[*July 24, 1941*][2]

BHAI VAIDYA,

Your spinning is bound to bear fruit. We are upset when we see people stabbed in front of us. But what about the millions of innocent people being killed far away from us, and homes and other buildings, the fruit of great labour, being destroyed

[1] Kamala Nehru
[2] From the postmark

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in a moment? We cannot stop it by becoming violent, but it is our duty to remain calm and acquire the strength to check it. I believe that the spinning-wheel, if adopted with this aim, will serve the purpose.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5752

287. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
[About *July 24, 1941*][1]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I did get a little frightened on reading about your fever, but was reassured by the wire. You must get completely restored there. You should not mind having to accept service. You should accept it in the name of God and hope that He will enable you to return a hundredfold all the service you receive. The whole family is filled with the spirit of service. Her[2] father also was as simple as she is. In fact, he should have succeeded as the Ruler of Kapurthala, but being a Christian the succession went to another person.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3017

[1] From the reference to the addressee's illness, the letter appears to have been written about the same time as the letter to Amrit Kaur, pp. 183-4. The addressee replied to this on July 27. *Vide* also the following item.

[2] Amrit Kaur's

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288. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*July 25, 1941*][1]

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your usual letter.

I thought I had told you I had added 1½ lb. to my weight.

Neither you nor Shummy need give anything to Gujarat[2]. Noakhali[3] and Malabar[4] have better claims. The damage in both is infinitely greater.

Mira knows all about what has been done about Prithvi Singh.

Sushila has come back from Bombay. She has certainly benefited by the experience, short though it was. And she was able to see many patients of ours.

Mahadev is having some difficulty in making collections but he will get his sum.

Khan Saheb is off to Bombay today to see Khurshed.

I hope Jamnalal's progress is steady.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4036. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7345

289. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
July 25, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

This is entirely my fault. Haven't I told you that you will have to put up with it? I heard on that day that there was no mustard oil. So in order to give some to the doctor and to save your time, when Jhaverbhai came I asked him to send some if he could. This is what happened. It is true that I ought to

[1] From the postmark

[2] The reference is to the relief work in connection with riots in Ahmedabad.

[3] & [4] The reference is to the cyclone havoc in these places.

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have informed you. I should have told you even if I asked for it. This time it has happened. In future I will try to be careful, but this habit of mine is an old one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4396

290. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 26, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours.

You must have heard that the Agra strike is off. So you have become Jamnalal's outfitter!

As Tara was due here today I vacated this house for her and transferred myself to the dispensary. Dr. Das has gone to Janakibehn with his patients. So I am literally *aniketa*[1], houseless. I do not mind.

Sushila has gone to see Pyarelal with Prabhavati and Kusum.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4249. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7881

291. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

July 26, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am sorry your son[2] is ailing. I hope he is better. You know the treatment for typhoid. You hardly need a doctor. Strict nursing and practical fasting is all that is needed.

Jamnalalji was saying that Vina could not be admitted to the Mahilashram. Her place is with you or with Ramabai in Bari. She must become an earning member. Perhaps it would

[1] This is in the Devanagari script.
[2] The addressee's youngest son, Ranendranath

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be best for her to marry. If Abha alone wishes to come to the Ashram I shall take her on trial. Ba is anxious about Abha. She dotes on her and often talks about her to me. But if she comes she must come a changed girl.

Sailen and Dhiren I am watching.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10318. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

292. LETTER TO ABHA CHATTERJEE

[*July 26, 1941*][1]

CHI. ABHA,

I have your letter. I have written everything in the letter to your father. He will explain everything to you. Only if you can come alone and live according to the rules will I keep you here but not in the Mahilashram. Shethji[2] will not keep Vina there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10354. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

293. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 26, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have given you full freedom. Only thus will you become steady one day. The notion that there is no freedom here is but a product of your own imagination. The mind is the sole cause both of our bondage and our freedom. You will be calm only when you stop thinking altogether and devote yourself exclusively and ceaselessly to work, be it in Sevagram or on the top of the Himalayas—only, he who climbs the top of a mountain is

[1] This letter was written on the back of the preceding item.
[2] Jamnalal Bajaj

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in danger of falling. There is no such danger in a place on the plains, like Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8495. Also C.W. 7150. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

294. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

July 26, 1941

CHI. VALJI,

I got your wire. I have already written and suggested that a report of the investigation as far as it has proceeded will suffice. I shall let you know as soon as I receive the report and will also fix the date.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7495. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

295. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

[*July 26, 1941*][1]

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I got your letter. I am writing to Bhai Mahadev. My own view is that you should draw up the report on the basis of the material in your possession. But Mahadev has studied this problem and if he holds a different view I might think again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10131

[1] From the postmark

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296. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 27, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your Hindi is getting better and better.

I have no anxiety about Jamnalal. When this reaches Simla you will be in Dehra Dun. I expect from you a full account of your visit. I am not surprised at your not being with the Rani.

What a wretched agreement has Bajpai[1] concluded with Burma.

No more just now.

Sushila is going tomorrow to Delhi.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4037. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7346

297. TELEGRAM TO IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

[On or before *July 28, 1941*][2]

ASK POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LYALLPUR JAIL TO STOP HUNGER-STRIKE.[3]

The Hindu, 30-7-1941

[1] Girija Shankar Bajpai, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, had led a delegation to Burma on behalf of the Government of India and signed on June 28 in Rangoon the Indo-Burmese Agreement to regulate and restrict Indian immigration into Burma. The Agreement was published on July 21 from Simla as a joint statement by the two Governments. For Gandhiji's statement, *vide* "Statement to the Press", 24-8-1941.

[2] The report of the telegram appeared under the date-line "Lahore, July 28".

[3] The report adds that the addressee communicated this to the prisoners through the Superintendent of the jail and also informed the Lyallpur District Congress Committee accordingly.

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298. LETTER TO UMESH RAU M. VAKIL[1]

July 28, 1941

Send dates and can you vouch for the truth?

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

299. LETTER TO IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 28, 1941

MY DEAR IFTIKHAR,

I have your letter of the 25th instant. You are doing good work. I hope the District Committees will work so that Punjab may become proof against goondaism. If the effort succeeds, it will produce a tremendous impression on the whole of India. I regard this work of yours as most important—much more than jail-going.

If those who have been discharged as a result of appeals do not go again you need not worry. Their names should be removed from the lists.

No member has asked me for permission to remain on. I should not think of giving such permission. Every case of this type or any other I have invariably referred to you.

I have read all about Dr. Satyapal[2]. You should accept his resignation and of others who have copied his example. You have done well to refer to Rajendra Babu about the Parliamentary resignation. But it follows that if [he] gives up the four-anna membership, he should resign all other offices.

I personally think that you should ignore his Press statements.

[1] The addressee, in his letter dated July 18, had reported the bad condition of the agriculturists in the southern portion of Kasargod Taluk of South Canara District as also some instances of police excesses.

[2] Former President of the Punjab Congress Committee, who had, in a statement at Lahore on July 21, suggested to Gandhiji to reconsider the situation and to devise a really useful course instead of the satyagraha movement which he said was doing good to no one.

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You are quite right in doing what you have about Brahma Datta. He has written to me saying that he has apologized for his conduct. He is very impulsive.

If I have kept a copy of my letter[1] to Lala Dunichand, I shall send it to you.

I share your grief about Lala Shamlal. I shall not accept any resignation directly. I enclose a letter of a Bhiwani correspondent. He complains that you gave too short a time to Bhiwani when you went there during your tour. He is afraid that the atmosphere is tense there. You will see.

Farooqi is angry with me because I did not approve of his statement of his visit to me. I told him that his statement was in the nature of an advertisement and sent him a brief one. He retorts that mine is an advertisement (I suppose for myself!)

My love to you and Ismat.

Yours,
BAPU

Encls.

1. Letter of Rajendra Prasad Jain—Bhiwani, 26-7-41
2. Letter of Shri Rama Sharma—Phatak, 27-6-41

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

300. LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

July 28, 1941

MY DEAR RATHIN[2],

Your letter of 24th instant. I have not the appeal by me just now. I think the proposed project is included in the objects. If it is, I have no objection. But please ask the others and secure their consent.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RATHINDRANATH TAGORE
"UTTARAYAN"
SANTINIKETAN, BENGAL

C.W. 10319. Courtesy: Visvabharati, Santiniketan

[1] *Vide* p. 168.
[2] Rabindranath Tagore's son

301. LETTER TO SIR ROBERT E. HOLLAND

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 28, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Apologies for the delayed reply.

I have not asked for suspension of respective activities. I have only asked for eschewing goondaism for enforcing claims. Thus the Muslim League may pursue their claim to Pakistan and the antis their objection so long as each party does so non-violently. For the time being I have not aimed at agreement on issues. I have aimed at agreement on non-violence, i.e., calm discussion.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10452. Courtesy: Sir Robert E. Holland

302. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 28, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

Herewith a postcard from Jethalalbhai. I have not replied. If you wish to give any, please do so directly. If you think I should write, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If you have any suggestions to make about *Khadi Jagat*, do send them.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8587. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

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303. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 28, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It has been settled now that you have to look after the guests. If someone turns up all of a sudden, then Chimanlal will have to decide immediately. I do not know what precisely is your problem. If you make it clear, I will be able to help you more.

You will have to look after the guests for whom I do not make arrangements about their stay and so on. You will be informed as soon as the guests arrive.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4398

304. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 28, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The tone of Balvantsinha's letter did not suggest [that the refuse] was burnt out of enmity. His letter expresses nothing but grief. Almost all the refuse is manure except broken glass. I feel that what Balvantsinha says is correct; it would have been better to have asked him before getting the refuse burnt. When he had asked for help, it should have been given. It is true that a farmer would be deeply hurt if his manure is burnt. Try to pacify Balvantsinha.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4397

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305. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 28, 1941

CHI. LAKSHMI,

Ba sent you a letter yesterday. She wanted me to add something. But the letter was posted by mistake. What she meant was that I also should give you comfort regarding the illness of the children. But now the children are all right. And even if they are not, what comfort do you need? We are all in the hands of God. Yes, it is our duty to try our best, and that you are already doing. My blessings to brothers and Papa[1]. Sushila left for Delhi today. Any number of houses constructed in the Ashram get filled up very soon. Perhaps Devdas will stop over here on his way to Delhi.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SHRI LAKSHMIBEHN GANDHI
C/O SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BAZULULLAH ROAD
THYAGARAJA NAGAR
MADRAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2001

306. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 29, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I was very clear in my reply.[2] But being confused in mind you find it vague. My advice is that you should firmly decide to stay here and be content with doing whatever work is given you. This is the royal road and the royal yoga. If you cannot do that, you may go on a tour and return if and when you feel

[1] Addressee's elder sister
[2] *Vide* pp. 188-9.

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tired. Don't carry any worry with you. Let Kanchan stay here. There is no third alternative.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8488. Also C.W. 7151. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

307. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 29, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I know you have told me not to write a postcard, but what am I to do? There is no letter from you today, and so many letters are lying before me. Today at this time you are in Dehra Dun. All is well here. Miss Moore will leave on Sunday. Since there has been no rain, I am worried.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7882. Also C.W. 4250. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

308. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 30, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your two letters came in together.

So you see it works the same way at both ends. We must suffer these little pricks of life.

If Jamnalal must leave earlier, he must not be prevented.

I am glad you are pursuing the Agra case.[1]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4038. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7347

[1] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 174.

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309. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
July 30, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter. You need stay there only as long as you wish to. Far from envying you, I would welcome your cultivating a closer relationship with that family than I enjoy. But how do you hope to cultivate a relationship like mine when from the very beginning you feel afraid even to stay there? You should have no objection to staying there as long as Rajkumari is there. But do as you like. It would be certainly good if you meet Jawaharlal. But do not let your visit get into the papers. There is a lady named Anandamayi Devi near Dehra Dun. She was Kamala's guru. She is said to be a good woman. Try and see her if you can but do not rush about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3019

310. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 30, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter. By all means stay there as long as you like. Come here when you wish to.

Both of you please read the accompanying letter. I have asked Bhai Ahmed Qureshi to meet you. I have also told him that Ashram life is a hard one. There is no privacy at all. You two should now guide the couple. Let me know what impression you form.

I hope Anand is happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10034. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

311. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 30, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I find no moral or any other lapse in what you write about Chi[manlal]. It is a different thing that we should put up with it if we fail to obtain what we call justice or if it is delayed. It is a unique heritage.

I am having talks with Ramji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4399

312. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM,
July 30, 1941

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I had no talk with Balkrishnaji apart from polite enquiries after his health and so on. Where was the time? I did tell him to see me at four but he did not want to say anything.

I think I had replied to Bhai Kotwal. I do not in the least relish the idea of his going to jail[1]. And there is absolutely no need to come here. Why should he at all go to jail? Let him do whatever constructive work he can in Indore. If he does not get my letter, he should consider this my reply to him.

Mishrilal has lost much weight. Now he should take it easy. The same is the case with Kanhaiyalal Khadiwala. Many useless persons have gone to [jails] in the U.P. I know it.

It is good that you gave news about Harilal. I am keeping fairly fit these days.

You should give yourself rest—considering it a duty.

We are waiting for the rains. If it does not rain, people will suffer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] The source here adds "in Ajmer"; *vide* "Letter to Kotwal", p. 220.

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313. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 31, 1941

DEAR SIR,

This is the concluding portion of your leaderette[1] in *The Times of India*, [of the] 29th instant:

> Either he has been lax in interpreting his own rules of satyagraha or he has been deceived by the majority of those whose names were submitted. Mr. Gandhi can best say which of these alternatives is the right one.

I suggest a third alternative. I have neither been lax in the interpretation of my rules of satyagraha nor have I been deceived by anybody. You have omitted to read one sentence in my admissions: "It is inevitable." From the very inception of the movement in 1920 non-violence has been a policy and not a creed. I said[2] in Bombay speaking at the A.I.C.C. meeting on the reversal of the Poona resolution that with the majority non-violence was a policy. The weakness was therefore inherent in the movement. It should not be forgotten that I am trying the great experiment of using non-violence for the political freedom of the country. With me no doubt non-violence is an end in itself, though it is also a means for the attainment of the freedom of the country. With the vast majority of Congressmen it is and must remain a means. The weakness is thus inherent though none the less regrettable. The marvel is that in spite of the weakness, twenty years' experience has not weaned Congressmen from the non-violent policy, though it is open to it to change it any time.

In the light of the information I have provided, you will perhaps admit that the case you have made up against the Congress and me falls to the ground.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942, File No. 3/42/41–Home Department, Pol. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, pp. 4-13.

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314. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 31, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

Yes, I had sent the message privately that the hunger-strike should be given up.[1] How the news went abroad I do not know.

Farooqi was angry with me for prohibiting him from publishing his report of the interview. Instead I sent him a few sentences. He returned that. Mine looked like advertisement and he did not see any use in seeing me again. But he has sent a courteous letter today and says he will see me when it becomes necessary.

Iftikhar has sent me a long and interesting letter about his tours.

The news about yourself is disturbing. You must get rid of your weakness or return.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I am extra-well, if such a thing can be said of a 72-year-old man.

From the original: C.W. 4039. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7348

315. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 31, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I finished these last night in the "library". It will be a good selection in the end.[2]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6486. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9887

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Iftikhar-ud-Din", p. 190.

[2] *Vide* also letters to the addressee, pp. 123 and 124.

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316. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 31, 1941

CHI. LILY,

I got your letter. Sushila felt no apprehension regarding you. She believes that if you eat properly and take the prescribed medicines, you will certainly get well. Do not take strong tea. Take enough milk, or curds. Keep me regularly informed. If you do not regain strength, do come away. We will give up one year [of study] if it becomes necessary to do so. You must, of course, complete your study. The subjects which you regard as dull are certain to become interesting after you have mastered them. Ba frequently thinks of you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am fine.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10110. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

317. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

July 31, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I saw your letter to Kishorelalbhai. I had received your letter and was very glad to read it. But as there was nothing to write, I did not even acknowledge it. It is good that your work is going on well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I hope Gopalrao is all right. Was the examination held?

SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH
AHIMSAK VYAYAM SANGH
RAMBAUG, MALAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5649. Also C.W. 2960. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

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318. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 1, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

No time. No letter from you today. Kanu[1] is going to Rajkot. His mother has lost one eye through glaucoma and is in danger of losing the other[2]. Poor boy!

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Prabha has returned.

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA

From the original: C.W. 4040. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7349

319. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 1, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

Do you feel stunned ?[3] Even if you do, for a person like you it can be only for a while. You are unattached, a lover of God and a man of faith, and so you bear cheerfully whatever befalls you.

Bhai Nanalal will send the Rs. 11,000 that he has received. I will include the amount in your purse. I remember to have quoted the figure of one lakh[4] from your letter, not from your statement. But be that as it may. God will protect our honour.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8588. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Son of Narandas Gandhi
[2] The source has "another".
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.
[4] *Vide* "Rentia Baras", p. 136.

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320. SPEECH AT INAUGURATION OF KHADI VIDYALAYA

WARDHA,
August 1, 1941

We want to achieve the welfare of the world by truth and non-violence.

I want you, students of this Vidyalaya, to devote yourselves to a scientific study of the charkha and khadi and make improvements by new inventions and serve the villagers.

Just as the sun is the centre of the planetary system, so is the charkha of our economic or village structure. Without the sun, the world will perish; so without the charkha, which is our saviour and bread-giver, we shall lose.

If khadi comes to stay, everything will be all right; for the progress and improvement of khadi utilize both your intellect and hand-power. This khadi *mantra* manifested itself in 1908 when I was in South Africa along with the late Maganlal Gandhi who had made experiments for improving its technique. We are not opposed to machinery, but we must meet it by new inventions in our khadi science and by providing work and food for the villagers. Make your mind and intellect scientific, so that you students will always search for new things for the betterment of your country. Our prayer should be for serving all, Hindus, Muslims and other communities. By serving India, we can serve the world, as our object is non-exploitation, non-suppression and non-hatred. This requires penance which will add to our knowledge.

We have to exert ourselves more for passing the test of service to Indians and later to humanity. The Charkha Sangh is the central force or the centre of the All-India Village Industries' Association and the Talimi Sangh just as the sun is the guiding force on the solar system (*suryamandal*). Our small beginning with this Vidyalaya may attain or produce better results and our dreams will be realized if you systematically and scientifically study *khadishastra* (science) for serving the poor villagers, for giving them food and clothing by your sacrifice, suffering, penance and purity of character; by this we shall not only serve India, but also the world.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-8-1941

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321. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 2, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter is bad! What is the use of your suppressing your illness or weakness? It leads to greater anxiety. I shall learn to shed anxiety not by companions suppressing truth but by experience which *faithful* companions should not deny me. Do be well and strong.

I understand your instructions about not writing on other people's letters. In the case referred to, I was careful to write on that part which you would have easily cut out.

Let Jamnalal have the pleasure of beating you each time.

Your report about Dehra Dun is exhilarating. You will never succeed in telling me when you come what you cannot tell me through letters. You know you did not succeed last time. I do not mind. You will be right in retorting that I never give you time. Such is life. What is really worth telling I know you will never omit. But what is of that nature as a rule admits of writing and cannot await long delay.

Here is Sailen's diary[1] and whatever it may be called. K. S. Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4041. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7350

322. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

August 2, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have written to Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas. I can think of many ways. I believe the matter[2] can be set right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4734. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 52.
[2] The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement

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323. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
August 2, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

Kanaiyo is terribly upset. Do console him, please. I need him badly here but if he wishes to stay on there or if you feel the need to keep him there, you need not worry about me. I have always regarded it as my dharma to take whatever work I can from those persons who feel the need to be near me. Any other course would not be compatible with scrupulous adherence to truth. Realization of God also is impossible in any other way. The renunciation of *grihasthashrama* is inspired by the same ideal. It follows, therefore, that it is my duty to think of Kanaiyo's welfare and take into consideration what will suit you. The rest Kanaiyo will tell you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8589. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

324. LETTER TO INDRAVADAN N. DIVYENDRA

August 2, 1941

BHAI INDRAVADAN,

I got your letter. My opinion about milk has not changed. But what is the value of opinions which I myself have not been able to act upon? Please, therefore, forget my opinion for the present and do take as much cow's milk and ghee as you can digest.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 146

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325. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

August 2, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

Carry out the accompanying suggestions fully. He has written to Dr. Jivraj also about you. I am sure you will see him, won't you? But write to him first and see what he says.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9751

326. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 3, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I have your letter. I cannot understand this irregular delivery. Something wrong at your end. What can't be cured must be endured.

This public kidnapping of Khurshed[1] is an atrocious thing! I do not know that your organization[2] should not take up the case from women's standpoint. You should carefully consider the thing. This too under the Defence of India Ordinance. What an untruth!

Your being ill is not a comforting thought. You have not fared so badly before in Simla?

You must bestir yourself and get thoroughly well. Or is old age creeping over you?

Who is Prof[3]? I can't make out the name. Of course Saran must not be in a hurry to go.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4042. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7351

[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 207-10.
[2] The All-India Women's Conference
[3] This abbreviation is in the Devanagari script.

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327. LETTER TO RATANMONI CHATTERJI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 3, 1941

DEAR RATANMONI,

You have done well in giving me details about Dr. Das[1]. His death is a distinct loss. We can but intensify our devotion to the country's cause. Please convey my condolences to his aged mother.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SHRI RATANMONI CHATTERJI
DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
G. T. ROAD
P.O. SERAMPORE, DIST. HOOGHLY
BENGAL

From a photostat: G.N. 8026. Also C.W. 10342. Courtesy: Ratanmoni Chatterji

328. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
August 4, 1941[2]

Khurshedbehn Naoroji is the youngest grand-daughter of the late G.O.M.[3] of India. In common with her other sisters, she has dedicated herself to the service of India, in truth, of humanity. She felt the call some years ago to go to the Frontier Province

[1] Dr. Ashutosh Das, I.M.S., had given up his permanent commission during the Non-co-operation Movement and worked for the eradication of Kala-azar in Haripal, a village in Hooghly District. He was imprisoned for offering individual civil disobedience and died following an attack of malaria shortly after his release.

[2] The draft version available in the A.I.C.C. File No. 1363, 1941, is dated August 3, 1941, and *The Bombay Chronicle* reports the statement under "Wardha, August 5".

[3] Dadabhai Naoroji, who was known as the "Grand Old Man of India".

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and work among the Pathans there and spread the gospel of non-violence. She took part also in the last civil disobedience campaign. The last time she was in the Frontier was in connection with dacoities and kidnappings. She is a brave and fearless woman, and so she had planned to work, if she could, even in the tribal area, and come in contact with the dacoits, and wean them from their error. For months she worked within the Province and was trying to cross the border with the permission of the Government. But she did not get the permission, though the authorities with whom she came into contact recognized her worth, transparent honesty, and utter absence of secrecy about her movements in the Frontier Province. This is clear from the letters she holds from the officials. Being tired of waiting she notified the Frontier Government of her intention to cross the border. But she was arrested, tried and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 100 or imprisonment for three months in default thereof. She preferred the latter and on her finishing the term of imprisonment she was externed from the Frontier Province, and interned in the Island of Bombay. She protested against the order and corresponded with the authorities. I give below her letters:

78 NAPEAN SEA ROAD, BOMBAY,
March 31, 1941

SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM,
ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT, POLITICAL (I)
NEW DELHI

SIR,

With reference to the Government of India order No. 75/7/41 Political (I), dated 18th February, 1941, which was served on me just before my release from the Peshawar Central Prison on 4th March 1941, I have to state as follows:

I consider the language of the order vague and the restrictions unjustifiable, in view of the activities in which I was engaged. I place these few facts before you.

For nine months prior to my arrest on 4th December, 1940, I had been working in the Bannu District of the North-West Frontier Province, trying to instil into the minds of the people the ideal of non-violence. I went about from village to village meeting Pirs, Maliks, Khans, as well as dacoits—all honour to many of them—who gave a patient hearing to my talks. I spoke to them on the cowardice and cruelty of carrying away or killing defenceless men, women and

children. I argued with dacoits and tribesmen on the inhumanity of killing one's fellow-beings. I strove to make villagers responsible for the collective security of the villages. I asked the Hindus to show more courage, and try and create a living bond of sympathy between themselves and their Pathan neighbours. I begged of the Pathans to live up to their traditions of protecting the weak and opposing brute force even from their own kinsmen. The above-mentioned facts may be verified through Government officials in the district concerned, in the North-West Frontier Province.

After due intimation to the authorities, I was proceeding to Walo Tangi in Tribal Territory on 4th Dec. 1940, to try and obtain the release of some Hindu kidnappees, among whom was a woman, when I was arrested. I had intended to spend some time there, if necessary, until I had accomplished my object.

During all my talks, private or public, to the Frontier villagers as stated above, at least one C.I.D. officer was always present and heard what I said, and which in all probability was reported to the Government department concerned.

I, therefore, take the liberty to ask if my conduct or speech in the N.W.F. Province, such as I have described, could by any stretch of imagination be considered to be prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war, to the defence of British India, or to the public order.

I regard my work in the Frontier Province to have been essentially humanitarian. I feel sure that I could not have been banished from the N.W.F.P. for the activities described by me. If the Government have information to the contrary, they have been entirely misled. I should be given an opportunity of rebutting evidence which has led to the passing of the order against me.

May I expect an early reply?

Yours truly,
Sd/- K. A. D. NAOROJI

The authorities turned a deaf ear to her protest. So she decided to break the order of internment if she could not get relief and consequently gave the following notice to the authorities:

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your last letter after careful consideration I have failed to find the slightest justification for restricting me to the Island of Bombay.

I am prepared to understand in these times of stress for the British Government the prevention of my entry, for the time being, into the Frontier Province. But I find it hard to reconcile myself to being cooped up in the Island of Bombay. My whole soul rebels against

what I hold to be manifestly unjust and wholly unnecessary. It insults my intelligence. Unless, therefore, the restriction order is confined only to the Frontier Province and my freedom of movement is left otherwise undisturbed and unless I receive an answer amending the order as requested by June 30, I propose to disobey it.

Yours truly,
Sd/- K. A. D. NAOROJI

For very shame,[1] I suppose, and probably also because they felt that they could not justify their high-handed action in confining the internment to Bombay they relaxed the order so as to cover the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

That brought her no relief. She resented the underlying distrust. As will be seen from the correspondence I have reproduced, she was quite willing to accommodate the authorities by not going to the Frontier Province. But she could not possibly tolerate the idea of being confined to the Bombay Presidency. There was no reason whatsoever why she should not be allowed to go to Wardha to confer with me, or to go to Allahabad to see the Kamala Nehru Hospital of which she was till the other day one of the active trustees and secretaries, or to travel to any other part of India, where she has many friends, and where she could be of great service in many of the constructive activities going on in the country. At last being utterly dissatisfied with the inexplicable treatment meted out to her she gave notice to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, on 31st July, 1941, of her intention to proceed to Wardha on the 1st of August if she was left free. So on the morning of the 1st she was without trial, shall I say, kidnapped, to the Yeravda Central Jail.

This action of the Government baffles me, and is a significant and searching commentary on the so-called expansion of the Viceregal Council and what not. The public should understand that Khurshedbehn's action is no part of the war resistance. But the public is hardly aware of the fact that many persons have been arrested and detained without trial although so far as I am aware there is no charge against them of having offered war resistance either as part of the Congress campaign or outside it. They are being detained for reasons of which neither they nor the public have any knowledge. Is Khurshedbehn's case an index of what has been done in these other cases?

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1941, File No. 3/42/41–Home Department, Pol. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-8-1941

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Devdas Gandhi", 13-8-1941.

329. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
August 4, 1941

I have seen a Press report of an interview said to have been given by me to an American magazine called *Look*. It is a pure fabrication. I never knew before now of even the name of the magazine. My attitude remains what I have repeatedly stated. The Congress will not be satisfied with anything less than complete independence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-8-1941

330. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[*August 4, 1941*][1]

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Here is a letter for you. You will remember the girl.

Nothing need be done by you for the time being.

If Jamnalal leaves in the middle of the month you will be without work! !

Yes, you can get a 1st class certificate for packing and general neatness. You will have to get [one][2] for general fitness of body. Just now the family regard [you] as too delicate to be handled anyhow.

Ask Shummy how to deal with flies. They are a pest at the present moment. If the rains keep out long, they will devour us. I would not like you to take part in the battle unless you come with some special remedy which admits of no failure.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Veeramma[3] and Cariappa gone to Karnataka.

From the original: C.W. 4043. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7352

[1] From the postmark
[2] The source has "for".
[3] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 174.

331. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

August 4, 1941

MY DEAR MALKANI,

You have sent me a letter after long waiting. But I understand the delay.

I see you are having the greatest difficulty in establishing contact with the villagers. You are bound to succeed, if you have the right type of workers with the proper spirit of perseverance.

Do you manufacture your own tools? You ought not to depend upon Sabarmati or Nalwadi. We must fail, if we depend on distant depots. Decentralization to the nth degree is necessary for success. For similar reasons I would like you to depend more and more on local production of khaddar.

Did I ever ask you to go to Quetta and advise the Baluchistan Congress about constructive work? Maulvi Abdus Samad is the President or Secretary. I promised that I would ask you to proceed there and give a few days. I have the notion that I sent you a hurried line about this. But as you make no reference to the matter, I wonder what happened.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 940

332. NOTE TO MIRABEHN

August 4, 1941

Reminds one of "confound her enemies, frustrate their knavish tricks".

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6487. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9882

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333. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
August 5, 1941

I have read a Press summary of a letter said to have been written to me by 48 persons from the Gujrat Jail (Punjab). The question asked in the message is: "Would it be possible for any member of the Congress to use violent means against a violent dacoit under grave and provocative conditions, and yet remain in the Congress fold?"

Of course it is possible, it is even possible for people to remain in the Congress although they deliberately break every Congress rule. But if I am asked whether such persons should remain in the Congress, my answer would be an emphatic 'No'. That is for public conduct. No law has been laid down by the Congress as to private conduct. The Congress will refuse, as it should, to judge the conduct of a person who resists by force a robber robbing his property, or an assailant molesting his daughter.

However, the Congress Resolution passed at Poona clearly lays down that volunteer organizations for the purpose of self-defence organized by the Congress or with which Congressmen are associated, must adhere to non-violence. Whether persons who break the rule or even preach the use of violence by Congressmen in such cases should be turned out of the Congress is a different question.

My personal attitude is clear. I would not necessarily turn out such persons from the Congress. My letter to the Delhi President of the Congress Committee has been misquoted or misunderstood.[1] I deliberately advised against expulsion from the Congress. I have always held that it is an action to be adopted in rare cases.

I know some persons have interpreted my advice[2] to Shri Munshi as expulsion. I regard the step taken by him as that of a high-souled man. He had taken no overt action. He had conscientious scruples. He referred to me for advice and, in his own interest and that of the Congress, I advised him to go out of the Congress.

[1] *The Hindu*, 4-7-1941, had quoted the letter as follows: "If any four-anna Congress member, directly or indirectly, participates in the war effort, he should be expelled from the Congress membership." *Vide* also "Letter to Raghunandan Saran", p. 164.

[2] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 112-4.

There was no coercion, even remote or indirect. His retirement was wholly voluntary and dictated by purely moral scruples. I have no reason whatsoever for repenting of my advice, which I should unhesitatingly repeat in every such case.

The rest of the message does not call for any notice.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-8-1941. Also A.I.C.C. File No. 1363, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

334. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 5, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note. I sent you the wire at once. I am quite sure he[1] must not speak for some time. His speech will be all the better for the restraint. You will make out all the reasons.

You were right also in vetoing his going to Hardwar. He must have uninterrupted stay there whatever it is to be. And you can truthfully say that he can't have equal quiet, equal facility and equally good and clean arrangement for food. May all these conveniences result in permanent benefit to his body and mind.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

What you say about Sailen is correct.[2]

From the original: C.W. 4044. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7353

335. LETTER TO S. N. CHATTERJEE

August 5, 1941

DEAR SAILEN,

I have read the enclosed. Rajkumari's criticism is quite correct. The mistakes she has collected are unpardonable. If you do not make a serious endeavour to improve, you will never make any progress. Your mistakes are purely due to carelessness.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10343. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Jamnalal Bajaj
[2] *Vide* the following item.

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336. LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

August 5, 1941

DEAR CAVEESHAR,

I have your letter.[1] My doubts are there. But I am always ready and willing, provided there is some common ground.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

337. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 5, 1941

CHI. VALJI,

Once I have agreed, where is the need for you to decide anything?[2] But it would be extremely painful for me to give the decision you want. I wish to settle everything at the same time. Durga is in Bulsar with her sister's husband at present for a change of air.

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. V. G. DESAI
DEVAGIRI
POONA 4

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7496. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

[1] The addressee had sent to Gandhiji a copy of his letter to M. A. Jinnah, in which he had suggested some formula for Congress-League talks.
[2] *Vide* letters to the addressee, pp. 68 and 189.

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338. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 6, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You have done what you have condemned in me—written on the blank part of correspondence. Tulsidas was right when he wrote:

समरथ को नहिं दोस गुसाईं ।[1]

[The] king can do no wrong.

You may do that, pleased with the progress made in the Harijan welfare work.

Your *raksha*[2] has been received and will be duly used tomorrow. Madalasa is making grand preparations for distribution on a large scale. She is preparing special thread and making centre pieces. Ramakrishna comes out on 9th to go back as soon as he is ready.

Kanu writes saying his mother had a successful operation.[3]

No rain yet. It is exasperating. The farmers are having an anxious time. Yes, what you say about Amery is too true. Can a leopard change his spots !

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4045. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7354

339. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

August 6, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You seem to be very busy. Your letters are insipid and arrive after long intervals. Why is this so? I will tie the *rakhdi* tomorrow. I hope both of you keep good health. How is Nanabhai? How is the school going on? Ba is fine. My health is all right. Kusum is here at present. Prabhavati is arriving on the 15th.

[1] *Ramcharitmanas*, Balkanda
[2] This word is in the Devanagari script.
[3] *Vide* also p. 202.

Amtul Salaam has got all her teeth extracted. After that her asthma has disappeared. The Ashram is full, even though a good many new buildings have come up.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7138. Also C.W. 4630. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

340. LETTER TO VITHTHALDAS V. JERAJANI

August 6, 1941

BHAI VITHTHALDAS,

Bhai Jajuji[1] had sent me your budget for my information. I made the suggestions without much thinking. You have identified yourself with the work of the Spinners' Association as much as Jajuji and I. We may, therefore, put our points of view before you and then agree with what you say. Is it not true, as a rule, that as sales increase the cost diminishes? That is, either the cost price decreases or profits increase. Since we do not want to make profit we should reduce the prices. But I thought that, since you are increasing the number of shops, in the beginning the expenses might go up, but in the end they are bound to come down. If this reasoning is correct, you should tell me when the cost is likely to begin decreasing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9800

341. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 6, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I have your letter and the accompanying literature. If, after studying it, I have any questions to ask you I will write and do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10122

[1] Shrikrishnadas Jaju

342. CONDOLENCE TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

WARDHA,
August 7, 1941

Your loss is also mine, nay, it is the nation's or rather the world's. Let us by our acts prove worthy of Gurudev who had become an institution. My condolences to you all.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-8-1941

343. TRIBUTE TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

August 7, 1941

In the death of Rabindranath Tagore, we have not only lost the greatest poet of the age, but an ardent nationalist who was also a humanitarian. There was hardly any public activity on which he has not left the impress of his powerful personality. In Santiniketan and Sriniketan, he has left a legacy to the whole nation, indeed, to the world. May the noble soul rest in peace and may those in charge at Santiniketan prove worthy of the responsibility resting on their shoulders.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-8-1941

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344. LETTER TO K. A. CHIDAMBARAM[1]

SEVAGRAM,
August 7, 1941

The portion underlined[2] by you is wholly false. So is the statement[3] about Lord Irwin as he then was. Ours was a purely political meeting.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *The Bombay Chronicle*, 28-9-1941

345. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here is a letter from Lucknow.

Sailen's you need not correct if you have not done already. I wrote[4] to him strongly about his great carelessness.

[1] This appeared in facsimile in the centre of the page which contained the addressee's article, "Always Front Page News! Today, As Before, the Mahatma Provides Material for Scoops—And Hoaxes!"

[2] In his article, the addressee had referred to "certain alleged Gandhi-Irwin anecdotes" published in *Picture Post* and had quoted one of them, which read: "He (Lord Irwin) went to India and remained five years. He met Mohandas K. Gandhi and prevailed upon him through greater religious fervour than even India's scrawny little saint could muster. 'You can't argue with Jesus Christ', commented Mahatma once, following a long conference from which he had emerged second best."

[3] Which, as quoted from the same source by the addressee, read: "During one of Gandhi's periodic hunger-strikes, Lord Halifax shrewdly remarked, 'Gandhi is now speaking in a language the Indian people understand. If I were to get in the hallway of the Government buildings at New Delhi, squat on the floor and refuse to eat a bit until the Indian Civil Disobedience Movement came to terms, the trouble would be over in a few days. Of course, before those few days could elapse, my Liberal, Conservative and Labour colleagues in London would send for me to come home and would have a padded cell waiting for me on my arrival.' "

[4] *Vide* p. 214.

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I have not the Hindu Law Committee's[1] report by me. But I have read the two articles in *Indian Social Reformer* on it and some other reviews. It appeared to me to be a good report. I do not know that anything is coming out of all this effort. (I am writing this in the midst of interruptions.)

Your letter is disquieting. You don't seem to have profited by the change as much as I had expected. So you are obliged to doubt your ability to return even at the end of the month. I hope your doubts have no foundation.

Kanu's place is filled by Laxmidas so far as office work is concerned and by Dhiren so far as *malish*[2] is concerned.

Amtul Salaam is keeping well and eating well. Our outbursts continue but that is the normal state.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4046. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7355

346. LETTER TO KOTWAL

August 7, 1941

BHAI KOTWAL,

I got your letter. If you have become impatient, you may certainly go [to jail]. I certainly feel at present that those who understand the secret of ahimsa should remain engrossed in constructive work. Ultimately everybody will get an opportunity of going. Not "Ajmer"; it is certainly a slip.[3] If you must go, go to Ajmer and obtain the permission of the local committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3601

[1] This was appointed under the Chairmanship of B. N. Rau in January 1941, "to examine the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act of 1937 (as amended by Act XI of 1938) with particular reference to five private Bills." The report, which was published from New Delhi on July 26, advocated "immediate admission of the daughter to an equal share with the daughter-in-law". It suggested "legislation for agricultural land, with retrospective effect, in order to give widows the full measure of multiplicity of rules of succession". The Committee had recommended "preparation, in gradual stages, of a complete code of Hindu Law" beginning with the law of succession, instead of piecemeal legislation. The task of codification of Hindu Law was completed by the Committee on August 4, 1941.

[2] Massage

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Haribhau Upadhyaya", p. 198.

347. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your Hindi letter. I hope Shummy's prescription will set you up. Glad Jamnalal is making steady progress all round.

There is no knowing when Mahadev will return. He has to go to Ahmedabad after finishing Bombay.

Sardar is not keeping well in Yeravda. It is a sad thing we can't keep good health in imprisonment.

Kanu is due in Bombay today. His mother had a successful operation.

Here are visitors coming.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4047. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7356

348. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 8, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I have read your report. I can see that you have had to take a lot of trouble. It seems you have also spent a considerable sum out of your own pocket. The quantity of paper and the amount of typing were not negligible. Do claim the expense on account of both and if you think you should be paid a fee, ask for it, too.

If you have taken out a sufficient number of copies of the report, please send one to Gopalan and one to Chandrashanker. If you have no spare copy, I will get copies made here. I have enough facilities for the purpose.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10123

349. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

August 8, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. The news about Rajendra Babu was painful. Come over only after completing your work. If you think it necessary to stay on for the sake of Rajendra Babu, you may do so. Here it rained today and everybody felt relieved. Kanchanbehn has fallen ill. The rest are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3562

350. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 8, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letters. It is good that you have decided once and for all. Nanabhai is a kind and large-hearted soul. I understand about Kanaiyo. I hope Jamna is all right and her eye is quite unscathed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8590. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

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351. LETTER TO VIDYABEHN

August 8, 1941

CHI. VIDYA,

I got your *rakhi* and duly tied it. Spin more yarn, even, strong and fine. Use the carding-bow regularly. Study the science of spinning.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VIDYABEHN
SHANTI NIVAS
SIALKOT CITY, PUNJAB

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8945

352. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
[*August 9, 1941*][1]

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note. Yes, you would not allow flies to enter the cottage. Thanks to Shummy for his hints.[2]

I see you have sent me a parcel.

Jajuji has just come in.

Here are two letters.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4048. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7357

[1] From the postmark

[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 211.

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353. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

August 9, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am sorry for your troubles. I hope your daughter is out of the wood.[1]

As for Abha she should be with you as long as you need her. As soon as you are ready to send her you may ask Satis Babu or Annada to find out a companion who would escort her. Of course, I would pay her fare.

Vina is a difficult proposition. Why not Chittaranjan Seva Sadan[2]?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10320. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

354. LETTER TO ABDUL RAHMAN

August 9, 1941

DEAR A.R.,

Many thanks. You have certainly clarified S's "Will You?" Now tell me whether the time has arrived for such a declaration, who should make it and what should be its contents.[3] My question has been put in order to seek help for I am not clear as to any of the questions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] The addressee's third daughter Anima was suffering from typhoid.

[2] Of Calcutta

[3] The addressee in his letter dated August 6 had suggested the "adoption of a 'unilateral statement' for the consideration of all men of good intentions."

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355. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

SEVAGRAM,
August 9, 1941

MY DEAR ANNADA,

Your letter. The reason why the alteration was made is that there were charges against the Bengal Branch which need elucidation. The Khadi Pratishthan case is wholly of a different type. The question then was whether they sold cheaper. If they have, it does not much matter. The charge against the Bengal Branch is that it sold khadi dearer, unduly loaded the khadi prices. It is [a] matter of much moment. I would myself like to be satisfied as to what has happened. Do you see the distinction? The reference should therefore be as follows:

'Whether during the years 1937 to 1939 the Bengal Branch unduly loaded the khadi prices and sold khadi much dearer than what they should have. What should have been and what has been the gross margin during the said years and to report on the reasons for the high prices, if any, and on the use made of the margin, if any.'

Yours,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

356. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

[On or before *August 10, 1941*][1]

I am surprised that such things appear in the papers[2] when there is no foundation whatever. I have not received any communication either from the Maulana Sahib or any other prisoner; nor has any messenger come to me with such representations.

Asked what the position was of Congressmen in jail, who felt that the policy of the Congress should be revised in view of the altered situation at home and abroad, Gandhiji said:

[1] Reported under the date-line "Nagpur, August 10"

[2] The correspondent had drawn Gandhiji's attention to the report that "forty prisoners in the Naini Jail, including the Congress President, made representations to him urging a change in Congress policy in view of the changed international situation".

If they have changed their views and want a change of colour, of course, they can do so at any time. They have only to declare this and the Government will be glad to oblige them.

When I asked him whether nothing that had happened in the country or outside recently warranted the calling off of satyagraha, Gandhiji said:

So far as I am concerned nothing has happened.

The Hindu, 12-8-1941

357. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter is disturbing. Why should you have such bad headache? What had you done? You *must* be well and strong.

The apples have arrived.

It is still raining.

The Poet's death has left a void that cannot be filled. He was a rare combination of goodness and genius.

I am glad Jamnalal is keeping up steady improvement.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3637. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6485

358. LETTER TO SIKANDAR

August 10, 1941

MY DEAR S.,

Your impatient letter to hand. No hurried action need be taken. Haste is waste. Time is always in favour of Right. I see no harm in your practising. But your practice should also be calm, not tempestuous.

Rajkumari does not return before the end of the month, if then. It will depend upon her health. Her address is . . . .[1]

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Omission as in the source

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359. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

August 10, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You have been sending me useful material. The friends from Burma are also coming. I feel the proper course for me would be to issue a statement only after I have had talks with them all. I need a copy of the Burma Pact.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4735. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

360. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

August 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter. Marybehn[1] has not yet come and seen me. This time I have been regular in writing to you. But how can we help the negligence of the Postal Department? I have no doubt that Manilal is lethargic. If even association with you has not succeeded in overcoming his laziness, what is its worth? Or is it that lethargy is so ingrained in Manilal's nature that even good company cannot cure him of it ?

Kishorelalbhai and Gomati are staying here for the present. Since Mahadevbhai is on tour, he is helping me.

There was a prolonged dry spell, but we are having rain now and perhaps the year's [harvest] will be good.

I am glad to learn that Sita[2] helps you. Arun[3] also will come round.

Forward the accompanying to E. M. Parekh. I don't have his address.

The rest of the news will be given by Kishorelalbhai.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4921

[1] F. Mary Barr who had gone to South Africa
[2] & [3] Addressee's daughter and son

361. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

August 10, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

Tell Chokhawala that he has expressed his opinion without careful thinking. You have been weak in body from your very birth. If you had been eating everything, you would not have lived long enough to marry Chokhawala. Anybody who can have milk, ghee and greens will never be delicate in health. If he but looks around, he will see that the innumerable people who fall ill eat chillies and fried stuff. If he visits a hospital, he will find it full of such people. Let Anand, therefore, grow up, while he is a child, on milk, curds, fruits, greens and bread. When he grows up he will choose for himself. I am trying to buy a copy of Kuhne's book. If that friend does not arrive you need do nothing.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10035. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

362. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 11, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

Your note. You do not say whether you lost your headache and why you had it. I do not mind your imprisoning Jamnalal for a year, so long as you do not have to be with him all that time. I have heard that Simla is at its very best in winter and it is the cheapest—rent is nothing and vegetables and fruit you get for a song. Valji was there during a winter and profited by his stay.

I have another commission for [you]. Find out from somebody what to do to get rid of white ants. We have a positive infliction. They have now attacked my bathroom and may spread throughout the place if their mischief is not stopped in [time].

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The agricultural department must know the remedy.

Have I not told you that *malish* is done by Dhiren and office work by Lakshmidas?

Amtul Salaam is quite well. She has added seven pounds to her weight and is active the whole day long.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Are the apples from your garden?

From the original: C.W. 4049. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7358

363. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

August 11, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I got your letter. It is quite clear. It will now be easy to write to Chandravadan. I didn't know anything before I got his letter. I read your speech in *Social Welfare* after I had his letter.

Come whenever you wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7665. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

364. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

August 11, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I had your letter. Kishorelalbhai has already replied to it. How did that happen to Bhanumati? Aren't the doctors able to say anything? The baby is not likely to survive. Even if she lives, she will perhaps remain weak all her life.

Did my letters reach Father? I took double precaution in order that he might get them without delay.

You have no cause at all to worry. It is certainly not one's duty to go to jail irrespective of one's circumstances. Outside you are doing Father's work. By going to jail just now you would only feel self-satisfied. When the time comes, I will not hold you back even for a moment. Just now all Gujaratis who are ready to work should go on doing their work.

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Send me five pounds of dry figs of good quality.

I got that grammar book.

Mahadev must have arrived there. What is the collection now? Things are going on all right here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 130

365. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

August 11, 1941

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

I have your reply regarding the expenditure. I quite understand. I make no distinction between you and Viththaldas. My letter to you includes him just as one to him includes you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10851. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

366. LETTER TO BRAHMANAND

August 11, 1941

BHAI BRAHMANANDJI,

What you take to be hostility is not hostility. Everybody has to endure disease. One should serve despite being a patient. Milton in his blindness served with the pen, and so did Surdas[1]. Those who are healthy should serve with body, mind, and soul.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI BRAHMANAND 'BANDHU'
C/o B. DAYARAM
BOHRA-MANDIR
MUZAFFARNAGAR, U.P.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2776

[1] A Hindi saint-poet

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367. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
August 12, 1941

The seventeenth instant is the *shraddha* day of Gurudev. Those who attach religious significance to the *shraddha* ceremony will no doubt fast for the day by abstaining from food altogether or confining themselves only to fruits, and devote themselves to prayer. The prayer may be individual or congregational. Every city and every village which has partaken of Gurudev's uplifting message delivered through his writings and lived in his life will meet at an hour best suited to them and contemplate the noble life and dedicate themselves for the country's service.

Gurudev stood for peace and goodwill. He knew no communal barriers. I, therefore, hope that all sections will join together in observing the solemn day and promote communal harmony.

I would like all further to remember that the bulk of the Deenabandhu Memorial still remains to be collected. Sad to say, it has also become Gurudev's Memorial, for the simple reason that collections of the Memorial are to be solely devoted to the upkeep and expansion of Santiniketan, which includes the Visvabharati and Sriniketan. This does not exclude a separate and special memorial for Gurudev, but it would be a mockery even to think of one before the memorial conceived by Gurudev himself has been fulfilled. It would be a fitting finish to the solemn day if the workers and organizers make it a point to collect for the memorial and send them to Messrs Bachraj and Company, 51 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-8-1941

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368. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 12, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

You have given me good news. I hope the improvement will be steady.

You will see the message[1] I have issued regarding Gurudev.

Appa[2] of Aundh is coming here for a week. The Burma deputation on 15th. And so the day fills in. Dr. Shyama Prasad[3] wants me to preside at a Gurudev meeting in Calcutta. I have wired 'No' for the simple reason that I must finish Andrews Memorial first.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4050. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7359

369. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

August 12, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA,

I have your very interesting proposal for which many thanks. It does not attract me for the simple reason that I do not trust the British Government to do the right thing. Moreover any participation in conferences invited by the Government presupposes aid in the war effort by the participants. I cannot, I must not.

My love to the whole family.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2184

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Appasaheb Pant
[3] Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha

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370. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA

August 12, 1941

DEAR ARUN BABU,

I have your interesting letter. I have no difficulty in accepting your limitation of non-violence. When it is honestly worked it automatically expands. But your acceptance of non-violence in communal conflicts and the like is enough for my purpose.

Your interpretation of the present struggle is accurate.

With regards to all the friends,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8669

371. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

August 12, 1941

MY DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

Your article[1] on industrialization I consider weak. You have flogged a dead horse. What we have to combat is socialization of industrialism. They instance the Soviet exploits in proof of their proposition. You have to show, if you can, by working out figures that handicrafts are better than power-driven machinery products. You have almost allowed in the concluding paragraphs the validity of that claim.

Do not trouble to answer this but you may deal with it in the next issue.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10155

[1] "Public Costs of Centralized Production", published in the August issue of *Gram Udyog Patrika*

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372. LETTER TO BHAGWAN DAS

August 12, 1941

DEAR BABUJI,

It is extraordinary how you have been saved. God's grace. I do hope you will give yourself ample rest.

Your suggestion is not new to me. But who is to frame the future social order? The Congress cannot in advance for it is a body whose opinion must change from time to time. If you say I should, I have adumbrated it through the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A. and the Talimi Sangh. But I would like you not to tax yourself for the time being.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

373. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

August 12, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Mahadev is collecting funds for relief. I have not seen Ramachandran's letter of July 18. Send it to me and I shall reply.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7999. Also C.W. 3090. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

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374. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

August 12, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. I am not under a misapprehension. You have yourself said that what I decide[1] will be the right thing. This is not enough. If you are not clear in your intention my decision should be regarded as invalid. If Draupadi[2] also does not fully agree, this gift should be considered tainted. No sacrifice can endure unless backed by renunciation. I have only raised a moral issue.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 302 and 303

375. LETTER TO MANAGER, BANK OF NAGPUR, LTD.

SEVAGRAM,
August 13, 1941

THE MANAGER
BANK OF NAGPUR LTD.,
WARDHA

DEAR SIR,

Re: Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund

Please renew the fixed deposit of this fund with you for a period of three years from the date of the expiry of the period of deposit. As per talk on the phone with you it will bear interest at 4% per annum, unless withdrawn before its due date. If it is withdrawn after one year, the rate will be 3½% and if after two

[1] About the use of the money obtained from the sale of the nature-cure clinic after the addressee's death

[2] Addressee's wife

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years 3¾%. In case it has to be withdrawn prematurely, you have asked for a notice of at least 10 days. This will be done.

Please confirm and send your receipt.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI
PRESIDENT,
JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

376. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 13, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I can easily plead guilty. Had I been always right in everything I said and did with Amtul Salaam, she would not have developed as she has. But as I told you in another connection, I am not past redemption. I can improve, am improving.

I now understand about you. I agree with you that you should not return till you have regained your strength and weight. But it may also be that you will do so ultimately only here. For the winter months are always good here. But I don't worry about the future.

Kanchan who was ill is now out of the wood.

I have just received a wire from Bul that she has been released but says she cannot come here. I shall know more fully tomorrow.

Here is a letter for you. You will tell him I had as yet no time.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4051. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7360

377. LETTER TO C. MADHAVAN PILLAY

August 13, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I cannot say that I am free from sexual emotions. But I can say that I have control over them and hope to be free by striving. Perfect *brahmacharya* is a goal to be attained by perhaps

one in a million. Success lies in the effort honestly and persistently made.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI AYIROOR C. MADHAVAN PILLAY
PERUR, MANGADI
QUILON (TRAVANCORE)

From a photostat: G.N. 230

378. LETTER TO T. PALANIVELU

August 13, 1941

DEAR PALANIVELU,

Truth can only be reached through purity of life and a reverent study of the scriptures of the world.

No need to come to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI T. PALANIVELU
SECRETARY, ARYA SAMAJ
46 PANDI ROAD
VILLUPURAM

From a photostat: G.N. 6091

379. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

August 13, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

You should have been able to read "shame". I had dictated "for very shame"[1].

Just now I have a wire saying that Khurshedbehn has been released. What happened we will know by and by. There were two errors in that article. She had not crossed the Frontier. The original order was revised not when she protested against it but when she gave notice that she would disregard it. Such errors are nothing unusual. When we read a thing in haste we can write only on the basis of our general impression.

[1] *Vide* p. 210.

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The article about Jayakar was all right. The one about the *New Statesman* was good.

I will be happy if Lakshmi comes over and stays even for one day. The weather is quite cool these days. The recent showers were a great relief.

The [Indo-]Burma Pact is a great betrayal. You must study it and get an expert to write on it in great detail. Mahadev is still abegging[1] in Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2148

380. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 14, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note.

The thing is this. There is only one clearance from Sevagram and that is at 4.30 p.m. The post for the North and the East leaves Wardha the morning following. But sometimes I write after 4.30 and send through some reliable person. Though reliable, he may forget to post the same evening. Then the letter will be delayed by a day. At this end there is no other possibility of a mishap that I can think of. Remember also that at times your post is also delivered the same way, two letters coming together. Let us bear without grinning.

No news about yourself in the present letter. Is it a sign of good news?

Bul's letter has come in. She seems to be no better off. The order remains what it is. It seems that the game now is to try and convict her. She has been told to apply for permission to go to Wardha. She has applied by wire. Let us see.

Here is a letter from Sarangadhar Das. I have sent a copy to Mahadev to make use without using names. You will write to Sarangdhardas. I may send him a few lines.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4052. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7361

[1] Collecting relief fund

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381. LETTER TO MADALASA

August 14, 1941

You are both[1] poets. There is this difference, however, that though he is a poet he clings to the earth and takes pleasure in his work. You soar in the sky and so you remain absorbed in your thoughts. That is why you are always dissatisfied with your servants. As long as you remain so, how can you bring credit to your house as a housewife? Here are heaps of blessings from me![2]

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 320

382. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 14, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your health seems to be improving there. It seems from Dr. Menkel's report that the knee-trouble will remain for ever. If there is no other complication, I see no harm. Do not leave that place, as long as you get peace of mind there.

Do not be very keen on seeing [Sir Francis] Wylie. There will be no harm if you can see him without any effort. It would not be good if you have to make an effort to see him.

I was very pleased to see Ramakrishna. He is taking full advantage of his stay in prison.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3020

[1] The addressee and her husband, Shriman Narayan
[2] The addressee had composed a poem asking for Gandhiji's blessings.

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383. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 14, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter yesterday. I was glad to receive it, but was pained on reading it. Mahadev did write to me about your health having suffered. But your letter suggests that it has got much worse. If that is so, what is the use of having Dr. Gilder there? If he cannot improve your health, you will be dismissed.

Personally I would prefer your living for some time on fruit juices. It would clear the obstruction, if any, in the bowels. If you take as much juice as you can of grapes, *mosambis*, pomegranates and pineapples, you are bound to benefit. If you can take the juice in sufficient quantity—say, 60 ounces—there is no reason why you should grow weak. And along with it if you apply mud-packs on the abdomen at night, I am sure it will do you good. It must not become necessary to release you because of illness. Keep me regularly informed. Drop a postcard if nothing more.

The workers in Gujarat are being tested well. They seem to be working all right. Mahadev also is gaining fairly good experience. I don't experience any difficulty, since Kishorelal is staying here. He is indeed a great help to me. My health may be said to be generally good.

Ba has regained good strength. She walks about three quarters of a mile every evening, besides working the whole day. She is able to eat well. There is no cause at all for worry.

Jamnalal also is better. He is having change of air in Simla. He is regaining strength. He is Rajkumari's prisoner there, eating the food she permits, walking eight miles a day, playing chess and enjoying himself. He has the atmosphere he wanted.

Janakibehn and Madalasa are with me and they have their meals with me. Both are well. Janakibehn can run fast for four or five miles. Madalasa is in the family way. It is the seventh month. She had ulcers in the mouth, but they have disappeared now. This time the delivery is likely to be normal.

Gurudev having passed away, I have had to take up the responsibility of collecting the Deenabandhu Fund as quickly as possible. God's will be done.

Kusum [Desai] is here at present. She helps me a little. She will stay for about a month or may be more. I have left it to her.

Blessings to you and to all your companions from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 249-50

384. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 15, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note. I ought to have sent you a copy of my letter to Sarangadhar Das. But there it is. I never succeed in doing such things as they should be done.

Your apples are extra fine. Ba likes them very much. That I do likewise goes without saying. This is not to be taken as an invitation to send more. What about the price of fruit in winter in Simla?

A crowd is coming in. Do make small collections in Simla. I see this will be in your hands after the event.[1] So it is withdrawn.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4053. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7362

385. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

August 15, 1941

DAUGHTER,

Today I will not write in Urdu. Your being with Kakasaheb is by itself half the medicine. If he gets congenial company and the kind of music he likes, what else can he want? You two sisters should now leave only after fully restoring Kakasaheb to

[1] The reference is to the observance of Rabindranath Tagore's *shraddha* on August 17; *vide* "Statement to the Press", p. 231.

health. After that, I will give Saroj[1] her fill of *khakharas* and you a slap.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9683

386. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 15, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

Half your medicine will be Raihana's music, and rest. Please do not be in the least impatient. Follow the doctor's advice. You have only one concern at present—to improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Enclosed for Raihana.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10949

387. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 16, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

So far as your own apples are concerned you may send as often as you like. I take them practically every day and so does Ba. For the bazaar ones you must let me know the price.

I am glad Jamnalal was able to have his wish fulfilled. The solid gain he had made can never be lost.

You will be sad to know that Vallabhbhai has a polypus[2] in the rectum and a suspicion of cancer. He is much pulled down.

[1] Saroj Nanavati

[2] Gandhiji had, by "mistake", spelt this word with double 'l'; *vide* postscript to "Letter to Amrit Kaur", pp. 252-3.

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What is the cause of your rheumatism? Is it an extension of what was here or is it a new thing?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4054. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7363

388. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 17, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note. Today is *shraddha* day. We are all busy. You must be soon restored.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4055. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7364

389. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
August 17, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter. First come here. We shall think about Sikar, etc., afterwards. Today I am busy with the *shraddha*. Mridu[1] has come. I will not, therefore, write more. My blessings to Om[2] and her husband[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3021

[1] Mridula Sarabhai
[2] & [3] Addressee's daughter Uma and Rajnarain Agrawal

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390. INTERVIEW TO UNITED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

WARDHAGANJ,
August 17, 1941

I shall be more than pleased to send my heartiest congratulations immediately the United States and Great Britain resort to disarmament, and call it the triumph of non-violence.

The Hindu, 19-8-1941

391. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 18, 1941

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have hurriedly gone through your draft. It reads all right. You may circulate it. But I shall study it carefully before you meet.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10157

392. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 18, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This thing about the post is vexing. But what is one to do with a village P[ost] O[ffice]?

The second vexing thing is your indifferent condition. Why should you not feel first class? Could it have anything to do with your having taxed yourself too much over Jamnalal? He

[1] The correspondent had sought Gandhiji's advice on the clause regarding "abandonment of force by nations and the adoption of disarmament" in the Churchill-Roosevelt Declaration, known as the Atlantic Charter, officially issued on August 14.

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is in raptures over the kindness shown to him by you all—meaning you and your . . .[1] The thought has just occurred to me and I have passed it on to you. Anyway it is time you got well.

We had a glorious day here. We had prayers at which Gurudev's songs were sung, the morning "*Jivana jakhan*[2]" by Sushila and the "*Anand lok*[*e*][3]" in the evening by Prabhakar who is proving a fine singer. We had a pice collection from every adult and more from those who could pay more. The Ashramites not having any money of their own spun for one hour and got one pice for their labour at market price. Maganlal gave Rs. 2,500, Janakibehn Rs. 110, Sushila Rs. 500 in 10 instalments, i.e., Rs. 50 out of her salary. Therefore, we have a goodly sum in Sevagram. Ashadevi went out for collection and prayer in Wardha. I have not yet had the report. But it was good there too.

Vallabhbhai's condition is bad. You must have seen the report. Let us see what happens. It is a big load on the mind.

Mridula leaves today for Bombay. She has come to solve her little difficulties.

I must not give you more time today. What about khadi sales there this time?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4056. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7365

393. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 18, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Consider that we are all sailing in the same boat as you. The difference is only one of degree. You should fix your mealtime and also the quantity of food. If this is done for a period, everything will be all right. Do not worry about the result, once you have made the efforts.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4400

[1] Omission as in the source
[2] & [3] These words are in the Devanagari script.

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394. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 19, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note.

How strange my letter crossed yours. You have used the same or a synonymous term. You must get rid of your illnesses now. If Shummy and others relieve you and think that you might flourish under humble surroundings I shall gladly nurse you to health. If I am solely responsible, I shall not be nervous.

No more today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4057. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7366

395. LETTER TO TARACHAND

August 19, 1941

DEAR DR. TARACHAND,

Many thanks for your cheque which I am passing to the Deenabandhu Memorial Fund. If you do not like the disposal I can easily alter it.

I have purposely not moved in the Hindi matter because of the extraordinary riots in Dacca and elsewhere. The matter has to be settled but the values have changed. As I read the signs of the times the matter does not admit of piecemeal treatment. I drafted my statement. Sunderlalji did not like it much. Meanwhile the disturbances affected me deeply and I stayed immediate action, my views remaining the same.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

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396. LETTER TO INDRAVADAN N. DIVYENDRA

August 19, 1941

BHAI INDRAVADAN,

Searching for the envelope sent by you would take some time, and, moreover, you have no reason to complain since you are getting one pice worth more than what you spent. If we exclusively look after the cow, the buffalo will not perish, but if we exclusively look after the latter both the cow and the buffalo will perish. If we try to look after both, then also both would perish. All the world over people use mostly cow's milk. From the medical point of view, too, cow's milk is more beneficial.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

BHAI INDRAVADAN N. DIVYENDRA
GOODS OFFICE
SABARMATI, B.B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 121

397. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 20, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What you say in your letter is perfectly correct. When I get up at the sound of the bell, I look at the watch and when twenty minutes pass I start the prayers.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8486. Also C.W. 7152. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

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398. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 20, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I read your letter addressed to Mahadev. He has been held up in Bombay.

I think you should not have published a report like that without verifying it. And even if you published it, to have made unfounded comments on it was certainly wrong. [I][1] cannot save you. And, moreover, you have given the name of the Chief Justice. I am afraid you will be found guilty. You had better consult a lawyer and publish, before attending the court, an apology saying that your correspondent was unable to prove the truth of his report. I think this would be a graceful step. Or you may apologize in the court without defending yourself. I am suggesting this from the moral and legal point of view. But ultimately do as Sir Tej Bahadur and Munshi advise. I am sending a copy of this letter, together with your letter, to Mahadev. You have signed in full, but I can decipher neither "Devdas" nor "Gandhi". The civilized rule is that the letters even in a signature should be as neat as pearls.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2142

399. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[On or before *August 21, 1941*][2]

JAMNALALJI
SIVALAYA, DEHRA DUN
GLAD. STAY AT WILL.[3]

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 242

[1] One word is illegible in the source.

[2] According to the source the telegram was received by the addressee on August 21.

[3] The addressee had sought permission to prolong his stay at Anandmayi Devi's Ashram; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 251.

400. LETTER TO UTIMCHAND GANGARAM

SEVAGRAM,
August 21, 1941

DEAR UTIMCHAND,

I have Government papers containing Rs. 500. I am handing the $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. ones (Rs. 200) to Harijan Sevak Sangh and the other Rs. 300 to the Deenabandhu Memorial, since Gurudev would have donated the amount to the Memorial which, as you know, is to be wholly used for Santiniketan.

My interest in Geometry never gets stale and I shall be your first 'school-boy'. Whether I shall succeed in cutting off the two triangles or not I do not know.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

401. LETTER TO JAKATDAR

August 21, 1941

DEAR JAKATDAR,

You have done so well at your time of life that you need not re-offer C.D. If the Government choose to take you off for any of your activities, it is a different matter.

I would like you to spread the gospel of non-violence by doing the constructive work of the Congress in your district.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

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402. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

August 21, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

You should feel satisfied with this letter. I hope you reached there safely. Take care about your food and get well. Arrange about your studies. Write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have written regarding the *Autobiography*.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8273. Also C.W. 7154. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

403. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 21, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I was indeed afraid that you would be released. What else could they do? Now you must get completely well before resuming work. There is, of course, a lot to be done. I will not be easy in my mind till the operation is over. Keep me regularly informed. Did they give you my letters?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 250

404. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 21, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I got your letter. For the present I will not trouble you. You have given me enough details in your report. If there is

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anything more still, write to me. I take it that you will stamp every page in the account books. It will be enough if you merely initial the corrections. I suppose all the vouchers are duly numbered. Please return the account books, etc., to the Navajivan office now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10124

405. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 21, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

There is no letter from you today. I hope this is not due to illness.

Jamnalalji liked Anandamayi Devi's Ashram. He could get peace there. He sent me a telegram to permit him to stay there for some more time. I have said yes.[1] He had a long talk with Jawaharlal and had fruit with him. He also met Indu.

Here everything is all right. Sardar was released, and I had a talk with him on the phone. I hope you did not find it difficult to decipher this letter. Do you mind its being in Hindi?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7883. Also C.W. 4251. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

406. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHAUDHARY

August 21, 1941

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

Your letter is of course good; but do not overstep the limit. If a passing impulse is not the reason behind it, your sacrifice will endure.[2] Otherwise it would only cause more pain. A habit

[1] *Vide* p. 248.

[2] The addressee had decided to curtail the expenses of his family as regards food, clothing, etc. He felt that they were a burden on the Ashram.

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of long standing is not broken without firm determination. May God give you strength!

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, p. 144

407. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHAGANJ,
August 22, 1941

JAMNALALJI
SIVALAYA
RAIPUR, DEHRA DUN

MAHESH[1] WELL BUT REQUIRES OBSERVATION. GIVES MADALASA GOOD COMPANY. ALLOW STAY UNLESS YOU NEED BADLY.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 242

408. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 23, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters for you.

I see how you are struggling against your fever and cough. Victory to you.

You will write to Dharm Yash Dev that he has first to purge himself to be true to himself.

Sushila stopped for two days on her way to Bombay. She is on duty leave. She has been sent to Bombay to gain more experience in anaesthesia. Her last experience enabled them to work an expensive instrument that was lying unused.

Kanchan has gone to her mother for a few months.

[1] Maheshdutta Mishra

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I am first finishing the Deenabandhu Memorial which becomes also partly Tagore Memorial too. I shall take from you the highest amount possible in its time. You see I have taken Rs. 500 from Sushila. Of course in instalments.[1]

Yes, you may send the spray. I now see it is expensive but not very if it is effective against these fellow-creatures of ours. I have also told you, you could send apples twice a month.

Now I must stop. Oh, I forget. Sardar's has proved a hoax.[2] Seven doctors miss the polypus. So there is no anxiety.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Polypus is one '1'. The mistake was mine.[3]

From the original: C.W. 4058. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7367

409. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

August 23, 1941

MY DEAR R[AMACHANDRAN],

I have just read your letter [to] Rameshwari Nehru. She wants to know what to say in reply. The need of the Sangh[4] at Delhi is indeed very great. But the need for you and Sundaram to busy yourselves in Travancore is greater. I have no doubt whatsoever that you will serve the Harijan cause better by serving it in Travancore. Therefore I need not discuss the other questions arising from your letter.

Love to you both.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8000. Also C.W. 3098. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 244-5.
[2&3] *Vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 242-3.
[4] Harijan Sevak Sangh

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410. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

August 23, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter today. Enclosed is a copy of the reply I sent to Ramachandran. I am glad you are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8000. Also C.W. 3097. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

411. FOREWORD TO "*A DISCIPLINE FOR NON-VIOLENCE*"[1]

SEVAGRAM,
August 24, 1941

A Discipline for Non-violence is a pamphlet written by Mr. Richard B. Gregg for the guidance of those Westerners who endeavour to follow the law of satyagraha. I use the word advisedly instead of 'pacifism'. For what passes under the name of pacifism is not the same as satyagraha. Mr. Gregg is a most diligent and methodical worker. He [has] had first-hand knowledge of satyagraha, having lived in India and that too for nearly a year in the Sabarmati Ashram. His pamphlet is seasonable and cannot fail to help the satyagrahis of India. For though the pamphlet is written in a manner attractive for the West, the substance is the same for both the Western and the Eastern satyagrahi. A cheap edition of the pamphlet is therefore being printed locally for the benefit of Indian readers in the hope that many will make use of it and profit by it. A special responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Indian satyagrahis, for Mr. Gregg has based the pamphlet on his observation of the working of satyagraha in India. However admirable this guide of Mr. Gregg's

[1] To its first Indian edition published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad

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may appear as a well-arranged code, it must fail in its purpose if the Indian experiment fails.

M. K. GANDHI

A Discipline for Non-violence

412. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
August 24, 1941

Being vitally connected with immigration problems and having been in South Africa for twenty years, I am naturally interested in the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement. It has caused me deep pain. I have collected as much literature as I could on the subject. I have studied as much of it as was necessary to enable me to form an opinion and as was possible during the very limited time at my disposal.

My study has led me to the conclusion that it is an unhappy agreement.

It is panicky and penal. In the papers I find no reason to warrant any panic nor do I find any warrant for the severe punishment meted out to the Indians resident in Burma.

The burden of proving the right to remain in Burma has in every case been thrown on the Indian resident. One would have thought that the least that should have been done was to have automatically recognized as fully domiciled every Indian found in Burma on the date of promulgation of the Agreement.

I am acquainted with the immigration laws of South Africa and other countries. In every case the restrictions have been imposed by legislation and, after fairly full opportunity being given for the expression of public opinion, legislation has been preceded by considerable lapse of time for the ventilation of views on the mere proposal for legislation.

In this case secrecy and mystery have surrounded the Agreement which has been sprung upon an unsuspecting public.

The whole thing appears still more hideous when we recall the fact that only a few years ago Burma was an integral part of India.

Does the partition make India a leper country the presence of whose inhabitants must carry heavy penalties including the tickets of leave such as criminals carry? They do not cease to be less offensive because they bear the inoffensive name of passports

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and permits. I should be prepared to understand the validity of the permit and passport system when the necessity is clearly established. I must refuse to believe that this Agreement is in response to a vital cry from the great Burmese nation with which the people of India never had any quarrel and with which India had enjoyed cultural contact long before the advent of the foreigner from the West.

We can never be in Burma or the Burmans in India foreigners in the same sense as people from the West. There has been free commerce and emigration to Burma for hundreds of years.

This drastic Agreement is an undeserved slur both on India and Burma.

This Agreement is a brutal reminder that both India and Burma are under the British heel and that the Government of India Act and the Government of Burma Act gave no real freedom to the respective peoples. They give no scope for full growth to us. I fear that this statement of mine will not please the Premier of Burma who may think that the Agreement is a popular Act. He will soon discover the error, if he has not already, that he has not served his people but that he has played himself into the hands of those who would want to exploit Burma to the exclusion of any rivals. I must admit that Indians have been partners with the Westerners in the exploitation of Burma, but with this fundamental difference, that the Westerner went to Burma with his gun, while the Indian went on sufferance as he has always done in every part of the world.

We cannot exist in Burma for one single day without Burmese goodwill.

I would plead with the Burmese Ministers and the Burmese people that they should wait for the regulation of immigration till both of us are free and independent for such regulation. I flatter myself with the belief that when that happy day arrives, as it must, such matters will regulate themselves, for we shall never want to impose our nationals on one another.

But I have strayed. My purpose just now is to show that this Agreement must be undone inasmuch as it breaks every canon of international propriety. It becomes less defensible in that an Indian[1] instead of an Englishman was sent to negotiate the Agreement. It is an old and familiar trick, that of putting up an Indian to perform a disagreeable task. Nor is it relevant

[1] Girija Shankar Bajpai; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 190.

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that the Agreement had the approval of local Indian opinion. For the Agreement is an insult to the whole nation, not merely to the particular individuals whose material interests lie in Burma. But even if it was relevant, there should be evidence to show the volume and character of that opinion.

When I come to examine the Baxter Report[1], which became the prelude to the Agreement, it contains nothing to justify the Agreement. This was the reference made to Mr. Baxter:

> The enquiry will be directed to ascertaining:
> 1. the volume of Indian immigration;
> 2. to what extent it is seasonal and temporary and to what extent permanent;
> 3. in what occupations Indians are mainly employed and the extent to which they are unemployed or underemployed;
> 4. whether in such employment Indians either have displaced Burmans or could be replaced by Burmans, due regard being paid to both the previous history of such occupations and their economic requirements; and
> 5. whether in the light of the statistics obtained and other relevant factors any system of equating the supply of Indian unskilled labour to Burmans' requirements is needed.

Thus it was purely a fact-finding commission. Here is the fact found by the Commission:

> There is no evidence of any kind to suggest that Indians have displaced Burmans from employment which they had previously obtained. . . . Indian labour in the past has been supplementary rather than alternative to Burmese labour.

That surely does not justify the restrictions imposed by the Agreement on the movement of Indians in Burma. The recommendations made in the Report appear to me to be in excess of the reference and therefore of no effect. Add to this the fact that the opinion of the assessors finds no mention in the Report. It may not have weighed with the Commissioner but surely it should have found mention in the Report.

Now let me for a moment examine the pertinent sections of the Act. Here they are:

Section 44(3) of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, says:

[1] James Baxter, Financial Adviser, with two assessors, U Tin-Tut and Ratilal Desai, was appointed by the Government of Burma to examine the question of Indian immigration into Burma. The report was submitted to the Government of Burma in October 1940.

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The provisions of Sub-section (2) of this Section shall apply in relation to British subjects domiciled in India and subjects of any Indian State as they apply in relation to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, but with the substitution in the provision to the said Sub-section for references to the United Kingdom or references to British India, or as the case may be, that Indian State:

Provided that nothing in this Sub-section shall affect any restriction lawfully imposed on the right of entry into Burma of persons who are British subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any Indian State, or any restriction lawfully imposed as a condition of allowing any such persons to enter Burma.

Section 138 of the same Act:

His Majesty may by Order-in-Council direct that, during such period as may be specified in the Order, immigration into Burma from India shall be subject to such restrictions as may be specified in the Order (being such restrictions as may have been mutually agreed before the commencement of this Act between the Governor of Burma-in-Council and the Governor-General of India-in-Council and approved by the Secretary of State, or in default of agreement as may have been prescribed by the Secretary of State), and no other restrictions:

Provided that any such Order may be varied by a subsequent Order-in-Council in such manner as appears to His Majesty necessary to give effect to any agreement in that behalf made after the commencement of this Act by the Governor with the Governor-General of India or the Governor-General of India-in-Council.

The first read as a whole does not appear to contemplate any interference with the present Indian population. The second is decisive.

According to this Section restriction by agreement cannot be imposed on the present Indian settlers.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Secretary of State for India should not pass the Order-in-Council and should withhold his assent to the Agreement. Any restriction should be a matter for legislation by the Burmese Assembly in consultation with and with the co-operation of the Government of India.

It is pertinent to the examination of the Agreement to know what declarations were made by His Majesty's Ministers when the Act was passed. Here is the assurance of Sir Thomas Inskip, the then Minister for Co-ordination and Defence, on the subject:

Nobody wants to discriminate between British subjects domiciled in India or Indian States' subjects when they go to Burma, any more than one wants to discriminate between the British when they go to British India.

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Mr. Butler (then Under-Secretary of State for India) also stated in the House of Commons:

> In connection with unskilled Indian labour, the Governor of Burma is asked to confer with the Governor-General with a view to regulating the immigration of unskilled labour into Burma. The reason we cannot make a simple rule is that we have to make this differentiation in regard to unskilled labour, while at the same time we do not want to stop the free entry of Indians in general.

Such declarations may have no validity in the interpretation of the Act in a court of law. But politically considered they have or should have the effect of promissory notes.

The Agreement is a clear breach of the declarations quoted by me. I am glad that responsible Indian public opinion is being expressed in unmistakable terms in condemnation of the Agreement.

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-8-1941

413. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 24, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter written from Junagadh. If you had any imagination you would have given a description of the town, what you saw there, what you learnt, and so on. Does not Nanabhai ask you whether you lost in Sevagram all the intelligence you had cultivated? My health is fine, as also Ba's. Did I write to you that Prabhavati and Kusum are here at present? Rajkumari is still in Simla and as she is having fever and cough she is not coming here in the immediate future.

Blessings to both or to three of you(?) from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7140. Also C.W. 4632. Courtesy: Vijaya M. Pancholi

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414. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

August 24, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letter. You have argued well. Yes, one must take risks. But the point is that even in doing so one must exercise discretion and restraint. Even the additional information you have given does not justify your involving the Chief Justice. You were free to agitate the matter strongly without doing that. You could have taken that magistrate to task for describing it as "voluntary". And you could have written at length about what the man from the Punjab did. I would endorse your going to the utmost length in taking risks. But here I find your case weak. However, if the lawyers permit you, you may follow their advice. I certainly do not wish to dampen your enthusiasm.

Mahadev also will write to you from Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2143

415. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 24, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have replied to your wire, and have now received a reply to that, too. The worry about Mahesh is not over. The disease which goes back to many years is not active, but it cannot be said to have been completely cured. He is on a special diet, etc. Perhaps he will feel tired soon. In this condition he should not be asked to go out unless there is urgent work. Do you need any help? If so, of what sort?

I see no point in sending Shanta[1] there. If it is for her good, she can be sent independently after you have had sufficient experience there. If you want her services, I think you will derive the full benefit from your stay there only if you check

[1] Shanta Ruia

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your desire. This is my personal view. But I will carry out your wishes. I have still not asked Shanta.

Vallabhbhai has been released. He is not suffering from polypus, and, therefore, there is no cause for anxiety.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3022

416. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

August 24, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I do know, of course, that the happiness and security to be found in living together are not to be found in staying alone. That is why it is said that even the overcrowding of the dear ones is to be welcomed. For Anand's diarrhoea, add one teaspoonful of lime-water or dill-water or the two together to the milk. You can make lime-water even at home. If you add water to pieces of limestone, there will be effervescence and you will get clean, sky-blue water at the top. Decant and store it in a bottle. Add a teaspoonful from this to the milk. Boil one teaspoonful of dill seeds in eight ounces of water, strain the water and add one teaspoonful from this to the milk. Thus mix lime-water and dill-water with the milk by turns. He is bound to benefit. Do not give him any *rotli* for a day or two.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10036. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

417. LETTER TO ADVAITAKUMAR GOSWAMI

August 24, 1941

BHAI ADVAITAKUMAR,

I have your letter. It is difficult to advise you. Not being acquainted with you, what can I say? Still this much is clear, that if you are to gain self-confidence you must leave everything for a time and find some occupation which will enable you to

meet all your expenses. Even the man who shoulders his own burden and does not worry others does in a way serve the country.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 149. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

418. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHA,
August 25, 1941

SETH JAMNALALJI
SIVALAYA
RAIPUR, DEHRA DUN

SHANTA HAS NO DESIRE. WILLING DO AS YOU DESIRE. MY OPINION SHE HAD BETTER BE SENT THERE LATER. DO YOU NEED ANY SERVICE. WROTE[1] FULLY YESTERDAY.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 243

419. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 25, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Nothing from you today. So you see the irregularity is not one-sided. And it is a regular irregularity! But we must be thankful that there is not greater irregularity or that there is postal service at all. Fifty years ago, the postal system was not what it is today. Between Rajkot and Porbunder we had to send special messengers. So I am satisfied when I get a letter at all. Renunciation of rights brings special happiness.

Annapurna is lying in bed with slow fever unaccountable. I hope she will be free in a few days.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4059. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7368

[1] *Vide* pp. 260-1.

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420. LETTER TO CHANDEL

August 25, 1941

BHAI CHANDEL,

The description of your work is very attractive. The results of work which has no selfishness are always good. Do not take any notice of those who are opposing it, but feel pity for them and whenever you get a chance to serve, do whatever you can to help them, e.g., if they are sick, try to make them well. This is the one way to conquer hatred by love and anger by patience. We should always reply to unkind words by keeping silent.

Blessings from
BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, pp. 195-6

421. LETTER TO V. RAGHAVIAH

August 25, 1941

DEAR RAGHAVIAH[1],

You are right. Your preoccupation need not be any reason for exemption, you having once taken the plunge. I could still give you the exemption, if you insisted. But for one like you, it is better to withdraw from the satyagraha list at least for the time being. There would be no slur on you. But I would leave the choice to you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SRI V. RAGHAVIAH, B.A., B.L.
NELLORE

From a copy: C.W. 10447. Courtesy: K. Linga Raju

[1] A Congressman and tribal welfare worker, popularly known as Yenadi Raghaviah

422. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

August 25, 1941

DEAR SIR R[ADHAKRISHNAN],

You do make yourself irresistible. You may book me provisionally for 21st January next[1]. I am not certain myself as to what will happen between now and 21st January. Please defer advertisement as long as you can.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

423. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 25, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Herewith a note from Shanta. The writing is likely to get faint by the time you get the note. Please do not trouble yourself if you cannot read it. I have given its substance in today's wire. She is neither willing nor unwilling. She feels one with you. Your wish, therefore, will be her wish, and that is as it should be. The question, therefore, is what is for her good. If you are going to stay there for a sufficiently long time, she may perhaps benefit a little by going there. I think she should stay there when you are not there. It may not even be necessary for her to stay there. She does have the spirit of devotion in her. What we have to consider is whether or no the atmosphere there will make her work. In this life she will not look upon anybody else as her guru. You are her guru and, therefore, you have but to command her. Your stay there will be over by the time this correspondence comes to an end. If you are getting complete peace of mind there and also getting all other facilities which you need, do not leave the place. If you decide to stay on, or even if you don't, send a wire if you

[1] For the silver jubilee of the Benares Hindu University

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want Shanta there. I will send her immediately. I have exchanged wires with you merely because your wire left scope for further thinking. It was necessary to think about both Mahesh and Shanta. I have understood that you are sending for both for their own sakes and not because you want their services. If your motive is to get their services, we will have to think in a different way.

There is no special news regarding Sardar today. You must have got my letter of yesterday. Madalasa is fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3023

424. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 25, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

I have your letter. It will be very good indeed if you recover by the end of August. Do not be in the least impatient. You will be able to work in peace if you recover completely.

Do go to Allahabad, but before doing so have a discussion with me.

Amritlal has told me nothing. Is there any man who never 'bungles'? What else is Churchill doing? And what am I doing? I still remember that Deshbandhu Das had flung at me this very word. We should rectify our mistake as soon as we discover it and go ahead. If we again commit a mistake we should set it right again. And, moreover, Raihana is with you now and she will cheer you up. Yes, one thing is certain. I will not burden you with any fresh responsibility.

We cannot by an unnatural effort break off the connection with the Sammelan[1]. It will break on its own when the time comes. Our effort should be to see that it does not break. I think Shriman will have to go to Allahabad.

Do go to Prayag. You will be able to attend to several things there without much trouble. But go only after you have fully recovered.

Tell Raihana that I got both her letters. Both call for a reply, but I am going to keep quiet. Instead of giving her a

[1] Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

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slap through a letter, I will do so personally when she comes here. And I will give one to Saroj, too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10950

425. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 25, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

Now you should not send me any further material. The report you send should be the final one. If either party desire to tell me more, they may do so in writing and send it to me. After I receive your report, I shall consider you free from responsibility.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10125

426. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

August 25, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter of the 16th. Today your wire has come. Why a wire? How can I reply by wire? My meaning was clear. We and ours cannot hope to derive anything out of what we have gifted away. Draupadi's argument has no place here. You are right when you say that the result of your hard work should not be such as to prevent its fruit being used except in one particular way. Why such fear? Why such lack of trust? Remain absorbed in your work and all will be well. We shall certainly have Dr. Sushila's assistance. This is a difficult year for her. She is preparing for her M.D.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, p. 303. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

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427. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

August 26, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

The Rigveda should be here tomorrow.

You don't say anything about your illness. How did the medicine act? Here is *isabgol*[1]. If you have not taken the cascara take half a spoonful of the seed as it is. Drink water after to swallow it.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6488. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9883

428. TELEGRAM TO SHRINARAYAN JAINARAYAN[2]

August 27, 1941

NO OBJECTION IF PROVINCIAL PRESIDENT AGREEABLE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

429. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
August 27, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note.

Of course I have not lost hope of seeing swaraj in my lifetime.

When you return I shall see to your chest being kept out of harm's way.

[1] A Unani medicine

[2] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated August 25, requesting Gandhiji to allow the Chairman of the Chikhli Municipality to withdraw his resignation temporarily as there was work pending.

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I am glad you met Prakash and invited her. She is not married. The one who was married is Satya. Prakash is in Bettiah.

Kusum is leaving today.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Gosibehn is here for A.I.V.I.A. Herewith Keskar's[1] letter. You know Narendra Dev[2]. Write to M. or anyone you like and see what can be done.

From the original: C.W. 4060. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7369

430. LETTER TO S. N. CHATTERJEE

August 27, 1941

MY DEAR SAILEN,

You are beyond improvement. "Encloser" is wrong; it should be enclosures. Newspaper is one word, not "news paper". Not "Hope you must have decided", but 'Hope you have decided'. Nothing has been decided. Am trying. You should stop the diary. It is a waste of time. Send me a paraphrase of the book you are reading. Keep the dictionary by you.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Dhiren has done well in his Parichay examination[3]. You too should make up your Hindi.

SHRI SAILENDRANATH CHATTERJI
PREMIER STORES SUPPLY CO.
SITABULDI
NAGPUR

From a photostat: C.W. 10321. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] B. V. Keskar

[2] A leader of the Congress Socialist Party. He was then seriously ill in the prison.

[3] Conducted by the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha

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431. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

August 27, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

I had your note. You are right. City people will not take interest in things of permanent value. It is vexing this delay in Mary's coming.

Love.

BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 196

432. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

August 27, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

I have received a serious complaint against you. I am told that you have been saying everywhere that this fight must stop now and that we should take back the reins of administration in our hands, etc. If this is true, should I not be told? If you do hold such views there is no harm at all in declaring them. And if you hold them, how can you continue as President of the B. P. C. C.[1] unless, of course, the majority of the B. P. C. C. also hold similar views? But in that case I should be informed. Write to me frankly whatever the truth is. If we honestly hold a view, there is no need at all to keep it back.

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Bombay Provincial Congress Committee

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433. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

August 27, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Remember that if your penance is pure, you will return here.[1] Wherever you may be study of Urdu must not be given up, and you should improve your Hindi letters. Learn more and more of the science of farming and cow-breeding.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 289

434. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 28, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I see that I can keep you going even there. I passed on to you yesterday N[arendra] Dev's case. Read the enclosed cutting[2]. See if you can do anything about it. Perhaps you are the best medium. Sarup[3] is doing something. The Press reports are so hopelessly one-sided that it becomes difficult to know the truth.

I wonder if my statement on the wretched Indo-Burman Agreement[4] is published in the papers you get. If you see Bajpai tell him I was deeply grieved to see him involved in the national dishonour. I would like to know his defence if he has any. I have said the least about his part in the affair.

Love.

BAPU

[1] At Gandhiji's instance the addressee had decided to leave Sevagram Ashram as he couldn't control his temper. Finally, however, he did not leave the Ashram.

[2] This is not available.

[3] Vijayalakshmi Pandit

[4] *Vide* pp. 255-9.

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[PS.]

This was before the arrival of the post. There is no hurry about the apples. I have given the permission, acquired no right.

Here is Shah's letter.

You will do what you like. Perhaps it is better to let them fight out their own battle.

Prabhakar had fever yesterday. Annapurna has been having slow fever.

Of course you are better in spelling as in many other things. You must be better in health, too.

Love.

BAPU

[PPS.]

I just discovered that Ramdas had already ordered the virus and the exterminator. So if you have not ordered, stop.

From the original: C.W. 4061. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7370

435. LETTER TO S. N. CHATTERJEE

August 28, 1941

DEAR SAILEN,

You have to come away.[1] You should therefore return as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10322. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

436. LETTER TO G. L. KHANOLKAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 28, 1941

DEAR KHANOLKAR,

I had your wire as also your letter. I am in correspondence with Vijayalakshmibehn as also others and am doing all that is possible for me. How did you come to know of the treatment?

[1] At Gandhiji's instance the addressee had gone to Nagpur for training in accountancy.

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Or are you relying upon the newspaper reports? Keep me posted with all the information you can get. What are you doing in Cawnpore?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

437. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 28, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I was surprised by your letter of the 25th. From an auditor you have become a plaintiff. Even if I have received complaints against you, surely I am not going to entertain them. So far as I am concerned, you are free, having submitted your report. Actually you have done us a favour by auditing the accounts. Why should you feel unhappy? You can make any marks you like on the papers with you. If you think fit you may hand them over to Bachhraj Co. Or if you wish they will deposit them with some lawyer. The Navajivan office will need the account books every now and then. I will certainly inquire into the charge you have levelled against them, but I must say that I have not agreed to inquire into their affairs, nor do I entertain any suspicion against them. I cannot readily believe that they have all conspired with Chandrashanker. Some of your remarks have appeared strange to me. But I do not blame you for them. You have stated what you honestly felt. I have now to sift the truth.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10126

438. LETTER TO HARSHADA D. DIWANJI

August 28, 1941

CHI. HARSHADA,

I have your letter and the ten-rupee note. The manner in which you are observing the rules is excellent. There is not only no need to send the yarn to me, but you need not send it to Kakubhai either. You can certainly buy it. It will, therefore, suffice if you send the amount which you think the yarn is worth.

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Chi. Abhimanyu's skein is excellent. The yarn seems to be fine and even.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9955

439. LETTER TO SHIVANAND

August 28, 1941

CHI. SHIVANAND,

You have written in good detail. Tell Fulchand[1] not to lose heart. Those on the death-bed have risen whereas others, [full of life] like a juicy berry, have passed away in the space of a yawn. We dance as the Master makes us dance and so, if in spite of our reasonable precautions we have to depart, we should do so with a smile on our face.

Fulchand has great work to his credit. As I was writing this sentence, some visitors arrived.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2872. Courtesy: Sharda F. Shah

440. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

August 28, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. I think the letter you wrote was not proper. And, moreover, where was the need to send it to the Trustees? You also were certainly at fault. Students should have nothing to do with the servants. What does it matter if they do not supply aniseed? And if you do not get tea you should put up with that. Is this [habit of] quarrelling over trifles also what you learnt here? Anyway Mahadev has had to apologize on your behalf.

And it is not proper, either, that you should lose heart about your studies. There is no slavery there. You are a slave only of your habit and your anger. You should get over these shortcomings. If you cannot do that, I can see that it will be difficult for you to

[1] Fulchand Kasturchand Shah

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continue there. You should regard yourself forbidden to have tea in Irani restaurants, for is it not the rule that you will get tea only once a day? Go to Mahadevbhai himself, understand from him what your dharma is and follow it.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9382. Also C.W. 6657. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

441. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

August 28, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

Does your postcard mean that your going there has meant too much expense and that you need not have gone? If so, you need not at all assume that you must stay there. You can even return or go to Sabarmati or somewhere else. Write to me in detail. Eat some leafy vegetable like amaranth. And I hope you take fruit. You must get clear stools. Have you had good rains?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8272. Also C.W. 7155. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

442. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

August 29, 1941

DEAR PROFULLA,

I am late replying to your letter.

Sardar is free from the danger that was suspected. Of course he is considerably reduced and has to be under observation.

Kishorelal is living at the Ashram. He is as well as can be expected.

Khan Saheb had all his teeth extracted. He was better for the extraction.

Rajen Babu is still far from well. He is expected here in September.

Yes, I did hear of the death of Dr. A. Das. I sent a note of condolence[1]. He was truly a great and good national servant. Such tragedies will occur, we have to bear them. There is little

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Ratanmoni Chatterji", p. 207.

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malaria in the Ashram. But an indefinite and unclassified fever attacks the inmates now and then. Careful nursing brings it down.

I hope all of you are keeping well.

Yours,
BAPU
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3782

443. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
August 29, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

May you live long and render much service. I shall send Jajuji there. As you know, he is a holy man. He is the soul of the Spinners' Association. He was a great lawyer, but today he lives like a fakir.

He will let you have one week. See if you can manage with less. Write to me and let me know the date and other details.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8591. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

444. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 29, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I had a meeting of the A.I.V.I.A. just finished, almost 4.30 p.m. Hope you are much better.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANORVILLE
SIMLA

From the original: C.W. 4062. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7371

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445. GURUDEV

Sarvodaya is for the *udaya*—rise—of *sarva*—all. Gurudev also longed to serve the world through India and breathed his last while doing so. He is gone but his experiment is unfinished. His mortal remains are no more but his soul is immortal like ours. Taken in this sense none perishes or dies; none is born. But Gurudev lives on in a special sense. His activities were universal, mostly altruistic and through these he will be immortal. Santiniketan, Sriniketan and Visvabharati—all these are manifestations of one movement. They were his soul and for them Deenabandhu left this world followed by Gurudev. Our true homage should be to maintain these institutions which he is watching wherever he may be.

SEVAGRAM, August 30, 1941

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, September 1941

446. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHAGANJ,
August 30, 1941

SETH JAMNALALJI
CARE HARNANDRAY SURAJMAL
KANKHAL

ALL WELCOME MATAJI.[1]

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 247

[1] The source has: "All well. Come Mataji." In his letter dated August 26, 1941, the addressee had suggested that Anandamayi Devi be invited to Wardha to meet Gandhiji.

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447. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

August 30, 1941

MY DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

You are in a hurry. You will earn the prize when you have finished your century without the b.p. rising beyond its limit corresponding to the then age.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10158

448. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

August 30, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. Your letter to Tilottama is good. I hope everything is all right now. See that you do not make such a mistake again. You must always remember that you are staying there as a free boarder. When you feel your self-respect hurt, your reaction should be not to insult the other in return but to leave the institution. But that does not happen there. It cannot happen in a philanthropic institution. It is we indeed who humiliate ourselves.

If you have calmed down, do not be in a hurry to come here. Take what help you need, master your subjects and acquire proficiency in them.

Pyarelal has been released and is here now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9383. Also C.W. 6658. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

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449. FOREWORD TO "PRACTICAL NON-VIOLENCE"

It is simply a coincidence that these essays on "Practical Non-violence" are being published in pamphlet form almost simultaneously with Richard Gregg's *A Discipline for Non-violence*[1]. The votary of non-violence should read the two together. Kishorelal Mashruwala is like R. Gregg a deep student of non-violence. Though he has been brought up in that faith, he never takes anything for granted. He believes only what he has tested. Thus he has come to accept non-violence by hard thinking. He has in his own life and practice proved its efficacy in a variety of conditions—political, economic, social and domestic. His essays have, therefore, a value all their own. They should help the believer in non-violence in sustaining his faith and the honest unbeliever in resolving his doubts.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, August 31, 1941

Practical Non-violence

450. A DIFFICULT PROBLEM

A person who is scientifically inclined does not take the truth of anything for granted; he tries to prove it himself. In this way he develops his own intellect and also obtains knowledge of the potentialities of things. Why does an apple fall off the tree, why does it not fly up? It is said that this question arose in Newton's mind and he discovered the law of gravitation. Is the earth flat like a plate? Is it stationary? Such questions arose in Galileo's mind and he discovered that the earth is spherical like an orange and revolves on its axis. Such discoveries have produced great results.

A khadi worker should adopt a similar scientific attitude. Newton or Galileo did not ponder over the problem of *Daridranarayana* and of serving *Daridranarayana*. They followed an intellectual quest. The khadi worker has however to find a solution

[1] For Gandhiji's foreword to this pamphlet, *vide* pp. 254-5.

to the problem of feeding the hungry masses. That is why their attitude should be all the more scientific.

Why khadi? Why not mill cloth? Also, why not foreign cloth? Why cotton cloth? Why not silk? Why not jute or woollen textiles? Why the charkha? Why not the *takli*? I can go on filling pages with questions like these but I do not propose to exhaust all the possible questions.

I want to touch upon only one question here. Suppose for a moment that for one reason or the other India does not have or cannot run textile mills, also suppose that no cloth can be imported from abroad, can we then provide sufficient khadi to all the Indians? We should not be satisfied with meeting the demand somehow. The East India Company did this and to some extent this was done even earlier. In those days people were forced to spin and to weave on minimum wages. This custom was called *begar*. We have to confess with regret that *begar* is an ancient custom. It was not introduced by the British. We may perhaps be able to produce enough khadi through *begar*. But khadi workers cannot be trained to undertake such inhuman work. Our intention is to help the spinners earn such wages as would ensure, after eight hours' hard labour, wholesome and nutritious food, necessary clothing, comfortable houses and other amenities necessary for a happy home. If it is proved that khadi cannot succeed under these terms and conditions, we should modestly accept the limitations of khadi and also restrict our activity.

Let me state my view here. I have adopted khadi in the belief that khadi has all the above-mentioned capacity. I cannot adduce irrefutable evidence in support of my view. Many of my activities are undertaken in good faith or intuitively. But they are not conducted on the basis of inspiration alone; I have tried to place my convictions on a sound scientific foundation while propagating them. I have made and am still making all possible experiments based on reason and I encourage my co-workers to do so. We have not found a solution to the problem posed above; we may perhaps never get it and I know it is a difficult problem, a complex problem. It does involve a lot of statistics as also knowledge of economics, psychology, particularly of the Indian mind, and also of ethics. A mere statistical solution will not do, nor will a mere economic solution, because we cannot ignore our most fundamental and vital principles. We do not want to spread khadi through coercion. We want to do our work by changing people's sense of values and habits. Hence our researches should proceed from all angles.

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Khadi workers should intensify their efforts to solve this difficult problem.

This is enough for the day.

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, August 1941

451. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 31, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

I think I have told you that I do not worry about your health. I know you are getting on. I have resigned myself to your return being indefinitely delayed. And just now I am glad you are not here. The heat is severe and damp. You know what it is after the rains. This heat is needed by the crops but not by you at any rate.

I had your apple today. It was very good.

P. will be going to Bombay and thence to Delhi. He would return here to offer C[ivil] D[isobedience]. He has visibly increased his knowledge of the Koran. Are you keeping up your practice of Urdu writing? You should, if you are not.

A[mtul] S[alaam] is keeping quite well and working in the kitchen, etc., etc. Annapurna has not yet got rid of her slow fever.

I have not thought over the League resolutions.[1]

But I agree with your criticism. Yes, Satyamurti had acted most unwisely.[2]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4063. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7372

[1] The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, which concluded its session on August 26, 1941, passed resolutions on the question of inclusion of Muslims in the expanded Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council, the political and communal situation in the country, the Indo-Burma Agreement and the Bihar-Sharif riots. The Committee called upon Sir Sultan Ahmed, member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Nawab of Chhatari and Begum Shah Nawaz, members of the National Defence Council, to resign from their respective bodies within ten days.

[2] At a public meeting in Madras on August 27, S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, had expressed the opinion that the Congress should resume office in the provinces.

452. LETTER TO FARID ANSARI

SEVAGRAM,
August 31, 1941

DEAR FARID,

I have your letter with Brijkrishna's footnote.

I have written to Satyawati inviting her to come to Sevagram. No reply.

Jamnalalji went to Rajkumari's home for health. He is now in Anandamayi Devi's Ashram near Dehra [Dun]. He will be returning about 21st September. He is well.

Radhabehn has passed, is well and gaining experience as a pathologist.

Sardar is out of immediate danger but not out of the wood. No cause for anxiety.

The rest you know.

My regards to all.

Love.

BAPU
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

453. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 31, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. I do not expect any letter from you at present. If you can politely get yourself released from the doctors and come here, I should like it. I believe that your intestines can be soothed by remedies like mud-packs and changes in diet. I have not much faith in ayurveda. The vaids do not master their subject. Some of the remedies are effective, but I have not observed what the vaids know, how they work and so on. This is only my guess-work. Do what satisfies you. I have only expressed my personal view. Anyhow you must get well. I would not let you spend a whole hour in the lavatory.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 251

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454. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

August 31, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I deliberately refrained from writing to you. I do not wish to send you to jail just now. I will certainly send you when the time arrives. Even being outside you are doing useful work. The time to send you will certainly come. For the present go on doing service without any other thoughts and improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 131

455. LETTER TO INDIRA NEHRU

August 31, 1941

CHI. INDU,

I am very glad to have your letter. I have been getting news of your health. It is good that you have not suffered on account of this climate. On the contrary it did some good, didn't it?

I am also trying for Lucknow Jail. Let us wait for the result. Tell me what is done about Papu[1]. How many times do you meet?

My blessings to Raja[2] and Krishna[3]. I hope their children are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9803. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru

[2] & [3] Gunottam Hutheesing and his wife, sister of Jawaharlal Nehru

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456. TELEGRAM TO SHIVANAND

September 1, 1941

SHIVANAND
WADHWAN

MY CONDOLENCES. IN FULCHAND'S DEATH WE LOSE ONE OF OUR BRAVEST AND BEST WORKERS. THOUGH SO YOUNG HE HAS DIED WELL. SHARDA[1] AND YOU WHO WERE NEAR HAVE TO CARRY ON FULCHAND'S WORK.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10344. Courtesy: Shivanand

457. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 1, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your well-written Hindi letter to hand.

Why not have your women's meeting in Simla? Those who will attend are most of them well-to-do, are they not? But if it is not important it is better that it takes place in your absence. It will be a tax on your energy, if it is in your presence.

Here is a copy of my letter to Satyamurti. Please destroy after perusal.

I do not want you to write to Mudie. It is enough what you have done. Sarup and Kripalani have seen Sloan[2]. They have got some satisfaction.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Rathi's[3] letter is good. I did right in not taking you. You should seek an opportunity of going there now to help. But of that later.

From the original: C.W. 4064. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7373

[1] Fulchand Kasturchand Shah's widow
[2] Tennant Sloan, Adviser to the Governor, U.P.
[3] Rathindranath Tagore, son of Rabindranath Tagore

458. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

September 1, 1941

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have gone through your letter from the beginning to the end. It has produced no effect on me. You have seen nothing with your own eyes. It is all hearsay. One should not suspect a co-worker on the basis of such stories. If L. bhai had been devoid of character, the fact would have become known long ago. He would not have been able to retain [the goodwill] of so many people. Such a man cannot go on working ceaselessly. I have of course talked to L. bhai. He denies everything. I would advise you to have trust till you get first-hand evidence. One can write to me whatever one wishes. You are certainly of a suspicious nature. You are not able to weigh evidence. All the same I am sending your letter to Narahari, who will do what is necessary.[1] And finally the path of ahimsa requires that we should trust to the last, and have faith that sin cannot be hidden for ever.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 394. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

459. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 1, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

Read the accompanying papers when you are free and see if it is necessary to do anything. Return Bhagwanji's letter to him after reading it. If you think it necessary, meet any of the people whose names he has mentioned.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9124

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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460. LETTER TO DR. NATHUBHAI PATEL

September 1, 1941

BHAI NATHUBHAI,

Why do you feel ashamed about your Gujarati? We are all sailing in the same boat. However badly we write it, our mother tongue must be dear to us.

You have given me good information and also explained the matter well. I am hopeful that I shall be able to convince Sardar on your behalf. Bring him out of bed first. With so many of you doctors there, why should he have to spend one hour in the lavatory? That is as good as inviting death.

I suppose you know that Durga has not fully recovered. She gets belching and has pain in her leg. She is still in Ahmedabad. This is for your information if you do not know it.

Mahadev will of course get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1057. Courtesy: Dr. Nathubhai Patel

461. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

September 2, 1941

CHI. MARY,[1]

At last you have come. And now that you have arrived it seems you had never left India. I shall patiently await your arrival at Sevagram. I hope you have derived much physical benefit from your visit to S[outh] A[frica].

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Please tell Kamala that I forgot to tell her that her standpoint about Red Cross, etc., was correct. You are right about her health. Fault is wholly hers. She can easily procure the food she needs.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6082. Also C.W. 3412. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

[1] The superscription is in the Devanagari script.

462. LETTER TO K. B. MENON

SEVAGRAM,
September 2, 1941

DEAR MENON,

I have your two letters. I shall try to send you something. Seeing that Thakkar Bapa is there to guide you, I am not taxing myself about Jainarayanji.[1]

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

463. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

September 2, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

You are having good experience. Let it result in your rendering truly great service of the people.

SHRI VALLABHRAM VAIDYA
BIRLA HOUSE
P.O. UTTARKASHI
DISTT. TEHRI GARHWAL

From Gujarati: C.W. 2915. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

464. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 2, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I got your letter. Let Chi. Sarala[2] come over.

You have made a good tour. I have not read everything, but have formed some impression. For years conditions in Bengal have been what you describe them to be.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7666. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] *Vide* "Letter to K. B. Menon", pp. 37-8.

[2] The addressee's eldest daughter Sarala Sheth who was a solicitor of the High Court of Bombay

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465. LETTER TO UMADEVI AGRAWAL

September 2, 1941

CHI. OM,

At last you have taken the trouble of writing a letter. Kakaji[1] would soon return now. And with what great and vivid experience! The description of your place is such that I wish I could send all my patients to you, not only Janakidevi and Madalasa. What do you say?

Blessings to both from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 344-5

466. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 2, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You can imagine my condition twenty-five years ago. Now I stay in bed and accept service. At that time mostly I used to do physical work and took part in all activities. There was this difference, that when I worked almost everyone used to come and join me.[2]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4401

467. LETTER TO POKHRAJ

September 2, 1941

BHAI POKHRAJJI,

I have read the letter Dr. Hasan sent you. In my view there is now no reason why the document should not be got from the

[1] Jamnalal Bajaj, addressee's father
[2] The rest of the letter is not available.

Commissioner. If the Council's permission is considered necessary it should be obtained.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

468. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,
September 2, 1941

BHAI JUGALKISHOREJI,

I have your sweet letter, although I think something still remains to be done. There is no particular need for you to come. Come when you have the leisure. My blessings are to be taken for granted for all noble work.

Blessings from
BAPU

SETH JUGALKISHORE BIRLA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

469. LETTER TO JAINARAYAN VYAS

September 2, 1941

BHAI JAINARAYAN,

I have your letter. We should not make it a rule that a policy adopted in respect of British India should be [applied][1] also in the States. My personal opinion remains that those who wish to follow the policy of non-violence should keep clear of the various current entanglements.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

JAINARAYAN VYAS
BRAHMAPURI
JODHPUR, MEWAR

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Blank space in the source

[2] The addressee had asked whether he could join the Air-Raid Precaution Consultative Committee appointed by the Government of Jodhpur.

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470. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 2/3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have now begun to send you business. You know that Ratlam has passed unconscionable sentences on certain members of the Praja Parishad. The men are important people. Do you know anybody there? If you want any literature, it can be supplied. If you do not know, you need not worry.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your note in Hindi. The apples received from [you] were not each wrapped in paper. Should they not have been?

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4065. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7374

471. LETTER TO SHARDA F. SHAH

September 3, 1941

CHI. SHARDA,

I have sent a wire[1]. I cannot forget Fulchand. I feel that his soul is present by my side. What are your plans now? You must not waste even one minute in mourning. Your only thought should be how to carry on the work Fulchand has left behind. And please remember that you can come here without any hesitation whenever you wish to and always keep me fully informed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2873. Courtesy: Sharda F. Shah

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Shivanand", p. 283.

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472. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
September 3, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I have your letter. You have done well in giving me all the details. I sent yesterday Jassawala's[1] letter. I strongly urge your starting treatment as advised by him. Once the health badly deteriorates, all remedies are likely to fail. I do think you must have a discussion with Dr. Nathubhai.

Keep me fully informed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 131

473. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 4, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Mian If[tikhar-ud-din] is here, so is Sarala, Munshiji's daughter, and others. I send you this merely to acknowledge yours and say all is well. More tomorrow.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4066. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7375

474. LETTER TO SACHIDANAND KARKAL

September 4, 1941

DEAR SACHIDANAND,

Surely you and the other students . . .[2] guidance from me. You can flatly refuse to submit to coercion and take the consequence whatever it may be. You ought to resent insult to the Congress by asking for an apology . . .[3] enter the teacher's class

[1] A naturopath of Bombay
[2] & [3] One line is illegible here.

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till he offers an apology. But remember every criticism is not an insult. A loyalist can legitimately say that though the Congress resists the Br[itish] caravan moves on.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SACHIDANAND KARKAL
HOUSE NO. 5020, CHRISTIAN COLONY
SETTLEMENT
HUBLI

From a photostat: G.N. 8807

475. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

September 4, 1941

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I got your second letter. I do not wish to hush up the matter. Don't you know that I have not hushed up the misdeeds of my own son? Why, then, should I do L.'s? But just as I disbelieved the evidence against Manilal produced by Devdas, so also I will not readily believe the evidence against L. Devdas had not seen anything with his own eyes, nor did you. It was, ultimately, my unbounded trust which melted Manilal and he confessed everything. Why may not the same thing happen in L's case? L. has not concealed the facts about his past life, why then should he conceal anything about his present life, and what would he gain by doing so? Still I believe nothing is impossible and, therefore, am ready to hear you. But you will have to learn to weigh evidence.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 395. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

476. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

September 4, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

Bhagwanji has sent extracts from your diary casting aspersions on Dada. He has made very serious allegations, or has allowed himself to be used as a tool in making them. Let me know what

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you know and believe concerning this. You can show this letter to Bhai Bhagwanji.

Both of you must be keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9183

477. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

September 4, 1941

CHI. AMRITLAL,

You are a fortunate man. Father's falling into sleep eternal without having to be nursed by anybody is no occasion for mourning. I vividly see his face before me. He was a very holy man. Console Mother and return soon after finishing your work there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10802

478. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 5, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

Chi. Sarala arrived safe yesterday. I intended to write to you yesterday, but so many visitors arrived all at once that I had no time. Sarala possesses the virtues which her name connotes. She has become friendly with all. I hope she will stay up to Wednesday at any rate. None of you should worry about her in any way.

A letter from Satish Kalelkar is enclosed.[1] I have taken out extracts concerning you from his previous letter. The original has been sent to Mahadev and others according to the normal routine. Thinking that you should see his letter, I asked for his permission and the accompanying letter is in reply to that. Since the whole of it concerns you, I am sending the letter

[1] Satish Kalelkar had complained about the addressee's speech at Banaras. *Vide* letter to the addressee dated September 11, 1941.

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itself. If you wish to write to me anything after reading it, please do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I will send the extract from Satish's letter tomorrow, as Kanaiyo, in whose keeping it is, has gone to Wardha and I do not wish to hold back this letter.

From Gujarati: C.W. 7667. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

479. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 5, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It was no doubt a mistake to have allowed Nirmal Singh to go. But such mistakes will happen. It is enough that you are anxious to correct them.

Parnerkar can have Sailen. He has to be fully trained.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4402

480. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Unrevised *September 5, 1941*

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I write this during the silent hour, i.e., before dinner and before the post.

I have not heard from Agatha nor from Henry[1]. But I saw H.'s article in a magazine which contained the attack. I thought I should correct him. If you want to see the article I can send it to you. And as I did not know H.'s address I wrote to Agatha.

[1] Henry Solomon Leon Polak; assistant editor of *The Transvaal Critic*; joined *Indian Opinion* staff, became its editor in 1906 during Gandhiji's absence in England. He lived with Gandhiji at Phœnix, and was an ardent supporter of the Indian cause in South Africa. *Vide* also "Letter to Mirza Ismail", 5-10-1941.

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Of course you were right in refusing the Hyd. invitation as you would be in refusing every other. I sent it to you so that you may know it and send a reply. You were bound to refuse. Before you take up anything you must be thoroughly restored. Even as it is, you are giving a good account of yourself.

You remember the pamphlet containing the Lahore resolution[1] on Pakistan! Two copies have been traced in the library.

I never anticipate evil. So the answer to your question stands deferred till the evil overtakes us but which shall not. Is that satisfactory answer, if it is any? Do you remember your question?

For the time being you need do nothing about Narendra Dev. I shall inquire. I do not know anything about the Dehra Dun offer.

Prabhavati wrote for the transfer of Jayaprakash on the ground of ill health, which is patent. Her application is summarily rejected. They can't do anything because it is right. They yield only to pressure bordering on violence. We are on that portion of *Ramayana* which relates Narad's confusion because he had to be corrected. Truly does God confound the wisdom of those whom He seeks to destroy.

Here is a telegram about Ratlam. I have already written to you about the case.[2]

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I send you too a copy of a letter from Andhra, not necessarily for action but for information to be used on due occasion.

From the original: C.W. 3677. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6486

[1] Passed by the All-India Muslim League on March 23, 1940; *vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix VIII.

[2] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 289.

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481. INTERVIEW TO H. V. KAMATH[1]

SEVAGRAM,
September 5, 1941

Q. Has the entry of Russia into the war altered its complexion and India's attitude thereto?

A. The entry of Russia into the war has not materially altered the complexion of the war. Expression of oral sympathy with Russia as a victim of aggression is not wrong but no purpose will be served by so doing so long as we cannot translate it into action. Russia is not wholly free from blame inasmuch as she has allied herself with imperialist power though it may be for the purpose of self-existence only. Had Jawaharlalji, who is a close student of international politics, not been behind the bars and thus free to express his views, his opinion in the matter would have weighed with me.

Q. Can you, Mahatmaji, envisage the emergence of a non-violent new world order in the Atlantic Charter?

A. No. I am not able to envisage in the Atlantic Charter the emergence of a non-violent new world order of my conception.

Q. What is your attitude towards the acceptance of office in the Viceroy's Executive Council by Congressmen such as Sjt. Aney[2] and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sircar[3]?

A. I do not approve of the acceptance of office by Congressmen such as Sri Aney and Nalini Babu. Such action on their part has undoubtedly given a handle to the British Government for carrying on propaganda in America to the effect that India should now be satisfied in that even well-known ex-Congressmen have joined the Viceroy's Council.

[1] H. V. Kamath, Organizing Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, submitted this report for Gandhiji's approval who revised it in places, though not very materially.

[2] Madhav Srihari Aney who joined as member-in-charge, Overseas Indians

[3] Who joined as member-in-charge, Education, Health and Lands

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Q. Is the satyagraha movement proceeding to your satisfaction? In what way is it different from the 1930 movement[1]? Has the policy of non-embarrassment any political value or significance? What will be your attitude in case the Government conceded the right of freedom of speech? Is there any likelihood of intensification of the struggle in the near future?

A. The satyagraha movement is proceeding to my entire satisfaction. Pressure on a scale comparable to that of the 1930 movement is not being put on the Government, it is true, but that movement was different in character from the present one. But the main fact that the struggle is going on constitutes sufficient moral pressure, so much so that the British Government's position in America does not appear to be quite comfortable. The policy of non-embarrassment is a logical consequence of non-violence and in that way a political necessity, but I do not expect the British Government to reciprocate my chivalrous stand. There is no possibility of the Government conceding the right of freedom of speech, but if they did so honestly, I am bound to call off the movement. *Bona-fide* recognition of free non-violent speech would mean a large step towards independence. Intensification of the struggle is not likely during the pendency of the war. Intensification will come at the close of the war if it became necessary.

Q. What is your attitude to the local *kisan* and *mazdoor* struggles?

A. I extend my sympathy to all local *kisan* and *mazdoor* struggles for their legitimate demands and such struggles cannot amount to embarrassment of the Government. My attitude cannot be otherwise, considering that I myself have been the author of such struggles in the past.

Q. In view of the fact that the word 'non-violence' does not appear in the Congress Constitution, what is the duty of Congressmen as regards non-violent conduct?

A. Though the word 'non-violence' does not appear in the Congress Constitution, it does in resolutions. Though there be no resolution of a plenary session of the Congress on the subject of non-violence, I expect Congressmen to abide by the A.I.C.C. resolution so long as it is not modified or altered by a plenary session.

Q. Acharya Kripalani recently, in reply to Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, said that the Forward Bloc is not a part of the Congress organization.

[1] Dandi March and Salt Satyagraha

The statement on Kripalaniji's part has created not a little confusion and misunderstanding among several Congressmen. I personally hold that the position of the Forward Bloc in the Congress is quite similar to that of the Congress Socialist Party. Could you kindly enlighten me with your opinion on the subject?

A. Though the Congress Constitution does not recognize separate groups within the Congress organization, Congressmen who owe allegiance to such groups have every right to remain in the Congress in their individual capacity if the groups are not inconsistent with the Congress resolution and policy. I never insisted that Congressmen who do not subscribe to my interpretation of non-violence should leave the Congress. The Congress Socialist Party is just as much not a part of the Congress organization as the Forward Bloc. The Congress Constitution makes no mention of either as being component parts of the Congress organization. The Forward Bloc and the Congress Socialist Party are on a par with each other so far as their being part of the Congress organization is concerned.

Q. Have you, Mahatmaji, full faith in a Divine Power moulding our destiny?

A. Yes, I have full faith in a Divine Power guiding the destinies of India and of the world. It is this living faith that sustains me in the present crisis.

The Hindu, 5-11-1941

482. LETTER TO SARANGADHAR DAS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 6, 1941

DEAR SARANGADHAR DAS,

Rajkumari is resting in Simla. She won't be back before October. Your letter to her gives a piteous tale.

This is my advice. The men whose statements you have translated had no notion of the working of ahimsa. If they had the courage of non-violence they could not have come away alive except by converting their assailants miscalled Police without retaliation. That would mean ahimsa of the highest order. This does not come except by long previous training. It is rarely seen. But if one cannot exhibit such courage, one must not be a coward. One has not only the right but it is a duty to

retaliate in a vigorous manner. This again requires great courage. I have seen it exhibited successfully. It should not matter how heavy the odds are. Resistance may mean death. It must be faced in preference to a cowardly resignation to brutal and indecent treatment. It is this self-defence which is not taboo to a Congressman. It is the inherent right and the bounden duty of a man to defend honour non-violently if he knows how, otherwise violently. There is no other way. Such a man will soon be able to learn the virtue of non-violence. But that is only by the way. My advice is clear and emphatic. There is too much of this assaulting in Orissa, assuming the truth of statements that have been sent to me from time to time. If you have assimilated my advice you will act in a methodical and deliberate manner. You will be at liberty to publish this letter with a carefully thought out programme as to how to go about it. You may send me the draft manifesto for approval or you may come when you like for a discussion before acting. The matter is too important to be ignored.

From a copy: C.W. 10443. Courtesy: Government of Orissa

483. LETTER TO S. M. MASURKAR

September 6, 1941

DEAR MASURKAR,

If I get the papers referred to by you in your letter of 26th ultimo I shall try to study them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

484. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You had to be satisfied yesterday with Prabha's letter. But she more than compensates for the absence of my very brief letters. And she writes well.

Here is Bablo's[1] letter.

[1] Narayan, son of Mahadev Desai

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No more heat again here. It has been raining off and on. The sky remains overcast.

Mira is happy in her new cottage. She is putting in artistic decorations on the wall—all sacred things.

Mahadev is restored but weak. He has to be in Ahmedabad.

Jajuji is to go to Narandas. Bul is not so easily led as you. I would have loved to send her. But her heart is in the Frontier work. If she gets the freedom she has asked for, she might be induced to take up work like what you suggest.

I must send you *Sarvodaya*[1].

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Here is the bell going for 11.

After receipt of post:

Your letter. This week I have lost one lb. You will have done well if you overtake me—hard task?

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4067. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7376

485. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

September 7, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA,

This[2] for your amusement if nobody else has already passed it on to you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2185

[1] A Hindi monthly, published under the auspices of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, edited by Kaka Kalelkar and Dada Dharmadhikari

[2] The enclosure is not available.

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486. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

September 7, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

You may come over whenever you wish. Tell Vasumatibehn that I got her letter. Let her by all means complete her programme.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I got your letter. I am glad.

PURATAN BUCH
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9184

487. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

September 7, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I have written to Sushilabehn. Dr. Mehta had sent me a message and now I have your letter. Yes, we have to be careful and if we are, nothing will happen. Dinner parties and banquets on festival days should be avoided. Live in the open air and avoid over-exertion, and eat enough of fruit and greens.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUNVARJI KHETSI
ZANDU PHARMACY
DADAR
BOMBAY 14

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9750. Also C.W. 729. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

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488. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

[*September 7, 1941*][1]

CHI. KANCHAN,

I do not know what truth there is in the accompanying. Mu[nnalal] claims that it is the plain unvarnished truth. Even if it is not so, there is an agreement between us that you should take no offence.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Will you let yourself be medically examined by Manjulabehn?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8271. Also C.W. 7156. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

489. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 7, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

Received your letter. It is frank. I am satisfied. I don't attach importance to the other things I have heard. More about that when I have time.

You have not written about Bhulabhai's health. I hope he is in good spirits.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] From the postmark

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490. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF AHMEDABAD[1]

SEVAGRAM,
September 8, 1941

The more I ponder the more I consider the spinning-wheel as the saviour of the poor. Its beauty lies in the fact that if only women and children under 12 years devote themselves to the production of khaddar for a little time daily India will get all the cloth she needs.

If this experiment is carried out in Ahmedabad itself on a small scale, I feel confident that the truth of my words would be amply demonstrated.

M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Samachar, 18-9-1941; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 19-9-1941

491. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

I redirected two letters yesterday which I hope you duly received.

Your cough is taking a long time going. Are you talking too much? Can you take a few days' complete silence? It will work a miracle. The Ratlam papers make heavy reading. I won't inflict them on you unless I find it absolutely necessary.

The apples were not damaged. They might have kept fresher if they had been wrapped in paper. Don't you worry about them.

The rest from Prabha. I occupy the Hospital room.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4068. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7377

[1] This was sent on the occasion of Gandhiji's birthday, which according to the Vikram calendar, fell on September 18.

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492. LETTER TO DR. B. C. LAGU

September 8, 1941

DEAR LAGU,

Thanks for your letter. Lakshmibai will be welcome with Premabai. She won't mind being crowded. I am trying the scorpion-sting medicine. It seems to have answered in the one case tried.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. B. C. LAGU
RAMA NIVAS
LAKSHMI RD., NARAYAN PETH
POONA 2

From a photostat: G.N. 1375

493. LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

September 8, 1941

MY DEAR RATHI,

As I sent you wire[1] in reply to yours, I have taken my time to acknowledge yours of 1st instant. If you and the others want me to be President of Visvabharati, I must discuss the project with you. My whole soul is with you all in wishing to keep the triple institution[2] fully worthy of Gurudev. Just now I am seriously thinking of touring the country to make up the five lacs if my appeal[3] fails to bring the sum. Please send me a list of what has been sent directly to Santiniketan.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RATHINDRANATH TAGORE
SANTINIKETAN
BENGAL

From a photostat: G.N. 8752

[1] This is not available.
[2] Visvabharati, Santiniketan and Sriniketan
[3] *Vide* p. 231.

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494. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

September 8, 1941

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. I got Puratan's also. He is displeased that you sent his five-year-old note without his consent. It is his opinion now, i.e., after five years' experience, that Dada is a spotless and simple-hearted man. Bhai Puratan believes that the allegation against Dada is the result of a conspiracy by some Harijans. I share his belief. These people have suffered so much that they have lost their humanity. This is of course not true of all of them. We must bear with all this. But while doing so we should not be misled into entertaining suspicions against anybody.

I understand Narahari's criticism. It is a fact that you are collecting evidence. In doing so you cannot but start whisperings among the people. This would foul the atmosphere. And, moreover, you are forgetting your sphere of work. This is bound to interfere with your work. Why do you make yourself a watchman of anyone in the Ashram? It will be enough if others, you and I, all become our own watchmen. Supervision is Narahari's job. If anybody wants to complain let him do so to him. You should plug your ears. I have a beautiful figure of three monkeys, which I always keep in front of me. They are three representations of the same monkey. His ears, mouth and eyes are closed. The lesson the figure teaches is that one should not listen to criticism of or see or speak of anybody's defects. The original of this figure is found on a tall pillar in Japan, and was carved thousands of years ago. We should engrave this lesson in our hearts.

I will hear what you have to say when you come here. I am not inclined at present to send for anybody else. I would send for others only if I myself am shaken even a little in my mind. But if Narahari is positive in his view, I would not disregard him and make any inquiry. You may, with Narahari's consent, stay for 15 days or more. But you need not come or stay specially for the sake of Nimu. She will get somebody to accompany her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 396. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

495. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
September 8, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter of the 1st. I have already suggested Jajuji's name for *Rentia Baras* programme. You must have received that letter long ago.[1] Jajuji's other programmes have been suspended in view of that visit. He will be ready to give you eight to ten days. I should now get from you the programme drawn up for him.

Chhaganlal[2] was here for a day. He has assured me that he will complete [the figure]. If necessary he will go as far as Rangoon. The papers report that you have had some rain there. Did you have enough?

It is Prabhashankar[3] about whom I am not sure, but would not Champa[4] also be included? Poor thing, she would do what he asks her to do. And that is natural. I had even gone to the extent of arranging that he should come here while Maganbhai[5] was here. M. is in Delhi now, and will come again in October. After spending a few days here, he intends to go to Rangoon around the 20th. I got your letter afterwards. Information about Jajuji is enclosed. It is better that my message should be conveyed by Jajuji himself. It is too early just yet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8543. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 275.
[2] Son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta
[3] Champa's father
[4] Wife of Ratilal Mehta, Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta's son
[5] Maganlal, youngest son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

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496. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 8, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

If evil thoughts come to mind it means that the mind is empty and Nature abhors a vacuum. So when the mind is not reciting Ramanama or doing His work, then the Devil takes possession of it. So when evil thoughts invade the mind, the only way to check their attack is to recite Ramanama and to do Rama's work. It can never fail. Go on increasing the recitation of Ramanama till you succeed. There is no other remedy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4403

497. NOTE TO RAMNARAYAN CHAUDHARY

September 8, 1941

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

I have listened to Anjana[1]. I am pained,[2] but there is nothing to worry about. I shall break my silence soon after the prayer meeting today. We three can then sit together and discuss the matter. It will not be proper to talk while out walking.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, p. 167

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] The addressee's health had suddenly deteriorated.

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498. NOTE TO RAMNARAYAN CHAUDHARY[1]

[*September 8, 1941*][2]

Morning:

Milk	12 ounces
Mosambi	1

11 a.m.

Banana	1
Ghee	½ ounce

Vegetables as much as can be contained in an 8-ounce bowl. They could be seasoned with lemon juice, and not more than 10 grains of salt.

2 p.m.

Twelve ounces of butter-milk, 20 grains of soda bicarb and one *mosambi* if you feel hungry.

5.20 p.m.

Milk	12 ounces

Vegetables as much as can be contained in an 8-ounce bowl.

Cucumber raw 2 ounces, whenever available.

Mosambi 1

At night if you feel very hungry then take one banana. Mash it and chew it properly. This is the maximum quantity. If your bowels do not move for three days, take an enema. Give me details every day so that, if I have to make a change, I may do so. Send them in writing.

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, pp. 167-8

[1] & [2] It was decided that before shifting to Nalwadi the addressee should try, at Sevagram, Gandhiji's prescription received along with the note of this date; *vide* the preceding item.

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499. LETTER TO M. G. BHAVE

SEVAGRAM,
September 9, 1941

DEAR BHAVEJI[1],

Your letter[2]. I retain the same opinion[3] as before. I am utterly opposed to communalism in everything but much more so in sport.

You may make what use you like of this opinion. Please do not ask me to do anything more. I have no time.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

500. LETTER TO R. KRISHNAMURTHY

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),
September 10, 1941

DEAR KRISHNAMURTHY[4],

I like your suggestion that leaders should meet and deliver their considered judgement.[5] You put words into the mouths of the masses. Are they not dumb? As to your suggestion, I can do nothing mechanically. God's will be done.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Kalki*, 26-10-1975

[1] Secretary, Maharashtra Cricket Association

[2] Dated August 26, 1941, seeking Gandhiji's opinion regarding communal cricket and participation of Hindus therein

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXIII, pp. 213-4.

[4] Founder-Editor of *Kalki*, a Tamil weekly of Madras

[5] The addressee had sent Gandhiji an English translation of an editorial voicing public disappointment at Gandhiji's decision to keep aloof from the freedom movement till the War was over. It exhorted national leaders to request Gandhiji to revive the struggle.

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501. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter in perfect Hindi.

Sarojini[1] went yesterday—as chirpy as ever. She was interesting without being instructive. What new things could she tell?

Sarup is still here. She leaves tomorrow for Allahabad. She tells me J[2] & R[3] are both keeping well. She herself is pulled down but is otherwise fit.

Annapurna is better. Rajen Babu came in today with his wife. I have not met him yet. He is resting in Wardha. He is well though weak.

Mahadev won't be here till he has finished Ahmedabad.

They want me to send you to Alwar on 1st October. I have sent a flat refusal. If you were well I would certainly have sent you, but there is no knowing when you will be quite fit. When you return it might be well to bring someone with you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4069. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7378

502. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

September 10, 1941

DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

This is Jhaverbhai's suggestion. Do you think it is feasible and necessary? Confer with Jh.

The analysis of मलाई[4] sent by you seems to be faulty. I am inquiring.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10159

[1] Sarojini Naidu
[2] Jawaharlal Nehru
[3] Ranjit Pandit
[4] Cream

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503. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA[1]

September 10, 1941

I am doing whatever I can and whatever is possible while remaining in the background.

BAPU

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

504. LETTER TO T. S. CHOCKALINGAM

September 11, 1941

DEAR CHOCKALINGAM[2],

I would not trouble you to come here as Dr. Subbaroyan will be coming himself.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI T. S. CHOCKALINGAM
"DINAMANI"
100 MOUNT ROAD
MADRAS

From the original: C.W. 2976. Courtesy: T. S. Chockalingam

505. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

So you are not yet out of the wood. What is this rheumatism of the mouth? Why should you have it at all? There must be deeper cause. How I wish you allowed yourself to be overhauled in Delhi in Hardinge College Hospital. But I suppose Shummy won't listen to it. I would suggest Bombay as

[1] This is written on the addressee's letter dated September 7 in which he had reported the hardships in prison.

[2] Editor of *Dinamani*, a Tamil daily of Madras

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an alternative. Sardar is now under a homoeopath and is better. The chief thing is to get well.

Here are two letters from your pupils.

Did I tell you Sailen had returned? I have put him on Hindi and charkha. He has not wasted his time in Nagpur. He has become more amenable to discipline.

I must inquire about the apples.

Annapurna has gone to Nagpur to be examined by Dr. David.

Rajendra Babu has not yet come to Sevagram.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4070. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7379

506. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRA RAO

September 11, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Atheism is a denial of self. No one has succeeded in its propagation. Such success as you have attained is due to your sincere work among the people round you.[1] I am sorry I cannot invite you to come here. I have no time to spare for talks.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

An Atheist with Gandhi, p. 26

507. LETTER TO ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI

September 11, 1941

DEAR ATULANANDA,

I fear you are ploughing a lonely furrow. You may be sure that I would have formed an organization if that had served the purpose. An attempt was made but it had to be given up.

[1] The addressee had written: "For one year I have tackled the problem of untouchability with the atheistic outlook. . . . The atheistic approach mainly consists in the non-recognition of sectarian labels like Hindus, Muslims and Christians. . . . Our programme of work so far has been confined to systematic and periodical cosmopolitan dinners. . . . In the village atmosphere where caste restrictions continue to be rigid, open cosmopolitan dinners are not easy to accomplish. Yet we succeed, because we find that the atheistic attitude brings definite cosmopolitan outlook in its wake. . . ."

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However let me not shake your faith. You must persevere.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI
P. 148 JANAK ROAD
P. 6 RASHBEHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the original: C.W. 1483. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

508. LETTER TO NALINI RANJAN SIRCAR

September 11, 1941

DEAR NALINI BABU,

I must confess that I was taken aback when I heard of your acceptance of office. I can only hope that your expectations will be realized. My advice whenever you want it will always be at your disposal. I understand from your letter that though the ban is lifted you have not rejoined the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

509. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 11, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have read your long letter. I can understand your agony. But it will take you forward. If at first you had my support, you are not without it now. Is this not what many people believe?

I want to drive out from your mind the idea that we absolutely cannot do without foreign help.[1] The examples of China, Russia and England cannot apply to us. China, after attaining

[1] The addressee had written: "And I see no disgrace in accepting help from a foreign power in order to protect India's nationalism and unity—that power may be Britain today, and who knows which other power after the War! What is China doing? Is not Russia taking foreign help? Is not England doing it?"

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freedom, seeks outside help in order to fight Japan. Russia and England are already free. We may also seek help from a thousand quarters after we have become free, but only if we have gained our freedom with force of arms. Freedom won through non-violent means will need no help, or it will need the entire world's. All this is so clear that you should have no difficulty in understanding it. But if you do have any, please find some time to come over here at least to get your doubt resolved. This is a very important issue. In the context in which you made your statement[1], it does not at all seem proper. The fight about Pakistan is a fight between two brothers. One can get reconciled to one brother being defeated at the hands of the other; but the one who wins with the help of a third party will himself become a slave and also make the other a slave. Whom are the British helping today? Where does Pakistan exist in the present situation? Akhanda Hindustan[2], on the other hand, does exist as a dream at any rate. He who seeks to realize that dream may be no more than a dust particle floating in the sky but after all it is floating. Its dream lifts it above; it does not cast it down. Its exercise of individual freedom makes it shine brightly in the sky. Whose help can it require? And if all the particles get together, that is, recognize their individuality, then they themselves will be the sky. Can you conceive a sky without particles? You, therefore, who are out to fight for an Akhanda Hindustan can never entertain the idea of seeking external help. It does you no credit. It ill becomes the maturity of your thinking. If I go on further I would be only wasting time. But what need to argue at length with the wise?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Chi. Sarala is upset because she has not received any reply from her partners. Are you speaking on their behalf or on behalf

[1] The reference is to the addressee's speech at Benares, wherein he said: "Men will come from all parts of the country to resist the vivisection of the country. If need be, we shall seek the help of a friendly power. If necessary we shall stand at the bar of the world and ask it to help us to avoid a catastrophe which would destroy the life of the 400 millions of men."

[2] Undivided India. The addressee had initiated a movement known as "Akhanda Hindustan Front". He had written: "I am a mere particle floating in the sky, while you are the sun of the solar system."

of you two? If you were not speaking on behalf of the partners, please consult them if possible and convey their consent. If they are hard-pressed and cannot give it, Sarala will immediately return.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7668. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

510. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

September 11, 1941

CHI. SURU[1],

I have your letter. May you live long, and be a pure worker. These are Ba's blessings and mine to you. There is always some trouble with the body, that has to be borne. We shall meet some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SURU
[C/O] SHRI KANTI GANDHI
DEVRAJ MOHALLA
MYSORE[2]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6181. Also C.W. 3455. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

511. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

WARDHAGANJ,
September 11, 1941

I interviewed Gandhiji today and asked him a few questions on Mr. Churchill's reference to India in his latest speech[3] in the Commons. Gandhiji declined to answer any question. Then I asked him, "I see you are disinclined

[1] Wife of Kantilal Gandhi, Harilal Gandhi's son

[2] The address is from the C.W. copy.

[3] On September 9, 1941, wherein he declared: "The Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of British Empire. We have pledged by the declaration of August 1940 to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Races subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests."

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to answer the most important and relevant questions that I put to you. Do you think that this silence of yours is helpful for the cause of Indian independence for which the Congress is fighting?" Gandhiji replied:

If I did not believe so I would have come out with a statement without any prompting from you. But I sincerely believe that my silence is much more eloquent than any words that I may utter. After all it is not words that matter. Action is all in all. My action is before all India and, if you like, the whole world.

The Hindu, 12-9-1941. Also C.W. 4075. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

512. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 12, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your lefthanded letter! What a tragedy that you cannot use your right hand! I repeat my suggestion of yesterday. Go to Delhi or even come here for the cure. If you are not cured here you can be sent to Bombay. I am quite clear that Simla is not the place for you just now.

In whatever you do, Shummy's willing co-operation must be there. The cottage has become usable. The walls are being filled in. But it is quite habitable.

M[ahadev] will be still away for some time.

You will wire what you are doing.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4071. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7380

513. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 12, 1941

I suppose you don't need a written reply now, do you? If you want, I am ready to give one.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8643

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514. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 12, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I had omitted to reply to one of your questions. Suddenly this morning I remembered it.

The movement[1] started on 18th October. Jawaharlal was arrested on 31st October. I have no interest in celebrating days. Only a very significant day should be celebrated, so that it will have its impact. It has become cheap nowadays to celebrate various days. People's response is also lukewarm. In this condition I don't venture to call for celebrations. If you suggest a programme which may touch the hearts of crores of people, I will surely consent to it. Satyagraha day is different from the day of Jawaharlal's arrest. Think for yourself and guide me. Discuss it with Mahadev and, if possible, with Sardar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

515. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 12, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I got Hanumanprasadji's letter through 'M' day before yesterday.

The incident is sad. I am clear in my mind that Raghavadas could be free of his weakness only by admitting fully the mistakes committed. Without such purification he is likely to do only harm. He is a good man; so without such admission the harm would be greater. One sign of goodness is owning a mistake openly. For a satyagrahi there is no other course. So the first thing to do is to find out some nice reliable person who would talk to him. I got the cutting you sent.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8047. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Individual civil disobedience movement

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516. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 12, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

We should tolerate other people's shortcomings, just as they do ours. This should not be interpreted to mean that we may let anyone intentionally break the rules. Mark the difference between the two!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4404

517. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 13, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note of good news to hand. Nevertheless you should move out of Simla. That is my feeling. Sushila agrees that for rheumatics Simla and the like are bad places. She does not think much of Bombay either.

You were right as usual. The previous apples were wrapped in paper. Prabha had seen them well-packed. Some busybody removed the wrappers. Next time you should send me the number of apples sent.

Bul has received a reply saying the Government would leave her free, if she gives an undertaking not to enter F[rontier] P[rovince] and tribal territory. She is giving notice that she will not give any undertaking.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4072. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7381

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518. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 14, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Sushila came yesterday and gone today. Prabha has [been] to her mother for two or three days just to feed her superstition. Her brother had a child born and she has to attend some ceremony. She returns on 23rd. Annapurna has gone with Sushila for treatment. There was suspicion of tuberculosis. Dr. David however says there is no trace. But she had slow fever and has grown weak.

I have two deputations—Alla Bux[1] and Sidhwa[2] and the other from Burma.

Munshi's daughter Sarala who is here for a few days has taken Prabha's place. She is a very fine girl. She is one of the three Indian women solicitors in all India. But she is exceedingly simple in her tastes and has made friends with everybody. She has come to pass a few days with me.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your letter. Mr. Hancock, 27th September, 4 p.m.[3] Glad you are better.

From the original: C.W. 4073. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7382

519. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 14, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

I got your note after Raihana had left. I see no harm in publishing Kannada *Navanit* on behalf of the Bharatiya Bhasha Sangh. Get the consent of the other members. Wouldn't you like to give Hindi versions of Kannada articles in *Navanit*?

[1] Premier of Sind

[2] R. K. Sidhwa, leader of the Sind Congress Assembly Party

[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur," 25-9-1941.

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Draft the resolution which you think should be placed before the Sammelan. Meet Rajen Babu. Ask whatever help you require from me. I am returning the book.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10951

520. LETTER TO MANU SUBEDAR

SEVAGRAM,
September 14, 1941

BHAI SUBEDAR[1],

I have your letter. I think you have again fallen into a trap. The Quaid-e-Azam has made no definite proposal. He only wants to prove the two-nation theory and partition the country. We need not pay attention to him, as we would not to anybody who wanted to separate two brothers.

The charges against the Congress have been disproved, but if they have not they can be referred to an impartial tribunal.

As long as the policy of keeping at a distance from both the Government and the Congress and using concessions by either side for extracting more from the other remains, no understanding seems possible. A party following such a policy will never be satisfied with what it gets.

I am convinced that the riots in Sind, Dacca and Ahmedabad were intended to intimidate the Congress. But I am ready to ignore this. That is, all the points may be referred to an impartial tribunal. I don't think anything else is possible.

And please also remember that ultimately the people themselves will decide these questions and bypass us all. I would, therefore, advise you to extricate yourself from this business, or to proceed on the basis of certain fundamental principles. It will be enough if you cling to even one. As long as he does not decide about coming to an agreement among ourselves, no discussion is possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 252-3

[1] An economist from Bombay

521. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

September 14, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. I am sending you a copy of my reply to Subedar.[1] I think he will come round. Is it not our policy to secure the utmost possible co-operation from men of all temperaments and abilities?

Do not worry about anything just now. Your health must mend completely. If homoeopathy helps you, I will begin to have some faith in it. I have never been able to put any faith in it. I entrusted a case to a homoeopath but there was no result. It was Tari's[2]. But this is only by the way. I do wish homoeopathy benefits you. I have heard much about it. Das[3] believed in it, and so did Motilalji and Gurudev. Does not our Lakshmidas also believe in it? But finally everybody takes refuge in allopathy. All this is beside the point, but let it be. We are concerned only with the result.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 251-2

522. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 15, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have yours. I am more and more confirmed in my opinion that you should leave Simla and if you have confidence

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Tara Mashruwala
[3] C. R. Das

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and if Shummy agrees whole-heartedly, you should come here before being sent elsewhere. I flatter myself with the belief that probably my company itself will put you right. Just think this over and if your mind agrees, discuss the proposal dispassionately with S. and decide. If you decide, do so quickly. If you come, you will bring someone with you. Wire your health and your decision.

Let not K's book sit on you like a load. Never mind if it takes a little time.

I have Munshi's daughter still here. She is a very good girl, a lover of children and hard work.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4074. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7383

523. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

September 15, 1941

DEAR PRAFULLA,

Sardar is now under homoeopathic treatment. He feels better. But he has to take care of himself. He has intestinal spasms. Rajen Babu is here. He is better though still weak. He is free from fever.

I am sorry about Suresh. I do hope he will get quite well. He must take care of himself.

Give my love to all.

Love.

BAPU
(M. K. GANDHI)

From a photostat: G.N. 3783

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524. LETTER TO IQBAL KRISHAN KAPOOR

SEVAGRAM,
September 15, 1941

DEAR KAPOOR,

I think your case is clear. The order is humiliating.[1] You will disregard it not as a satyagrahi under the struggle but as an individual who values his self-respect above so-called freedom. Therefore, no general instruction is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. II, p. 275

525. LETTER TO SHAUKAT USMANI

September 15, 1941

DEAR SHAUKAT USMANI[2],

I am glad you are being drawn to non-violence. Non-violence precludes us from hating anyone however bad he is.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

526. LETTER TO HARILAL M. RANGOONWALA

September 15, 1941

BHAI HARILAL,

I had your letter written from jail. I have already replied to it. I have now the letter written after your release. I am glad that you are not worrying about the boycott in

[1] On his release after two months' detention, the addressee was served with a notice "restricting his movements within the limits of the Kotwali police station, requiring him to attend in person the Kotwali police station once a week to report his presence and requiring him to refrain from the Congress activities in connection with the satyagraha movement".

[2] Secretary, Prisoners' Camp, Baroda

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Rangoon. Let it go on for the present. You may go to jail again when the Bombay office invites you to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 143

527. LETTER TO VISHNU NARAYAN

September 15, 1941

BHAI VISHNU NARAYAN,

I got your letter. You have not been forbidden [to use] khadi. They have only expressed their opinion. You have not been ordered to use drill cloth, but are given freedom to use it. I would, therefore, advise you to buy khadi costing the same as drill cloth and get uniforms made out of it. See that you get strong khadi. If you can win over the peons, there will be no difficulty. Do not force them. Do not inflict khadi on them as a compulsory duty, but create love of khadi in them. If they spin, khadi may even be cheaper. Even if you are put to some expense, bear it and induce the peons to wear khadi uniforms willingly.

As long as the Bank values your service, you are likely to come to no harm.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

We are trying to get paper for *Sarvodaya.*

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19327

528. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

September 15, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Read your letter and the account of your tour. You gained good experience. I know our faith in ahimsa is rather slender. Had it been strong today we would have risen fairly high. I do not believe that much work can be done by speeches. You will not know the power of nectar by a description of its qualities. You can know it only by drinking it yourself or by observing its

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effect on someone drinking it. This does not mean that there should be no speeches.

I like your decision to enroll only the best students.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5650. Also C.W. 2961. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

529. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
September 16, 1941

I expect a wire on Thursday to my letter of yesterday.

This is being written before the incoming post.

Can you throw any light on the enclosed[1]? Jajuji has gone to Rajkot for the Charkha Week.

An ex-jail-bird (satyagrahi) from U.P. came last night suffering from tuberculosis to see me! Poor Chimanlal could not turn him out, so gave him a bed in his verandah. His is a pathetic case. It is difficult to treat him. These unexpected visitors make the running of the Institution most difficult. Fortunately the workers rise to the occasion at such critical times and make it possible for me to face difficulties of this nature.

I have to see Alla Bux and Sidhwa today.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Devdas is fighting *his* case manfully.[2] Your letter has arrived. Of course what S. says must be followed.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4076. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7357

530. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

September 16, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I am positive that the Indians living in Burma should protest strongly against the Agreement signed by the two Governments. They should have no fear in this matter. We can have

[1] This is not available.

[2] *Vide* pp. 248 and 260.

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no quarrel with the people of Burma. We may live among them only with their goodwill. But who is to ascertain their view? And also who is to decide how it should be ascertained?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4736. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

531. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA

September 16, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I have your letter. It is a regrettable thing. Please do not expect any money from me.[1] I do what I can within my limits and in my own way. At present I do whatever I can while remaining in the background. Those who pursue satyagraha must put up with suffering. Therein too lies the way to alleviate suffering.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

532. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 17, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is very bad paper. You can't use both the sides.

Your letter. Your submission to the simple drugs is worthy of your submissive nature! Do refuse all appointments there too.

I had your apple today. This variety is not so good as the previous one. Ba told me that one had gone bad and very soft. This is no criticism of the buyer. I simply pass on the information.

Our room is being rebuilt. The verandah porch is being transferred to the gate through which the monsoon rains pour in. And there will be an extended verandah where we used to sleep.

[1] The addressee wanted money to engage lawyers to defend the satyagrahis in custody.

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It seems building operations will never cease. And yet the crowding grows. How to limit the crowd is a serious question.

There is going to be much charkha work done in the village.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4077. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7386

533. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

September 17, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter. Lotus seed and cardamom are well-known tonics. If they solve your problem, so much the better. The chief thing is attention to diet. There is no illness here worth mentioning. Everything is all right. There is considerable crowding. Nobody here is now afraid of typhoid, since good nursing has saved all cases. You are having good experience there. Mix with all as sugar mixes in milk. Prabhavati has left. She will return on the 23rd.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10037. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

534. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

September 17, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your wire. Your case is going well. I have been following the proceedings. Shivji also keeps me informed. The judges also are behaving strangely. But if you can produce the evidence which you have, everything will be well. Only our people are so weak that you never know when they will let you down. However, since your case is perfectly just I am sure that God will protect you. Ba is worrying. I have explained to her that going to jail is nothing unusual for us. Jail, therefore, should hold no terrors for us. Looking at the matter from another point of view, I believe you will get some rest in jail. But now there seems to be no possibility of your getting

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imprisonment. Yes, it might be a different matter if your witnesses turn out to be men of straw.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I got your letter just after this was completed. You should struggle hard.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2139

535. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 17, 1941

CHI. LAKSHMI,

Hope you at any rate are not afraid. What is going to happen will of course happen. You married a tempestuous man, so how can you escape storm?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2139

536. LETTER TO SURENDRANATH SARKEL

[After *September 17, 1941*][1]

BHAI SURENDRA,

I have your letter. This is my only advice: tell the court nothing but the truth.

Blessings from
BAPU
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter forwarded by the jail authorities on September 17, 1941.

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537. WORK FOR EVERYONE

I have sent a message for women and children to this effect:[1] Enough khadi can be produced if children up to the age of twelve and women gave a few hours of their spare time to spinning and other processes of khadi production. I had asked Krishnadas Gandhi to work out some figures to prove the above contention. I give below an abstract of the findings.

> India's population was estimated at about 35 crores in the 1931 census. Children in the age-group of eight to twelve numbered about 4½ crores and women and girls above the age of 12 numbered about 11 crores. If the children devoted four hours to cleaning, carding and spinning and if the women devoted four hours to cleaning, carding, spinning and weaving daily, enough khadi can be produced. It can be shown by calculation that the children can produce every day yarn of ten to twelve counts that can be woven into 90 lac square yards of khadi, whereas the women can produce every day two crore square yards of twenty counts in addition to weaving the ninety lac square yards of khadi out of the yarn spun by the children. It has been calculated that the entire process from the cleaning of cotton to weaving a 20 counts square yard of cloth involves 18 hours of labour on the part of one person. Out of this half an hour will go to the cleaning of cotton, two hours for carding, 12 hours for spinning, one hour for unwinding the yarn, one hour for making and fixing the warp and sizing and one and a half hours for actual weaving. This is the breakdown of the total of 18 hours. It is based on the average skill of an average person. An efficient worker may complete this process in just 15 hours. On a rough estimate the women and children can, with such skill as they have, produce about 30 square yards of khadi for every person in this country by working four hours a day for 300 days in a year.

My object in publishing this abstract is to encourage an institution to undertake an experiment to corroborate it. Any family can easily produce all the cloth that it requires by introducing a charkha and a loom in their home. Suppose there are 35 individuals in an institution including four children in the age-group of

[1] *Vide* p. 302.

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8 to 12 and 11 women above the age of 13. All men, of course, will be busy with other activities. Ten out of the eleven women and all the four children can devote three to four hours every day to cleaning, carding, spinning and weaving according to their convenience. One of the ten women will help the four children and will also weave the yarn produced by the children. The remaining nine women will undertake all the work from cleaning to weaving. According to the calculations given above, the four children together with one woman will produce at least three fourths of a square yard of 10 to 12 counts khadi every day and the 9 women will easily produce two square yards of 20 counts khadi every day. If we calculate for 300 days in a year, all of them will together produce 225 square yards of coarse khadi and 600 square yards of fine khadi. Thus a total of 825 square yards of cloth will be available for the 35 persons or, in other words, everyone will get $23\frac{1}{2}$ square yards of cloth. As the efficiency grows every individual will be able to get $27\frac{1}{2}$ square yards of cloth.

It should be remembered that so much cloth can be produced even in less time by using the now improved charkhas and carding-bows. If every home has a charkha and a loom we can produce the cloth we need with very little effort. It will create a great contentment in the home. We can only imagine what an impact this can have on our lives and how it can inspire all the people. But for oneself one can instantly discover this bliss.

SEVAGRAM, *Charkha Dwadashi*, September 18, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

538. BLANKETS FOR SOLDIERS

It is a good augury that votaries of non-violence often raise fine questions of principle. Man advances through such spirit of inquiry, but there is a prerequisite condition to it. The inquiry should not be like that of a person who strains at a gnat and swallows a camel. Raising such questions profit only him who is ever vigilant in major matters and whose practice keeps pace with the progress of the principle.

Let me illustrate what I mean. A certain khadi bhandar received an order for woollen blankets from the military. The bhandar authorities asked me whether they could accept it. I

replied that they could. The question of principle raised was whether it did not amount to helping the war.

As a matter of abstract principle, it will have to be conceded that the acceptance was a breach. But in that case, we must leave India and every country engaged in the war. Because we help war in purchasing the very food we eat. We do the same when we travel by train or buy postage stamps. Our use of the currency itself is an aid to war. In fact we are hardly able to do any act which is free from the taint.

The truth is that no one is able to act upon a great principle, like that of non-violence, in its entirety. Like the geometrical line, it can only be imagined, but never drawn. In practice, we have to be content with drawing only such fine lines as we can with our instruments. There is no wall which can be called 'straight' according to Euclid. And yet, walls have stood the test of time for thousands of years. It is the same with ahimsa. We must put it into practice as best as we can.

It would have been easy for me to forbid the sale of the blankets. It was a question of only a few thousand rupees, a small amount for an establishment whose turnover is in lakhs. But the prohibition would have been a matter of shame for me. I could have done so only by concealing my real view of the matter. Where should I draw the line from which such prohibition should commence? If I were a grain merchant, should I decline to sell it to soldiers? Or, if I were a chemist, should I refuse to sell quinine and other drugs to them? If I should, what could be the reason for my doing so? Does my ahimsa prevent me from entertaining such customers? In other words, does it require of me to look into the occupations of my customers? The clear reply is that provided I deal in goods which conduce to the welfare of society, I may not look into the occupations of my customers. This means that I may sell my innocuous articles even to soldiers.

SEVAGRAM, September 18, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

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539. UNCERTIFIED KHADI

One who purchases uncertified khadi is ignorant of the purpose of khadi, which was conceived as a simple means to remove the poverty of *Daridranarayana*, which alone can improve India's economic condition and ultimately win freedom. Therein lies the importance of khadi and if khadi has to play its role in removing the poverty of the millions it must be under the control of some organization or State authority. Crores of spinners would be willing to spin for eight hours for a paltry pice for they must fill their bellies. Khadi made from yarn spun by them may be called hand-spun but by its use we certainly will not be serving *Daridranarayana*. The Charkha Sangh has therefore at once increased the spinners' wages and attempts are being made to improve the economic condition of other artisans.

Those who sell uncertified khadi are guilty of theft from khadi artisans. To purchase such khadi is to acquire stolen property. This is atrocious. The Charkha Sangh therefore appeals to business people to take up some other trade instead of selling [uncertified] khadi. The public should purchase khadi from khadi bhandars of the Charkha Sangh or its certified depots only.

I hope all khadi-lovers will agree that khadi, be it dear or cheap, should be purchased only through the Charkha Sangh and such khadi alone should be recognized as khadi.

SEVAGRAM, September 18, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

540. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 18, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

This only to say how you are in my mind. I have said my say, you know best how to get well. I am sending the book to Mahmud Khan.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4078. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7387

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541. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 18, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I had Lilavati's letter and yours. Today I have the wire. Chi. Sarala wrote to you the day before yesterday. You must have received the letter now.

There is no need for you just now to resign. I had a discussion with both Rajendra Babu and Kripalani. Both are of the view that there is no need at all just now. I will leave no room for the slightest criticism. The idea had not crossed my mind at all. All the same, you did well in writing to me.

I have been having short talks with Sarala. I cannot spare any time specially for her, but generally during morning walks we go a little ahead of others and talk. She has become very friendly with all. She takes interest in the prayers, too. She also helps me. She will tell you all this when she meets you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7669. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

542. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
September 18, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. It seems best now to go through the homoeopathic treatment. Don't mind if that means some loss of time. You must keep patient till you are sure whether or no it is benefiting you.

I am glad you met . . .[1] He does not at all seem clear in his mind. About Valji also it is difficult to judge. He has got very much prejudiced. I think he also will come round.

I understand about Lilavati. When you have taken her case in hand, why need I worry about her? I did not wish to worry

[1] The name is omitted in the source.

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you with her problem, though. She is hard working and smart. I hope she will pass. But she has got a little tired. I hope Bhanumati[1] is all right. So it now seems certain that the girl[2] will not survive.

Has Bhulabhai been released? He seems to be quite ill.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 253-4

543. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

September 18, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your letter. Grow strong and healthy there. I knew you would get friendly with all. You are of course not likely to allow yourself to become a burden on anybody. I know you would do nothing but serve others there. I am sure the climate there will suit you. Write to Vedchhi from time to time. In any case you will write to me regularly. Read something. Learn Hindi. Learn Urdu also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9428

544. ADDRESS AT GANDHI JAYANTI MEETING

SEVAGRAM,
September [*18*][3], *1941*

I want Sevagram to be self-sufficient in its clothing by producing khadi and the villagers to produce their necessaries of life.

Learning and service should go hand in hand and I am glad that here in the Khadi Vidyalaya you are having both, which is different from university training.

[1] & [2] Dahyabhai Patel's second wife and daughter

[3] The source has "September 19", evidently a slip, since Gandhi Jayanti, Gandhiji's birthday according to the Vikram calendar, was celebrated on September 18.

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He exhorted the villagers to devote themselves more and more to bring about full cleanliness and sanitation. He also appealed for more constructive work specially in regard to khadi which, he reminded them, was the saviour of the poor.[1]

The Hindu, 22-9-1941

545. LETTER TO PRAN KRISHNA PADHIARY

[Before *September 19, 1941*][2]

You have not given me discouraging information.[3] All do not live who are born. I rejoice that some at least will remain true. That is enough encouragement to me. If the sea-deserters form a Ministry, we need not worry. We shall be stronger for the weak ones falling away.

Dube[4] need not resign[5] for he has given valid reasons for not offering civil disobedience.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-9-1941

546. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 19, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. You are having regular ups and downs. We may not always have an even surface to walk on. Some day you will be entirely free.

Apples this time are an inferior type. To look at they are extraordinarily good. But some parts are bad. Do not take anybody to task. Next time the variety should be changed. And send them only once a month. Presently there will be *santras*[6] when apples will no longer be required.

Love.

BAPU

[1] Gandhiji participated in the sacrificial congregational spinning held on the occasion.

[2] The report appeared under the date-line "Cuttack, September 19, 1941".

[3] The addressee, President, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, had informed Gandhiji about the move for the formation of a coalition Ministry in the province.

[4] Bodhram Dube, ex-Minister

[5] From the Provincial Congress Committee and the A.I.C.C.

[6] Oranges

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[PS.]

The Sind Premier is still here. Prema goes to jail again in three days' time.

From the original: C.W. 3678. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6487

547. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 19, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have your letter. It seems perfectly all right to me. Tell Bhai Bhagwanji that I got his letter too. He should get relieved from there and come here. I will see how to fix him up. He will certainly be of use, if he stays here. Show this to Bhai Bhagwanji and send him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9125

548. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
September 19, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I had long and frank talks with Khan Bahadur (Alla Bux). He is now going to Karachi. From there he will go to see Maulana. I am firmly of the view that the Congress should leave the Assembly. Khan Bahadur also, if he is on the Congress side, should do the same. The Congress in Sind helping the war effort while not doing so elsewhere would produce—is producing—a bad impression. Keeping up this arrangement will not benefit the country in any way, neither Sind nor the Hindus nor the Muslims. Can a wrong step benefit anybody? Even if there were no war, I would be in favour of the Congress leaving the Assembly in Sind. But that is a side issue just now. I will discuss it with you if you wish. Here, I have explained how my mind is working, so that you may be able to understand Khan Bahadur correctly. He says he is convinced by my reasoning.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 254

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549. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 20, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I dare not give you more than this today. For the first time after his arrival I was able to give some time to R[ajendra] Babu. The patients here are getting on. The Ashram is still filling.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4079. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7388

550. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

September 20, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Your letter is good and so is your question. For the dearth of khadi I do not blame anyone. Everyone works according to his capacity. The problem of khadi is difficult. Even those who were not habitual khadi-wearers buy some. The highest consumption of khadi is in Bombay. Is not khadi our dharma? Dharma as such is difficult to follow. Having said so much, I who am its pioneer cannot be credited with perfect *tapascharya.* I am not sorry for it. I have done my best. But the non-stop plying of the wheel that you suggest is no small matter. There are such devotees, aren't there? Some day khadi is bound to become universal.

Now about Russia. We can do nothing. I do not find much difference between the three. It is true that much has been done in Russia for the people. The slaughter that is going on does not raise my hair. The civil war mentioned in the *Bhagawata* may be imaginary, but in real life it is true. When violence increases in the world internecine wars are bound to take place. Out of this will non-violence be born if there are some truly non-violent people. I believe we are such people. I cannot say how ahimsa will be born. This power is beyond description. It can be seen only in its impact. God alone

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regulates it. My peace and my firmness are based on this faith. See what Russia has done. Once it took help from Germany and now from England. Who can say what Russia will do if she loses? From the point of view of ahimsa today we can be no more but [mute] witnesses of this slaughter. Yes, but when an occasion arises we should be ready for sacrifice.

Kishorelalbhai will write something on non-violent exercise.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5651. Also C.W. 2962. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

551. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 21, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your glorious letter in Hindi—glorious because of your sustained Hindi.

Here are two letters.

J[amnalal] came in yesterday much reduced. He had fever when he descended from Nainital.

Yes, your report is not bad. But I am not going to be satisfied till you are fit enough to come down. Everybody is asking when you are returning and what is the matter with you. You are right in continuing the treatment which is doing so much good.

Of course you are not to go anywhere else.

I forget to tell you that I have given your pen to Mira. She was in need of a pen that would never fail. Her work is all delicate. Her room has become a temple of God. All the four Vedas decorate her table which is set against a wall on which is painted *Om* over two "कमल"s[1] also painted by her. To Allah Bux I said he should give up the Ministry if he had to live on Congress support. But that he should do if he could convince Maulana of the truth of the position. He said he had seen my viewpoint. Let us see.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4080. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7389

[1] Lotuses

552. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

September 21, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You are very greedy. You yourself write only a couple of lines and ask for an "immediate" reply. Is not this one immediate enough? I got your postcard only just now. I had your reply in which you had given a full description. I remember to have replied to it also. I hope you will come over soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7141. Also C.W. 4633. Courtesy: Vijaya M. Pancholi

553. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

September 21, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your chits. Do drop at least a postcard to Vedchhi from time to time. You must come back fully restored. Since you have normal appetite, you will be all right soon. We are plying here a spinning-wheel round the clock which will continue till October 2. Jamnalalji has arrived today. He seems to have gone a little thinner. Fulchandbhai's widow, Shardabehn, and Shivanand have arrived.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 4929

554. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 21, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. Do not leave the place till you are completely restored.

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It is perfectly all right that you interpreted my letter as referring to you. I however know from my own experience as well as from others' that one stands to gain a lot by accepting one's mistakes. This is pure practical wisdom. In account books we proceed after correcting a mistake, if any; the same applies to our moral accounts.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8048. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

555. LETTER TO SATYAWATI

SEVAGRAM,
September 21, 1941

CHI. SATYAWATI,

You say you want to come but the fact is you do not. What a difference there is between Russia and Poland. And under what circumstances should one write about Russia? Russia is not a small power. Not that I do not recognize the worth of what Russia has done. But I do not understand what is now going on. And how can I speak about what I do not understand? If we are successful in achieving our object we shall be able to help Russia and all others. Let us all work to see such a time.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

556. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 22, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. I have not missed a day so far as I know. Why the delivery is irregular is more than I can say. You should simply believe that I have written. Then when you get two letters the same day, your belief is confirmed.

J[amnalalji] is full of the tales of your hospitality and kindness. He delights in describing your 30 servants to five or six inmates, Tofa[1] counting as one.

[1] Addressee's dog

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M[ahadev] is due here on 27th with Durga and Bablo. He has to be in Alwar on 1st October.
Love.

BAPU

[PS.]
I have neither seen Ajanta nor Ellora. Tell Sir Akbar[1] he never invited me. And what is the use my going now?

From the original: C.W. 4081. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7390

557. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

September 22, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am glad you are free from fever. I hope you will remain so. I hope too that your wife and son will also be entirely free.

So far as Vidyashram is concerned, I am in correspondence with Annada. I know Dhirendra's worth. He won't do anything in opposition to the A. I. S. A. Of course he is free to come whenever he wishes.

As to Abha I am prepared to have her whenever she comes. If she comes, I shall prepare her for her marriage if she proves her worthiness. I won't draw a line between her and Kanu. If she comes, I can find an escort for her.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10323. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

558. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

September 22, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You are still not on the rails again. If you cannot judge definitely in fifteen days, I should like you to come here. If you are well enough to travel, I think it might even be desirable that you should come and spend a few days here. Do what suits you. Rajendra Babu is daily improving. He comes every day now.

[1] Sir Akbar Hydari, President, Executive Council, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937-41; later Member, Information and Broadcasting, Viceroy's Executive Council

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Mahadev's letter is enclosed. From there you may send [it] whenever you like.

Prema Kantak must have seen you. Her work is going on well.

What is the position about Allah Bux? I am convinced that the Congress must withdraw. Rajendra Babu suspects something.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 255

559. LETTER TO MOOLSHANKAR

September 22, 1941

BHAI MOOLSHANKAR,

I have very hurriedly gone through your English summary. It is good. It could have been shorter. I would not speak as in para 31. I may say that 'Hundreds and thousands of Gandhis will emerge'; but I should [not] be made to say 'I will create'.

Principles can have no exceptions. Two plus two can only be four. If I have made a mistake, it must be called a mistake. Can there be a different duty under stress? A mistake committed under stress may be pardonable. The moment Yudhishthira uttered a small falsehood, his chariot-wheel came down to earth.[1] When I say that those who are not able to practise ahimsa should prefer violence to cowardice, I am not providing any exception to the principle.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

560. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA

September 22, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I go through all your letters carefully. Who is your lawyer? Isn't there any lawyer who is prepared to work in a spirit of service? The appeal I suppose will be filed in Ratlam?

[1] Because Yudhishthira was a perfectly righteous person, his chariot was believed to move just above the ground.

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In which court will it lie? Do you hope you will get justice? We should have a key with which to overcome all this injustice.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

561. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 23, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. You may give your name. No more today. Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4083. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7392

562. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 23, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

What you write is certainly worth thinking over. I thought over it but finally came to the conclusion that Jamnalalji's ability could fully develop only in *goseva*[1] work. Though we have a Goseva Sangh, the work remains neglected. We have been able to get neither experts nor money. We have only been able to prepare the ground. The work can be done, however, only if an experienced man dedicates himself to it.

Harijan work has got going and is getting on the rails. What is being done is necessary. Ultimately it is the awakening among Harijans themselves that will solve the problem.

Work is being done among sanatanists also, though it is true that no publicity is being given to it. Being a dedicated Harijan worker, J[amnalalji] will be able to win over many sanatanists while engaged in *goseva*. Finally, when you read the accompanying letter[2], the position will be clearer to you. Return the letter. There is one special reason also. J[amnalalji] wants to cultivate greater purity. He craves for purity of mind. Service of the cow might satisfy his craving, for the cow is more

[1] Service of the cow

[2] This is not available.

mute than even the Harijans. If we do not look after her, she will not rebel, but die. Harijans, on the other hand, are being taught by us to rebel. If we don't teach them, others are eager to do so. In the Bharatiya Parishad[1], I think Abdul Haq Saheb had proposed a resolution to the effect that Hindi-Urdu should be adopted in place of Hindi-Hindustani. What was the resolution, if not this?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10952

563. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

September 23, 1941

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I had meant to write to you when I saw your English letter to Jajuji, but I could not manage it. I have now your Gujarati letter.

Why did you write in English? We can never pour out our hearts in English. A man like Jawaharlal may be able to do that for he has studied English since his childhood, and he learnt it in England. But let that be.

There is some error in your reasoning. If we wish to open small stores everywhere, we shall necessarily have to entrust each store to one man only. We cannot employ another man to help him. You do not seem to have any experience of village stores. Poor village store-keepers, how can they afford assistants? If the man leaves his store, he will shut the door and lock it up, and then go out. If he has a son, he might perhaps leave it in his charge. In South Africa thousands of stores are run by our people and by Jews, and they are, each of them, in charge of one person only. It would not be paying to have more than one person. And in most cases the person lives just behind the store itself. If he has to leave the store for any reason, he will shut the door and go out. The store has stocks hardly worth Rs. 500. How can the man, then, afford an assistant? *Moreover, we are dreaming of ushering in a new age, the age of ahimsa.* We should keep our stores open only for reasonable periods, not from six in the morning till twelve at night. In England the

[1] Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad

stores are closed at fixed hours by law. We should follow that practice voluntarily. The English in India do so. But irrespective of their practice, we should arrange our affairs on the basis of the law of ahimsa. We should, therefore, plan the whole thing from that point of view.

I believe that we should give thought to the question of location, too.

I agree with your view that the science of sales is different from that of production. And as the science of khadi production is different from the science of production of other goods, so also is the science of khadi sales different from the science of selling of other goods. We have always postponed thinking about this matter. The little thought we have occasionally given to the matter is not enough. Morning is when we wake up. I have now been making the khadi world think about this matter.

Our work is not being controlled by one man, but we have still not been fully organized as an institution either. The reason is that we have not trained the requisite number of workers. We started no school for them. Now we have started one[1]. Let us see how it fares.

The implication of your English letter was that the question should be considered by the Council. I think that the time for that has not yet come. First, Jajuji, you and I should think about it. Finally, of course, the Council will have to consider the matter. The objection you took in your English letter to Jajuji expressing his views seemed altogether improper to me. If a secretary does his duty conscientiously, he must guide the others. That you did not approve of his suggestions was a different matter. But so long as we accept a man as secretary, he is bound to guide us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9801

[1] Khadi Vidyalaya at Sevagram

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564. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 24, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I sent you a hurried note yesterday. I am giving myself time before the arrival of the post.

There is a complaint again that Narendra Dev is steadily going down. If you think it worth while, you may write again. I am writing to Sarup too to do what she can.

Since writing this news of his release was received.[1]

Herewith receipt for Rs. 100 which will go to the A[ndrews] Memorial.

It will be good if you are declared entirely free.

Submissiveness is both a virtue and a vice. Circumstances determine the quality each time. Are you satisfied?

I told J[amnalal he] was not looking well. He does not feel it either. The Nainital visit took it out of him.

You did write to me about your Conference taking a village. It might be possible to find someone. We shall discuss when you return.

The cottage is undergoing extensions.

Khadi Jagat is in the press. The Maharajah's order can be reported only next month which will be done.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Pyarelal is returning today or the day after. Prabha has returned. Vijaya will be coming in for a few days, so will Vasumati. Ramdas has been transferred to Nagpur. So Nimu and children will also come for a few days. And so the Ashram remains full. There are one or two new arrivals.

There is a clean bill of health.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4082. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7391

[1] Narendra Dev was released unconditionally on September 23.

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565. LETTER TO SARANGADHAR DAS

WARDHA, SEVAGRAM,
September 24, 1941

DEAR SARANGADHAR DAS,

Take your time before publishing my letter[1]. It is he who is to be backed by considered plan.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 10444. Courtesy: Government of Orissa

566. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

September 24, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

Do not lose heart. What does it matter if the fever has not left you completely? It is bound to leave you some day. The real cause has not been diagnosed, and hence this delay. You will certainly improve in the climate there. And also resolve in your mind that you will not allow yourself to become a burden on others.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9430

567. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 24, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What you write is worth thinking over. Put up the suggestion to me.

Lakshmibai has given me a description of Surgaon. Whatever we do, we shall do after careful thinking.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8484. Also C.W. 7157. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, pp. 297-8.

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568. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 24, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

Chi. Sarala is leaving today. I feel sad sending her back and she also does not feel happy to leave. She has become deeply attached to all—including the children. Sarala will sever her relationship with Chandravadan. She will do that only to please you and me, though she will do it honestly. She has not been convinced—is not likely to be easily convinced—that it is her moral duty to sever that relationship independently of other considerations. I wish to call Chandravadan, but only if you two are agreeable. Sarala and I talked about many other things, too. She has permitted me to report to you everything. I will do that when either or both of you come here. Encourage her to come here whenever she feels inclined to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7670. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

569. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 24, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

Chimanlal told me about your blood-pressure. It is a warning to you. You need rest. If you go and hide yourself somewhere, you will be on your feet once again. Don't ignore the warning.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am not writing anything for Mahadev, for he will have left the place.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9126

570. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 24, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

Personally I feel the same way as you do, but I cannot be positive. I may have to change my mind after hearing the other party. You also should keep an open mind. We will do what we think necessary at that time. You should not be scared of what Saksena writes. By all means press everybody to come on the 4th. But it will be better if you consult in advance all those whose presence you consider necessary. I suppose Jamnalalji and Rajendra Babu will be the two such persons. I see no need to invite Satyanarayana[1] specially to attend.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10953

571. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Bananas have to be brought for Doctor and the others. It would not be right to discontinue lemons. You will have to give rice or *khichri*[2]. The amount of milk may be reduced. Jaggery only in porridge. Doctor and the others will have to be given this. The rest should be clearly thought out before acting. Some bananas have to be procured.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Ask Gajanan about the palm *gur*.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4405

[1] M. Satyanarayana
[2] Rice and dal cooked together

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572. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
September 24, 1941

I understand that uncertified dealers are issuing *hundies* for the Charkha Week. This is wholly unauthorized and harmful to khadi. I request the public to beware of unauthorized dealers in khadi.

The Hindu, 25-9-1941

573. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

September 25, 1941

BIRLA
AMRITNIWAS
MUSSOORIE

FEEL INADVISABLE INVITE SIRCAR.[1]

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7864. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

574. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 25, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I wonder if I wrote to you about Mr. Hancock.[2] He may come in October as written by you. I hope he won't run up on 27th. I have cancelled that appointment and filled the day with others.

I am sorry to hear about Raja Saheb. You will be quite right in putting a check upon the loot. I know how difficult it all is. His death would certainly be a deliverance for him and to you all who are helpless witnesses to the tortures he is suffering.

Though the post leaves here daily at the appointed time evidently you receive two at a time.

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 351.
[2] *Vide* p. 318.

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I am keeping extraordinarily well.

I am thinking of going out for the Andrews Memorial about the middle of October. Nothing is fixed yet. But the idea is taking shape.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4084. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7393

575. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
September 25, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Nanibehn Jhaveri has passed away. This seems incredible, but it is one of those acts of God which nobody can comprehend.

I understand about Allah Bux. I have of course told him that we will accept Maulana's decision. But I have also told him at the same time that, if he is convinced of the necessity of leaving, he should convince Maulana also and, resigning his office, go into the wilderness with the Congress. There is no breach of promise or anything like that in this. But let us leave it alone. When you come, we shall have a brief discussion about the pros and cons of the suggestion. My view regarding Sind is not new. But the old view has grown stronger and I hold it to be applicable to all provinces. I am in no hurry. The suggestion can be acted upon only if most of us accept it. "Most" includes Maulana also.

Do give, within reasonable limits, the time required by homoeopathy to cure you. I have heard much about the water at Hajira, but do not know about Deolali. Hajira may possibly agree with you. Everything else failing, you can try nature cure. But we should first meet and have a brief discussion.

The little girl's illness is getting prolonged. It seems from Manibehn's letter that she may even survive.

Rajendra Babu is all right. Jamnalalji's problem cannot still be said to have been solved.

I hope Bhulabhai will get well.

I am not writing separately to Mani.

Blessings from
BAPU

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[PS.]

I see that I will have to undertake a tour to collect contributions for the Deenabandhu Memorial Fund. I intend to start it in the middle of October.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 255-6

576. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 25, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I clean forgot the matter concerning Sircar. Today I have sent a telegram[1]; it would have reached in time. I believe he as well as we shall stand to lose if we invite him. If his love is true it would endure. The public will not be able to understand his acceptance of office in Government. Therefore from every point of view it would be better if he did not receive public acclamation, but continued to lend prestige to their administration in the eyes of the public. It is true that we accept help from everyone but there is always a limit.

I hope your health is improving.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I will have to tour for the Deenabandhu Memorial [Fund]. I intend to set out in the middle of October. Should I start from Delhi—Pilani?

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8049. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

577. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI JAKATDAR

September 25, 1941

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

To Jakatdarji I write in English but to you I shall write in Hindi. I was pained to hear of Father's condition. I congratulate you on your bravery.

[1] *Vide* p. 349.

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You may make what use you think proper of the money you have collected. Whether any money can be spared from here we shall discuss when you come. I hope your work will prosper and you will be able to bring order to the work in the office.

Blessings from
BAPU

SAU. PRABHAVATIBAI JAKATDAR
CHAIRMAN, LOCAL BOARD
BHANDARA

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

578. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[*September 26, 1941*][1]

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters. You should accept the proffered nomination on the Education Board.

I hope the Raja affair is being smoothed.

M[ahadev] is definitely coming tomorrow only to leave for Alwar on 29th. There is a rush to the Ashram. I simply cannot stop it.

I never told you that Surendra was arrested and being tried in Wardha.

All well.

Hope you will be able to report yourself here by 15th October. Like you to be here in my absence.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

P[yarelal] came in yesterday.

From the original: C.W. 4085. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

[1] The source has "24-9-41" written in someone else's hand which is evidently a slip since the postmark carries the date "26-9-41" and this is substantiated by the reference to Mahadev Desai's expected arrival the next day; *vide* p. 340.

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579. LETTER TO GHULAM RASOOL QURESHI

September 26, 1941

CHI. QURESHI,

I have your letter. I am much delighted to know that spinning at your end is being conducted vigorously. How is Kanjibhai[1] getting on with his betel-leaf-chewing?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10771. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

580. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
September 26, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. You already know my mind from what I wrote to you yesterday. It is not so hot here as you think. The nights are indeed pleasant. Of course, there are mosquitoes at the Bungalow[2]. There will be no mosquitoes if you stay at Sevagram and sleep under the sky. And all other facilities are also available. It will be better, therefore, if you spend two or three days here. The idea about Deolali does not appeal to me. Hajira, of course, is well known.

Satyamurti writes and suggests that they should be permitted to attend the Assembly. I don't like the idea at all. Let me have your opinion.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 257

[1] Kanaiyalal Desai
[2] Jamnalal Bajaj's residence at Wardha

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581. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

September 26, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I had sent a copy of my statement[1] to the Chief Minister of Burma and conveyed my views to him. He has sent me a cordial reply, accompanied by copies of his two statements before the Indian Delegation. You have presumably seen these letters. I think we can get something done if we have people working there too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4737. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

582. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 26, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. I am in agreement with your scheme. If there are six such organizations, they are bound to do some good. I also feel that for the present we cannot dispense with the matriculation examination. At the same time my opinion is that our curriculum should be such that the boys who reach the high school stage should have gained adequate knowledge which would enable them to find occupations or jobs when they leave school. The main point is that I like the thing and it can be given practical shape.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

About your health. Take as much exercise as your body can stand without discomfort.

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8050. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] On the Indo-Burman Agreement; *vide* pp. 255-9.

583. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

SEVAGRAM,
September 27, 1941

Today I have no time. I am sending you one letter. I am returning Mrs. Cousins's[2] letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 4252. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7884

584. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 28, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your little note. I have answered all your three questions. You should join the Women's Tagore Memorial Committee and Education Board. For Hancock let it be 4 p.m. on 11th October. I did not give the exact date. I am glad you are definitely on the mend.

The apples have come. Have not tasted them. Let it be once a month.

You will be pleased with this performance.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4086. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7395

[1] This is in the form of a postscript to Prabhavati's letter to the addressee dated September 27, 1941.

[2] Margaret Cousins

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585. LETTER TO SIR ROBERT E. HOLLAND

September 28, 1941

DEAR ROBERT,

Many thanks for your departing note. Of course I shall look forward to your note and your letters from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR R. E. HOLLAND
1180 DRUMMOND
CANADA

From a photostat: G.N. 5667

586. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

September 28, 1941

DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

You seem to have written something to Shankerlal. Whatever the cause his health has taken a sudden turn for the worse. Therefore please cease all correspondence with him.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10156

587. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

September 28, 1941

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I learnt, by chance, only the day before yesterday about your having failed. You have not failed only in one subject. This indicates that you lack aptitude for law. This is true of many people. There have been great men who were deficient in certain capacities. Everybody cannot be a mathematician. One should follow the path indicated by one's gifts. I would, therefore, urge you to give up your ambition of passing the

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examination and to devote yourself exclusively to your business. Whatever little knowledge of law you have acquired will remain with you. I do wish, of course, that you should improve your English. But if you are disinclined to that labour, I will not insist on that either. I should also like you to be tested thoroughly by an able professor and you should then agree to learn whatever subject he finds you have an aptitude for. I wish, too, that you should come here as early as possible and take the children to Rangoon. Urmi is pining for Rangoon all the time. She has now got tired of Sevagram. Appa has not been happy here from the very beginning. In these circumstances, the children will not progress. From every point of view, therefore, I suggest that you come over here, have a discussion and then go to Rangoon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1019. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

588. LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

September 29, 1941

MY DEAR RATHI,

I had your letter of 14th instant.

I am glad Dr. Abanindra Babu has been elected[1]. Please give him my congratulations. I would only have accepted the responsibility if I could not have escaped it. At my time of life the natural desire is to lessen the burdens, not to add to them.

I can give myself no rest till the five lacs are collected. I shall avoid travelling so far as I can but I dare not, if the full amount is not forthcoming. It is a debt I owe both to Gurudev's and Deenabandhu's memory.

I shall be glad when you are free to come here.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2292

[1] President of the Visvabharati

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589. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 29, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. We can easily accept the Kapurthala terms. If a good local man can be obtained you can open a bhandar there. Why should [not][1] the State produce its own khadi? I suppose there is not enough atmosphere for it.

J[amnalalji] is getting on. His mind is still weak. He has shouldered a big burden in the shape of a Cow Service Sangh. A preliminary meeting is going on today. I have to attend tomorrow. Will you care to join? It is again specially woman's work. She spins, she milks, she bears, she keeps the house. Daughter दुहिता—milk-maid.

I have redirected two packets. Bul's letter I have destroyed. She has written another letter. I think the thing will end favourably.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3679. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6488

590. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HINDU MAHASABHA, SHIMOGA

September 29, 1941

THE SECRETARY
HINDU MAHASABHA
SHIMOGA, MYSORE STATE

DEAR SECRETARY,

Your signature is indecipherable.

I have known the national flag used in Ganapati processions. It is wrong to use the national flag on temples.

The Congress is a national organization in that it is open to all without distinction of race or creed. The Congress has as much or as little to do with Hindu festivals as with any other.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6839

[1] From *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*

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591. LETTER TO JIVARAJ

September 29, 1941

So far as I am personally concerned, the feeling grows upon me that the possession of land and property is a nuisance and a burden. Those who wish to travel should have as little luggage as possible and I want to get rid of my superfluous baggage.

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

592. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 29, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I daily read about you. The Chief Justice has given you good publicity. Sir Tej has deservedly praised you. Some of your replies are wonderfully effective. Shivnathbhai keeps me informed about you. You have cast a spell on him. Ba hears everything about you. Munnalal reads the reports to her with great interest. She is no more afraid of [your] imprisonment.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DEVDAS GANDHI
HINDUSTAN TIMES BUILDING
NEW DELHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2141

593. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

September 29, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

It is very good indeed that you are regaining confidence. I want you to be fully restored. Go on learning new things

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while there. I am sure you are lightening Grandmother's burden. Do not be in a hurry to resume work. Everything is going on quite well here. We remember you all the time.

Nanibehn Jhaveri died all of a sudden of heart failure. She was a dedicated worker.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9431

594. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

September 29, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

I have received your letter. Ask Father not even to think of writing to me. When his health is restored, he may come here instead of writing to me. Meanwhile it is enough that I go on writing to him.

You had mentioned about your resignation from the presidentship. I had omitted to reply. I too consider your resignation proper. Consult Father, and also Sardar, about your successor. Send me the name suggested by the two of them.

Have you received a complaint against one Sharma? I too have received its copy. Let me know all about it and do the needful.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

595. GUARD AGAINST CREDIT

In this business of khadi, as in any other, I know that we sell on credit to increase the sales but ultimately suffer losses. While I was practising law in South Africa I used to examine the accounts of hundreds of businessmen who were my clients. They used to provide 25 per cent for bad debts. As a result they would charge a very high rate of profit. Some of them would go bankrupt. My experience of conducting *Indian Opinion*, *Navajivan*, *Young India* and *Harijan* has shown me that we

escaped losses because we never sold on credit. Nor did this policy adversely affect the number of our subscribers. One direct benefit of this policy was that only those subscribed to these periodicals who cared for them. There can however be no comparison between khadi and other kinds of business. Khadi is an altruistic affair. It is conceived as service to the starving millions. Then why should we sell khadi on credit?

My personal conviction therefore is that under no circumstances and to no person should we sell khadi on credit. If we firmly followed this policy we shall spare ourselves much unnecessary expenditure and can even bring down the price of khadi. And simultaneously we shall be able to give our customers satisfaction.

It is a general rule of the Charkha Sangh that no bhandar under its jurisdiction shall release goods on credit. I am afraid everyone has not been able to observe this rule hundred per cent. I submit that mere enunciation of a rule whose importance we cannot appreciate is not much good. I hope, therefore, that all khadi workers will clearly understand the policy of not giving credit and then follow it unfailingly.

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

596. LETTER TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 30, 1941

CHI. SARUP,

I have your letter. I understand about the Vice-Chancellorship.

Whatever people may say about the Lucknow Jail, what happened was for the best. People will always complain. We must put up with it.

I haven't seen the papers concerning the Chunar Jail. Perhaps you forgot to send them. Be that as it may, my opinion about that Jail is the same as about other jails. Hunger-strikes are permissible only when self-respect is at stake. This can be minimized by keeping the movement pure. We must understand the limitations of hunger-strike. After a few other prisoners are released I shall certainly send for them.

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Mahadev may go to Dehra Dun on the 5th.
Now I have answered all your questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

597. A NOTE

September 30, 1941

I have given my yarn to Bibi Sultana. She will sell it and the money it fetches will go to the Deenabandhu Memorial.

M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile of the Urdu: *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 48 and 49

598. SPEECH AT GOSEVA SANGH MEETING

NALWADI,
September 30, 1941

You should adopt a simple and brief constitution without provision for so many categories of members. All the members should be of one category and there should be no patrons at all. Those who contribute will do so not for the sake of name. Some of them may contribute anonymously and may not even like to disclose their names.

You don't stand to gain by having various categories of membership. The members are not going to have any privileges. Our purpose is to render service, not to enjoy privileges. Even ten or twenty members capable of rendering concrete service would suffice. Every member must be bound by the condition to use only cow's milk, ghee, etc., and leather made from dead cattle. In this no laxity should be permitted. A small committee to carry on the work of the society may be formed.

I formed the opinion, even while in South Africa, that we would have to give up the lure of buffalo's milk and ghee. Cow-protection helps protection of the buffalo also. It cannot be that everybody would give up buffalo's milk but there is real danger of people giving up cow's milk. If, therefore, we do not protect the cow, both the buffalo and the cow are sure to be doomed.

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Our fault is—this is a fault found in all men, but more particularly among Indians—that we grab what is easily available and we let go what is difficult to obtain. People find khadi, village industries organization and the like inexpensive and convenient. They prefer buffalo milk because it is sweet and cheap.

Since the times of the Vedas we have been glorifying the cow—not the buffalo. Had the cow not been so glorified, it would have perished and along with it the buffalo. I have studied the comparative figures of the cows and buffaloes in India. Both are in plenty but neither of them is making any progress. So long as it pays him, the milkman keeps the cow or the buffalo after which he sells them to the butcher. The butcher utilizes the proceeds for purchasing more cattle. The cow-protectionwallahs purchase these cows or buffaloes in order to save them from the butcher's knife. A couple of cows are saved in this manner but it spells disaster for the cow in general. The correct remedy, therefore, lies in forgetting the cow already sold and in investing funds for improving the breed, raising its value and in teaching cattle-keepers their dharma.

Let no one fear that the buffalo will become extinct if all give up its milk and ghee. As I have already told you this will hardly happen and even if it did there would be no harm. The buffalo will return to the jungle. What we must protect is the cow and, because the milk of both is useful, the buffalo will also be saved along with the cow. But if instead of following the scientific method everybody, in the name of cow-protection, sets about acting according to his own fancy, both the cow and the buffalo are sure to be doomed. It was mainly owing to our ignorance that so many other things in our country similarly met their doom. We can realize our duty towards the animal world and discharge it by wisely pursuing our dharma of service to the cow. At the root of cow-protection is the realization of our dharma towards the sub-human species. But our service to the cow is service only in name and all of us are therefore tending to forget our dharma.

Statistically speaking, India has one-fourth of the world's cattle population. But the plight of our cattle is worse than that of the human population, bad as it is.

One who serves the cow must take cow's milk only and not goat's milk. I take goat's milk out of my helplessness. But the members of the Cow-protection Society must take only cow's milk and ghee and use only leather made from dead cows and buffaloes. Where even cows and buffaloes are being slaughtered,

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how can one get leather made from dead goats? Mankind has till this day taken it for granted that the goat is born only to be butchered. Today being Dussehra, in Calcutta thousands of goats must have been sacrificed to Goddess Kali.

Ghee should not present any problem for the rich. Just as they carry with them some lavender, Eau de Cologne and a tooth-brush, similarly they should also have cow's ghee or else they should not think of cow-protection. The problem of milk is not as simple as that of ghee. In Almora cow's milk is not available at any cost. The same condition prevails in Orissa. We can make milk by dissolving *mava*[1] in water. We use Horlicks powder because it is a good thing and easily digestible. But why should we not make a similar powder here? We should acquire the scientific knowledge and make it locally so that powder milk could be available even at the top of the Himalayas.

Jamnalal's health is not so good that he can be allowed to go to jail again. If he falls ill after going there I shall not be able to bear it. This struggle is going to be a prolonged one. When the time comes I shall myself ask him to leave everything and go to jail. But today it is my duty not to send him to jail. What should be his field of activity then? He placed before me a few suggestions such as Harijan [work], khadi, cow-protection, etc. Of them I liked cow-protection. He was associated with this work from its inception and whatever work has so far been done has not been wasted. It was by and large being conducted according to my own understanding and advice. Now it will be run under Jamnalalji's guidance.

Cow-protection is service to the dumb creation. Today Harijans are weak but tomorrow they can become strong and make progress on their own, for they possess all the human faculties. If tomorrow Harijans rise and take possession of temples, I shall dance [for joy]. But the cow has no such strength. She can be strong and healthy only if we feed her. She will always be a docile animal. You may hit or even kill her, but she cannot revolt against you. Who is then going to protect her? Jamnalal's spiritual craving will be satisfied by serving the cow. I have, therefore, entrusted this work entirely to him and he will run it with his business instinct as well as his altruistic disposition.

Cow-protection is a stupendous task. We will have to study this science in a dispassionate manner. We must bring together all those who have studied this subject from the modern scientific angle. We should have a band of efficient *gosevaks* who can go where demanded.

[1] Milk boiled to solid form

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If Swami Ananda wishes to come he may, though he can carry on the work in Thana itself. He should decide about the area of his activity and concentrate his energy there. In this way, let us take the map of India and divide it into ten or hundred divisions. The person in charge of each division will send in his report. There are a number of goshalas in India which should be inspected and run on proper lines. If an expert is required anywhere we should be in a position to send one.

It requires a man of purity to become a servant of the cow. A person of ability alone will not do. I see no need of touring at present for this work. It should be possible to do a lot of work while stationed at one place. To begin with, from now on we can supply cow's milk in Wardha itself to those who are prepared to use it.

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, December 1941

599. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 30, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This will go with late fee. Your long letter. I have not missed the two days you mention. But the post here is a curious thing. These are the drawbacks of village life. I revel in them.

You are quite right in not paying anything to the Sammelan as you have never appreciated their activity. My No has been sent already for reasons of my own.

I shall [see][1] what can be done about Suman[2]. Let him write to Jajuji.

If I go out I would like you to look after Sevagram. But that can be only if you are quite fit. But if you are not, you can certainly stay on there till after my return. I would [leave][3] it entirely to you. If I go, I hardly think I can finish the tour under twenty days or even a month. Much will depend upon my health and invitations.

I have not given away your pen for good.[4] I told Mira that it was yours and that you had specially put it in my rack for use by me only. But for the moment I had no other. So on your return we shall fix up something for her and get back what I have

[1] From *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*
[2] Ramnath 'Suman', a Hindi poet
[3] From *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*
[4] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 337.

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given her. Just now I am using Lilavati's and the one Mira has returned.

I had a meeting of new Goseva Sangh at Nalwadi.[1] It was good and business-like because of Jamnalalji. It was begun punctually and finished in time.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4087. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7357

600. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 1, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I sent you a long letter posted this morning with late fee. It was written last night.

Your brief note today. So you got three letters at a time. They answer all your questions. I have sent an appointment for 11th for Hancock. He has now sent a long wire for a wire to be sent to his paper. How can I cope with such work? I am trying.

Herewith a letter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4088. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7397

601. A LETTER[2]

[*October 1, 1941*][3]

DEAR SISTER,

Your son telegraphs to me about your illness. I am glad you are not insisting on his release. May God give you peace and restore you. His will be done, not ours.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10332. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] This and the following item were displayed at the Mysore Pavilion, Gandhi Darshan, New Delhi, 1969-70.

[3] *Vide* the following item.

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602. LETTER TO DODDAMATHI

October 1, 1941

DEAR DODDAMATHI,

I had your wire. I am glad about your decision. I have written to your mother. May God bless her.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10331. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

603. LETTER TO TAYYEBULLA

October 1, 1941

DEAR TAYYEBULLA,

I was glad to have your and Sarma's letters. Someone will be going [to] Assam. My regards to you both and the others who may be with you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 62

604. MESSAGE TO STATES' PEOPLE

October 1, 1941

I hold strong and decided views on the relationship between the Princes and the people. I am convinced that, in the new world order, which is bound to follow the insensate butchery, dignified by the name of war, the Princes will have place only if they become true servants of the people, deriving their power not from the sword but from the love and consent of the people.

Such being my fixed view, I advise the people of the States to cultivate patience and prepare themselves for the responsibilities that will devolve on them, willy-nilly, by assiduously doing mute constructive work.

This does not mean submission to active and acute tyranny, of which I have so many accounts coming to me. This the victims must resist in the best manner they can. The only

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best manner I know is the way of non-violence, otherwise called conscious and deliberate self-suffering. But cases of individual torture and degradation have come under my notice. If they are true and if the tortured persons do not know the way of non-violence, they will resist the tortures with all the violence they can summon from within and die in the attempt to resist the torture and the degradation. That violent resistance will almost count as non-violence, even as the resistance of a mouse to a ferocious cat will count. I have in mind an unarmed man under torture by an armed company of torturers. No man, however weak in body, if he has the will to resist and the capacity to die bravely, need feel helpless against odds, however heavy.

I would like the Princes to accept my claims to be their true friend. As such, I would like to tell them that the way to read the signs of the times is to realize the utter helplessness of the sword. The Biblical saying is going to prove true sooner than we had expected: "For all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

The Hindu, 3-10-1941

605. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[1]

October 2, 1941[2]

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
HOMI VILLA
PANCHGANI

JAMNALALJI LEAVING TOMORROW. SEE YOU SUNDAY. GOD'S WILL OUR LAW. WIRE CONDITION.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 248

606. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

October 2, 1941

According to me you have escaped death. I was afraid that you might not survive. Don't you think, therefore, that you have really escaped. Don't worry about anything. Let Bombay sink into

[1] The addressee was critically ill; *vide* the following item.
[2] From *Bapuni Prasadi*

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the Back Bay if it will.[1] If Janaka[2] did not feel the least concerned while Janakapuri was burning, why should we prove ourselves weaker than Janaka? Shouldn't we do better than he? How we can do that, only God knows. But Janaka himself has shown us how we can be like him.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 181

607. LETTER TO TARAMATI M. TRIKUMJI[3]

SEVAGRAM,
October 2, 1941

Great is your burden. Jamnalalji is going there. He will stay there for one or two days. Tell Mathuradas that I think of him the whole day. Ask him to have patience and mediate on God. He should not lose courage. And you, especially, should not at all get frightened. Life and death are in God's hands. But as long as one is alive one must serve and should repeat God's name.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 181

608. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 2, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You must now be preparing to come here. Mathuradas is seriously ill. You had better send someone to him. I have already written to Radha. I am thinking of sending Jamnalalji. I hope you are getting along all right.

A *goseva* sangh has been recently formed. It is a new field of service for Jamnalalji.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] The addressee was Mayor of Bombay.
[2] Sita's father, a king known for his perfect non-attachment
[3] Wife of Mathuradas Trikumji

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[PS.]

Jamnalal will start tomorrow. From there he will go to Mathuradas.

I have your letter. Mahadev will have to be forced to travel second class. What is the progress concerning Andrews [Memorial Fund] ?

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 257

609. LETTER TO MADALASA

October 2, 1941

CHI. MADALASA,

I trust you are in good health. If you have any problem, let me know. It has now become impossible for Dr. Das to go there and be of service. I hope, however, that nothing much remains to be done. Take proper care of your diet. Do not eat dal, spices and things cooked in ghee. You may satisfy your palate later. Just now observe self-control for the sake of the baby.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 321

610. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

October 2, 1941

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I am afraid you will not get the letter sent with Marybehn. It is with the censor. Perhaps you may get it belatedly.

At present everything has become irregular. Things will be more irregular still. The surprising thing is that even this much order has been kept. Our little troubles don't count at all when thousands are being massacred every day.

Both of us keep good health.

Ramdas has become our neighbour now. At present he appears to be calm. His health also has improved a little.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4922

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611. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

October 2, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Your letter. Ahimsa was born along with man. Hitler too does not kill his own people. This is ahimsa though in a very limited measure. As ahimsa is the very nature of the *atman*, either man comes to it out of weariness or accepts it willingly, as we are trying to do. Know that our endeavour in comparison with the achievement of a *siddha*[1] is like a drop in the ocean. But the drop also has the essence of the ocean, so it is no small thing. The rest when you come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5652. Also C.W. 2963. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

612. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA[2]

October 2, 1941

CHI. BRIJKRISHNAJI,

I am wearing the dhoti sent by you. Remain cheerful.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2484

[1] One who has attained perfection
[2] This is a postscript to Prabhavati's letter to the addressee.

613. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

October 2, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your letter. I think it would be good if Feroze[1] went along with you. If he himself wants to stay on I have no objection. We shall be able to talk more when you come over tomorrow.

I hope Madalasa is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3024

614. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

October 2, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. Jamnalal leaves everything to you. He thinks that I should be taken to other places too. I do not want to go to Ahmedabad. I may go if I am invited. I should be taken only to places from where we hope to collect funds. Jamnalal thinks that this is the season when rich people stay in their homes. I do not insist that I should begin [my tour] in the middle of this month either from Delhi or Pilani. Do what is right. You will meet Mahadev and decide in consultation with him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8051. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

615. SPEECH AT GANDHI JAYANTI MEETING

October 2, 1941

However mean or insignificant the work may be, God values it more, provided it is done for service and without any hope of return.

[1] Feroze Gandhi who was expected to come the next day

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Thus sweepers' work is more valuable if it is done selflessly and with the motive of serving.

Gandhiji appealed to the audience to help in cow-protection work, in preserving the cow which was now perishing due to neglect. The evil, if not checked, would, he said, result in serious deterioration of the agricultural wealth of the country.

In conclusion, he appealed to them to develop charkha and spinning.

I do not value my Jayanti Day, but I call it 'Charkha Jayanti'.

Gandhiji told the villagers that he would come every night amongst them for prayer, provided they liked it, as this would establish increased contact with them, but they must be punctual and regular.[1]

The Hindu, 3-10-1941

616. TELEGRAM TO RAGHUNANDAN SARAN[2]

[On or after *October 2, 1941*][3]

MAY HOSPITAL SERVE POOR.

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

617. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. I repeat that you should accept the nomination[4].

I have already told you, my touring is uncertain. I agree that if you are not completely restored or otherwise, too, if you feel the benefits of Simla climate, you should stay away during my absence. Indeed if you feel the benefit, you should prolong your stay till you are completely restored.

P.'s trial was finished this morning. Judgment will be pronounced this afternoon. Madalasa gave birth to a son. All are happy.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4089. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7398

[1] Gandhiji distributed prizes for the best cows exhibited by the villagers.

[2] & [3] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated October 2, 1941, seeking Gandhiji's blessings on the occasion of the opening of a charitable Ayurvedic hospital by the Lok Sevak Sangh.

[4] To the Education Board; *vide* letter to the addressee, p. 352.

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618. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

October 3, 1941[1]

CHI. AMBUJAM,[2]

I am using your cheque for Deenabandhu Memorial. I am glad to have good news about Kichi and his wife. I never expected anything but great courage from Mother. The weather in Sevagram has been good. I am inquiring about the box you left with me. I sent it to Bombay there and then, and forgot all about it. I am glad you reminded me.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI AMBUJAM AMMAL
96 MOWBRAY'S ROAD
ALWARPET[3]
MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 9617. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

619. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

October 3, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

You will be at the bend tomorrow Saturday at 5 p.m. when a tonga will be waiting for you to take you to Madalasa.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Better come here at 5 p.m. and you will go with Rajen Babu.

From the original: C.W. 6489. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9884

[1] & [2] These are in Devanagari script.
[3] In Tamil script

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620. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

[*October 3, 1941*][1]

You have to learn the art of not feeling pained at anything. That means absence of feeling of pleasure. The more you cultivate that equimindedness, the better instrument you will be of service.

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

621. LETTER TO MADALASA

October 3, 1941

CHI. MADALASA,

I received your letter after I had written to you yesterday. Now there is no need to reply to your letter. You have gone through a great ordeal.[2] The doctor is going to visit you. Won't you forgive me? You have to come over here to let me have your *darshan.* Be cheerful. Take great care of your diet. The doctor who goes there will tell me everything.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 321

622. TELEGRAM TO PROPRIETOR, HITIASHI AUSHADHALAYA

[On or after *October 3, 1941*][3]

THANKS. BLESSINGS.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] As noted by the addressee
[2] The addressee had a safe first delivery after some initial fears.
[3] The addressee's telegram under reply was dated October 3, 1941.

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623. LETTER TO D. D. SATHYE

October 4, 1941

DEAR DR. SATHYE,

Many thanks for your letter.

I have in mind your suggestions. I am considering what is possible. I can only take what people give.

Chhotubhai's suggestion cannot be worked. We need no groups as suggested. Everyone has to satisfy the lowest test. Nor is Diwakar's practicable. Some districts will give more some less. This is a voluntary effort. I should be wholly satisfied, if only true men and women went, no matter how few they are.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: D. D. Sathye Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

624. LETTER TO R. ACHYUTHAN

October 4, 1941

DEAR ACHYUTHAN,

I was glad to receive your frank letter. Much misunderstanding arises from ignorance pure and simple. Give my regard to all.

Yours,
BAPU
(M. K. GANDHI)

SHRI R. ACHYUTHAN
STUDENT DETENU, CENTRAL JAIL
RAJAHMUNDRY
ANDHRA

From a photostat: G.N. 10851

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625. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
October 4, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours.

Again the pain. I suppose it will come and go till at last it is itself exhausted in the effort, if we do not feed it. That is nature's way. And you are following it, I am sure. No fried chips or anything of the sort.

You did not tell me about this exposition of the Bible. But having met ma[n]y Seventh-day Adventists, I can understand his zeal.

We shall discuss the propriety of your joining the Goseva Sangh.

Of course you can resign from the Ed[ucation] Board if it became necessary.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4090. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7399

626. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 4, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

We shall meet soon now. However, I wish to write about one thing. Manibehn writes and tells me that . . .[1] will appear for mill-owners in a case against workers. I cannot believe this. But how can Mani make such a mistake? At first, therefore, I thought of writing to . . .[2] On second thoughts, however, I feel that there was no need for me to write while you were there. You yourself can solve the problem. If Mani is right, send for . . .[3] and tell him that, if at all, he should appear on behalf of the workers. He cannot appear on behalf of the mill-owners under any circumstances. The other point is that, so far as I

[1] to [3] The names are omitted in the source.

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understand, . . .[1] was not to resume practice. He has dedicated himself to national service. He may accept a brief in special circumstances. But if he starts practice like any other lawyer, his conduct would deserve the severest condemnation. I am quite clear in my mind that he was not to resume practice. He has left the Congress in order to clarify his position from a moral point of view. But in all other respects he is a Congressman. I had thought that by leaving the Congress he had, like me, become more of a Congressman. He seemed frank and straightforward to me, is capable of responding to an appeal to the heart and of self-sacrifice, and is a man ready to correct his error. If you share this impression, send for him and explain this to him. We should treat him as a Congressman for all practical purposes.

I suppose you know that Maulana wants . . .[2] to leave the Assembly. I see no such need. Rajendra Babu does not see any, nor does the Professor[3]. I think you also do not see any. Am I right? Or do I stand corrected?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Do you know Madalasa has given birth to a son? She is fine.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 258-9

627. NOTE TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 4, 1941

I like this short and succinct draft[4]. But secure the approval of all.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] & [2] The names are omitted in the source.
[3] J. B. Kripalani
[4] Of the constitution of the Kathiawar Khadi Board

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628. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 4, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I had the previous one, too. The constitution drafted by you seems all right. It is enclosed. I have signed my approval on the draft itself.[1]

The programme there succeeded very well indeed. Dhiru proved to be of great help. By the 2nd, you will perhaps have reached the figure of one lakh. The Lord's will prevails. Kanaiyo left yesterday for Calcutta to complete his training in photography. Abha might come with him. Everything is left to her father.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8593. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

629. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 5, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. Whatever happens, you belong to Sevagram. And you will serve whether you are bodily in Sevagram or elsewhere. Therefore no worry please. You must shed the nervousness too about being ill in Sevagram. I have decided not to worry or to worry as little as I do, say, about Ba or, say, Ramsarandas[2].

All well here.

The weather began to be chilly from yesterday.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4091. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7400

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXV, letter to the addressee, p. 1.

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630. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

October 5, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA,

I have your letter of 28th ultimo. I had your previous letter too. I thank you for both.

The copy of Polak's letter is important. He has developed of late a strange attitude on Indian affairs. It is not less unfortunate because it is sincerely held. What he considers unreal is altogether real for us. Pakistan may be unreal. I hold it to be dangerous. But it is too real to be dismissed with contempt. C[ivil] D[isobedience] may be unreal. But I should resent anybody calling it unreal. Sir Tej Bahadur's wrath is not unreal. It is symptomatic of the Indian temper. I know nobody who considers this war to be India's war. The utter disregard of the sentiment of politically-minded India is a dangerous reality.

I can heartily share Polak's hope that you may be used by God for bringing peace between the two communities. Polak has forgotten what he knew before as well as I do, that the Princes are not free agents. They have no will but the British will, they have no status but what the British may give them from moment to moment. To say that we must produce an agreement to which the Princes are party is as much as to say that the British should be party.

You may send this to Polak, if you think it will serve any useful purpose. I have simply given you my reaction to Polak's, if only in appreciation of your considerateness in sending me the copy.

I hope you have no difficulty in deciphering my writing. With regards to you and the family.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2186

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631. LETTER TO L. KRISHNASWAMI BHARATI

October 5, 1941

DEAR KRISHNASWAMI,

I was glad to have your full letter.[1]

In the circumstances mentioned by you, the wisest course is to withdraw your name from the list of satyagrahis. It would mean not the slightest reflection on you. In this long struggle every true man or woman will have an ample chance. And I shall be more than satisfied if you work the constructive programme with a scientist's zeal. Without the backing of that programme, C.D. means nothing in terms of the nation.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI L. KRISHNASWAMI BHARATI, M.L.A.
ADVOCATE
MADURA, SOUTH INDIA

From the original: C.W. 9268. Courtesy: L. Krishnaswami Bharati

632. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1941

MY DEAR ANNADA,

There is no point in your seeking satisfaction, for he has covered the loan.[2] My satisfaction was relevant because if he had been wrong, he would have been guilty of prevarication and I could not be quite the same to him as before. If you do not see this point, pursue it further. I do not want to shut you off without giving you satisfaction.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] In his letter dated September 27, 1941, the addressee who had been just released had expressed inability to reoffer himself for arrest in the near future in view of his family circumstances.

[2] The addressee, in his letter dated September 28, had requested Gandhiji to go into the accounts of Khadi Pratishthan with particular reference to the use of A.I.S.A. money by Satis Chandra Das Gupta.

633. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

October 5, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

I have your clean letter. May your self-confidence bear fruit and may you pass the examination.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1020. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

634. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have both your letters. All right, go to Nasik for a while and then come over here. All I want is that you should get well. Fortune may smile on a man any time if he but remains alive. It will be a great thing if Mathuradas survives. Madalasa and her baby are fine. I have not gone to inquire after them. You must have received my letter of yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 259

635. LETTER TO POPATLAL CHUDGAR

October 5, 1941

BHAI POPATLAL,

I chanced upon your letter as I was going through all the files. There is no sign on it indicating my having acknowledged it. I have a faint impression that I had asked Bhai Kishorelal to send you an acknowledgement. If he has not done

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so, please do not think, therefore, that your letter was ignored. I have read it. The suggestions made in it do not seem to me practical at present.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI POPATLAL CHUDGAR
BARRISTER
RAJKOT, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10118

636. LETTER TO KHWAJA KHURSHED ALAM

October 5, 1941

BHAI KHWAJA SAHEB,

I have your letter. Salesmen in khadi stores work on very meagre wages. There are very few Muslims of this class willing to work for so little. It is something that cannot be helped. Muslims are also there where they are available. I do not like your threat. You could have asked this question through the Press. The question is pertinent. The answer is clear.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

637. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 6, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note has reached me in time. Why you should get three letters at a time I do not understand. But let us not forget that this is but a small village.

You have to work out your karma and that cheerfully. It is likely that winter will set in early this year. So many additions are being made to the cottage that you will hardly recognize it when you return.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

M[ahadev] does not reach here before 19th. He is at present in Mussoorie.

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[PPS.]

I am glad Raja Saheb is better.

B.

From the original: C.W. 4092. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7401

638. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

October 6, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

Kanubhai is in Calcutta. You can send Abha with him if you like and if she likes. I have already written to you about the matter.[1] Hope you are all well.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10324. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

639. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 6, 1941

CHI. KAMALA,

You have done well in giving me your long letter which I am sending to Mary. I had no doubt about your passing with distinction.[2] May you finish your course equally well. Of course you will write when you like.[3]

BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 197

[1] *Vide* letter to the addressee, p. 340.

[2] The addressee had topped the list of successful candidates for the first examination in midwifery.

[3] According to F. Mary Barr the addressee had asked if it would not be better if she wrote her diary only when there was something worth while to write about.

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640. LETTER TO CHANDAN S. KALELKAR

October 6, 1941

CHI. CHANDAN,

I have your letter. May your union bring good to the country as well as to you both.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6266

641. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

October 6, 1941

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

It is sad that you had an attack of giddiness. I think it was due to the weight on your mind. So it is good that you wrote everything. But there is no reason to be sorry about it.

The complaint about partiality is correct. None else is at fault except Ba and myself. Ba has not been able to give up [the feeling of] 'mine' and 'thine', and I cannot leave Ba. Hence the progress of the Ashram has stopped. But there are many good qualities in Ba, which I cannot forget. It is difficult to free oneself from 'mine' and 'thine'. But the change that has taken place in Ba's life is no small thing. From where did Ba attain such purity? Her simplicity, patience, etc., are qualities of a high order. Hence Ba's partiality deserves to be tolerated. There is no venom in her partiality.

You have been unfair to Krishnachandra and Shakaribehn. Krishnachandra does nothing for his own sake. He gave up his home, his studies, and he labours in the Ashram. If he tried to save five annas, it was not for himself. He will not be partial to anyone. It is a different matter if he is frightened and is exploited by someone. So it is with Shakaribehn. If I relieve her from work, she would stay away, and also like it. She is like that. You should understand that all of us in the Ashram are imperfect; even then we try to be good. Your duty is to look

[1] The addressee was married to Satish *alias* Shankar Kalelkar.

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at your own faults and be tolerant of others'. This rule is for us all. You have seen the figure of three monkeys on my desk, haven't you? One monkey has closed his ears, another his eyes and the third one his mouth. The suggestion is, hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil. I hope you would be satisfied with this. Read this letter again and again. Get well soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9112. Also C.W. 9180. Courtesy: Chakrayya

642. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

October 7, 1941

MY DEAR C. R.,

Prakasam's wire tells me you, he and Gopal Reddy are freed.[1] I wrote to your brother[2] only yesterday. Before this reaches you, you will have gone to him. For him it can truly be said misfortunes have [not] come single. I hope he has your philosophy to say that fortune and misfortune are one and the same thing.

BAPU

SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BAZULULLAH RD.
THYAGARAJANAGAR, MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 10900. Courtesy: C. R. Narasimhan. Also G.N. 2081

643. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

October 7, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your letter. Do not get impatient. Even from your sick-bed you can do plenty of service, in fact you are doing some.

Now you have a friend like Anasuya with you. Write to Vedchhi and other places only cheering letters. Be resolved that you will leave the place fully restored.

Vijayabehn, Vasumatibehn, Pannalalbhai, have all arrived today. More are expected. This is how things are going on here.

[1] The addressee was released on October 6, 1941.
[2] Whose two sons had just then died

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You wrote *amrita*[1] in the letter to K.C. In Urdu guava is called *amrud*. There were other mistakes, too, but I do not remember them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9432

644. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Today I have to attend A.I.S.A. meeting[2] and therefore this is before the post.

I do hope you are better. Stokes[3] has sent a boxful of good apples. They are quite good, though some were damaged in transit. Vijaya, Vasumati and Pannalal came in today. Others coming and many are applying. The Ashram is growing smaller and smaller. Can you grow smaller? Anyway the Ashram is.

Sardar does not come before 19th.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya coming on Thursday.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4093. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7402

645. SPEECH AT A.I.S.A. MEETING

WARDHA,
October 7, 1941

Today I must speak on one or two fundamental questions. You must all have read Pandit Jawaharlal's letter in *Khadi Jagat*. Jawaharlal's language generally tends to be strong. But I feel that this is a good letter. We must pay attention to its purport. He is discontented. He asks why we have not been able to do more work. He feels we have not given enough consideration to the matter. I would not entirely agree. We have been giving consideration to the matter from time to time and even

[1] Literally, 'nectar'
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] Samuel Stokes

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today we are seized of it. But I must admit our *sadhana*, our *tapasya*, has not been adequate. This is the point made by Jawaharlal. His very name evokes thoughts of awakening and inspiration. Jawaharlal has always recognized the importance of khadi but after he went to jail he has come to feel more acutely on the subject. We must give due thought to his letter.

The news coming in from all sides shows that the demand for khadi has sharply increased. It has risen so much that we are not in a position to meet it. The demand for charkhas too is so great that we can never cope with it! What can we do? In many places, the money value of the work, which was a few hundred rupees, is now a few thousand rupees. You may have heard that in Ranchi, Bihar, while the sale of khadi at the last Jayanti was of the order of Rs. 600, it has now risen to Rs. 10,000. What I say is that we must go on producing as much khadi as we can. We should not let ourselves be deterred by the fear that it might not be sold. We must never allow ourselves to think for a moment that khadi cannot be sold. Yes, we may not have enough capital to substantially increase the production of khadi. In that case we should try to find the capital.

We must carefully consider what should be our technique of work. Someone has written saying that a lot of yarn has piled up with him and asked how he is to get it woven. We must have the resources to have such yarn woven or exchanged for khadi. We must be able to accept all the yarn that comes and supply in exchange such khadi in such quantities as we can.

We must also so improve the quality of our yarn that even the least efficient weavers may be able to weave it. It is said that we cannot spin any yarn of the strength of mill yarn. This is to some extent true. But this does not satisfy me. Maybe we cannot compete with mills in the quality of the yarn. Even so the difference should not be too great and it should gradually diminish. Today our yarn leaves much room for improvement. We have not made the progress that is desired in this field. There is much work that we have to do. We must discover and show to the people ways of producing good and strong yarn. A lot of research into the subject is needed. We have not paid sufficient attention to the matter. We have been slack.

We must decentralize our work. *Yarn should be woven where it is spun.* We have been able to do so much since middle-class people took to spinning. Now if they will also take up weaving we can rally the weavers round us and take them forward. We should make efforts in this direction also.

The demand for charkhas is on the increase everywhere. This too shows that more and more people are taking to spinning. For myself I have decided that we cannot send charkhas to every place from outside. They should be manufactured locally. I am beginning to think that *dhanush takli* alone can solve the problem. It can be made everywhere. The Yeravda charkha has its place and it will remain. But it cannot be made everywhere. It would be well if we could provide *taklis* to the millions. But the plying of the *takli* calls for devoting special time, labour and attention. It is also possible we may not be able to produce yarn in sufficient quantities on the *takli*. It is not that with the *dhanush takli* as much yarn can be produced as with any other charkha. It is easy to ply and easy to make. It can be made even without the aid of a carpenter. The making of the spindle for it may present some difficulty but not much. For even if a spindle is a little crooked, it can serve in a *dhanush takli*. We can make millions of *dhanush taklis* in a day. I admit I will have a little difficulty in the beginning in making people interested in it even as I had in making them interested in khadi but it will soon be overcome. We have to put a spur to the work of attaining self-reliance in khadi. This can be done only through the *dhanush takli*.

I cannot agree with the suggestion that charkhas should be manufactured in a few factories and then sent out to every place from there. If we thus centralize the charkha it will be finished. Everything connected with the charkha should be made where the spinning is done. That is why I have suggested that every home should have a *dhanush takli* in it. Till we have fully gone into the thing we should not indulge in a mere intellectual discussion of the problem. Only he has a right to participate in any discussion on the matter who has plied a *dhanush takli* for nine hours every day for a month. He will have a right to express a view. I therefore suggest that you should give thought to the *dhanush takli*. But not merely because I am advocating it. If your experience refutes my point you should not go merely by what I say. I had spoken of giving spinners a daily wage of eight annas but so far we have not been able to go beyond three annas. Supposing we were to have the same experience here? This is a matter for research and experiment.

In the same way we have to think about the yarn. We should think of developing the capacity to weave whatever yarn may come to us. We must in any case accept the self-sufficient yarn. The people who bring the yarn should accept the price we can give for it. Whether it is in the form of money or khadi

we must not refuse to pay. If we cannot arrange for yarn thus received to be woven, then we may say in Jawaharlal's words that our creative faculties have become atrophied—we have lost our ability to think. This would be a defeatist attitude. We do not want to accept defeat.

If we cannot take the weavers in our fold nothing will get done. But we cannot go by mere faith. Today they are using mill yarn. We have to change this situation. We have to give them handspun yarn. My feeling is that the War is not going to end soon. No import of cloth will be possible. Prices of textiles will also rise. Only Indian mills will be manufacturing cloth for use in India. A time may come when they will not be able to supply all our requirement. Cloth in India will then become scarce. In China too such a situation had arisen. But the Chinese are a hard-working people. They started the charkha in every home and in their own way quickly solved the problem. Our method will be a little different but the effort required will be as much or more. A day may come when people will ask us for cloth. It would be a disgrace to tell them that we could not supply it.

We shall also have to think about cotton. It is my firm conviction that if we produce cotton in the manner it should be from the point of view of khadi we shall soon be free of the need for imports. If we produce cotton to feed the mills this will not be possible. I feel that the principle of producing cotton for mills is opposed to the principle of producing it for khadi. The convenience of the mills requires that cotton should be intensively grown in a few areas. Their aim will be to see that if cotton-growing is too scattered it should be brought together and concentrated in one place. But khadi requires that cotton should be grown in every village. No village should have to depend on another village for its cotton requirement. Khadi cannot afford transport of cotton from one village to another. We must immediately pay attention to the question how we can make cotton row in every village.

Another matter has been placed before me for my consideration. Many of our khadi bhandars are very small. The question is whether in the interest of economy it will not be better that each such bhandar should be looked after by no more than one person. What we will have to consider in this connection is whether these bhandars are to remain open for a fixed time or as long as possible.

If we want to make our lives khadi-based we shall have to devise certain rules as regards khadi bhandars. The rules will

be different for towns and villages. For the towns I think we should follow the practice of English shopkeepers. They open shops according to their convenience. They keep them closed on Sundays. They don't care about the customers. Gradually the customers become used to it. We also want to establish new habits. We should also make certain rules and fix a time for the opening of shops. The same consideration should apply to shops in rural areas. In South Africa there is one shop for an area of thousands of *bighas*. People come in mule-carts to make their purchases. Sometimes the shopkeeper is not there, since there is only one person to look after the shop. But people are used to it. Similarly, it is not necessary for us to keep our bhandars open all the time. But the matter needs to be considered.

Thus we shall have to give systematic thought to all these matters. We want to make of khadi an integrated way of life. We have to deal with artisans, spinners and weavers. In the sphere of production our aim is to pay equal wages to all. So far we have extorted forced labour from the spinners. This doctrine of paying the lowest wage and taking maximum work for it has been taken from the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. We must change this doctrine for a new one. We shall give the same wage to spinners as we give to weavers. Those who produce cotton should also prosper. And yet we want that the burden on the buyer should be light. Thus we wish to create a socialist society. The socialism that India can digest will be of this kind. It will be the socialism of the poor, but of the well-to-do poor. The ideal of khadi is thus the promotion of a wholly socialistic way of life.

In brief, we have to give thought to all the processes of khadi—from the growing of cotton to the selling of cloth. When we have thus succeeded in bringing about a self-sufficient socialist polity we shall no more be at the mercy of foreign markets. Our society will be like a self-sufficient agriculturist. To an agriculturist his land is his capital. He eats what the land yields. If some year there is a failure of crops he starves. He does not beg and he does not plunder.

That is all I had to say. We must pay special attention to weaving. I have always said that just as we insisted that we should be good carders we should also insist that we should become good weavers.

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, October 1941

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646. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 8, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I understand your letter. It is very necessary to see . . .[1]. I am certainly going to pursue the matter. I do not wish to involve you in the problem of Bhulabhai. I will do what I can about him.

Raja is not in a position to come at present. Two well-educated sons of his brother died only recently. There are two or three sick-beds in his own family. He will, therefore, go first to Bangalore. He will spend a few days there. He must have informed you, too. I also do not wish that you should have to come here twice. You may, therefore, come over when Raja and others are coming. Satyamurti of course is coming on the 10th. Kamaladevi is arriving tomorrow. Prakasam[2] is certain to come. Asaf Ali is coming after meeting Jawaharlal and Maulana, and so we shall be having a good crowd. I shall be able to manage.

Your duty is to get well.

The Ashram is being practically raided these days. We continue to receive pressing requests from people. I refuse most of them. Where is the space? New buildings are continually coming up, but even then the Ashram is always crowded.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 260

647. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
October 9, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Again I follow the new rule of writing during the silence hour.

[1] The name is omitted in the source.
[2] T. Prakasam

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So your cough is persistent. Poor Shummy. I am almost sure that the cough is due to some error in diet. Some grease, more starch, sour fruit, sloppy food, too much protein, both animal and vegetable, dal, spices ever so little, general indigestion. These are the causes according to my belief. Menkel's manipulations are local. They can never bring permanent cure unless your digestive apparatus is in order.

There is no moving out for me during this month. Almost all dates are booked. If Rajaji comes about 20th, it means four or five days' conversations.

Additions to the cottage are substantial and expensive.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Kamaladevi has arrived. Satyamurti comes tomorrow. Amraoti riot was disgraceful. Biyaniji[1] who is discharged comes to see me tomorrow.

Mira wants as much of your worn-out clothing as you can spare. You know what for. I have been forgetting all these days. If your coming is indefinitely prolonged, you can send it through somebody coming.

From the original: C.W. 4094. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7403

648. LETTER TO P.P.M.T. PONNUSAMY NADAR

October 9, 1941

DEAR PONNUSAMY,

I was delighted to hear from you. Chakrayya wrote to me all about your great care of him.[2] May God bless you. It was His grace that you and your companion happened to be his escort.

Yours,
BAPU

P.P.M.T. PONNUSAMY
C/O SHRI P.P.M. THANGAIAH NADAR, MERCHANTS
TUTICORIN, S. INDIA

From a photostat: C.W. 10961. Courtesy: T. P. Sivanandam

[1] Brijlal Biyani, President of the Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee
[2] *Vide* pp. 385-6.

649. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is according to the new rule. Your note is cheery. May the improvement be steady and continuous. Everybody is wondering whether you are at all coming. I continue to say you are though an uncertainty has crept into my heart.[1]

Kamaladevi is leaving just today. She will meet her mother and come over for a few days' stay. Dr. Das will leave for Calcutta in two or three days; he is going for a few days only. Satyamurti has come today and is putting up at the Bungalow.

The weather here is generally good, though it warms up a little in the afternoon. The rest is O. K.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4253. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7885

650. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

Unrevised *October 10, 1941*

DEAR MAHMUD,

I have read your letter to Rajendra Babu.

What you say about unity I can heartily endorse. But fancy misunderstanding the blankets. Did you read my note[2]? If I was a grain merchant, should I refuse Government order for wheat for the army, or quinine, if I was a chemist? Supposing I refused and somebody else bought from me and sold it to the Government, how do I get out of the responsibility? War effort is made of sterner stuff. If you do not understand this elementary proposition, you will when an attempt is made to impress my personal service or to impress my labour to manufacture ammunition. You will then realize the fundamental distinction, if I have the courage to refuse obedience. You must think hard and try to understand or not rest till I convert you or you, me.

[1] The rest of the letter is in Hindi.

[2] *Vide* pp. 329-30.

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About Sind, you must see the Maulana and reason with him. I am wholly with you there. Are you well?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5075

651. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

October 10, 1941

CHI. ANAND,[1]

Your imagination is your enemy. You gave me no cause for displeasure. Then what right had you to think that I was displeased? At least refrain from taking things for granted. I was on the spot to be asked and I would have made you laugh. Now "don't do it again".

Giving the portrait of your sister would look vulgar. But if it would please Father then you may even be vulgar.

You send him my opinion.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI ANAND HINGORANI
C/O THE POST MASTER
ALLAHABAD, U.P.

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

652. LETTER TO RAGHUBIR SAHAI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
October 10, 1941

DEAR RAGHUBIR SAHAI,

I thank [you for] your very full and instructive letter. What I knew from various correspondents, you confirm in your full letter. I am watching. Hope you are well.

Yours,
BAPU

MR. RAGHUBIR SAHAI
BADAUN, U.P.

From a photostat: G.N. 10206

[1] This is in the Devanagari script.

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653. LETTER TO HARIKRISHNA BHANJI

October 10, 1941

BHAI H. B.,

Received your letter. Do come and meet me in December. Meanwhile you should start taking interest in constructive work. You should acquire skill in spinning and weaving and other processes of the yarn. You should serve the Harijans. You should serve the Muslims, Christians, Parsis. If you do all these things, then only will you become a true worker and then only will you become fit for civil disobedience. In fact you need not come to me to learn all this.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

654. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 10, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Read the enclosed letter and let me have your guidance. Satyamurti has come today. He will state his case tomorrow. I hope you are doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Biyani was here. There had been a reign of terror in Amraoti.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 261

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ADDENDUM

LETTER TO INDUMATI N. GUNAJI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 17, 1941

CHI. INDU,

I have your letter. Restraint, to be natural, must have the co-operation of the mind, which again cannot be had without knowledge. If I have the clear knowledge that consumption of alcoholic drinks will harm me I will never touch alcohol, whatever its attraction. In your case the fact is that you do not accept abstinence a hundred per cent. You think you have two different duties, in fact you have only one. But that is what I think. God alone can guide you in your dilemma. Make an effort. It will certainly do you good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10944. Courtesy: Indumati Tendulkar

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS[1]

June 17, 1941

1. A released satyagrahi must seek to offer satyagraha as soon as possible. If for any reason he is unable to do so he must apply through the President or officer-in-charge of the Provincial Congress Committee for exemption from Mahatma Gandhi and he should state the reasons for such exemption being granted.

2. From the date on which the name of a prospective satyagrahi is forwarded to Mahatma Gandhi for sanction, he is to suspend his private activities and devote himself wholly to working out one or more items of the following thirteenfold items of the constructive programme:

(a) Hindu-Muslim or communal unity.
(b) Removal of untouchability.
(c) Prohibition.
(d) Khadi.
(e) Other village industries.
(f) Village sanitation.
(g) New or Basic Education.
(h) Adult education.
(i) Uplift of women.
(j) Education in hygiene and health.
(k) The propagation of *Rashtrabhasha.*
(l) Cultivating love of one's own language.
(m) Working for economic equality.

3. Every prospective satyagrahi is expected to keep a diary in which he will enter the work done by him during the day and this diary will be submitted to the Provincial Congress Committee concerned at fortnightly intervals. Permission to offer satyagraha shall be granted only to such workers who have proved their worth by their everyday work.

4. The new restrictions in passing lists of satyagrahis are considered necessary in the interest of the struggle as it is likely to develop in future and will become progressively more arduous. New satyagrahis that come in should, therefore, be such as can stand the new test. Complaints have been received in the office of undue delay in passing names. Those who have given

[1] *Vide* p. 62.

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their names need not, however, feel impatient at the delay. They should devote the interval to carrying out the constructive programme.

If any satyagrahi who has enrolled himself on the original basis feels unable to accept the new terms, he is free to withdraw his name and there will be no disgrace attached to any such withdrawal. He may continue to render whatever other service he can to the country. He remains a Congressman as before.

5. Enrolled satyagrahis cannot contest elections to the local bodies. Those who have put in their candidature for such elections, before being enlisted as satyagrahis, have either to withdraw from election or from offering satyagraha. As satyagrahis they cannot be in both places.

6. No released satyagrahi who is a member of a local board, unless specially exempted by Mahatma Gandhi, can attend its meeting. If he does, his name will be expunged from the list of satyagrahis.

7. Unarrested satyagrahis who are touring in their districts and those whose names have been approved are not to attend meetings of local bodies.

8. During the monsoons a satyagrahi may, if necessary, establish himself in a village, not his own, or a group of villages and carry on satyagraha and constructive activities.

9. Unarrested satyagrahis, either touring in their districts or marching in the direction of Delhi, should send fortnightly reports of their work to the provincial office. The Provincial Congress Committees in turn will send a consolidated report of their work to the All-India Congress Committee office at stated intervals, fortnightly or monthly.

10. Complaints have been received about the intemperance of language of certain satyagrahis. Satyagrahis should know that vituperation and abuse are against both the spirit and letter of satyagraha and must, therefore, be invariably avoided.

The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. II, pp. 271-2

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM K. M. MUNSHI[1]

NAINI TAL,
May 26, 1941

MY DEAR BAPU,

Please excuse the language, but as my thoughts have, in this instance, taken shape in English they had best be expressed through that medium. I am seriously perturbed since yesterday morning when I read your letter to Shri Bhogilal Lala in the morning papers. I will quote two marginal paras:

[1] *Vide* pp. 92 and 112.

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> Those (Congressmen) who favour violent resistance (by way of self-defence) must get out of the Congress and shape their conduct just as they think fit and guide others accordingly.
>
> A Congressman may not directly or indirectly associate himself with gymnasia where training in violent resistance is given.

Forgive me if I cannot reconcile myself to these injunctions. Since Pakistan has been in action at Dacca, Ahmedabad, Bombay and other places, it is clear that such riots are going to be the normal feature of our life for some years. If war comes to India's frontiers or the British machinery of maintaining order weakens, they will perhaps grow more frequent and intense if a division of India is sought to be enforced by internal or external agencies through organized violence. If life, home and shrine and honour of women is threatened by goondaism, organized resistance in self-defence appears to me to be a paramount and inalienable duty, whatever form such resistance may take. Do you include *akhadas* in the gymnasia where training in violent resistance is given? I may inform you that for the last fifteen years and more I have been associated with the *akhada* movement in the presidency, both directly and indirectly. I presided over two conferences, one at Bombay and the other at Poona to organize it on systematic lines. I have still unofficial connections with several *akhadas*. I deem them an essential machinery for training our race in the art of self-defence. During the last many years they have played a great part in giving us some self-confidence to resist goondaism. In spite of the great efforts which I have made since yesterday, I have failed to convince myself that my views as expressed in an article I wrote a fortnight ago and published in the *Social Welfare* of the 22nd May, 1941, require a revision. I am sending you a copy of the article for ready reference.

Since I came to you in 1930, you have been more to me than a political leader. You have been to the whole of our family a father. You have been a beacon for the last ten years lighting me on the path of the little spirituality that I can lay claim to. Hence the pain I feel in confessing that I have searched in vain for a way out of this conflict. I can, of course, keep quiet or can acquiesce in what you say or can, for fear of losing my Congress association and your confidence—both precious possessions of my life—voice your sentiments and go my way or do nothing. But something in me rebels against such a course. You have been to me the embodiment of truth and I would lose my self-respect, my right to pray to God, if I pretend to follow you with such mental reservations. I cannot pledge myself not to preach, hold, organize or sympathize with organized resistance to violence in self-defence by all possible means. I do not want to be dishonest to myself nor to the country whose integrity is now threatened, nor do I desire to deny myself your inspiration and guidance in this dilemma. Please let me know what I should do.

My wife is leaving Naini Tal on the 28th and has already written to you. I am leaving again for Kausani. I will start from here on June 9 and will be in Bombay on the 11th. Will the 12th or the 13th suit you to see me at Sevagram? My eyes are still troubling me. Except for them I am quite fit. My wife joins me in sending you our profound respect.

Yours,
K. M. MUNSHI

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 409-10; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 27-6-1941

APPENDIX III

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO ELEANOR RATHBONE[1]

SANTINIKETAN,
June 4, 1941

I have been deeply pained at Miss Rathbone's open letter to Indians. I do not know who Miss Rathbone is, but I take it that she represents the mentality of the average 'well-intentioned' Britisher. Her letter is mainly addressed to Jawaharlal and I have no doubt that if that noble fighter of freedom's battle had not been gagged behind prison bars by Miss Rathbone's countrymen, he would have made a fitting and spirited reply to her gratuitous sermon. His enforced silence makes it necessary for me to voice my protest even from my sick-bed.

The lady has ill served the cause of her people by addressing so indiscreet, indeed impertinent, a challenge to our conscience. She is scandalized at our ingratitude,—that having "drunk deeply at the wells of English thought" we should still have some thought left for our poor country's interests. English thought, in so far as it is representative of the best traditions of Western enlightenment, has indeed taught us much, but let me add, those of our countrymen who have profited by it have done so despite the official British attempts to ill-educate us. We might have achieved introduction to Western learning through any other European language. Have all the other peoples in the world waited for the British to bring them enlightenment?

It is sheer insolent self-complacence on the part of our so-called English friends to assume that had they not 'taught' us we would still have remained in the dark ages. Through the official British channels of education in India have flowed to our children in schools not the best of English thought but its refuse, which has only deprived them of wholesome repast at the table of their own culture.

[1] *Vide* p. 107.

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Assuming, however, that the English language is the only channel left to us for "enlightenment", all that "drinking deeply at its wells" has come to is that in 1931, even after a couple of centuries of British administration, only about one per cent of the population was found to be literate in English,—while in the U.S.S.R. in 1932, after only fifteen years of Soviet administration, 98 per cent of the children were educated. (These figures are taken from *The Statesman's Year-Book*, an English publication, not likely to err on the Russian side.)

But even more necessary than the so-called culture are the bare elementary needs of existence, on which alone can any super-structure of enlightenment rest. And what have the British who have held tight the purse-strings of our nation for more than two centuries and exploited its resources done for our poor people?

I look around and see famished bodies crying for bread. I have seen women in villages dig up mud for a few drops of drinking water; for wells are even more scarce in Indian villages than schools. I know that the population of England itself is today in danger of starvation and I sympathize with them, but when I see how the whole might of the British navy is engaged in convoying food vessels to the English shores and when I recollect that I have seen our people perish of hunger and not even a cart-load of rice brought to their door from the neighbouring district, I cannot help contrasting the British at home with the British in India. Shall we then be grateful to the British, if not for keeping us fed, at least for preserving law and order? I look around and see riots raging all over the country. When scores of Indian lives are lost, our property looted, our women dishonoured, the mighty British arms stir in no action, only the British voice is raised from overseas to chide us for our unfitness to put our house in order.

Examples are not wanting in history when even fully armed warriors have shrunk before superior might and contingencies have arisen in the present war when the bravest among the British, French and Greek soldiers have had to evacuate the battle-field in Europe because they were overwhelmed by superior armaments—but when our poor, unarmed and helpless peasants, encumbered with crying babes, flee from homes unable to protect them from armed goondas, the British officials perhaps smile in contempt at our cowardice.

Every British civilian in England is armed today for protecting his hearth and home against the enemy, but in India even lathi-training was forbidden by decree. Our people have been deliberately disarmed and emasculated in order to keep them perpetually cowed and at the mercy of their armed masters. The British hate the Nazis for merely challenging their world mastery and Miss Rathbone expects us to kiss the hand of her people in servility for having riveted chains on ours. A government must be judged not by the

pretensions of its spokesmen but by its actual and effective contribution to the well-being of the people.

It is not so much because the British are foreigners that they are unwelcome to us and have found no place in our hearts as because while pretending to be trustees of our welfare they have betrayed the great trust and have sacrificed the happiness of millions of India to bloat the pockets of a few capitalists at home. I should have thought that the decent Britisher would at least keep silent at these wrongs and be grateful to us for our inaction, but that he should add insult to injury and pour salt over our wounds passes all bounds of decency.

The Indian Annual Register, Vol. II, pp. 202-3

APPENDIX IV

DISCUSSION WITH K. M. MUNSHI AND OTHERS[1]

(9 to 11 a.m.) June 12, 1941

MUNSHI: (a) War is coming on India's frontiers, when the internal machinery of order will be weakened.

(b) Pakistan is in action and will be so for some time in the shape of premeditated riots.

(c) Pakistan can only be conceded on our dead bodies.

(d) The question of freedom and of the territorial integrity of India are academic. The real question is whether in the coming years of trouble we will have strength enough to protect our homes, lives, etc., from internal disturbances.

(e) Few Congressmen can follow the programme of self-immolation. I will only lead to hypocrisy in the Congress or make other elements more powerful.

(f) If Congressmen can't take any part in this way, then what are they to do? They must cease to play any effective part in the most acute problem of the day.

Gandhiji discussed the general situation.

(12 Noon)

GANDHIJI: (a) I do not expect any settlement with Government.

(b) Jinnah is not likely to settle; and the riots will grow.

(c) Congress as constituted at present can have no place in riots. At the same time it will be extinct if it does not tackle the riot situation.

(d) If I continue, with even some men, it may enable the masses, in a conceivable event when they are tired of the present methods, to seek me out

[1] *Vide* p. 113.

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for a solution. Anyway, we may leave behind us a tradition which will help the country in future.

(e) Any attempt to organize violent self-defence will attract an attack on the Congress by Government. The problem is an all-India one and cannot be ignored.

MUNSHI: I do not want to part from you. But you should tell me what I should do in view of my limitations and the situation.

GANDHIJI: As for the Congress some people must get out to have a free hand. It will be dangerous for the organization to do anything in the riots, for it will give Government an opportunity to destroy it.

(3.00 to 5.00 p.m.)

Rajendra Babu and Mathura Babu described the conditions in Bihar.

RAJENDRA BABU: (a) I am losing my hold over Bihar.

(b) The Muslims are frankly aggressive.

(c) The Hindus are equally aggressive, and are organizing themselves.

(d) The Hindu Mahasabha is gaining ground.

(e) The Peace Brigade does not appeal to Congressmen and few will be found to follow it.

GANDHIJI: I admit that the Peace Brigade idea is not likely to attract Congressmen. Even Mahadev has got no response in Ahmedabad so far.

Shri Gopichand Bhargava described the position in Punjab.

RAJENDRA BABU: These are preliminary skirmishes, in my opinion, to see how the Muslim community is affected. Very soon, the full force of the campaign will perhaps begin.

MUNSHI: It's a civil war. An effective part must be played by the Congress.

RAJENDRA BABU: Not a single Mussalman leader is coming forward to condemn the Muslim atrocities, nor will he join in saying that we should immolate ourselves.

(9.30 to 11.00 a.m., June 13, 1941)

GANDHIJI: (a) Congress as an institution cannot organize violent self-defence.

(b) At the same time it may become necessary for the Congress to encourage the efforts of those who conscientiously believe that this 'war' should be stopped in some other way.

(c) He can always insist on force being used in self-defence or in a decent manner. For instance, shrines, women and children may not be touched in any case.

Dr. Gopichand then stated the Punjab situation.

In the Punjab, the northern part is predominantly Muslim, central Sikh, eastern Hindu. So there is scarcely any equality. But the real quarrel is between agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Muslim attitude discussed.

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(2.30 p.m.)

Discussed the reaction of leading Muslim Congressmen to the modification of the principle of non-violent defence in (a) international matters and (b) in domestic disputes.

GANDHIJI: Maulana accepted that violent defence is necessary in (a) but would not accept it for (b).

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA: Asaf Ali had said that Gandhiji's letter[1] regarding non-violent self-defence to Bhogilal was not a correct interpretation of the Congress creed, which only dealt with the movement for swaraj, not with internal affairs.

GANDHIJI: But he sided with Maulana in opposing the use of violent defence in internal matters.

MUNSHI: They don't want the Congress Hindus to defend violently; they can't stop the Muslims from violent aggression. The result is that the Hindus will be divided and unable to oppose the Muslims in a civil war.

RAJENDRA BABU: The Muslim Congressmen now outside may be consulted.

GANDHIJI: It is not necessary. Khan Saheb is for pure non-violence; Maulana also is.

Bombay position discussed.

GANDHIJI: I have thought over the whole question. For Munshi the path is this:

(a) If he can throw himself heart and soul in the Peace Brigade, he would be able to work it up very well.

(b) If he can't he may retire into the Himalayas or somewhere for a few months, and watch the situation and find out what way his mind works and whether he could adopt the first course.

(c) If he comes to the conclusion that the first course is not possible, he should leave the Congress and organize the Hindus for violent self-defence. Whatever course you may take, our personal relations will remain the same and I will take the same interest in you as now.

MUNSHI: As you know my attachment for you, I do not want to part from you. I will think over the alternatives with my wife and let you know. But of one thing I am positive; I cannot retire in the way you mention. I am in public life for years. When God willed that I should be out of jail at this time when I feel my country, community and culture are in danger, I cannot forgive myself if I shrink back. (I broke down here.)

That is out of question. If, however, you think that the interest of the Congress or the country requires my abstention from public life I am willing

(a) to go back to jail; or

(b) retire into exclusive professional activities.

GANDHIJI: I do not want you to go to jail nor to retire into practice.

[1] *Vide* pp. 74-6.

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MUNSHI: Then as regards the first course, my whole being protests against the idea. If I undertake it, I must take it up thoroughly and offer myself at the first instance. I feel that I can't do it: (a) I haven't that spiritual strength; (b) I know it's useless and I won't take it up hypocritically. My inner urge is my country and culture are in danger. I want to fight for them, so far as I can, though I know it won't be much, as I have neither the health nor the ability to do anything effective. But I will struggle to acquire the necessary spirituality for the first course.

(c) Bombay Congressmen still believe that Gandhiji will work a miracle; Congress will get into power; so they must retain their vested interest.

(d) Scarcely anyone will be found to immolate himself.

(e) Several Congressmen helped and do help new organizations which defend their localities violently.

(f) The Muslims have their mosques and their organization. In riots, for the first few days, the Hindus are at a disadvantage.

(g) Peace Brigades in Bombay will not succeed, as it is an industrial town with an underworld which would not mind killing anybody.

GANDHIJI: Your freedom may by itself be effective.

KRIPALANI: It is necessary at this stage that some Congressmen should go out and do the work which the institution cannot do.

GANDHIJI: If Munshi can't take to the first course, it is in the interests of the Congress that he should go out and do as he is prompted to do. I will issue a statement[1] to clear his position. He should also discuss the matters with his Congress friends and see whether they would join him in going out and organizing defence.

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava read out the passage in Bhogilal Lala's letter giving local option.

Gandhiji was inclined to the view that the Congress workers in Bombay should consider whether they want the right of violent self-defence. Rajendra Babu pointed out that that would destroy the integrity of the Congress.

Munshi concurred. The idea was given up.

GANDHIJI (to Munshi): You go to Bombay and come back after seeing your friends, etc. Then we shall finally decide.

MUNSHI: This is a new idea. Going out is not so easy and I shall have to discuss the matter with my wife.

GANDHIJI: I have told her to help you in your work, whatever it is.

MUNSHI: But she may prefer to be with you than with me.

GANDHIJI: I know she will be with you.

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 411-5

[1] *Vide* pp. 112-4.

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APPENDIX V

K. M. MUNSHI'S STATEMENT[1]

I had the benefit of detailed discussion with Gandhiji and many friends on the present situation in the country. After mature deliberation, I feel that the interests of the country demand that, with my views on the question of self-defence, I should not continue any longer to be a member of the Congress. Any other course would neither be honourable for me nor fair to the country or the Congress.

Gandhiji would not think of my offering satyagraha in the present uncertain and enfeebled condition of my health. I could not think of working a Peace Brigade in Bombay, not having the requisite spiritual strength. At the same time to pursue any work other than that of helping to arrest the progress of the blood feud that is going on before one's eyes is flying away from duty. I feel that in the dark days which lie ahead of India I would be of no use to the country unless I pursued the path of duty in the light which God has been pleased to vouchsafe to me.

This decision has been rendered rather difficult by the personal bond which subsists between Gandhiji and several leading Congressmen on the one hand and myself [on the other], but I would not be worthy of their confidence if I remained in the Congress with a mental reservation on the cardinal point of Congress faith as Gandhiji understands it. My only satisfaction has been that Gandhiji, with his usual generosity, has helped me to reach a decision which is consistent with my own view as to the direction in which immediate duty lies.

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 416-7

[1] *Vide* p. 114.

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APPENDIX VI

"*MR. GANDHI'S ADMISSION*"[1]

Mr. Gandhi, in an interview with an American news agency, makes a candid and significant admission. When asked how many of his followers who are now in jail sincerely subscribe to his own belief that violence can never be right, he replies: "I do not mind it being said that the majority are non-violent only out of policy. That is the weakest part of my campaign. . . ." Impartial observers of Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign have suspected as much from the beginning, and their suspicion has been confirmed of late by the departure from Mr. Gandhi's ranks of men like Mr. Munshi and Dr. Satyapal[2]. Mr. Gandhi himself has now publicly recognized, and for the first time, that the non-violent slogan is being exploited politically. He also admits by implication that such exploitation is distasteful to him, and, indeed, weakens his campaign.

When the campaign was first launched, it was widely believed that only those who were in full agreement with Mr. Gandhi's interpretation of non-violence should offer themselves for jail. And yet, as we now know, a majority submitted their names, not out of conviction, but "only out of policy"—some of them through a sense of loyalty to the party organization, others from more questionable motives. Nor can Mr. Gandhi escape the largest share of the blame for allowing this inconsistency to develop. He is personally responsible for sanctioning the names of satyagrahis, and it is reasonable to suppose that in some instances at least he accepted nominees who he knew did not fulfil the conditions which he himself had laid down. If the presence in jail of those who went "only out of policy" has weakened Mr. Gandhi's campaign, then Mr. Gandhi has proved that he is among his own worst enemies. Either he has been lax in interpreting his own rules of satyagraha or he has been deceived by the majority of those whose names were submitted. Mr. Gandhi can best say which of these alternatives is the right one.

The Times of India, 29-7-1941

[1] *Vide* p. 199.

[2] Who had resigned from the Congress party on July 14, 1941

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CHRONOLOGY

(*April 16, 1941 — October 10, 1941*)

April 16: Gandhiji was at Sevagram.

April 18: Riots broke out at Ahmedabad.

April 19: Gandhiji gave statement to *The Times of India.*

April 25: Issued statement to Press on L. S. Amery's speech.

April 27: Broke three days' fast.

May 1: Wrote to Editor of *The Times of India.*

May 2: Attended funeral of J. P. Trivedi.

May 4: Appealed to Congressmen to do their duty during riots.

May 7: Issued statement to Press on riots in Bihar.

May 15: Wrote on *Khadi Jagat.*

May 19: Srinivasa Iyengar died.

May 18 to May 21: Gandhiji had discussions with Mridula Sarabhai and Gulzarilal Nanda.

May 22: Gave interview to *The Hindu.*

May 23: Spoke at National Youths' Training Camp at Wardha.

June 9: In statement to Press denounced murder of a Muslim family in Bihar.

June 12: Had discussion with K. M. Munshi, Rajendra Prasad and Gopichand Bhargava.

June 13: Discussion continued.

June 15: In statement to Press stated reasons why he had advised K. M. Munshi to resign from Congress.

July 6: Gave statement to Press.

July 12: Had discussion with Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

July 22: Gave interview to *The Hindu* on Government communique.

July 23: Gave interview to A. S. N. Murti.

July 31: Wrote to *The Times of India.*

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August 1: Opened Khadi Vidyalaya at Wardha.

August 4: Gave statement to Press.

August 5: Gave statement to Press.

August 7: Rabindranath Tagore died.
Gandhiji paid tribute to Rabindranath Tagore.

August 12: Issued statement to Press on *shraddha* day of Rabindranath Tagore.

August 24: Wrote foreword to *A Discipline for Non-violence*. Gave statement to Press on Indo-Burman Immigration Agreement.

August 29: Attended A.I.V.I.A. meeting.

August 30: In *Sarvodaya* paid homage to Rabindranath Tagore.

August 31: Wrote foreword to *Practical Non-violence*.

September 1: Telegraphed condolence on Fulchand Kasturchand Shah's death.

September 5: Gave interview to H. V. Kamath.

September 11: Gave interview to *The Hindu*.

September 14: Met Allah Bux, R. K. Sidhwa and deputation from Burma.

September 16: Met Allah Bux and R. K. Sidhwa.

September 18: Gandhiji's birthday celebrated according to Vikram era.
Gandhiji addressed meeting at Sevagram and participated in spinning.
Sent message for people of Ahmedabad.

September 24: In statement to Press cautioned public against uncertified khadi dealers.

September 30: At Nalwadi, addressed meeting of Goseva Sangh.

October 1: Sent message to States' people.

October 2: Gandhiji's birthday celebrated.
Gandhiji spoke at meeting.

October 7: Presided at A.I.S.A. meeting.

October 10: At Sevagram.

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* Due correction made.

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