THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXXVII
(1942-1944)

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VOLUME SEVENTY-SEVEN



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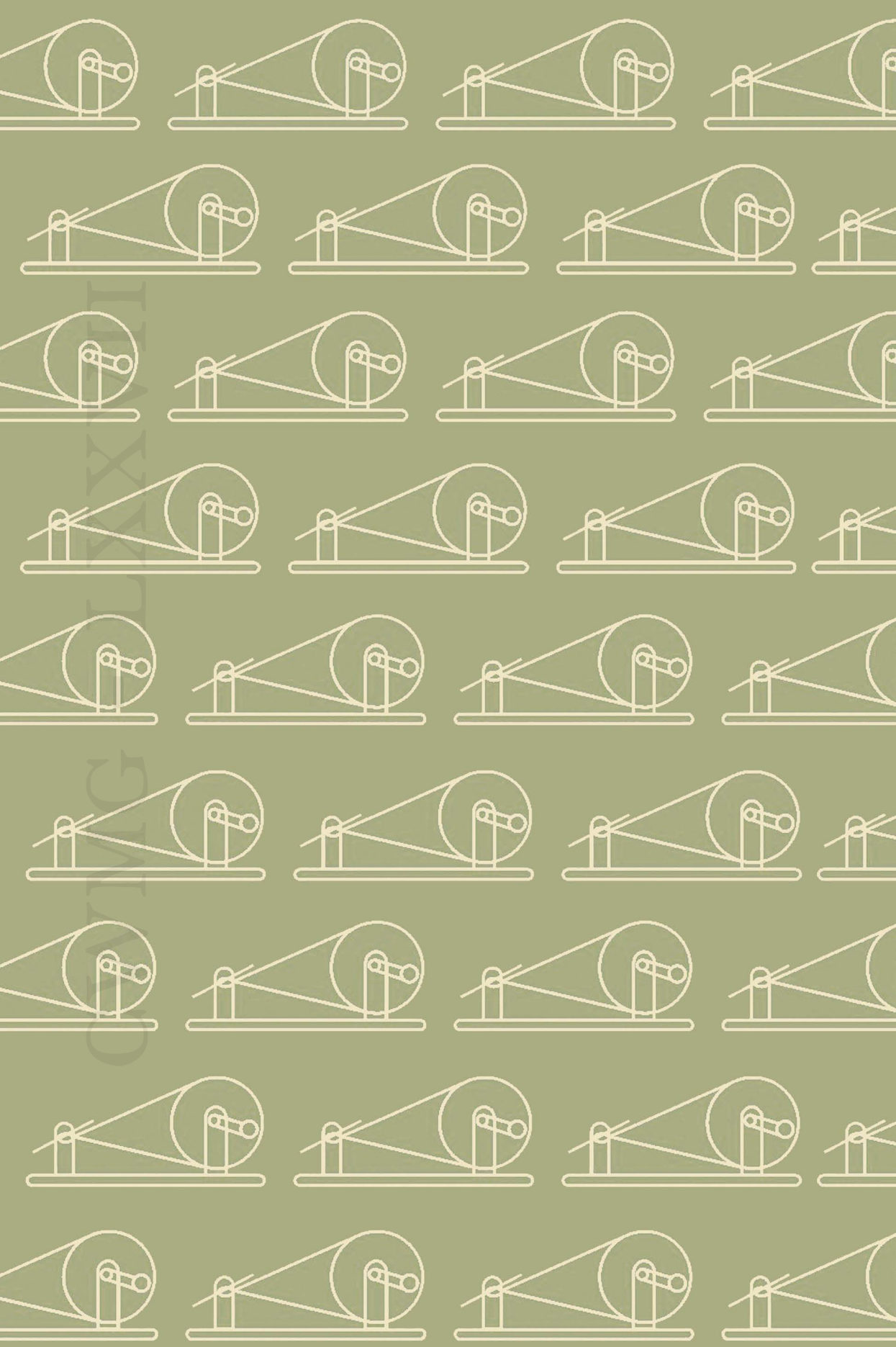
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AT JUHU BEACH

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PREFACE

This volume (December 17, 1942 to July 31, 1944) contains the *Key to Health*, the correspondence with the Government on Congress responsibility for the disturbances following the arrest of leaders on August 9, 1942, the twenty-one-day fast in early 1943 conceived as an "appeal to the highest Tribunal for justice", the death of Kasturba in February 1944, the release of Gandhiji on medical grounds in May 1944, and his renewed exploration of some basis for agreement between the Government and the Congress which would help the people to overcome their difficulties and participate in the war effort.

The correspondence between Gandhiji and the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, started on a personal note. During the constitutional experiment of provincial autonomy from 1937 to 1939 Gandhiji had developed a cordial personal relationship with the Viceroy, which seemed to have endured ever since. In a public tribute to the Viceroy's patience and courtesy Gandhiji had declared that the two had become "friends never to be parted" (*vide* Volume LXXIII, pp. 77-8). The massive repression unleashed by the Government to counter the Quit India Resolution therefore came to Gandhiji as a complete surprise. The fact that the Viceroy did not wait for the letter which Gandhiji had declared he would write before starting any action, and the official propaganda launched against him and the Congress leaders pained him to the quick. After pondering over all this for over four months, Gandhiji wrote on the last day of the year "a very personal letter" appealing to the Viceroy as a Christian, a human being and a former friend. "If I have not ceased to be your friend, why did you not, before taking drastic action, send for me, tell me your suspicions and make yourself sure of your facts?" And he pleaded, as with a friend, to convince him of his error (pp. 49-50).

The Viceroy welcomed the frankness of the letter and in his turn was equally "open" and made it clear that he had been "profoundly depressed" by the policy adopted by the Congress and even more so by the silence of Gandhiji and the Congress Working Committee members over the acts of destructive violence which had followed as a natural consequence of that policy. If now Gandhiji had second thoughts and had any positive suggestion

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to make, the Viceroy assured him that he would read with close attention any message received from him (pp. 445-6).

Gandhiji appreciated the conciliatory tone of the letter and deplored the happenings following August 9, but laid the blame for them on the Government. He refused to accept the Viceroy's judgment regarding his own responsibility or that of the Congress for the outbreaks, or to "express any opinion on events which I cannot influence or control, and of which I have but a one-sided account" (pp. 51-2). He, therefore, repeated the request for proof of the Government's charges or, in the alternative, for permission to be placed among the members of the Working Committee to enable him to make any fresh proposals on their behalf. The Viceroy rejected both the requests, and insisted on prior repudiation of the A.I.C.C. resolution of August 8 (p. 53).

This was too much for Gandhiji, who asked with some passion, "Was not the drastic and unwarranted action of the Government responsible for the reported violence? . . . the Government goaded the people to the point of madness." It was the "leonine" violence of the Government, the mass arrests and other repressive measures organized on a gigantic scale which provoked counter-violence by the people. If, therefore, he could not get "soothing balm" for his pain, he would have to resort to "a fast according to capacity" in obedience to "the law prescribed for satyagrahis" (pp. 55-6). The Viceroy replied : "There is evidence that you and your friends expected this policy to lead to violence; and that you were prepared to condone it . . . the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan, conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders." The contemplated fast, he held, was "a form of political blackmail (*himsa*) for which there can be no moral justification" (pp. 447-8).

Gandhiji regarded the Viceroy's letter as "an invitation to fast". Reiterating that he had approached the Viceroy with an open mind for proofs of his error, he replied in brief to the Viceroy's assertions and concluded, "You have left me no loop-hole for escaping the ordeal I have set before myself. . . . Posterity will judge between you as a representative of an all-powerful Government and me as a humble man who has tried to serve his country and humanity through it" (pp. 58-60).

The fast commenced on February 9, 1943. The Government offered to release Gandhiji "for the purpose and for the duration" of the fast. But he refused the offer, explaining that the fast was not "conceived to be taken as a free man" and therefore, if he was released, there would be no fast. He would survey

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the situation *de novo* and decide what should be done. He did not desire to be released under false pretences, he wrote to the Additional Home Secretary, and added, "In spite of all that has been said against me, I hope not to belie the vow of truth and non-violence which alone makes life livable for me" (p. 61). This straightforwardness was wasted on the official mind and Sir Reginald Maxwell bluntly said that the proposed fast amounted "to little more than a demand for release" (p. 88).

The visitors who saw Gandhiji during the fast reported his "unprecedented mental agony" at all these misrepresentations. S.A. Brelvi of *The Bombay Chronicle* wrote : "It distressed him beyond words that of all persons Lord Linlithgow should have so far misunderstood him as to believe that he . . . could ever countenance or condone violence of any kind", and that the Congress leaders were given no opportunity to refute the charges made against them (p. 65). In his last letter to the Viceroy in September 1943, on the eve of the latter's departure from India, Gandhiji wrote : "I hope and pray that God will some day put it into your heart to realize that you, a representative of a great nation, had been led into a grievous error." Lord Linlithgow replied that he was quite unable to accept Gandhiji's interpretation of the events in question and added with cold dignity, "As per the corrective virtues of time and reflection, evidently these are ubiquitous in their operation and wisely to be rejected by no man" (p. 201).

This sad end to a relationship which both men once valued was the inevitable outcome of the conflict between the interests which they defended, the Viceroy being the official spokesman of the empire and Gandhiji the leader of a subject India seeking to end the empire. While the Congress demand was for immediate abdication of British authority, the British Government had no intention of conceding real freedom to India even after the war and was bent on building up an entrenched position for interests which would keep the country for ever subservient to Britain. The new Viceroy, Lord Wavell, a blunt soldier and no subtle diplomat, made this intention clear enough in his first address to the Central Legislature in February 1944. The British people wished and were resolved, he asserted, "to see that in the solution of the constitutional problem full account is taken of the interests of those who have loyally supported us in this war and at all other times — the soldiers who have served the common cause; the people who have worked with us; the Rulers and populations of the States to whom we are pledged; the minorities

who have trusted us to see that they get a fair deal''. Gandhiji realized the danger of this programme for the psychological balkanization of India and commented on the Viceregal pronouncement: ''I regard the situation thus envisaged as hopeless . . . Out of the contemplation of this hopelessness was born the anguished cry of 'Quit India' '' (p. 246).

Such was the Government's displeasure with Gandhiji that it needed much pressure and repeated complaints to secure for the ailing Kasturba private nursing attendance and the services of a naturopath and vaid of her choice. In the grant of facilities for her treatment, ''grace'' was ''sadly lacking'' (p. 220) and Gandhiji even asked for his removal to some other place of detention so as not to remain a ''helpless witness'' of the patient's agony (p. 230). Kasturba passed away on February 22. But the controversy about the facilities, medical and otherwise, given to her during her last illness continued and came up for discussion in the House of Commons and the Central Legislative Assembly.

When Gandhiji himself fell ill, the Viceroy reported to London that ''his further participation in active politics is improbable'' and added that his ''death in custody would intensify feeling against Government''. Accordingly, he ordered Gandhiji's release on May 6, 1944, ''entirely on medical grounds'' (p. 262). Gandhiji was far from happy and felt weak in mind as well as body. But on May 14, he told a friend, ''. . . today I can say that it is well with me for, during the night, I have got back what I had lost for a while — a living faith in God'' (p. 271). And with that faith renewed, Gandhiji broke free ''from the doctors' control'' and to test his inner strength entered on a fortnight's silence (p. 272).

It took Gandhiji some time to study the new situation and to think of a way out of the impasse which the country had got into. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri echoed the sentiments of millions when he wrote to him : ''You have had great wrongs and they cry aloud for redress. But at this moment the future is more important than the past. . . . I would beseech you earnestly to attend to the demands of the world's peace.'' ''Will not the present which I can see mould the future?'', replied Gandhiji (p. 322).

At an informal meeting of Congressmen on June 29 in Poona, Gandhiji described the present as he saw it. ''Dark clouds surround us. The Government is sitting tight. We do not see the way ahead of us. . . . Many people are cursing me.'' And yet he asserted that he himself suffered from no sense of frustration. ''Frustration can spring only from one's own'' sense of

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"weakness and loss of faith." And Gandhiji's faith in truth and non-violence was as deep as ever, not only as private virtues but as principles of public conduct. It was his firm conviction that "our success has been mathematically proportionate to the extent to which we have adhered to truth and non-violence" (p. 340). Secrecy, he held, was "a sin and a symptom of violence" and all underground activity was taboo. Such was his advice to co-workers (p. 307).

But Gandhiji saw that secrecy and sabotage had entered the movement on a larger scale than he had thought while in detention. As he told Horace Alexander, "Some of what you tell me I had known already after coming out, and some of it is startling." But he refused to condemn the popular fury which he considered was pardonable whereas "the vindictive and inhuman retribution wholly indefensible". (p. 371). Again in a Press interview he refused to judge popular action by the yardstick of truth and non-violence, unless he could apply the same measure for Government action (p. 405). Indeed he admired the courage and patriotism of those who had, with a full sense of responsibility, organized the deviation from the norms he had laid down. "This struggle has been full of romance and heroism", he wrote to Aruna Asaf Ali, then still underground, and he advised her to surrender, not out of weakness but out of strength, that is, only if she felt that it was the better course, but assured her at the same time, "I will not judge you no matter what you do" (pp. 343-4).

Gandhiji wrote to Balkrishna Bhave: "I learnt one thing, namely, that one must never be hasty in judging the actions of one's co-workers. One should put before the person concerned the other side for consideration and then let him judge himself" (p. 321). Even the content of violence and non-violence, whether as policy or creed, should be judged by every individual worker according to the dictates of his head and heart (p. 307). As he explained to a correspondent, though there must be organized resistance to organized evil, the organizers of satyagraha must not imitate the organizers of evil. He had tried, he said, and "failed hopelessly". He did not know exactly the right way of organizing forces of good against those of evil, but he felt "that it lies through perfection, as far as may be, of individuals". However, he confessed, "I am still groping" (p. 407).

While in jail Gandhiji read whatever literature he could get about Marx and the "great experiment" in Russia. He was impressed by the fact that there also, as in India, "the whole

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nation was invited to join in the *yajna*'' (p. 277). But he also noted the fundamental difference between the Russian and the Indian experiments. Though the country had advanced towards freedom through other forms of struggle, he still maintained that in India ''the progress would have been much greater, if we had shown the non-violent bravery of my conception'' (p. 268). He could not understand the ''dialectic of history'' which transformed an imperialist war into a people's war. After his release Gandhiji entered into correspondence with P.C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, and invited him to remove his prejudice against the party by patient reasoning (p. 435). But nothing came out of the correspondence.

In a spirit of patient humility Gandhiji had, while still in jail, opened a dialogue with Lord Wavell, the new Viceroy. Describing himself as a friend and servant of humanity, including the British, he explained how the formula ''Quit India'' was ''charged with the friendliest feeling for Britain in terms of the whole of humanity''. And as a friend of the British and an upholder of the Allies' war aims, he called for ''a searching of hearts in British high places'' (p. 233).

After his release Gandhiji saw the necessity of revising the Congress policy in the light of the changed circumstances, but he saw ''no way of giving co-operation in the continuing degradation of the people'' (p. 337). He was urged by many in India and abroad ''to make some decisive contribution to the general good''. But he was disinclined to take any step on his own and wrote to the Viceroy requesting permission to see the members of the Working Committee detained in Ahmednagar. As expected, the request was turned down and he was asked instead to propose ''a definite and constructive policy . . . for the furtherance of India's welfare'' (p. 317).

This Gandhiji did in an interview to Stuart Gelder, correspondent of the *News Chronicle*. He said that he had no intention of offering civil disobedience then and ''would be satisfied with a national government in full control of civil administration''. He himself, as an all-war resister, would stand aside without obstructing the national government in the war effort, but continuing to exert his individual influence ''to keep India peace-minded'' and promote brotherhood among all mankind (pp. 349-51).

Gandhiji made this offer to a newspaper correspondent, instead of to the Government, so as to be able to observe public reaction to it before committing himself formally to the proposal.

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The reaction was hardly encouraging. While the foreign Press mistook it as a "heavy defeat" for the Congress (p. 403), Indian critics complained that Gandhiji had "betrayed the cause of the country" (p. 384). Gandhiji, however, believed that "one should not be afraid of being misunderstood or of rejection of one's proposal, if it was sound in itself". Famine stalked the land, especially Bengal, and he felt that the situation demanded a popular government in charge of civil administration both at the Centre and in the provinces. Acceptance of such offices, however, would be conditional upon present declaration of complete Indian independence after the war (pp. 350 and 404-5). Gandhiji wrote formally to the Viceroy on July 27 making this concrete proposal and inviting a friendly discussion on its basis (pp. 425-6). The Viceroy informed Gandhiji on August 15 that the proposals were "quite unacceptable to His Majesty's Government" (p. 480).

During the first four months of detention in the Aga Khan Palace Gandhiji re-wrote from memory, in a revised and shortened form, his articles on "General Knowledge about Health" which had appeared 30 years earlier in *Indian Opinion* (Volumes XI and XII). The new version reflects Gandhiji's continuing interest in problems of health, which had developed over the years from concern for physical well-being to the right use of the body for attaining spiritual freedom. The body was the temple of the spirit and an instrument to be dedicated to the service of God's creation. For the body to perform this function, all the senses and the mind had to act in perfect co-ordination, free from all inner tensions (pp. 2-3). The fruit of such mastery of body and mind would be the attainment of perfect *brahmacharya.*

Gandhiji's experiment in the field was continuing and he hoped that, God willing, he might "attain even perfection in this life". While admitting that such an experimental approach was contrary to convention, Gandhiji argued that in order to make progress we have often "to go beyond the limits of common experience" and even challenge "common or commonly held beliefs". What was true of physical things was equally true of things spiritual (pp. 21-2). One who has attained such freedom from self-regarding desires would not only lose the sense of distinction between men and women but would also find his own being in tune with *akash* or ether, the subtlest of the five elements, whose mystery was the mystery of God Himself. To be in tune with this void or emptiness is to lose oneself in infinity. One must so live as to put no "partition between ourselves and the sky", to let the body be in contact with the sky

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"without the intervention of houses, roofs and even clothes" (p. 35). One should sleep in the open, except in the rainy season, so that one can feast one's eyes on "the different starry constellations floating" in the sky. He who thus established "contact with the stars as living witnesses to all his thoughts" would "never allow any evil or impurity to enter his mind . . ." (pp. 36-7).

This entrancing vision of a life lived in the sight of the stars was Gandhiji's individual version of the Vaishnava feeling for the holiness of outward beauty as symbol of inner purity. The experience of such harmony between man and nature was a sure foretaste of the ineffable joy at the journey's end. But in his humility, Gandhiji disclaimed being a *rishi* or a seer. "Let me remain what I am—a striving servant of India and, through her, of humanity" (p. 288).

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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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AT THE SAMADHIS OF KASTURBA GANDHI AND MAHADEV DESAI *facing* p. 240

AT JUHU WITH THAKKAR BAPA *facing* p. 241

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1. KEY TO HEALTH[1]

August 28, 1942[2]

PART 1

1. The Human Body

It is necessary to understand the meaning of the word health, before entering upon a description of the human body. 'In health' means body ease. He is a healthy man whose body is free from all diseases; he carries on his normal activities without fatigue. Such a man should be able with ease to walk ten to twelve miles a day, and perform ordinary physical labour without getting tired. He can digest ordinary simple food. His mind and his senses are in a state of harmony and poise. This definition does not include prize fighters and such like. A man with extraordinary physical strength is not necessarily healthy. He has merely developed his musculature, possibly at the expense of something else.

It is necessary to have enough knowledge of the human body which is expected to attain the above standard of health.

God alone knows what kind of education was prevalent in ancient times. Research workers on the subject may be able to tell us something, but only something, about it. But all of us have some experience of modern education in this country. It has no relation with our everyday life. Thus it leaves us almost utterly ignorant about our own body. Our knowledge of our own village and our fields shares a similar fate. We are taught, on the other hand, much about things that have no bearing on our daily life. I do not mean to say that such knowledge is of no use. But everything has its own place. We

[1] In "A Word by the Publisher", in the source, Jivanji D. Desai explains: "The original was written in Gujarati, and Gandhiji got it translated into Hindustani and English by Dr. Sushila Nayyar under his own guidance. He also went through both the translations to give them the final touches. The reader can therefore take the translation as Gandhiji's own rendering." The item here is placed according to the date on which the last chapter of the book was revised by Gandhiji. For Gandhiji's Preface to this, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 411-2.

[2] This and the subsequent date-lines are reproduced from *Arogyani Chavi*, the Gujarati original.

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must first know enough of our own body, our own house, our village and its surroundings, the crops that grow there and its history before going on to anything else. General knowledge broad-based on this primary knowledge alone can enrich life.

August 29, 1942

The human body is composed of what the ancient philosophers have described as the five elements. These are earth, water, ether, light and air.

All human activity is carried on by means of the mind aided by the ten senses. These are the five senses of action, i.e., hands, feet, mouth, anus and the genitals, and the five senses of perception, i.e., the sense of touch through the skin, of smell through the nose, of taste through the tongue, of seeing through the eyes and of hearing through the ears. Thinking is the function of the mind and some people have called it the eleventh sense. In health all the senses and the mind act in perfect co-ordination.[1]

The inner working of the human machine is wonderful. The human body is the universe in miniature. That which cannot be found in the body is not to be found in the universe. Hence the philosopher's formula[2], that the universe within reflects the universe without. It follows therefore that if our knowledge of our own body could be perfect, we would know the universe. But even the very best of doctors and hakims and vaids have not been able to acquire it. It will be presumptuous for a layman to aspire to it. No one has yet discovered an instrument which can give us any information about the human mind. Scientists have given attractive descriptions of the activities going on within and without the body, but no one can say what sets the wheel going. Who can explain the why and wherefore of death or foretell its time ? In short, after infinite reading and writing, after infinite experience, man has come to know how little he knows.

A happy working of the human machine depends upon the harmonious activity of the various component parts. If all these work in an orderly manner, the machine runs smoothly. If even one of the essential parts is out of order, it comes to a stop. For instance, if the digestion is out of order, the whole body becomes slack. Therefore he who takes indigestion and constipation lightly does not know the A B C of the rules of health. These two are the root causes of innumerable ailments.

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Few enjoy such good health."
[2] यथा पिण्डे तथा ब्रह्माण्डे ।

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August 30, 1942

The question that demands our attention next is: What is the right use of the human body? Everything in the world can be used and abused. This applies to the body also. We abuse it when we use it for selfish purposes, for self-indulgence or in order to harm another. It is put to its right use if we exercise self-restraint and dedicate ourselves to the service of the whole world. The human soul is a part of the universal spirit of God. When all our activity is directed towards the realization of this link, the body becomes a temple worthy for the spirit to live in.

The body has been described as a mine of dirt. Looked at in its proper perspective, there is no exaggeration in this statement. If the body was nothing else but this, there could be no point in taking such pains to look after it. But if this so-called mine of dirt can be put to its proper use, it becomes our first duty to cleanse it and keep it in a fit condition. The mines of precious stones and gold also have the look of ordinary earth on the surface. The knowledge that there are gold and precious stones underneath, induces men to spend millions and engage scientific brains in order to get at what lies in those mines. Similarly, we cannot take too much pains over keeping in a fit condition the temple of the spirit—the human body.

Man came into the world in order to pay off the debt owed by him to it, that is to say, in order to serve God and (or through) His creation. Keeping this point of view before him, man acts as a guardian of his body. It becomes his duty to take such care of his body as to enable it to practise the ideal of service to the best of its ability.

August 31, 1942

2. Air

No one can live without air as one can without water for a few days and without food much longer. Therefore, nature has surrounded us with air on all sides so that we can get it without any effort.

We take in air through the nose into our lungs. The lungs act as a sort of bellows. The atmospheric air which we breathe in has a life-giving substance—a gas known as oxygen. The air that we breathe out contains poisonous gases. These can kill us if they are not immediately allowed to spread out and get diluted by the atmospheric air. Hence the necessity of proper ventilation.

The air comes into close contact with blood in the lungs and purifies it. Many people do not know the art of breathing.

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This defect prevents an adequate purification of their blood. Some people breathe through the mouth instead of through the nose. This is a bad habit. Nature has so designed the nose that it acts as a sort of filter for the in-going air and also warms it. In mouth-breathers the atmospheric air reaches the lungs without the preliminary filtration or warming. It follows therefore that those who do not know how to breathe should take breathing exercises. They are as easy to learn as they are useful. I do not wish to go into a discussion of the various *asanas* or postures. I do not mean to say that these are not important or useful. But I do wish to emphasize that a well-regulated life outweighs the advantage of studying and practising elaborate postures or exercises. Any comfortable posture that ensures breathing through the nose and free chest expansion is enough for our purpose.

If we keep the mouth tightly closed, the breathing will have to be carried out by the nose. Just as we wash our mouth every morning, the nose should also be cleaned. Clean water, cold or lukewarm, is the best agent for that purpose. It should be taken in a cup or in the palm of the hand and drawn up through the nostrils. It is possible to draw the water up through one nostril, the other remaining closed, and expel it through the other by opening it and closing the former. The process should be carried out gently so as to avoid discomfort. In order to cleanse the back portion of the nose known as nasopharynx, water should be brought out by the mouth or even swallowed.

We must see that the air that we breathe in is fresh. It is good to cultivate the habit of sleeping in the open under the stars. The fear of catching a chill should be dismissed from the mind. Cold can be kept out by plenty of covering. This covering should not extend beyond the neck. If cold is felt on the head, it can be covered with a separate piece of cloth. The opening of the respiratory passage —the nose—should never be covered up.

The day clothes should be changed for loose night clothes before retiring. As a matter of fact no clothes are necessary at night when one sleeps covered with a sheet. Tight-fitting clothes should be avoided even during the day.

The atmospheric air around us is not always pure, neither is it the same in every country. The choice of the country does not always lie in our hands but the choice of a suitable house in a suitable locality does rest with us to some extent. The general rule should be to live in a locality which is not too congested and insist upon the house being well-lighted and well-ventilated.

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September 1, 1942

3. Water

Next to air, water is a necessity of life. We cannot live without it for more than a few days, just as without air we cannot live for more than a few minutes. Therefore, as in the case of air, nature has provided us with ample amount of water. Man cannot live on barren land where there is no water. Vast tracts of desert land such as Sahara lie utterly uninhabited.

In order to keep healthy, everyone should take 5 lb. of water or other liquid food in 24 hours. Drinking-water must be pure. In many places it is difficult to get pure water. There is always risk in drinking well water. The water of shallow wells, and even deep wells with a staircase leading down to the water level, should be considered absolutely unfit for drinking purposes. The difficulty is that the appearance and even the taste of water are no guide to its purity. Water which appears perfectly harmless to look at and to taste can act as a poison. The old custom of not drinking from an unknown well or from a stranger's house is worth copying.

In Bengal almost every house has a cutcha tank attached to it. As a rule the water of these is unfit for drinking purposes. River water also is frequently not fit for drinking, particularly where the river is used for navigation or where it passes by a big city and receives its drainage and sewage water.

In spite of what I have said, I know there are millions of people who have to drink what I have described as impure water. But that does not mean that their example is worthy of being copied. Nature has provided us with sufficient reserve of vitality. But for that, man would have long ago disappeared from the face of the earth because of his own mistakes and transgressions of the rules of health.

Here we are concerned merely with the role of water with regard to health. Wherever we are doubtful about the purity of water, it should be boiled before drinking. In practice it amounts to this that everyone should carry his drinking-water with him. Many orthodox Hindus in India do not drink water whilst travelling on account of religious prejudices. Surely the enlightened can do for the sake of health what the unenlightened do in the name of religion.[1]

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "The custom of straining water deserves mention. Dirt is in this way removed from the water though not the microscopic germs. For that one has to boil the water. The cloth used for straining water should always be clean. There should not be any holes in it."

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September 2, 1942

4. Food

Whilst it is true that man cannot live without air and water, the thing that nourishes the body is food. Hence the saying, food is life.

Food can be divided into three categories: vegetarian, flesh and mixed.[1] Flesh foods include fowl and fish. Milk is an animal product and cannot by any means be included in a strictly vegetarian diet. It serves the purpose of meat to a very large extent. In medical language it is classified as animal food. A layman does not consider milk to be animal food. On the other hand, eggs are regarded by the layman as a flesh food. In reality, they are not. Nowadays sterile eggs are also produced. The hen is not allowed to see the cock and yet it lays eggs. A sterile egg never develops into a chick. Therefore he who can take milk should have no objection to taking sterile eggs.

Medical opinion is mostly in favour of mixed diet although there is a growing school, which is strongly of the opinion that anatomical and physiological evidence is in favour of man being a vegetarian. His teeth, his stomach, intestines, etc., seem to prove that nature has meant man to be a vegetarian.

Vegetarian diet, besides grains, pulses, edible roots, tubers and leaves, includes fruits, both fresh and dry. Dry fruit includes nuts like almond, pistachio, walnut, etc.

I have always been in favour of pure vegetarian diet. But experience has taught me that in order to keep perfectly fit, vegetarian diet must include milk and milk products such as curds, butter, ghee, etc. This is a significant departure from my original idea. I excluded milk and ghee from my diet for six years. At that time I felt none the worse for the denial. But in the year 1918[2], as a result of my own ignorance, I was laid up with severe dysentery. I was reduced to a skeleton, but I stubbornly refused to take any medicine and with equal stubbornness refused to take milk or buttermilk. But I could not build up my body and pick up sufficient strength to leave the bed. I had taken a vow of not taking milk. A medical friend suggested that at the time of taking the vow, I could have had in mind only the milk of the cow and buffalo, why should the vow prevent me from taking goat's milk? My wife supported him and I

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Countless people take mixed diet."
[2] The source, however, has "1917"; *vide* Vol. XV, p. 19.

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yielded.[1] Truly speaking, for one who has given up milk, though at the time of taking the vow only the cow and the buffalo were in mind, milk should be taboo. All animal milks have practically the same composition, though the proportion of the components varies in each case. So I may be said to have kept merely the letter, not the spirit of the vow. Be that as it may, goat's milk was produced immediately and I drank it. It seemed to bring me new life. I picked up rapidly and was soon able to leave the bed. On account of this and several similar experiences, I have been forced to admit the necessity of adding milk to the strict vegetarian diet. But I am convinced that in the vast vegetable kingdom there must be some kind, which, while supplying those necessary substances which we derive from milk and meat, is free from their drawbacks, ethical and other.[2]

In my opinion there are definite drawbacks in taking milk or meat. In order to get meat we have to kill. And we are certainly not entitled to any other milk except the mother's milk in our infancy. Over and above the moral drawback, there are others, purely from the point of view of health. Both milk and meat bring with them the defects of the animal from which they are derived. Domesticated cattle are hardly ever perfectly healthy. Just like man, cattle suffer from innumerable diseases. Several of these are overlooked even when the cattle are subjected to periodical medical examinations. Besides, medical examination of all the cattle in India seems to be an impossible feat, at any rate for the present. I am conducting a dairy at the Sevagram Ashram. I can easily get help from medical friends. Yet I cannot say with certainty that all the cattle in the Sevagram Dairy are healthy. On the contrary, a cow that had been considered to be healthy by everybody was found to be suffering from tuberculosis. Before this diagnosis was made, the milk of that cow had been used regularly in the Ashram. The Ashram also takes milk from the farmers in the neighbourhood. Their cattle have not been medically examined. It is difficult to determine whether a particular specimen of milk is safe for consumption or not. We have to rest content with as much safety as boiling of the milk can assure us of. If the Ashram cannot boast of fool-proof medical examination of its cattle, and be certain of the safety of its dairy products, the situation elsewhere is not likely to be much better. What applies to the milch cattle applies to a much greater

[1] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 70-1.

[2] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "But this discovery is yet to come."

extent to the animals slaughtered for meat. As a general rule, man just depends upon luck to escape from such risks. He does not seem to worry much about his health. He considers himself to be quite safe in his medical fortress in the shape of doctors, vaids and hakims. His main worry and concern is how to get wealth and position in society. This worry overshadows all the rest. Therefore so long as some selfless scientist does not, as a result of patient research work, discover a vegetable substitute for milk and meat, man will go on taking meat and milk.

Now let us consider mixed diet. Man requires food which can supply tissue-building substances to provide for the growth and daily wear and tear of the body. It should also contain something which can supply energy, fat, certain salts and roughage to help the excretion of waste matter. Tissue-building substances are known as proteins. They are obtained from milk, meat, eggs, pulses and nuts. The proteins contained in milk and meat, in others words the animal proteins, being more easily digestible and assimilable, are much more valuable than vegetable proteins. Milk is superior to meat. The medicos tell us that in cases where meat cannot be digested, milk is digested quite easily. For vegetarians milk, being the only source of animal proteins, is a very important article of diet. The proteins in raw eggs are considered to be the most easily digestible of all proteins.

But everybody cannot afford to drink milk or eat eggs. Nor are they available in every place. I would like to mention here a very important fact with regard to milk. Contrary to the popular belief, skimmed milk is a very valuable article of diet. There are times when it proves even more useful than whole milk. The chief function of milk is to supply animal proteins for tissue-building and tissue-repair. Skimming, while it partially removes the fats, does not affect the proteins at all. Moreover the available skimming instruments cannot remove all the fat from milk. Neither is there any likelihood of such an instrument being constructed.

September 4, 1942

The body requires other things besides milk, whole or skimmed. I give the second place to cereals—wheat, rice, *juwar*, *bajri*, etc. These are used as the staple diet. Different cereals are used as staple in different provinces of India. In many places, more than one kind of cereals are eaten at the same time; for instance, small quantities of wheat, *bajri* and rice are often served together just for the sake of taste. This mixture is not necessary for the

nourishment of the body. It makes it difficult to regulate the quantity of food intake, and puts an extra strain upon digestion. As all these varieties supply starch mainly, it is better to take one only at a time. Wheat may well be described as the king among cereals. If we glance at the world map, we find that wheat occupies the first place. From the point of view of health, if we can get wheat, rice and other cereals become unnecessary. If wheat is not available and *juwar*, etc., cannot be taken on account of dislike or difficulty in digesting them, rice has to be resorted to.

September 6, 1942

The cereals should be properly cleansed, ground on a grinding-stone, and the resulting flour used as it is. Sieving of the flour should be avoided. It is likely to remove the *bhusi* or the pericarp which is a rich source of salts and vitamins, both of which are most valuable from the point of view of nutrition. The pericarp also supplies roughage, which helps the action of the bowels. Rice grain being very delicate, nature has provided it with an outer covering or epicarp. This is not edible. In order to remove this inedible portion, rice has to be pounded. Pounding should be just sufficient to remove the epicarp or the outer skin of the rice grain. But machine-pounding not only removes the outer skin, but also polishes the rice by removing its pericarp. The explanation of the popularity of polished rice lies in the fact that polishing helps preservation. The pericarp is very sweet and unless it is removed, rice is easily attacked by certain organisms. Polished rice and wheat without its pericarp, supply us with almost pure starch. Important constituents of the cereals are lost with the removal of the pericarp. The pericarp of rice is sold as rice polishings. This and the pericarp of wheat can be cooked and eaten by themselves. They can be also made into chapatis or cakes.[1] It is possible that rice chapatis may be more easily digestible than whole rice and in this form a lesser quantity may result in full satisfaction.

We are in the habit of dipping each morsel of the chapati in vegetable or dal gravy before eating it. The result is that most people swallow their food without proper mastication. Mastication is an important step in the process of digestion, especially that of starch. Digestion of starch begins on its coming into contact with saliva in the mouth. Mastication ensures a thorough

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "In Konkan, poor people use rice flour for making chapatis."

mixing of food with saliva. Therefore starchy foods should be eaten in a relatively dry form, which results in a greater flow of saliva and also necessitates their thorough mastication.

After the starch-supplying cereals come the protein-supplying pulses—beans, lentils, etc. Almost everybody seems to think that pulses are an essential constituent of diet. Even meat-eaters must have pulses. It is easy to understand that those who have to do hard manual work and who cannot afford to drink milk, cannot do without pulses. But I can say without any hesitation whatsoever that those who follow sedentary occupations as, for instance, clerks, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, teachers and those who are not too poor to buy milk, do not require pulses. Pulses are generally considered to be difficult to digest and are eaten in a much smaller quantity than cereals. Out of the varieties of pulses, peas, gram and haricot beans are considered to be the most and *mung* and *masoor* (lentils) the least difficult to digest.[1]

Vegetables and fruits should come third on our list. One would expect them to be cheap and easily available in India. But it is not so. They are generally considered to be delicacies meant for the city people. In the villages fresh vegetables are a rarity and in most places fruit is also not available. This shortage of greens and fruit is a slur on the administration of India. The villagers can grow plenty of green vegetables if they wish to. The question of fruit cannot be solved so easily. The land legislation is bad from the villagers' standpoint. But I am transgressing.

Among fresh vegetables, a fair amount of leafy vegetables must be taken every day. I do not include potatoes, sweet potatoes, *suran*, etc., which supply starch mainly, among vegetables. They should be put down in the same category as starch-supplying cereals. A fair helping of ordinary fresh vegetables is advisable. Certain varieties such as cucumber, tomatoes, mustard cress and other tender leaves need not be cooked. They should be washed properly and then eaten raw in small quantities.

As for fruits, our daily diet should include the available fruits of the season, e.g., mangoes, *jambu*, guavas, grapes, papaws, limes—sweet or sour—oranges, *mosambi*, etc., should all be used in their season. The best time for taking fruit is early in the

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "It is quite obvious that non-vegetarians do not need dal at all. They eat it just for the taste. Whole pulses soaked in water overnight and about a *tola* of them chewed after they sprout, are beneficial."

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morning. A breakfast of fruit and milk should give full satisfaction. Those who take an early lunch may well have a breakfast of fruit only.

Banana is a good fruit. But as it is very rich in starch, it takes the place of bread. Milk, banana and leafy vegetable make a perfect meal.

A certain amount of fat is also necessary. This can be had in the form of ghee or oil. If ghee can be had, oil becomes unnecessary. It is difficult to digest and is not so nourishing as pure ghee. An ounce and a half of ghee per head per day should be considered ample to supply the needs of the body. Whole milk also is a source of ghee. Those who cannot afford it should take enough oil to supply the need for fat. Among oils, sweet oil, groundnut oil and coconut oil should be given preference. Oil must be fresh. If available, it is better to use hand-pressed oil. Oil and ghee sold in the bazaar are generally quite useless. It is a matter of great sorrow and shame. But so long as honesty has not become an integral part of business morals, whether through legislation or through education, the individuals will have to procure the pure article with patience and diligence. One should never be satisfied to take what one can get, irrespective of its quality. It is far better to do without ghee and oil altogether rather than to eat rancid oil and adulterated ghee. As in the case of fats, a certain amount of sugar is also necessary. Although sweet fruits supply plenty of sugar, there is no harm in taking one to one and a half ounces of sugar, brown or white, in the day. If one cannot get sweet fruits, sugar may become a necessity. But the undue prominence given to sweet things nowadays is wrong. City folk eat too much of sweet things. Milk puddings, milk sweets and sweets of other kinds are consumed in large quantities. They are all unnecessary and are harmful except when taken in very small quantities. It may be said without any fear of exaggeration that to partake of sweetmeats and other delicacies, in a country where the millions do not even get an ordinary full meal, is equivalent to robbery.

What applies to sweets applies with equal force to ghee and oil. There is no need to eat food fried in ghee or oil. To use up ghee in making *puris* and *laddus* is thoughtless extravagance. Those who are not used to such food cannot eat these things at all. For instance, Englishmen on their first coming into our country cannot eat our sweets and fried foodstuffs. Those that do eat them, I have often seen, fall ill. Taste is acquired, not born with us. All the delicacies of the world cannot equal the relish

that hunger gives to food. A hungry man will eat a dry piece of bread with the greatest relish, whereas one who is not hungry will refuse the best of sweetmeats.

September 8, 1942

Now let us consider how often and how much one should eat. Food should be taken as a matter of duty—even as a medicine—to sustain the body, never for the satisfaction of the palate. Thus pleasurable feeling comes from satisfaction of real hunger. Therefore we can say that relish is dependent upon hunger and not outside it. Because of our wrong habits and artificial way of living, very few people know what their system requires. Our parents who bring us into this world do not, as a rule, cultivate self-control. Their habits and their way of living influence the children to a certain extent. The mother's food during pregnancy is bound to affect the child. After that, during childhood the mother pampers the child with all sorts of tasty foods. She gives the child a little bit out of whatever she herself may be eating and the child's digestive system gets a wrong training from its infancy. Habits once formed are difficult to shed. There are very few who succeed in getting rid of them. But when the realization comes to man that he is his own bodyguard and his body has been dedicated to service, he desires to learn laws of keeping his body in a fit condition and tries hard to follow them.

September 9, 1942

We have now reached a point where we can lay down the amount of various foods required by a man of sedentary habits, which most men and women who will read these pages are.

Cow's milk	2 lb.
Cereals (wheat, rice, *bajri*) in all	6 oz.
Vegetables leafy	3 oz.
,, others	5 oz.
,, raw	1 oz.
Ghee	1½ oz.
Or butter	2 oz.
Gur or white sugar	1½ oz.

Fresh fruit according to one's taste and purse. In any case it is good to take two sour limes a day. The juice should be squeezed and taken with vegetables or in water, cold or hot.

All these weights are of raw stuff. I have not put down the amount of salt. It should be added afterwards according to taste.

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Now, how often should one eat? Many people take two meals a day. The general rule is to take three meals: breakfast early in the morning and before going out to work, dinner at midday and supper in the evening or later. There is no necessity to have more than three meals. In the cities some people keep on nibbling from time to time. This habit is harmful. The digestive apparatus requires rest.

5. Condiments

I have not said anything about condiments in the last chapter. Common salt may be rightly counted as the king among condiments. Many people cannot eat their food without it.[1] The body requires certain salts, and common salt is one of them. These salts occur naturally in the various foodstuffs but when food is cooked in an unscientific way, e.g., throwing away the water in which rice, potatoes or other vegetables have been boiled, the supply becomes inadequate. The deficiency then has to be made up by a separate addition of salts. As common salt is one of the most essential salts for the body, I have said in the last chapter that it might be supplemented in small quantities.

But several condiments are not required by the body as a general rule, e.g., chillies, fresh or dry, pepper, turmeric, coriander, caraway, mustard, *methi*, asafoetida, etc. These are taken just for the satisfaction of the palate. My opinion, based on my personal experience of fifty years, is that not one of these is needed to keep perfectly healthy. Those whose digestion has become very feeble might take these things as medicines for a certain length of time, if considered necessary. But one should make it a point to avoid their use for the satisfaction of the palate. All condiments, even salt, destroy the natural flavour of vegetables and cereals, etc. Those whose palate has not become vitiated enjoy the natural flavour of the foodstuffs much more than after the addition of salt or other condiments. That is why I have said that salt should be taken when necessary as an adjunct. As for chillies, they burn the mouth and irritate the stomach. Those who are not in the habit of taking chillies cannot bear them in the beginning. I have seen several cases of sore mouth caused by the taking of chillies. I know of one case who was very fond of chillies, and an excessive use resulted in his premature death. The Negro in South Africa will not touch condiments. He cannot bear the colour of turmeric in his food. In the same way, Englishmen also do not readily take to our condiments.

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "That is why it is also called *sabras*."

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6. Tea, Coffee and Cocoa

None of these is required by the body. The use of tea is said to have originated in China. It has a special use in that country. As a rule, one cannot rely on the purity of drinking-water in China and therefore it must be boiled before use to ensure safety. Some clever Chinaman discovered a grass called tea which when added to boiling water in a very small quantity gave it a golden colour. The colour did not appear unless the water was really boiling. Thus the grass became an infallible test for seeing when a given quantity of water was boiled. The way the test is used is to put the tea leaves in a strainer and let the boiling water pass through the strainer. If the water is boiling it will assume a golden colour. Another quality of tea leaves is said to be that they impart a delicate flavour to the water.

September 10, 1942

Tea prepared as above is harmless. But the tea that is generally prepared and taken has not only nothing to recommend it, it is actually harmful. The leaves contain tannin which is harmful to the body. Tannin is generally used in the tanneries to harden leather. When taken internally it produces a similar effect upon the mucous lining of the stomach and intestine. This impairs digestion and causes dyspepsia. It is said that in England innumerable women suffer from various ailments on account of their habit of drinking tea which contains tannin. Habitual tea-drinkers begin to feel restless if they do not get their cup at the usual time. In my opinion, the usefulness of tea, if any, consists in the fact that it supplies a warm sweet drink which contains some milk. The same purpose may well be served by taking boiled hot water mixed with a little milk and sugar.

What I have said about tea applies more or less to coffee also. There is a popular saying about coffee in Hindustani which says, 'Coffee allays cough and relieves flatulence, but it impairs physical and sexual vigour and makes the blood watery, so that there are three disadvantages against its two advantages.' I do not know how far the saying is justified.

October 7, 1942

I hold similar opinion with regard to cocoa. Those whose digestion works normally, do not require the help of tea, coffee or cocoa. A healthy man can get all the satisfaction that he needs out of ordinary food. I have freely partaken of all the

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three. I used to suffer from one ailment or another while I was using them. By giving them up I have lost nothing, and have benefited a good deal. I can get the same satisfaction from a clear vegetable soup that I used to derive from tea, etc. Hot water, honey and lemon make a healthy nourishing drink, which can well substitute tea or coffee.

October 8, 1942

7. Intoxicants

The intoxicants used in India might be taken as the following: alcohol, *bhang*, *ganja*, tobacco and opium. Alcohol or liquor includes the country-made liquor and *arak*, besides the large quantities of liquor imported from foreign countries. All these should be strictly prohibited. Alcohol makes a man forget himself and while its effects last, he becomes utterly incapable of doing anything useful. Those who take to drinking ruin themselves and their people. They lose all sense of decency and propriety.

There is a school who favour limited and regulated consumption of alcohol and believe it to be useful. I have not found any weight in their argument. Even if we accept their view for a moment, we have still to face the fact that innumerable human beings cannot be kept under discipline. Therefore it becomes our duty to prohibit alcoholic drinks even if it were only for the sake of this vast majority.

Parsis have strongly supported the use of toddy. They say that although toddy is an intoxicant, it is also a food and even helps to digest other foodstuffs. I have carefully examined this argument and have read a fair amount of literature pertaining to this subject. But I have been a witness of the terrible straits to which toddy reduces the poor and therefore I have come to the conclusion that it can have no place in man's food.

October 9, 1942

The advantages attributed to toddy are all available from other foodstuffs. Toddy is made out of *khajuri* juice. Fresh *khajuri* juice is not an intoxicant. It is known as *nira* in Hindustani and many people have been cured of their constipation as a result of drinking *nira*. I have taken it myself though it did not act as a laxative with me. I found that it had the same food value as sugar-cane juice. If one drinks a glass of *nira* in the morning instead of drinking tea, etc., he should not need anything else for breakfast. As in the case of sugar-cane juice, palm juice can be boiled to make palm jaggery. *Khajuri* is a variety of palm

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tree. Several varieties of palm grow spontaneously in our country. All of them yield drinkable juice. As *nira* gets fermented very quickly, it has to be used up immediately and therefore on the spot. Since this condition is difficult to fulfil except to a limited extent, in practice, the best use of *nira* is to convert it into palm jaggery. Palm jaggery can well replace sugar-cane jaggery. In fact some people prefer it to the latter. One advantage of palm jaggery over sugar-cane jaggery is that it is less sweet and therefore one can eat more of it. The All-India Village Industries Association has done a great deal to popularize palm jaggery, but much remains to be done. If the palms that are used for making toddy are used for making jaggery, India will never lack sugar and the poor will be able to get good jaggery for very little money. Palm jaggery can be converted into molasses and refined sugar. But the jaggery is much more useful than refined sugar. The salts present in the jaggery are lost in the process of refining. Just as refined wheat flour and polished rice lose some of their nutritive value because of the loss of the pericarp, refined sugar also loses some of the nutritive value of the jaggery. One may generalize that all foodstuffs are richer if taken in their natural state as far as possible.

Talking of toddy, I naturally began to talk of *nira* and from that I went on to the topic of jaggery. But let us return to liquor for the moment.

None of the public workers perhaps have the same bitter experience of the evils of drinks as I have had. In South Africa, most of the Indians going there as indentured labourers were addicted to drinking. The law there did not in my time permit Indians to take liquor to their houses except under a medical certificate. They could go to the drinking booths and drink as much as they liked. Even the women had fallen victims to this evil habit. I have seen them in a most pathetic condition. One who has seen those scenes near the public bars will never support drinking.

African Negroes were not given to drinking originally. Liquor may be said to have simply ruined them. Large numbers of Negro labourers are seen to waste all their earnings in drinking so that their lives become devoid of any grace.

And what about Englishmen? I have seen respectable Englishmen falling in the gutter under the effect of alcohol. There is no exaggeration in this statement. During the war many Englishmen had to leave the Transvaal. Some of them were taken in my home. One of them was an engineer and a

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good man in every way, when not under the effects of alcohol. He was a theosophist. Unfortunately, he was addicted to drink and lost all control over himself when he was drunk. He tried hard to give up the habit, but as far as I know he never succeeded.

October 10, 1942

On my return from South Africa to India I had a similar painful experience of the evils of drink. Several Princes have been and are being ruined by liquor. What applies to them applies more or less to many a rich youth. The condition of labour as a result of taking alcohol is also pitiable. That as a result of such bitter experiences, I have become a staunch opponent of alcohol will not surprise the readers.

In a nutshell, alcohol ruins one physically, morally, intellectually and economically.

8. Opium

The criticism levelled against alcohol applies equally to opium, although the two are very different in their action. Under the effects of alcohol a person becomes a rowdy, whereas opium makes the addict dull and lazy. He becomes even drowsy and incapable of doing anything useful. The evil effects of alcohol strike the eye every day, but those of opium are not so glaring. Anyone wishing to see its devastating effect should go to Assam or Orissa. Thousands have fallen victims to this intoxicant in those provinces. They give one the impression of living on the verge of death.

But China is said to have suffered the most from the evils of opium. The Chinese possess a better physique than the Indians. But the Chinese addicted to opium look miserable and more dead than alive. An opium addict will stoop to anything in order to procure his dose of opium.

Several years ago, what is known as the Opium War took place between China and Great Britain. China did not wish to buy opium from India. But the English wanted to impose it on China. India was also to blame, in that several Indians had taken opium contracts in India. The trade paid well and the treasury received crores of rupees as opium revenue. This was obviously an immoral trade and yet it went on flourishing. Finally, as a result of a mighty agitation in England, it was stopped. A thing of this type, which simply ruins people, should not be tolerated for a single minute.

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After having had my say on opium as an intoxicant, I must admit that its place in *Materia Medica* is incontestable. It is impossible to do without this drug as a medical agent. But that can be no reason for using it as an intoxicant. Opium is a well-known poison and its use as an intoxicant should be strictly prohibited.

9. Tobacco

Tobacco has simply worked havoc among mankind. Once caught in its tangle, it is rare to find anyone get out again. The use of tobacco is prevalent all over the world in one form or another. Tolstoy has called it the worst of all intoxicants. This verdict of that great man should command our attention and respect. He had freely indulged in the use of tobacco and alcohol in his early days and was familiar with the harmful effects of both. I must admit, however, that in spite of this, I cannot talk about the evils of tobacco with the same authority and knowledge as in the case of alcohol and opium. But I can certainly say that I am not aware of a single advantage accruing from the use of tobacco. Smoking is an expensive habit. I know of an Englishman who used to spend five pounds, i.e., seventy-five rupees on tobacco every month. His monthly earnings were twenty-five pounds, that is, he smoked away one-fifth of his monthly income!

Tobacco-smokers become callous and careless of others' feelings. Non-smokers generally cannot bear the smell of tobacco smoke, but one often comes across people in railway trains and tramways who just go on smoking, heedless of the feelings of their neighbours. Smoking causes salivation and most smokers have no hesitation in spitting anywhere.

Tobacco-smokers' mouths emit a foul smell. Probably tobacco kills the finer feelings and perhaps it is to this end that men take to smoking. There is no doubt that tobacco is an intoxicant and while under its effect one forgets one's worries and misfortunes. One of Tolstoy's characters had to do a ghastly deed. Tolstoy makes him drink liquor at first. The man was to murder someone. In spite of the effects of liquor, he hesitated to do so. Lost in thought he lights a cigar and begins to smoke. As he watched the smoke curling up he exclaimed, 'What a coward I am! When it is my duty to commit this murder, why should I hesitate to do so? Get up, go ahead and do your job.' Thus his wavering mind finally decided to commit it. I know this argument is not very convincing. All smokers are not bad men. I

know that millions of smokers seem to live ordinary straightforward lives. All the same the thoughtful should ponder over the above quotation. What Tolstoy perhaps means is that the smoker keeps on committing minor crimes which generally pass unnoticed.

In India, people use tobacco for smoking, snuffing and also for chewing. Some believe that snuff produces a beneficial effect, and they use it under the advice of vaids and hakims. I think that it is not necessary. A healthy man should never have such requirements.

As for chewing tobacco, it is the dirtiest of the three ways in which tobacco is used. I have always maintained that its usefulness is a mere figment of the imagination. I have found no reason to change my opinion. There is a popular saying in Gujarati which says, 'All the three are equally guilty—the smoker fills his house with smoke, the chewer dirties every corner and the snuffer his clothes.'

Tobacco-chewers, if they are sensible, keep a spittoon at hand. But the vast majority spit on the floor, in the corners and on the walls unabashed. The smoker fills his house with the smoke and runs the risk of its catching fire, and he who takes snuff soils his clothes. If there are any who keep handkerchiefs and thus save their clothes from soiling, they are exceptions that prove the general rule. Lovers of (or seekers after) health, if they are slaves to any of these evil habits, will resolutely get out of the slavery. Several people are addicted to one, two or all the three of these habits. They do not appear loathsome to them. But if we think over it calmly, there is nothing becoming about blowing off smoke or keeping the mouth stuffed with tobacco and *pan* practically the whole day long or opening the snuff-box and taking snuff every now and then. All the three are most dirty habits.

10. Brahmacharya

Brahmacharya literally means that mode of life which leads to the realization of God. That realization is impossible without practising self-restraint. Self-restraint means restraint of all the senses. But ordinarily *brahmacharya* is understood to mean control over the sexual organs and prevention of seminal discharge through complete control over the sexual instinct and the sexual organs. This becomes natural for the man who exercises self-restraint all round. It is only when observance of *brahmacharya* becomes natural to one that he or she derives the greatest benefit from it.

Such a person should be free from anger and kindred passions. The so-called *brahmacharis* that one generally comes across behave as if their one occupation in life was the display of bad temper.

One notices that these people disregard the ordinary rules of *brahmacharya* and merely aim at and expect to prevent seminal discharges. They fail to achieve their object. Some of them become almost insane while others betray a sickly appearance. They are unable to prevent the discharge and if they succeed in restraining themselves from sexual intercourse, they think they have attained all that was needed. Now mere abstention from sexual intercourse cannot be termed *brahmacharya*. So long as the desire for intercourse is there, one *cannot* be said to have attained *brahmacharya*. Only he who has burnt away the sexual desire in its entirety may be said to have attained control over his sexual organs. The absence of seminal discharges is a straightforward result of *brahmacharya*, but it is not all. There is something very striking about a full-fledged *brahmachari*. His speech, his thought, and his actions, all bespeak possession of vital force.

Such a *brahmachari* does not flee from the company of women. He may not hanker after it nor may he avoid it even when it means rendering of necessary service. For him the distinction between men and women almost disappears. No one should distort my words to use them as an argument in favour of licentiousness. What I mean to say is that a man, whose sexual desire has been burnt up, ceases to make a distinction between men and women. It must be so. His conception of beauty alters. He will not look at the external form. He or she whose character is beautiful will be beautiful in his eyes. Therefore, the sight of a woman called beautiful will not ruffle or excite him. Even his sexual organs will begin to look different. In other words, such a man has so controlled his sexual instinct that he never gets erections. He does not become impotent for lack of the necessary secretions of sexual glands. But these secretions in his case are sublimated into a vital force pervading his whole being. It is said that an impotent man is not free from the sexual desire. Some of my correspondents belonging to this group tell me that they desire erection but they fail to get it and yet have seminal discharges. Such men have either become impotent or are on the way to become so for loss of the necessary secretions. This is a pitiable state. But the cultivated impotency of the man, whose sexual desire has been burnt up and whose sexual secretions are being converted into vital force, is wholly different. It is to be desired by everybody. It is true that such a *brahmachari* is rare to find.

I took the vow of *brahmacharya* in 1906.[1] In other words, my effort to become a perfect *brahmachari* started 36 years ago. I cannot say I have attained the full *brahmacharya* of my definition, but in my opinion I have made substantial progress towards it. If God wills it, I might attain even perfection in this life. Anyway, there is no relaxation of effort nor is there any despondence in me. I do not consider thirty-six years too long a period for the effort. The richer the prize, the richer must the effort be. Meanwhile my ideas regarding the necessity for *brahmacharya* have become stronger. Some of my experiments have not reached a stage when they might be placed before the public with advantage. I hope to do so some day, if they succeed to my satisfaction. Success might make the attainment of *brahmacharya* comparatively easier.

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But the *brahmacharya* on which I wish to lay emphasis in this chapter is limited to the conservation of sexual secretions. The glorious fruit of perfect *brahmacharya* is not to be had from the observance of this limited *brahmacharya.* But no one can reach perfect *brahmacharya* without reaching the limited variety.

And maintenance of perfect health should be considered almost an utter impossibility without the *brahmacharya* leading to the conservation of the sexual secretions. To countenance wastage of a secretion which has the power of creating another human being is, to say the least, an indication of gross ignorance. A firm grasp of the fact that semen is meant to be used only for procreation and not for self-indulgence, leaves no room whatsoever for indulging in animal passion. Assimilation of the knowledge that the vital fluid is never meant for waste should restrain men and women from becoming crazy over sexual intercourse. Marriage will then come to have a different significance and the way it is treated at present will appear disgusting. Marriage ought to signify a union of hearts between the two partners. A married couple is worthy of being considered *brahmacharis* if they never think of sexual intercourse except for the purposes of procreation. Such an intercourse is not possible unless both parties desire it. It will never be resorted to in order to satisfy passion without the desire for a child. After intercourse which has been performed as a matter of duty, the desire to repeat the process should never arise.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 165–8.

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What I am saying may not be taken as copy-book wisdom. The reader should know that I am writing this after a long personal experience. I know that what I am writing is contrary to the common practice. But in order to make progress we have often to go beyond the limits of common experience. Great discoveries have been possible only as a result of challenging the common experience or commonly held beliefs. The invention of the simple match-stick was challenge to the common experience and the discovery of electricity confounded all preconceived notions.

What is true of physical things is equally true of things spiritual. In the early days there was no such thing as marriage. Men and women, as in the case of animals, mated promiscuously. Self-restraint was unknown. Some advanced men went beyond the rut of common practice and discovered the law of self-restraint. It is our duty to investigate the hidden possibilities of the law of self-restraint. Therefore, when I say it is the duty of every man and woman to take the marital relations to the state indicated by me, it is not to be dismissed as utterly impracticable. If human life is moulded as it ought to be, conservation of the vital fluid can become a natural thing for everyone.

The sexual glands are all the time secreting the semen. This secretion should be utilized for enhancing one's mental, physical and spiritual energy. He who would learn to utilize it thus will find that he requires very little food to keep his body in a fit condition. And yet he will be as capable as any of undertaking physical labour. Mental exertion will not tire him easily nor will he show the ordinary signs of old age. Just as a ripe fruit or an old leaf falls off naturally, so will such a *brahmachari* when his time comes pass away with all his faculties intact. Although with the passage of time the effects of the natural wear and tear must be manifest in his body, his intellect instead of showing signs of decay should show progressive clarity.[1] If all this is correct, and I claim that it is, the real key to health lies in the conservation of vital energy.

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I give here the rules for the conservation of vital force, as I know them.

1. Sexual desire has its root in one's thought. Therefore complete control over thought is necessary. The way to achieve

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "The lustre on his face should also increase. One in whom this lustre is not seen is to that extent lacking in *brahmacharya*. He has not learnt the art of conserving the vital force."

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it is this: Never let your mind remain idle. Keep it filled with good and useful ideas. In other words keep thinking of whatever duty you have on hand. There need be no worry about it, but think out how you can become an expert in your department and then put your thoughts into action. There should be no waste of thought.[1] *Japa* (repetition of God's name) is a great support when idle thoughts haunt you. Contemplate God in the form you have pictured Him unless you know Him as formless. While *japa* is going on, no other thought should be allowed to enter one's mind. This is the ideal state. But if one cannot reach it and all sorts of uninvited thoughts invade one's mind, one should not become disheartened. *Namajapa* should be continued faithfully and in the confidence that ultimate victory is bound to follow.

2. As with our thoughts, so with our reading and talking. These should be healthy and clean. Erotic literature should be avoided. Idle, indecent talk leads to indecent action.[2] It is obvious that one who does not wish to feed his animal passions will avoid occupations which tend to induce them.

3. Like the mind, the body must also be kept well and usefully occupied, so that the fatigue of the day may lead to refreshing dreamless sleep. As far as possible, work should be in the open. Those who for some reason or the other cannot undertake physical labour, should make it a point to take regular exercise. In my opinion, a brisk walk in the open is the best form of exercise. During the walk the mouth should be closed and breathing should be done through the nose. Sitting or walking, the body must be held erect. To sit or stand otherwise is a sign of laziness and laziness is the enemy of self-restraint. Yogic exercises—*asanas*—are also useful. This much I can say from my personal experience that one who keeps his hands and feet, eyes and ears healthily occupied does not have much difficulty in controlling the animal appetite. Everyone can test this for himself.

4. A Sanskrit text says that a man becomes what he eats. A glutton who exercises no restraint in eating is a slave to his animal passions. One who has not been able to control his palate,

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "But man is not occupied all the time. He feels tired and the body needs rest. When he does not get sleep, it is possible that such uninvited thoughts invade his mind."

[2] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "There is a good deal of prurient literature about. One should not let one's attention turn to it. One should read and ponder over noble works or works pertaining to one's occupation. Arithmetic, etc., have an important place here."

will never be able to control the other senses. If this is true, it is clear that one should take just enough food for the requirements of the body and no more. The diet should be healthy and well-balanced. The body was never meant to be treated as a refuse bin holding the foods that the palate demands. Food is meant to sustain the body. His body has been given to man as a means of self-realization. Self-realization means realization of God. A person who has made this realization the object of his or her life, will never become a slave to the animal passion.

5. Man should look upon every woman as his mother, sister or daughter. No one ever entertains impure thoughts with regard to his mother, sister or daughter. Similarly woman should look upon every man as her father, brother or son.

I have given more hints than these in my other writings, but they are all contained in the five given above. Anyone who observes them should find it easy to overcome what has been called the greatest of all passions. A person who has a real desire for *brahmacharya* will not give up the effort because he or she regards the observance of these rules as impossible or at least within the reach of one in a million. The effort is a joy in itself. To put it in another way, the joy of possessing perfect health is not to be compared with any other, and perfect health is unattainable by slaves. Slavery to one's animality is perhaps the worst of all.

A few words about contraceptives will not be out of place here. The practice of preventing progeny, by means of artificial methods, is not a new thing. In the past such methods were practised secretly and they were crude. Modern society has given them a respectable place and made improvements. They have been given a philanthropic garb. The advocates of contraceptives say that sexual desire is a natural instinct. Some call it a blessing. They therefore say that it is not desirable to suppress the desire even if it were possible. Birth-control by means of self-restraint is, in their opinion, difficult to practise. If a substitute for self-restraint is not prescribed, the health of innumerable women is bound to suffer through frequent pregnancies. They add that if births are not regulated, over-population will ensue; individual families will be pauperized and their children will be ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-educated. Therefore, they argue, it is the duty of scientists to devise harmless and effective methods of birth-control. This argument has failed to convince me. The use of contraceptives is likely to produce evils of which we have no conception. But the worst danger is that the use of contraceptives bids fair to kill the desire for self-restraint. In my opinion it is

too heavy a price to pay for any possible immediate gain. But this is not the place to argue my point. Those who would like to pursue this subject further should procure the booklet called *Self-restraint* v. *Self-indulgence*[1], read and digest what I have said therein and then do as their heads and hearts may dictate. Those who have not the desire or the leisure to read the booklet will, if they follow my advice, avoid contraceptives as poison. They should try their best to exercise self-restraint. They should take up such activities as would keep their bodies and minds fully occupied and give a suitable outlet to their energy. It is necessary to have some healthy recreation when one is tired by physical labour. There should not be a single moment of idleness for the devil to creep in. In this way, true conjugal love will be established and directed into healthy channels. Both the partners will make a progressive rise in their moral height. The joy of true renunciation once they come to know it, will prevent them from turning to animal enjoyment. Self-deception is the greatest stumbling block. Instead of controlling the mind, the fountain of all animal desire, men and women involve themselves in the vain endeavour to avoid the physical act. If there is a determination to control the thought and the action, victory is sure to follow. Man must understand that woman is his companion and helpmate in life and not a means of satisfying his carnal desire. There must be a clear perception that the purpose of human creation was wholly different from that of the satisfaction of animal wants.

December 13, 1942

PART II

NATURAL THERAPEUTICS

1. Earth

These chapters are written in order to introduce the reader to this most important branch of therapeutics and tell him how I have made use of these methods in my own life. The subject has been touched upon in the foregoing chapters. It will be dealt with in some detail here. The science of natural therapeutics is based on a use, in the treatment of disease, of the same five

[1] Containing a collection of Gandhiji's and Mahadev Desai's writings as reproduced from *Young India* and *Harijan*. For Gandhiji's Prefaces to the second and third editions of the book, *vide* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 184-6, and Vol. XXXVII, pp. 119-20.

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elements which constitute the human body. To refresh the reader's memory, these are earth, water, ether, light and air. It is my effort to point out how they can be utilized for health purposes.

Up till the year 1901, although I did not rush to doctors whenever I happened to get ill, I did use their remedies to a certain extent. I used to take fruit-salt for constipation. The late Dr. Pranjivan Mehta who had come to Natal introduced me to certain drugs to remove general lassitude. This led me to read literature on the uses of drugs. Add to this a little more knowledge I gained by a certain amount of work I had put in at a cottage hospital in Natal. This enabled me to carry on for some time, but none of the drugs did me any good in the end. Headaches and loss of a sense of general well-being persisted.[1] I was very dissatisfied with this state of things and what little faith I had in medicines began to fade.

All through this interval my experiments in dietetics were continued. I had great faith in nature-cure methods, but there was nobody to help me with practical guidance in their use. With the help of whatever knowledge I could gather by reading a little of nature-cure literature, I tried to treat myself by diet regulation. My habit of going out for long walks also stood me in good stead, and thanks to that habit I did not have actually to take to bed. While I was thus managing to keep going somehow, Mr. Polak handed me Just's[2] book, called *Return to Nature*. He did not follow Just's instructions himself, except that he tried to regulate his diet more or less according to Just's teaching. But knowing me as he did, he thought I would like the book. Just lays great emphasis on the use of earth. I felt that I ought to give it a trial. For constipation, Just advises cold mud-poultices on the lower abdomen. I made a mud-poultice by mixing clean, dry earth with water, packed it in a piece of thin cloth and kept it on the abdomen throughout the night. The result was most satisfactory. I had a natural well-formed motion the next morning and from that day onwards I have hardly ever touched fruit-salt. Occasionally I feel the need of a purgative and take less than a dessert-spoonful of castor oil early in the morning. The mud-poultice should be three inches broad, six inches long and half an inch thick. Just claims that mud can cure man bitten by a poisonous snake. He would pack wet earth all round the body. I mention this for what it is worth. I would like to put down

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "So I used to take iron and *nux vomica* prescribed by Dr. Pranjivan Mehta."

[2] Adolf Just

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here what I have tested and proved for myself. It is my experience that a mud-poultice applied to the head, relieves headache in most cases. I have tried it in hundreds of cases. Headache may be due to several causes, but whatever the cause, as a general rule, an application of mud-poultice relieves it for the time being.

Mud-poultices cure ordinary boils. I have applied mud to discharging abscesses as well. For these cases I prepare the poultice by packing the mud in a clean piece of cloth dipped in potassium permanganate lotion, and apply it to the abscess after washing clean with permanganate lotion. In the majority of cases this treatment results in complete cure. I do not remember a single case in which it has failed me. Mud application immediately relieves the pain of a wasp sting. I have used it in many cases of scorpion sting, though with much less success. Scorpions have become a nuisance in Sevagram. We have tried all the known treatments for scorpion sting, but none has proved infallible. I can say this that the results of mud application are not inferior to those of any other form of treatment.

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In high fever, an application of mud-poultice on the head and abdomen is very useful. Although it does not always bring down the temperature, it does invariably soothe the patient and make him feel better, so that the patients themselves ask for these applications. I have used it in several cases of typhoid fever. The fever no doubt runs its own course but mud applications seem to relieve restlessness and abate the suffering. We have had about ten cases of typhoid fever in Sevagram with complete recovery in every case, so that the inmates of the Ashram are no longer afraid of typhoid fever. I have not used any drugs in the treatment of these cases. I have made use of other nature-cure methods besides mud-poultices, but about those in their own place.

In Sevagram we have made free use of hot mud-poultices as a substitute for antiphlogistine. A little (mustard) oil and salt is added to the mud and it is heated sufficiently long to ensure sterilization.

I have not told the reader what kind of earth should be used for mud-poultices. In the beginning I used to procure sweet-smelling clean, red earth. It emits a delicate smell when it is mixed with water. But this kind of earth is not easy to obtain. In a city like Bombay it is a problem to get any kind of earth. It is safe to use soft alluvial clay, which is neither gritty nor

sticky. One should never use earth taken from manured soil. Earth should be dried, pounded and passed through a fine sieve. If there is any doubt as to its cleanliness, it should be well heated and thus sterilized. Mud used as a poultice on a clean surface need not be thrown away after use. It can be used again and again after drying it in the sun or on fire and pounding and sieving it. I am not aware that mud-poultice made out of the same earth again and again as described above, is any the less efficacious. I have myself used it in this way and did not find it any the less efficacious for repeated use. Some friends who regularly use mud-poultices, tell me that mud from the Jumna banks is particularly good for this purpose.

EATING EARTH: Just[1] writes that clean earth may be eaten in order to overcome constipation. Five to ten grams is the maximum dose. The rationale is said to be this. Earth is not digested. It acts as roughage and must pass out. The peristalsis thus stimulated pushes out the faecal matter as well. I have not tried it myself. Therefore those who wish to do so should try it on their own responsibility. I am inclined to think that a trial or two is not likely to harm anyone.

2. WATER

Hydrotherapy is a well-known and ancient form of therapy. Many books have been written on the subject, but in my opinion the form of hydrotherapy suggested by Kuhne[2] is simple and effective. Kuhne's book on nature cure is very popular in India. It has been translated in several languages of India. Andhra has the greatest number of Kuhne's followers. He has written a good deal about diet as well, but here I wish to confine myself to his experiments in hydrotherapy.

Hip-bath and sitz-bath[3] are the most important of Kuhne's contribution to hydrotherapy. He has devised a special tub for use though one can do without it. Any tub thirty to thirty-six inches long according to the patient's height generally serves the purpose. Experience will indicate the proper size. The tub should be filled with fresh cold water so that it does not overflow when the patient sits in it. In summer the water may be iced, if it is not cold enough to give a gentle shock to the patient. Generally water kept in earthen jars overnight answers

[1] *Arogyani Chavi*, however, has "Kuhne".
[2] Louis Kuhne
[3] *Arogyani Chavi*, however, has "friction-bath".

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the purpose. Water can also be cooled by putting a piece of cloth on the surface of the water and then fanning it vigorously. The tub should be kept against the bathroom wall and a plank put in the tub to serve as back rest. The patient should sit in the tub keeping his feet outside. Portions of the body outside water should be kept well covered so that the patient does not feel cold.[1] After the patient is comfortably seated in the tub, gentle friction should be applied to his abdomen with a soft towel. This bath can be taken for five to thirty minutes. When it is over, the body should be rubbed dry and the patient put to bed.

Hip-bath brings down the temperature in high fever, and given in the manner described above, it never does any harm, and may do much good. It relieves constipation and improves digestion. The patient feels fresh and active after it. In cases of constipation, Kuhne advises a brisk walk for half an hour immediately after the bath. It should never be given on a full stomach.

I have tried hip-baths on a fairly large scale. They have proved efficacious in more than 75 cases out of 100. In cases of hyperpyrexia, if the patient's condition permits of his being seated in the tub, the temperature immediately invariably falls at least by two to three degrees, and the onset of delirium is averted.

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The rationale of the hip-bath according to Kuhne is this: Whatever the apparent cause of fever, the real cause in every case is one and the same, i.e., accumulation of waste matter in the intestines. The heat generated by the putrefaction of this waste matter is manifested in the form of fever and several other ailments. Hip-bath brings down this internal fever so that fever and other ailments which are the external manifestations thereof subside automatically. How far this reasoning is correct, I cannot say. It is for experts to do so. Although the medical profession have taken up some things from nature-cure methods, on the whole they have given a cold shoulder to naturopathy. In my opinion both the parties are to be blamed for this state of affairs. The medical profession have got into the habit of confining themselves to whatever is included in their own curriculum. They present an attitude of indifference, if not that of contempt, for anything that lies outside their groove. On the

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "The room where the tub is kept should have sufficient light and proper ventilation."

other hand, the nature-curists nurse a feeling of grievance against the medicos and, in spite of their very limited scientific knowledge, they make tall claims. They lack the spirit of organization. Each one is self-satisfied and works by himself instead of all pooling their resources for the advancement of their system. No one tries to work out in a scientific spirit all the implications and possibilities of the system. No one tries to cultivate humility (if it is possible to cultivate humility).

I have not said all this in order to belittle the work of the naturopaths. As a lay co-worker, I wish them to see things in their true colour so that they may make improvements wherever possible. It is my conviction that so long as some dynamic personality, from among the naturopaths themselves, does not come forward with the zeal of a missionary, things will continue as they are. Orthodox medicine has its own science, medical unions and teaching institutions. It has too a certain measure of success. The medical profession should not be expected to put faith, all of a sudden, in things which are yet to be fully tested and scientifically proved.

In the mean time the public should know that the speciality of nature-cure methods lies in the fact that being natural, they can be safely practised by laymen. If a man suffering from headache wets a piece of cloth in cold water and wraps it round his head, it can do no harm. The addition of earth to cold water enhances the utility of the cold pack.

Now about the sitz or friction-bath. The organ of reproduction is one of the most sensitive part of the body. There is something illusive about the sensitiveness of the glans penis and the foreskin. Anyway, I know not how to describe it. Kuhne has made use of this knowledge for therapeutic purposes. He advises application of gentle friction to the outer end of the external sexual organ by means of a soft wet piece of cloth, while cold water is being poured. In the case of the male the glans penis should be covered with the foreskin before applying friction. The method advised by Kuhne is this: A stool should be placed in a tub of cold water so that the seat is just about the level of water in the tub. The patient should sit on the stool with his feet outside the tub and apply gentle friction to the sexual organ which just touches the surface of the water in the tub. This friction should never cause pain. On the contrary the patient should find it pleasant and feel rested and peaceful at the end of the bath. Whatever the ailment, the sitz-bath makes the patient feel better for the time being. Kuhne

places sitz-baths higher than hip-baths. I have had much less experience of the former than of the latter. The blame, I think, lies mostly with myself. I have been lax. Those whom I advised sitz-baths, have not been patient with the experiment, so that I cannot express an opinion on the efficacy of these baths, based on personal experience. It is worth a trial by everyone. If there is any difficulty about finding a tub, it is possible to pour water from a jug or a *lota* and take the friction-bath. It is bound to make the patient feel rested and peaceful. As a general rule people pay scant attention to the cleansing of the sexual organ. The friction-bath will easily achieve that end. Unless one is particularly careful, dirt accumulates between the foreskin and the glans penis. This must be removed. Insistence on keeping the sexual organ clean and patiently following the treatment outlined above will make the observance of *brahmacharya* comparatively easier. It will result in making the local nerve endings less sensitive and unwanted seminal emissions less likely. To say the least it is very unclean to allow seminal emissions to occur. Greater insistence on cleanliness should and will cause a feeling of revulsion against the process and make one much more particular than otherwise in taking all the precautions to avoid them.

Having dealt with the two Kuhne baths, a few words about wet-sheet packs will not be out of place. It is very useful in pyrexia and insomnia. The method of giving wet-sheet packs is this: Spread three or four thick broad woollen blankets on a cot and on top of them a thick cotton sheet dipped in cold water with the water wrung out. The patient lies flat on the wet sheet with his head resting on a pillow outside the sheet. The wet sheet and the blankets are wrapped round the patient covering the whole body except the head which is covered with a damp towel treated after the manner of the wet sheet. The sheet and the blankets are wrapped round the patient, so that outside air cannot get inside. Though the patient feels a gentle shock when first laid in the wet-sheet pack, he finds it pleasant afterwards. In a minute or two he begins to feel warm. Unless the fever has become chronic, in about five minutes it begins to come down with sweating. In resistant cases I have kept the patient wrapped in the wet-sheet pack up to half an hour. This has finally resulted in sweating. Sometimes there is no sweating but the patient goes off to sleep. In that case he should not be awakened. The sleep indicates that the wet-sheet pack has produced a soothing effect and he is quite comfortable. The temperature

invariably falls at least by one or two degrees as a result of the wet-sheet pack.

It was over thirty years ago that my second son[1] suffered from double pneumonia and high fever resulting in delirium. I had a medical friend advising me as to his condition. I would not, much to his sorrow, try his prescription. But I tried water cure. I used to put him in wet-sheet packs when fever shot up very high. After six or seven days the temperature went down. So far as I remember I gave him orange juice also, but nothing else. Typhoid supervened. It lasted 42 days.[2] There was no treatment beyond simple nursing. I gave him milk and water for food. He had daily sponges. He was completely cured and is today the strongest and healthiest of all my four sons. At least this much might be said of the treatment that he was none the worse for it.

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Wet-sheet packs are also useful in the treatment of prickly heat, urticaria, other forms of skin irritation, measles, smallpox, etc. I have tried them on a fairly large scale for these ailments. For smallpox and measles cases, I added enough potassium permanganate to the water to give it a light pink colour. The sheet used for these patients should afterwards be sterilized by soaking it in boiling water and leaving it in it till it cools down sufficiently and then washed with soap and water.

In cases where circulation has become sluggish, the leg muscles feel sore and there is a peculiar ache and feeling of discomfort in the legs, an ice massage does a lot of good. This treatment is more effective in summer months. Massaging a weak patient with ice in winter might prove a risky affair.

Now a few words about the therapeutics of hot water. An intelligent use of hot water gives relief in many cases. Application of iodine is a very popular remedy for all sorts of injuries and the like. Application of hot water will prove equally effective in most of these cases. Tincture of iodine is applied on swollen and bruised areas. Hot water fomentations are likely to give equal relief, if not more. Again, iodine drops are used in cases of earache. Irrigation of the ear with warm water is likely to relieve the pain in most of these cases. The use of

[1] Manilal Gandhi; *vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 199-201.

[2] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "The temperature went up to 103°. It is possible that my memory fails me as to degrees. I gave this treatment against the advice of my doctor friends. I did not give him any medicine."

iodine is attended with certain risks. The patient may have allergy towards the drug. Iodine mistaken for something else and taken internally might prove disastrous. But there is no risk whatever in using hot water. Boiling water is as good a disinfectant as tincture of iodine. I do not mean to belittle the usefulness of iodine or suggest that hot water can replace it in all cases. Iodine is one of the few drugs which I regard most useful and necessary, but it is an expensive thing. The poor cannot afford to buy it and moreover its use cannot be safely entrusted to everybody. But water is available everywhere. We may not despise its therapeutic value because it is obtained so easily. Knowledge of common household remedies often proves a godsend in many a crisis.

In cases of scorpion-stings where all remedies have failed, immersion of the part in hot water has been found to relieve the pain to a certain extent.

A shivering fit or a *rigor* can be made to subside by putting buckets of hot boiling water all round the patient who is well wrapped up or by saturating the atmosphere of the room with steam by some other device. A rubber hot-water bag is the most useful thing, but it is not to be found in every household. A glass bottle with a well-fitting cork, filled with hot water and wrapped in a piece of cloth, serves the same purpose. Care should be taken to choose bottles that will not crack on hot water being poured into them.

Steam is a more valuable therapeutic agent. It can be used to make the patient sweat. Steam-baths are most useful in cases of rheumatism and other joint-pains.[1]

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The easiest as well as the oldest method of taking steam-bath is this: Spread a blanket or two on a sparsely but tightly woven cot and put one or two covered vessels full with boiling water under it. Make the patient lie flat on the cot and cover him up in such a way that the ends of the covering blankets touch the ground and thus prevent the steam from escaping, and the outside air from getting in. After arranging everything as above, the lid from the vessels containing boiling water is removed and steam soon gets on to the patient lying between the blankets. It may be necessary to change the water

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Steam is very useful for people who are overweight."

once or twice. Usually in India people keep an *angithi* under pots to keep the water boiling. This ensures continuous discharge of steam, but is attended with risk of accidents. A single spark might set fire to the blankets or to the cot and endanger the patient's life. Therefore it is advisable to use the method described by me even though it might seem slow and tedious.

Some people add *neem* leaves or other herbs to the water used for generating steam. I do not know if such an addition increases the efficiency of steam. The object is to induce sweat and that is attained by mere steam.

In cases of cold feet or aching of legs, the patient should be made to sit with his feet and legs immersed up to the knees in as hot a water as he can bear. A little mustard powder can be added to the water. The foot-bath should not last for more than fifteen minutes. This treatment improves the local circulation and gives immediate relief.

In cases of common cold and sore throat a steam kettle which is very much like an ordinary tea kettle with a long nozzle can be used for applying steam to the nose or throat. A rubber tube of required length can be attached to any ordinary kettle for this purpose.

3. Akash (Ether?)

Akash is a difficult word to translate as are indeed all the other four elements so-called. For *pani* is not mere water in the original, nor *vayu* wind, or *prithvi* earth, or *teja* light. *Akash* is ether least of all. Perhaps the nearest equivalent is emptiness taken in its literal sense. And it is horribly inexpressive of the original. All the five in the original are as living as life. If, however, we take ether as the nearest equivalent for *akash*, we must say that we know very little about ether itself and *akash* much less. Our knowledge of its therapeutic uses is still more limited. *Akash* might be taken for the empty space surrounding the earth and the atmosphere round it. On a clear day, on looking up, one sees a beautiful mauve blue canopy which is known as the *akash* or sky. So far as we are concerned, this sky or the ether is limitless. We are surrounded by it on every side, and there is no nook or corner without it. Generally we imagine that the sky is something resting upon the high—it is the blue canopy above us. But the sky is as much above us as below and all around us. We move round and round with the earth. Therefore the *akash* is round and everybody is within it. It is an envelope whose outermost surface is measureless.

The lower strata of the *akash* for a number of miles are filled with air. But for this man would become suffocated in spite of the emptiness. True, we cannot see the air, but we can feel it when in motion. Sky or the ether is the abode of the atmosphere. One can pump out air, say, from an empty bottle and create a vacuum, but who can pump out the vacuum itself?[1] That is *akash*.

This *akash* we have to make use of to maintain or to regain health. Air being most essential to sustain life, nature has made it omnipresent. But the omnipresence of air is only relative. It is not limitless in reality. Scientists tell us that after a certain number of miles above the earth there is no air. It is said that earthly creatures cannot exist outside this atmosphere. This statement may or may not be true. All that we are concerned with here is that *akash* extends beyond the atmosphere. Some day the scientists might prove that what we call ether is also something which fills the empty space—*akash*. Then we will have to discover a new name for the empty space that holds neither air nor the ether. Be that as it may, the mystery of this empty space all around us is most intriguing. We cannot solve it unless we can solve the mystery of God Himself. This much might be said that the more we utilize this great element *akash* the healthier we will be. The first lesson to be learnt is this, that we should not put any partition between ourselves and the sky—the infinite—which is very near and yet very far away. If our bodies could be in contact with the sky without the intervention of houses, roofs and even clothes, we are likely to enjoy the maximum amount of health. This is not possible for everyone. But all can and should accept the validity of the statement and adapt life accordingly. To the extent that we are able to approach the state in practice, we will enjoy contentment and peace of mind. This train of thought taken to the extreme leads us to a condition where even the body becomes an obstacle separating man from the infinite. To understand this truth is to become indifferent to the dissolution of the body. For, to lose oneself in the infinite is to find oneself. The body thus ceases to be a vehicle for self-indulgence. Man will make use of his body for the realization of this unity with the infinite. In the course of the attempt he will discover that he is part of and one with all the life that surrounds him. This must mean service of mankind and through it finding God.

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "We do fill the sky but because it is infinite any number of people can be accommodated in it."

To return from the high flight, this train of thought will make the thinker keep his surroundings as open as possible. He will not fill the house with unnecessary furniture, and will use the minimum of clothes that are necessary. Many households are so packed with all sorts of unnecessary decorations and furniture which one can very well do without, that a simple living man will feel suffocated in those surroundings. They are nothing but means of harbouring dust, bacteria and insects. Here in the house where I am under detention, I feel quite lost. The heavy furniture, chairs, tables, sofas, bedsteads, innumerable looking-glasses, all get on my nerves. The expensive carpets on the floors collect large amount of dust and act as a breeding place for insect life. One day the carpet in one of the rooms was taken out for dusting. It was not one man's work. Six men spent the afternoon in doing the job. They must have removed at least ten pounds of dust. When the carpet was put back in its place it had a new feel about it. These carpets cannot be taken out and dusted everyday. Such treatment will wear out the carpets and greatly increase the expenditure of labour. But this is by the way. What I meant to say is that my desire to be in tune with the infinite has saved me from many complications in life. It led not merely to simplicity of household and dress but all round simplicity in the mode of my life. In a nutshell, and in the language of the subject under discussion, I have gone on creating more and more contact with *akash*. With the increase in the contact went improvement in health. I had more contentment and peace of mind and the desire for belongings almost disappeared. He who will establish contact with the infinite possesses nothing and yet possesses everything. In the ultimate analysis, man owns that of which he can make legitimate use and which he can assimilate. If everybody followed this rule, there would be room enough for all and there would be neither want nor overcrowding.

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It follows that one should make it a point to sleep in the open. Sufficient covering should be used to protect oneself against the inclemencies of the weather—against cold and dew. In rainy season an umbrellalike roof without walls should be used for keeping the rain out. For the rest, the starlit blue canopy should form the roof so that whenever one opens one's eyes, one can feast them on the everchanging beautiful panorama

of the heavens. One will never tire of the scene and it will not dazzle or hurt one's eyes. On the contrary, it will have a soothing effect on one. To watch the different starry constellations floating in their majesty is a feast for the eyes. One who establishes contact with the stars as living witnesses to all his thoughts will never allow any evil or impurity to enter his mind and will enjoy peaceful, refreshing sleep.

Let us descend from the *akash* above to the *akash* within and immediately about us. Thus the skin has millions of pores. If we fill up the empty space within these pores, we simply die. Any clogging of the pores, therefore, must interfere with the even flow of health. Similarly we must not fill up the digestive tract with unnecessary foodstuffs. We should eat only as much as we need and no more. Often one overeats or eats indigestible things without being aware of it. An occasional fast, say once a week or once a fortnight, will enable one to keep the balance even. If one is unable to fast for the whole day, one should miss one or more meals during the day. That nature abhors a vacuum is only partially true. Nature constantly demands a vacuum. The vast space surrounding us is a standing testimony of the truth.

4. Sun

As in the case of the other elements, which have been already dealt with, man cannot do without sunlight. The sun is the source of light and heat. If there was no sun, there would be neither light nor warmth. Unfortunately we do not make full use of sunlight and consequently we are unable to enjoy perfect health. Sun-bath is as useful as ordinary water-bath though the two cannot replace one another. In cases of debility and slow circulation, exposure of the uncovered body to the morning sun acts as an all-round general tonic and accelerates the metabolism. The morning sun has the largest amount of ultra-violet rays which are a most effective component of the sun's rays. If the patient feels cold, he should lie in the sun covered up and gradually expose more and more of his body as he gets used to it. One can also take sun-bath pacing up and down in the sun without any clothes on, in a private enclosure or in any other place away from public gaze. If such a place is not within easy reach, one can just cover up the private parts by tying up a piece of cloth or a *langoti* and expose the rest of the body to the sun.

I know of many persons who have been benefited by sun-baths. It is a well-known treatment for tuberculosis. Sun-baths or heliotherapy is no longer confined to the sphere of naturopathy. Orthodox medicine has taken it up from naturopathy and developed it further. In cold countries, special glass buildings have been constructed under medical supervision, so that the glass lets in the sun's rays and at the same time protects patients against the cold.

Sun treatment often results in the cure of intractable ulcers. To produce sweating, I have made patients lie in the sun at about 11 a.m., i.e., a little before midday. The experiment has been successful and the patients are soon bathed in sweat. In these cases the head should be protected from the sun by means of a cold mud-poultice. Banana or any other leaves can be used to cover up the head and face and thus further help in keeping the head cool and well protected. The head should never be exposed to strong sunlight.

5. Air

This fifth element is as important as the four already discussed in the foregoing pages. The human body which is composed of the five elements cannot do without any one of them. Therefore no one should be afraid of air. Generally, wherever our people go, they make devices to keep out the sun and the air and thus jeopardize their health. If one cultivates the habit of living in the open in the midst of plenty of fresh air, right from childhood, the body will become hardened and one will never suffer from cold in the head and the like ailments. I have said enough about the importance of fresh air in an earlier chapter. There is no occasion, therefore, to repeat here what has already been said.

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[1] In the source, this is preceded by "Contents" and is followed by "Preface". The publisher explains: "This synopsis of the topics discussed in the book was prepared by Gandhiji himself in the original Gujarati. . . . We have thought it proper to include it in the English translation in place of an index at the end. . . ." The page numbers, however, denote the references here.

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[2] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Day clothes"
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[4] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Fertilized eggs"

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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Sprouted pulses"

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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Seasonal fruits"
[2] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Fatty food-stuffs"
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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Place of toddy in man's diet"
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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Liquor and Englishmen"

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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Vital force and indulgence"

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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Shortcomings in a *brahmachari*"

[2] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Sexual desire and sleep", "Place of arithmetic in conservation of vital force", and "Sexual desire and business"

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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Iron (*dylydes*)", and "*Nux Vomica*"
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[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "How to sit in the tub"
[2] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Man and humility"

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Key to Health

[1] *Arogyani Chavi* adds: "Hot water and swelling"

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2. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

Personal

DETENTION CAMP[1],
New Year's Eve, 1942

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

This is a very personal letter. Contrary to the biblical injunction, I have allowed many suns to set on a quarrel I have harboured against you, but I must not allow the old year to expire without disburdening myself of what is rankling in my breast against you. I had thought we were friends and should still love to think so. However what has happened since the 9th of August last makes me wonder whether you still regard me as a friend. I have perhaps not come in such close touch with any other occupant of your gadi as with you.

Your arrest of me, the communique[2] you issued thereafter, your reply[3] to Rajaji and the reasons given therefor, Mr. Amery's attack[4] on me and much else I can catalogue go to

[1] The Aga Khan Palace, Poona, where Gandhiji was detained without any charge being framed against him, after his arrest in Bombay on August 9, 1942; *vide* Vol. LXXVI.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 406-10.

[3] The reference, presumably, is to the Viceroy's refusal to forward C. Rajagopalachari's telegram to Gandhiji, dissuading him from any intended fast, or to permit him to meet Gandhiji. A request from Rajagopalachari for an interview with the Viceroy had also been negatived. The Viceroy's correspondence as published in *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. II, pp. 683-4 and 840, discloses that he was "not prepared to allow communication with Gandhi or the Working Committee. Once that starts, there would be no end to it." Also "a talk with Mr. Rajagopalachari . . . would certainly be taken to mean that we are willing to discuss, and would be regarded as a sign of approaching compromise, possibly even of weakness, by the many substantial interests in this country which are not in agreement with the point of view represented by him."

[4] According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1942*, Vol. II, pp. 350-1, on September 11, 1942, L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, replying to a debate in the House of Commons had, *inter alia*, said: " . . . soon after Sir Stafford Cripps left India, it became clear that under Mr. Gandhi's inspiration, the Congress was steadily swinging towards a policy of direct defiance aimed at paralysing the existing Government of India. . . . He was reported by his secretary, Mr. Desai, in June as saying: 'My attitude has undergone a change. I cannot afford to wait. I must even at obvious risks ask the people to resist slavery.' Mr. Gandhi declared that for

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show that at some stage or other you must have suspected my *bona fides*. Mention of other Congressmen in the same connection is by the way. I seem to be the *fons et origo* of all the evil imputed to the Congress. If I have not ceased to be your friend, why did you not, before taking drastic action, send for me, tell me of your suspicions and make yourself sure of your facts? I am quite capable of seeing myself as others see me, but in this case I have failed hopelessly. I find that all the statements made about me in Government quarters in this connection contain palpable departures from truth. I have so much fallen from grace that I could not establish contact with a dying friend; I mean Prof. Bhansali[1] who is fasting in regard to the Chimur affair; and I am expected to condemn the so-called violence of some people reputed to be Congressmen, although I have no data for such condemnation save the heavily censored reports of newspapers. I must own that I thoroughly distrust these reports. I could write much more but I must not lengthen my tale of woe. I am sure that what I have said is enough to enable you to fill in details.

You know I returned to India from South Africa at the end of 1914 with a mission which came to me in 1906, namely, to spread truth and non-violence among mankind in the place of violence and falsehood in all walks of life. The law of satyagraha knows no defeat. Prison is one of the many ways of spreading the message, but it has its limits. You have placed me in a palace where every reasonable creature comfort is ensured. I have freely partaken of the latter purely as a matter of duty, never as a pleasure, in the hope that some day those that have the power will realize that they have wronged innocent men. I had given myself six months. The period is drawing to a close, so is my patience. The law of satyagraha,

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national independence they might have to face bombs, bullets and shells. Does this look like a purely non-violent movement? Mr. Gandhi added, as to the method of resistance: 'No doubt the non-violent way is the best but where that does not come naturally . . . violent way is both necessary and honourable, and inaction here is rank cowardice and unmanly.' . . . The Government of India showed remarkable patience. . . . It took no action as long as there was a possibility of the All-India Congress Committee not endorsing the sinister designs of the Working Committee influenced by Mr. Gandhi."

[1] Jaikrishna P. Bhansali, an inmate of Sevagram Ashram, was on an indefinite fast from November 26 in protest against the Government's refusal to institute a public inquiry into Chimur atrocities of October 17; *vide* Vol. LXXVI.

as I know it, prescribes a remedy in such moments of trial. In a sentence it is: "Crucify the flesh by fasting." That same law forbids its use except as a last resort. I do not want to use it if I can avoid it. This is the way to avoid it: convince me of my error or errors, and I shall make ample amends. You can send for me or send someone who knows your mind and can carry conviction. There are many other ways, if you have the will. May I expect an early reply? May the New Year bring peace to us all.[1]

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 18-9; also *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, p. 5

3. *LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

Personal *January 19, 1943*

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I received your kind letter[2] of 13th instant yesterday at 2.30 p.m. I had almost despaired of ever hearing from you. Please excuse my impatience.

Your letter gladdens me to find that I have not lost caste with you.

My letter[3] of 31st December was a growl against you. Yours is a counter-growl. It means that you maintain that you were right in arresting me and you were sorry for the omissions of which, in your opinion, I was guilty.

The inference yon draw from my letter is, I am afraid, not correct. I have re-read my letter in the light of your interpretation, but have failed to find your meaning in it. I wanted to fast and should still want to, if nothing comes out of our correspondence and I have to be a helpless witness to what is going on in the country, including the privations of the millions owing to the universal scarcity stalking the land.

[1] According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III, pp. 439 and 458, the Viceroy cabled the text of this letter on January 3 to Amery, who in his reply dated January 5 ruled out any "great haste for an immediate reply". The addressee, however, sent his reply, after consultations with Amery and the British Cabinet, on January 13; *vide* Appendix I.

[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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If I do not accept your interpretation of my letter, you want me to make a positive suggestion. This I might be able to do, only if you put me among the members of the Working Committee of the Congress.

If I could be convinced of my error or worse, of which you are evidently, I should need to consult nobody, so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India of 21st[1] September, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter[2] to you of 14th August, 1942.

Of course, I deplore the happenings which have taken place since 9th August last. But have I not laid the whole blame for them at the door of the Government of India? Moreover I could not express any opinion on events which I cannot influence or control, and of which I have but a one-sided account. You are bound *prima facie* to accept the accuracy of reports that may be placed before you by your departmental heads. But you will not expect me to do so. Such reports have before now often proved fallible. It was for that reason that, in my letter of 31st December, I pleaded with you to convince me of the correctness of the information on which your conviction was based. You will perhaps appreciate my fundamental difficulty in making the statement you have expected me to make.

This, however, I can say from the house-top, that I am as confirmed a believer in non-violence as I have ever been. You may not know that any violence on the part of Congress workers I have condemned openly and unequivocally. I have even done public penance[3] more than once. I must not weary you with examples. The point I wish to make is that on every such occasion I was a free man.

This time the retracing, as I have submitted, lies with the Government. You will forgive me for expressing an opinion challenging yours. I am certain that nothing but good would have resulted, if you had stayed your hand and granted me the interview, which I had announced[4] on the night of the 8th August, I was to seek. But that was not to be.

Here may I remind you that the Government of India have before now owned their mistakes as, for instance, in the Punjab

[1] It was actually dated 23rd; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 414-5.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 406-10.

[3] From November 19 to 21, 1921; February 12 to 16, 1922; and August 7 to 13, 1934; *vide* Vols. XXI, XXII and LVIII.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 391-2.

when the late Gen. Dyer was condemned,[1] in the United Provinces when a corner of a mosque in Kanpur was restored,[2] and in Bengal when the partition was annulled[3]? All these things were done in spite of great and previous mob violence.

To sum up—

1. If you want me to act singly, convince me that I was wrong, and I will make ample amends.

2. If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of the Congress, you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members. I do plead with you to make up your mind to end the impasse.

If I am obscure or have not answered your letter fully, please point out the omissions, and I shall make an attempt to give you satisfaction.

I have no mental reservation.

I find that my letters to you are sent through the Government of Bombay. This procedure must involve some loss of time. As time is of the essence in this matter, perhaps you will issue instructions that my letters to you may be sent directly by the Superintendent of this Camp.[4]

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 21-2; also *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 6-7

[1] As an aftermath of the Jallianwala Bagh firing on April 13, 1919, Gen. Dyer was censured by an inquiry committee and required to resign from the Army.

[2] In 1913 there was rioting in Kanpur when a part of a mosque was demolished to broaden a street. Lord Hardinge had to order the mosque to be rebuilt.

[3] The partition of Bengal in 1905 led to grave unrest and the partition was annulled in 1912.

[4] According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III, p. 536, in his reply dated January 25, the Viceroy reiterated his view that Gandhiji and the Congress were responsible for the disturbances. He reassured Gandhiji that should he "repudiate" the resolution of August 8, he would be "very ready to consider the matter further". The Viceroy also said: "It is of course very necessary to be clear on that point and you will not, I know, take it amiss that I should make that clear in the plainest possible words".

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4. *INDEPENDENCE DAY PLEDGE*[1]

[On or before *January 22, 1943*][2]

My immediate objective is and for years has been for India to gain her independence, complete in every sense of the term by truthful and non-violent means. And in prosecution of that objective, I re-pledge myself on this [thirteenth anniversary of][3] Independence Day not to rest; [nor will I let those on whom I have some influence to rest][4] till it is gained. I seek for the fulfilment of my pledge the assistance of that divine and unseen Power which we recognize by such familiar names as God, Allah and *Paramatma*.

The Hindu, 24-1-1943

5. *LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW*

DETENTION CAMP,
January 29, 1943

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I must thank you warmly for your prompt reply[5] to my letter of 19th instant. I wish I could agree with you that your letter is clear. I am sure you do not wish to imply by clearness simply that you hold a particular opinion strongly. I have pleaded and would continue to plead till the last breath, that

[1&2] The pledge appeared under the date-line "Wardhaganj, January 22", as given in a statement by Pyarelal, who explained that Gandhiji wrote it while in detention "for celebrating the Independence Day" on January 26. Pyarelal also stated: "The pledge was revised by Gandhiji and his companions on the first anniversary of August 8, 1942 [Quit India Movement], and also on the Independence Day in 1943 and 1944." Originally drafted by Gandhiji on January 10, 1930 (*vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 384-5), the pledge was amended by the Congress Working Committee in December 1939 (*vide* Vol. LXXI, Appendix I), to which Gandhiji added a paragraph on January 11, 1941; *vide* Vol. LXXIII, p. 279. In *Bapuki Karavas-Kahani*, Sushila Nayyar, however, explains that the pledge was written by Gandhiji while observing silence on January 25, 1943.

[3&4] From *Bapuki Karavas-Kahani*

[5] *Vide* footnote 4, p. 53.

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you should at least make an attempt to convince me of the validity of the opinion you hold that the August resolution[1] of Congress is responsible for the popular violence that broke out on 9th August last and after, even though it broke out after the wholesale arrest of principal Congress workers. Was not the drastic and unwarranted action of the Government responsible for the reported violence ?

You have not even said what part of the August resolution is bad or offensive in your opinion. That resolutions is in no way a retraction by the Congress of its policy of non-violence. It is definitely against Fascism in every shape or form. It tenders co-operation in war-effort under circumstances which alone can make effective and nation-wide co-operation possible.[2] The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware, the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Qaid-e-Azam[3] Jinnah to form a national government, subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary, for the duration of the war, such government being responsible to a duly elected assembly. Being isolated from the Working Committee except Shrimati Sarojini Devi, I do not know its present mind. But the Committee is not likely to have changed its mind. Is all this open to reproach? Objection may be raised to that clause of the resolution which contemplated civil disobedience. But that by itself cannot constitute an objection since the principle of civil disobedience is impliedly conceded in what is known as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact".[4] Even that civil disobedience was not to be started before knowing the result of the meeting for which I was to seek from you an appointment.

Then, take the unproved and in my opinion unprovable charges[5] hurled against the Congress and me by so responsible a Minister as the Secretary of State for India.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix X.

[2] The following five sentences, "inadvertently omitted" and hence included as a postscript in the original letter, were, however, restored to their proper place, as found here, in a fair copy of the letter which Gandhiji enclosed along with the letter dated February 7, 1943, to the Viceroy.

[3] Honorific meaning 'the supreme leader'

[4] *Vide* Vol. XLV, Appendix VI.

[5] *Vide* footnote 4, pp. 49-50.

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Surely I can say with safety that it is for the Government to justify their action by solid evidence not by mere *ipse dixit*.

But you throw in my face the facts of murders by persons reputed to be Congressmen. I see the fact of the murders as clearly, I hope, as you do. My answer is that the Government goaded the people to the point of madness. They started leonine violence in the shape of the arrests already referred to. That violence is not any the less so because it is organized on a scale so gigantic that it displaces the Mosaic law of tooth for tooth by that of ten thousand for one—not to mention the corollary of the Mosaic law, i.e., of non-resistance as enunciated by Jesus Christ. I cannot interpret in any other manner the repressive measures of the all-powerful Government of India.

Add to this tale of woe the privations of the poor millions due to India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a *bona-fide* national government responsible to a popularly elected assembly.

If then I cannot get soothing balm for my pain, I must resort to the law prescribed for satyagrahis, namely, a fast according to capacity. I must commence after the early morning breakfast of the 9th February, a fast for 21 days ending on the morning of the 2nd March. Usually, during my fasts, I take water with the addition of salts. But nowadays my system refuses water. This time, therefore, I propose to add juices of citrus fruits to make water drinkable. For, my wish is not to fast unto death but to survive the ordeal, if God so wills. This fast can be ended sooner by the Government giving the needed relief.

I am not marking this letter 'Personal' as I did the two previous ones[1]. They were in no way confidential. They were a mere personal appeal.[2]

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 24-6; also *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 8-9

[1] *Vide* pp. 49-53.
[2] For the Viceroy's reply, *vide* Appendix II.

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6. LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE

DETENTION CAMP,
February 7, 1943

DEAR SIR GILBERT[1],

I was delighted to see your signature after such a lapse of time. When I said that the two personal letters were not confidential, I certainly meant what you say.[2] But I meant also that though they were not confidential on my part, if His Excellency wanted to treat them as such, being personal, he was free to do so, and therefore equally free to regard his two replies also as such. In that case he could have the four letters withheld from publication. So far as I am concerned my request of course is that the whole correspondence beginning with my letter of 14th August last, and including my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, should be published.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 29

[1] Private Secretary to the Viceroy

[2] In his letter dated February 5, the addressee had referred to the last paragraph in Gandhiji's letter dated January 29 to the Viceroy (*vide* the preceding item), and said: "As you would no doubt have expected, H. E. had hitherto attached to the word 'personal' its normal conventional meaning, and had accordingly given the same marking to his replies. He assumes . . . you would have no objection to his publishing these letters with his replies. . . ."

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7. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

DETENTION CAMP,
February 7, 1943

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

I have to thank you for your long reply[1], dated the 5th instant, to my letter of 29th January last. I would take your last point first, namely, the contemplated fast which begins on 9th instant. Your letter, from a satyagrahi's standpoint, is an invitation to fast. No doubt the responsibility for the step and its consequences will be solely mine. You have allowed an expression to slip from your pen for which I was unprepared. In the concluding sentence of the second paragraph, you describe the step as an attempt "to find an easy way out". That you, as a friend, can impute such a base and cowardly motive to me passes comprehension. You have also described it as "a form of political blackmail". And you quote my previous writings on the subject against me. I abide by my writings. I hold that there is nothing inconsistent in them with the contemplated step. I wonder whether you have yourself read those writings.

I do claim that I have approached you with an open mind when I asked you to convince me of my error. "Profound distrust" of the published reports is in no way inconsistent with my having an open mind.

You say that there is evidence that I—I leave my friends out for the moment—"expected this policy to lead to violence", that I was "prepared to condone it", and that "the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan, conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders". I have seen no evidence in support of such a serious charge. You admit that part of the evidence has yet to be published. The speech of the Home Member[2], of which you have favoured me with a copy, may be taken as the opening speech of the prosecution counsel and nothing more. It contains unsupported imputations against Congressmen. Of course he has described the violent outburst

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

[2] Reginald Maxwell, who spoke on September 15, 1942, in the Central Legislative Assembly

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in graphic language. But he has not said why it took place when it did. I have suggested why it did. You have condemned men and women before trying them and hearing their defence. Surely there is nothing wrong in my asking you to show me the evidence on which you hold them guilty. What you say in your letter carries no conviction. Proof should correspond to the canons of English jurisprudence.

If the wife of a member of the Working Committee is actively engaged in "planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism", she should be tried before a court of law and punished, if found guilty. The lady you refer to could only have done the things attributed to her after the wholesale arrests of 9th August last, which I have dared to describe as leonine violence.

You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? Or that some of the condemned persons might have died in the mean while or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable?

I reiterate the statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicitly conceded in the settlement[1] of 5th March, 1931, arrived at between the then Viceroy on behalf of the Government of India and myself on behalf of the Congress. I hope you know that the principal Congressmen were discharged before the settlement was even thought of. Certain reparations were made to Congressmen under that settlement. Civil disobedience was discontinued only on conditions being fulfilled by the Government. That by itself was, in my opinion, an acknowledgment of its legitimacy, of course, under given circumstances. It, therefore, seems somewhat strange to find you maintain that civil disobedience "cannot be recognized as being in any circumstances legitimate" by your Government. You ignore the practice of the British Government which has recognized its legitimacy under the name of "passive resistance".

Lastly, you read into my letters a meaning which is wholly inconsistent with my declaration, in one of them, of adherence to unadulterated non-violence. For, you say in your letter under reply that 'acceptance of my point of view would be to concede that the authorized Government of the country on which lies the responsibility for maintaining peace and good order,

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

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should allow movements to take place that would admit preparations for violence, interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for murders of police officers and others to proceed unchecked'. I must be a strange friend of yours whom you believe to be capable of asking for recognition of such things as lawful.

I have not attempted an exhaustive reply to the views and statements attributed to me. This is not the place nor the time for such a reply. I have only picked out those things which in my opinion demanded an immediate answer. You have left me no loophole for escaping the ordeal I have set before myself. I begin it on the 9th instant with the clearest possible conscience. Despite your description of it as "a form of political blackmail", it is on my part meant to be an appeal to the Highest Tribunal for justice which I have failed to secure from you. If I do not survive the ordeal, I shall go to the Judgment Seat with the fullest faith in my innocence. Posterity will judge between you as representative of an all-powerful Government and me as a humble man who has tried to serve his country and humanity through it.

My last letter was written against time, and therefore a material paragraph went in as postscript.[1] I now send herewith a fair copy typed by Pyarelal who has taken Mahadev Desai's place. You will find the postscript paragraph restored to the place where it should have been.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure 1

From a photostat : C.W. 10377. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, pp. 30-2, and *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 11-2

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 55.

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8. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM

February 8, 1943

DEAR SIR RICHARD[1],

I have very carefully studied your letter[2]. I am sorry to say that there is nothing in the correspondence which has taken place between His Excellency and myself, or your letter, to warrant a recalling of my intention to fast. I have mentioned in my letters to His Excellency the conditions which can induce prevention or suspension of the step.

If the temporary release is offered for my convenience, I do not need it. I shall be quite content to take my fast as a detenu or prisoner. If it is for the convenience of the Government, I am sorry I am unable to suit them, much as I should like to do so. I can say this much that I, as a prisoner, shall avoid, as far as is humanly possible, every cause of inconvenience to the Government save what is inherent in the fast itself. The impending fast has not been conceived to be taken as a free man. Circumstances may arise, as they have done before now, when I may have to fast as a free man. If, therefore, I am released, there will be no fast in terms of my correspondence above mentioned. I shall have to survey the situation *de novo* and decide what I should do. I have no desire to be released under false pretences. In spite of all that has been said against me, I hope not to belie the vow of truth and non-violence which alone makes life livable for me. I say this, if it is only for my own satisfaction. It does me good to reiterate openly my faith, when outer darkness surrounds me, as it does just now.

I must not hustle the Government into a decision on this letter. I understand that your letter has been dictated through the telephone. In order to give the Government enough time,

[1] Additional Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department

[2] Dated February 7, this informed Gandhiji of the Government's proposal to set him at liberty "for the purpose and for the duration" of his proposed 21-day fast.

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I shall suspend the fast, if necessary, to Wednesday next, 10th instant.

So far as the statement proposed to be issued by the Government is concerned, and of which you have favoured me with a copy, I can have no opinion. But if I might have, I must say that it does me an injustice. The proper course would be to publish the full correspondence and let the public judge for themselves.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 38; also *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, p. 13

9. *LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI*

DETENTION CAMP,
February 12, 1943

DEAR COL. BHANDARI[2],

You have told me that the Government have instructed you to convey to them urgently any wish I might have to express. You have also given me a copy of the instructions[3] of the Government about the regulating of friends' visits. This is my submission about the visits:

[1] In his reply dated February 9, the addressee said: " . . . The Government of India note your decision with great regret. Their position remains the same. . . . But if you are not prepared to take advantage of that fact and if you fast while in detention, you will do so solely on your own responsibility and at your own risk. In that event, you will be at liberty to have your own medical attendants, and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government during its period. Suitable drafting alterations will be made in the statement which the Government of India would, in that event, issue to the Press."

[2] Madan Gopal Bhandari, Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay

[3] In *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 46, Pyarelal reproduces the following as "communicated by Col. Bhandari personally to Gandhiji at 1.10 p.m. on February 12, 1943": "(1) In respect to procedure, the initiative is left entirely to Gandhiji. (2) The absence of any restrictions on the subjects discussed. (3) The fact that an official will be present during interviews. (4) Restrictions on the publications of discussions."

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1. It is not fair to leave the initiative to me. In the present state of my mind I have no initiative about such visits. If, therefore, the Government wish that I should receive visitors, they should inform the public that, if any member of the public specially desires to see me, they will give him the permission. Their names need not be referred to me. For, I will not thwart the wish of any friend to see me. It is highly probable that my children and other relatives as also inmates of the Ashram and other friends who are intimately connected with me through one or more of my many activities may want to see me. If Rajaji, for instance, who had already applied to the Government for permission to see me in connection with the communal problem, wants to see me about that matter or any other, I should be glad to see him. But even regarding him I would not take the initiative of submitting his name to the Government.

2. If the visitors are permitted to see me without any restrictions as to the matters they might discuss with me, the object of discussions would be largely frustrated if the discussions cannot be published. I would, of course, always and in every circumstance, myself rule out, without needing any external pressure, any discussion that can, by any stretch of imagination, be helpful to the Fascist powers, including Japan. If visits contemplating discussions are to be allowed, the declaration I have suggested to be made by the Government should obviously be made forthwith so that such visits may take place in the early stages of the fast.

3. It is possible that those who have been serving or nursing me in the Ashram or those who were attending on me during my previous fasts may want to stay with me to take part in the nursing. If they should so wish, they should be permitted. I see difficulty in the way of making public announcement on this point. If my proposal commends itself to the Government, I suggest their addressing Shrimati Janaki Devi, the widow of the late Seth Jamnalal Bajaj telling her that if anyone desires during my fast to take part in serving me, he would be permitted to do so on her submitting their names to the Government. She knows all those who have served me before.

Then there are two other matters. I have been most anxious all these months to know all about the state of health of Shri Mathuradas Trikumji, ex-Mayor of Bombay, a grandson of one of my sisters long since dead. The Government may

either let me have the information or they may permit Shri Mathuradas Trikumji himself to write to me, or if he is physically unable to do so, anybody may be allowed on his behalf to give me the fullest information. When I was arrested, his life was almost despaired of. I read in the papers, however, that he had undergone a successful operation.

The other thing is in connection with the news that appears in *The Bombay Chronicle* received here today, that Professor Bhansali has embarked on another fast, this time out of sympathy with me. I would like, in order to save time, the Government to convey the following message to him by express wire or through telephone, whichever may be the quickest way:

"I have just read about your sympathetic fast. You have just ended your very long fast over Chimur. You have made that your special task. You should therefore quickly rebuild your body and fulfil the self-allotted task. Leave God to do with me as He likes. I would not have interfered, if you had not just risen from a fast that might have proved fatal and if you had not imposed on yourself a special duty."

If the Government would comply with my request on this point, I would like them to send the message without any alteration and further to let me correspond with him if my message does not produce the desired result.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10381. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, pp. 44-5, and *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III, pp. 665-7

[1] The Government's reply dated February 14, conveyed by the addressee to Gandhiji on February 16, explained that (1) "no public announcement" could be made about the visitors; (2) no account of any interview should be published "without their specific approval"; (3) requirement of "extra nurses" would be "considered sympathetically"; (4) the message to Bhansali would not be communicated to him because of "the reference to Chimur", but that he would be informed that Gandhiji wished him "to give up his fast", or any alternative "message in Gandhiji's own words"; and (5) the Bombay Government would after enquiry inform Gandhiji about Mathuradas Trikumji, and in the mean while permission was being granted to him to "write letters to Gandhiji on personal and domestic matters".

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10. INTERVIEW TO SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI[1]

February 21, 1943

From those who had already seen him, I had gathered that Gandhiji was passing through unprecedented mental agony. It distressed him beyond words that of all persons Lord Linlithgow should have so far misunderstood him as to believe that he who had dedicated his life to non-violence and who valued non-violence more than life itself, could ever countenance or condone violence of any kind. It hurt him deeply that though grave charges were made by Government against him and the Congress, no opportunity was given to them to refute them. This agony as well as the anxiety of the fast was writ large on his face.

He responded to my salutation with his characteristic smile. When I sat beside him he asked me in a whisper if I had anything to tell him. I replied that I had come only to pay my respects to him and had nothing to tell him, adding that I had already learnt from friends, who had seen him, what he had told them. He closed his eyes and thought. For half a minute he remained silent, I could sense that he was making a great effort to speak. Then he began speaking in whispers, and as he spoke his voice grew more and more audible. "Yes," he said, "but I had not completed what I wanted to say." He added, he could never approve of violence, but he did not want to criticize or condemn those who were reported to have resorted to it, until he had studied all facts. If he had not been arrested, he would have carried on negotiations with the Viceroy for a settlement. If he had been compelled to start a mass movement, he would never have permitted violence of any kind. His intention was, if the movement was started, to raise it to the highest pitch of non-violence yet reached in history.

Then, referring to Hindu-Muslim problem, he said, in a most earnest and touching tone, that before his arrest this question was nearest to his heart and he had determined to do all he could to have it settled and had,

[1] The interviewer, editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*, was a nationalist Muslim and a member of the All-India Congress Committee. The report is extracted from a communication on behalf of the Home Secretary, Bombay, to Richard Tottenham of the Home Department for "orders of Government of India" for its publication. The interview was in the afternoon.

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therefore, decided to go to Mr. Jinnah even if the latter did not give him an appointment.[1]

File No. 33/4/43. Courtesy : National Archives of India

11. NOTE TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

February 22, 1943

I had sent you a message that you should restrain yourself and not come here. Now get well completely so that you can be pardoned for having come here.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 189

12. DISCUSSION WITH HORACE G. ALEXANDER[3]

February 23, 1943

The question was put:

> If you were assured now, by the Viceroy, that you would be given full opportunity to examine the evidence about your and Congress' alleged responsibility for violence and to discuss it with the Viceroy himself or with someone chosen by him, would you be willing to break your fast?

I got the impression that Mr. Gandhi did not seriously think of the possibility, now, of ending his fast before the 21 days are ended. He was looking further ahead, as if the question had been, 'Under what circumstances would you be prepared to review and redirect the whole Congress effort?'

I understood him to indicate that the proposal suggested in the question was good enough as a first step, but it did not go far enough. Supposing that, after his examination of the evidence, he was still unconvinced,

[1] Brelvi concluded: "There is no Indian leader today who is more anxious to settle the communal problem to the satisfaction of the Muslims than Mahatma Gandhi. None, too, who could be more helpful. May I appeal to my Muslim brethren to ponder over the words of the great leader who is now hovering between life and death?"

[2] *Vide* also pp. 63–4.

[3] This was an enclosure to a letter from Horace Alexander, leader of Friends' Ambulance Unit in India, to Sir Lawrence Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay; *vide* Appendix III. According to the source, the report was "revised under the direction of Gandhiji on February 24, 1943".

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what then? A judicial inquiry is needed, which can really decide the case. He is accused of being the very fount and origin of all the violence that has taken place. Surely he can fairly claim that this accusation against him and against other Congress leaders should be judicially considered and decided.

If he was out of detention, he would naturally deal with all the forces of violence in the way he knows, and he would also naturally plunge into the task of bringing relief to those who are suffering from the present scarcity of food and other necessities.

From a photostat : C.W. 10437. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III, pp. 733-5

13. LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI

DETENTION CAMP,
February 24, 1943

DEAR COL. BHANDARI,

There seems to be between Khan Bahadur Kateli[1] and me a conflict in the understanding of Government instructions about interviews. From the correspondence and instructions you were good enough to read to me, I had gathered that those who were permitted to visit me were not restricted as to the nature of discussion or its duration, a Government representative, if necessary, being present. Where I am physically unable to carry on discussion I leave it to Shri Pyarelal to finish it. Naturally also the visitors who are intimately connected with me are seen and talked to by my wife. I personally can do very little talking. Doctors, for one thing, have to limit it to the fewest possible minutes. The Khan Bahadur's instructions are that the talk must be confined only as between them and me. If such is the position, it is hopeless. Thus Seth R. D. Birla came and so did Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj. They know all about the trusts that I used to regulate. Naturally I took the opportunity of their visits and instructed Shri Pyarelal accordingly, and he has been talking to them regarding them. The Khan Bahadur had a very delicate duty to perform. He did it firmly but as gracefully as was possible under the circumstances. The Khan Bahadur also says, he has strict instructions not to allow visitors to take any notes or papers. During the remaining days of the

[1] Ardeshir Eduljee Kateli, Superintendent of Prisons on special duty

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fast and convalescence, I would like, if possible, to be undisturbed by such things. I would, therefore, like clear instructions which Khan Bahadur and I can mutually understand. I have no desire to go behind them.

Shri Devdas Gandhi, my son, has permission to stop at the Palace as long as he likes. During the permission period he talks during odd minutes when he thinks he can. Naturally the Khan Bahadur cannot be present at those times. I have asked Shri Pyarelal to show him all the correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bombay and myself. I had also the intention of supplying him with copies of such correspondence. But since the Khan Bahadur's prohibition, pending Government instructions, I have asked my son not to take any copies.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 47-8

14. AN EXPLANATION[2]

February 26, 1943

I had to choose between death on the one hand and sweet lime-juice on the other. I had promised to live; I must

[1] According to Pyarelal, the addressee, in reply to this, communicated to Gandhiji the following "order dated February 26", which, *inter alia*, read: "It has throughout been the intention of Government that an official should be present during all interviews. . . . Government has not so far insisted on this . . . with Devdas and Ramdas Gandhi in view of the condition of their father, but now that he is improving . . . they should be allowed . . . subject to the same conditions as other interviews. . . . Government has no objection . . . other detenues . . . joining in the conversation, but when Mr. Gandhi himself terminates an interview or is unable to continue it, it should be regarded as closed. . . . Government does not think that copies of its correspondence with Gandhiji should be allowed to go out. . ."

[2] The correspondent explained that Gandhiji was "reported" to have said this on "the seventeenth day of his fast" while "recalling the happenings of last week-end". The correspondent added : "Doctors found Gandhiji in a cheerful mood when they visited him at 10 o'clock: 'His pulse and heart are in the same condition as yesterday. He continues to drink water mixed with sweet lime-juice, but he has further reduced the quantity of lime-juice as he is now able to take water freely. His mental alertness is as bright as ever. He distinctly remembers his condition was grave on

try to live and hence mixed sweet lime-juice with water on Sunday[1] to enable me to drink water and get over nausea.

The Hindu, 27-2-1943

15. TALK WITH MIRABEHN[2]

February 27, 1943

What does it matter if people try to distort the meaning of my fast.

This fast was taken solely for service of God and in His presence. Other people may believe it or not, that does not worry me. Those against me are thinking they can make a good job of falsehood, but they are bound to fail. Truth will out—I have said everything that is to be said in my letters.

No fast of mine has ever had such a wonderful ending as this one is having. I do not mean what is going on in the outside world, but what is going on inside me. There is a heavenly peace.[3]

Correct, March 7, 1943.[4]

From a photostat: G.N. 9099

Saturday and Sunday last.' Gandhiji spends most of his time on the eastern verandah of the Aga Khan Palace sunning himself for some time. On a carpet spread near his cot, Mrs. Kanu Gandhi and Pyarelal sit and recite *Gita*. Two chairs have been placed near his cot for visitors. . . ."

[1] February 21; according to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III, p. 719, "a bulletin signed by Mr. Gandhi's six doctors and published by Bombay Government" read: "After a restless day on 21st, Mr. Gandhi entered a crisis at 4.30 p.m. He was seized with severe nausea and almost fainted, and pulse became nearly imperceptible. Later he was able to take water with sweet lime-juice. He rallied from the crisis and slept for about 5½ hours during the night. . . ."

[2] The talk has been written down by Mirabehn under the following note: "Bapuji to me on morning of February 27, 1943". In this and other talks with Mirabehn, the text, as written down by Mirabehn, has been corrected by Gandhiji.

[3] Mirabehn continues: "Bapuji murmured something more which I could not catch. Something about liking to take complete silence and not troubling to answer or explain anything further—but that he must not turn down Rajaji and others like that—and something about gaining strength to fling himself against the whole world and dying in peace and joy."

[4] This remark was written by Gandhiji, evidently, after he read through the talk.

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16. LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI

DETENTION CAMP,
March 2, 1943

DEAR COL. BHANDARI,

You were good enough yesterday, my day of silence, to tell me that the Government had restricted to my two sons the admission of outsiders at the breaking of the fast tomorrow. Whilst I am thankful for the concession, I am unable to avail myself of it. For, as the Government know, I make no distinction between sons born to me and numerous others who are as dear to me even as they are. I told you three or four days ago that, if the Government allowed any outsiders to be present at the breaking of the fast, they should allow all—nearly fifty—who are at present in Poona, and who have been allowed to visit me during the fast. I see that that was not to be.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 49

17. TALK BEFORE BREAKING THE 21-DAY FAST[1]

March 3, 1943

Before sipping it, the Mahatma, in a feeble voice thanked the doctors for the great care and attention which they bestowed on him, and said that more than anything else it was their love and affection for him

[1] N. N. Mitra explains: "Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast at 9.34 a.m. I.S.T. (and 8.34 a.m. according to time maintained at Aga Khan Palace). . . . Besides the doctors only inmates of the detention camp were present. . . . The earliest to arrive . . . was Dr. B. C. Roy, and at 9 a.m., the Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay, Maj.-Gen. R. H. Candy, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah drove in. The inmates . . . sang . . . '*Vaishnava jana to*' and two stanzas from . . . *Gitanjali*. "Lead Kindly Light" and the Koran were also recited. After prayers, those present observed a five minutes' silence. With folded hands Mahatma Gandhi was seen to close his eyes and to be in meditation. Prayers over, Kasturba . . . handed him a glass containing six ounces of orange juice. He is reported to have taken twenty minutes to sip the juice."

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that must have saved his life. Further, he told those present, there must be something higher than the doctors' power that had saved him.[1]

I do not know why Providence has saved me on this occasion. Possibly, it is because He has some more mission for me to fulfil.

The Indian Annual Register, 1943, Vol. I, pp. 337-8

18. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[2]

[After *March 3, 1943*][3]

QUESTION: It is alleged that you have compromised with your faith in non-violence. Is it true?

ANSWER: Not only does my faith in non-violence remain unshaken but you could even say that after the detention of six months, my faith in non-violence has, if possible, gone up further high.

How do you then reconcile your faith in non-violence with the allegations made against you and the Congress that all these acts of sabotage and violence that took place after the 8th of August so happened because of some secret instructions issued by you or by the Congress?

There is absolutely no truth in it. I never issued any secret or overt instructions in favour of sabotage or any other kind of violence. Had Congress issued instructions, I would have known it. No such instructions were issued either by me or by the Congress.

Do you then disapprove of these acts of sabotage and violence?

I definitely disapprove of them. I have made it clear to all those friends who have met me during the period of my fast. I do not want to judge anyone who believes in violence.

[1] What follows, according to the source, was "revealed by Dr. B. C. Roy, presiding at a meeting of the staff and students of Calcutta University held at the Darbhanga Hall on March 7, 1943, in observance of the 'Thanks-giving Day' for the successful termination of Gandhiji's fast". For Dr. Roy's impressions of the fast at an interview to the United Press before he left Poona on March 4, and at the Calcutta University, *vide* Appendix IV.

[2] G. D. Birla explains: "These are the recorded answers to questions put to Gandhiji while he was interned."

[3] From the reference to Gandhiji's fast which ended on March 3

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But then I would say to them to declare it unequivocally that they are committing these acts of violence on their own behalf and because of their belief in violence. It is but fair to the Congress that these perpetrators of violence and sabotage should make it absolutely clear. I would also say that though one may not be a Congressman and yet has respect for me, should give up all methods of secrecy and violence. If they would listen to my advice, I would suggest that they should surrender themselves to the police. In this way they would only help the cause of the country. But if one does not believe in the Congress creed and my method, he should make it clear to all concerned.

It has been suggested that you started this movement under the notion that the Allies were going to be defeated and that you synchronized the movement with the time when Allied nations were in difficulties and that you wanted to take undue advantage of their position.

There is absolutely no truth in it. You can read my writings in *Harijan*, and I have made it more than clear that this was not my intention.

Yes, I have read your articles in *Harijan*, and what I gathered therefrom was that you are not only not pro-German or pro-Japan, but you are anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist. Am I right?

Definitely. No one has used stronger words than myself about Nazism and Fascism. I have called the Nazis and Fascists the scum of the earth. I wrote a letter[1] some time in May 1942 to Mirabehn while she was in Orissa. I cannot give you a copy of that letter since I am in jail. I understand Mirabehn has sent a copy of that letter to the Government. You can ask the Government to supply you with a copy of it and satisfy yourself. I have given in that letter complete instructions as to how to resist the Japanese, if they at all invade India. No one after reading that letter could charge me with any sympathy with Nazism and Fascism or with Japan.

Is it not the position that the Congress has pledged itself to give military help for Allied cause in case of India being free and a national government being established?

You are absolutely correct in drawing the conclusion that you have drawn. The national government will, no doubt,

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 173-5.

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in case of India being made free, fight for the Allies' cause with all the military resources at its disposal and will co-operate with the Allied nations in every possible manner.

Yes, this is the policy of the Congress. But you being a pacifist, would you obstruct the Congress plan to give military help to the Allied nations?

Certainly not. I am a pacifist. But if the national government is formed and takes power on the basis of giving military help to the Allied nations, I obviously cannot obstruct and will not obstruct. I cannot directly participate in any act of violence. But Congress is not pacifist in the manner as I am. And I naturally would not do anything to obstruct the execution of the Congress intention.

It would surprise you to know that, although you claim to be the best friend of U. K., you are just now very much distrusted.

I know this and say that this is very unfortunate. But I am not at all worried about it. I have no doubt that the distrust will disappear, and the trust will come back with the same strength as the distrust.

From a copy : C.W. 7867. Courtesy : G. D. Birla. Also *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, pp. 261-3

19. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM

DETENTION CAMP,
March 5, 1943

DEAR SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM,

Gandhiji wishes me to inquire whether he is to be favoured with a copy of the pamphlet[1] issued by the Home Department containing a portion of the evidence in support of the charges against the Congress and himself.

Yours truly,
PYARELAL

SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM
ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 89; also *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, p. 33

[1] The reference is to *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*, which the addressee sent to Gandhiji on April 5. The pamphlet, released by the Government of India on February 22, was, however, withdrawn in January 1946. For Gandhiji's detailed reply to the pamphlet, *vide* "Letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India", 15-7-1943.

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20. LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI

DETENTION CAMP,
March 13, 1943

DEAR COL. BHANDARI,

With reference to this morning's conversation about Kanu Gandhi's presence with me during the convalescence period, not extending beyond a month according to the doctors' opinion, I beg to say that, if the Government will not permit him to stay with me during that period, I am afraid, I must go without his services however valuable they are. I must confess that I do not like this kind of treatment which seems to me to be one of the sharp reminders, even during my helpless period, for which I am quite aware I am solely responsible, that I am a prisoner. But even a prisoner may give himself the privilege of denying himself conveniences whose acceptance may humiliate him, as the offer to give a substitute for Kanu Gandhi seems to do.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 50

21. NOTE ON DIARY OF MANU J. GANDHI[1]

March 13, 1943

You must keep an account of the yarn you have spun. Thoughts coming into your mind should also be noted down. You should keep a record of all that you have read.

BAPU

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

[1] Daughter of Jaisukhlal Gandhi, and granddaughter of Amritlal Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin

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22. NOTE ON DIARY OF MANU J. GANDHI

May 3, 1943

You should improve your handwriting. You have not kept the account of the yarn spun. Write down whatever you learn from others. It will show how much you have digested.

BAPU

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

23. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

DETENTION CAMP,
May 4, 1943

DEAR QAID-E-AZAM,

When some time after my incarceration the Government asked me for a list of newspapers I would like to have, I included the *Dawn* in my list. I have been receiving it with more or less regularity. Whenever it comes to me, I read it carefully. I have followed the proceedings of the League as reported in the *Dawn* columns. I noted your invitation[1] to me to write to you. Hence this letter.

I welcome your invitation. I suggest our meeting face to face rather than talking through correspondence. But I am in your hands.

I hope that this letter will be sent to you and, if you agree to my proposal, that the Government will let you visit me.

One thing I had better mention. There seems to be an "if" about your invitation. Do you say I should write only if

[1] According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III, p. 982, on April 24, in his Presidential address to the annual session of the Muslim League at Delhi, Jinnah had said: "Nobody would welcome it more than myself, if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. . . . If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? . . . I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me. . . ."

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I have changed my heart? God alone knows men's hearts. I would like you to take me as I am.

Why should not both you and I approach the great question of communal unity as men determined on finding a common solution, and work together to make our solution acceptable to all who are concerned with it or are interested in it?[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

QAID-E-AZAM M. A. JINNAH
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat : C.W. 10434 b. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 71, and *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, p. 14

24. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
May 4, 1943

THE SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT

SIR,

Will you please forward the enclosed[2] to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah ?

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10434 a. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 71, and *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, p. 14

[1] The Government did not forward the letter to the addressee; *vide* the following item; also "Letter to Sir Richard Tottenham", 27-5-1943.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item. In his reply dated May 24, the addressee, E. Conran-Smith, informed Gandhiji of the Government's decision to withhold the letter to Jinnah. He also drew Gandhiji's attention to an advance copy of the Government's Press communique dated May 26, which he had

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25. LETTER TO LORD SAMUEL

DETENTION CAMP,
May 15, 1943

DEAR LORD SAMUEL[1],

I enclose herewith a cutting from *The Hindu* dated 8th April last, containing Reuter's summary of your speech in the House of Lords during the recent debate. Assuming the correctness of the summary, I feel impelled to write this letter.

The report distressed me. I was wholly unprepared for your unqualified association with the one-sided and unsifted[2] statement of the Government of India against the Congress and me.

You are a philosopher and liberal. A philosophic mind has always meant for me a detached mind and liberalism, a sympathetic understanding of men and things.

As it seems to me, there is nothing in what the Government has said to warrant the conclusion to which you are reported to have come.

From the summary, I select below a few of the items which, in my opinion, are inconsistent with facts.

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enclosed. The communique stated: "The Government of India have received a request from Mr. Gandhi to forward a short letter from himself to Mr. Jinnah expressing a wish to meet him. In accordance with their known policy in regard to correspondence or interviews with Mr. Gandhi, the Government of India have decided that this letter cannot be forwarded and have so informed Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. They are not prepared to give facilities for political correspondence or contact to a person detained for promoting an illegal mass movement which he has not disavowed, and thus gravely embarrassing India's war effort at a critical time. It rests with Mr. Gandhi to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed once more to participate in the public affairs of the country, and until he does so the disabilities from which he suffers are of his own choice." However, from the document published in *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III, pp. 974-6, it is evident that the Viceroy of India was of the view that the letter should be forwarded and that Jinnah, if he wished to meet Gandhiji, should be allowed to do so.

[1] Herbert Louis Samuel, First Viscount; Liberal Party leader

[2] *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government* has "unjustified".

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1. The Congress Party has to a great extent thrown over democratic philosophy.

The Congress Party has never "thrown over democratic philosophy". Its career has been one progressive march towards democracy. Everyone who subscribes to the attainment of the goal of independence through peaceful and legitimate means and pays four annas per year can become its member.

2. It shows signs of turning towards totalitarianism.

You have based your charge on the fact that the Working Committee of the Congress had control over the late Congress Ministries. Does not the successful party in the House of Commons do likewise? I am afraid even when democracy has come to full maturity, parties will be running elections and their managing committees will be controlling the actions and policies of their members. Individual Congressmen did not run elections independently of the party machinery. Candidates were officially chosen and they were helped by all-India leaders. 'Totalitarian', according to the Oxford Pocket Dictionary, means "designating a party that permits no rival loyalties or parties". 'Totalitarian State' means "with only one governing party". It must have violence as its sanction for keeping control. A Congress member, on the contrary, enjoys the same freedom as the Congress President, or any member of the Working Committee. There are parties within the Congress itself. Above all the Congress eschews violence. Members render voluntary obedience. The All-India Congress Committee can at any moment unseat the members of the Working Committee and elect others.

3. They (Congress Ministers)[1] resigned (not?)[2] because they had not the support of their Assemblies.

They resigned because *de jure* they were responsible to their electorates, *de facto* they were responsible to the Working Committee of the Congress and the High Command. That is not democracy. That is totalitarianism.

You would not have said this if you had known the full facts. The *de jure* responsibility of the Ministers to the electorate was not diminished in any way by their *de facto* responsibility to the Congress Working Committee, for the very simple and valid reason that the Working Committee derives its

[1&2] Words in parentheses are Gandhiji's.

power and prestige from the very electorate to whom the Ministers were responsible. The prestige that the Congress enjoys is due solely to its service of the people. As a matter of fact, the Ministers conferred with the members of their parties in their respective Assemblies and they tendered their resignations with their approval. But totalitarianism is fully represented by the Government of India which is responsible to no one in India. It is a tragic irony that a Government which is steeped in totalitarianism brings that very charge against the most democratic body in India.

4. India is unhappy in that the line of party division is the worst any country can have—it is a division according to religious communities.

Political parties in India are not divided according to religious communities. From its very commencement the Congress has deliberately remained a purely political organization. It has had Britishers and Indians, including Christians, Parsis, Muslims and Hindus, as Presidents. The Liberal Party of India is another political organization, not to mention others that are wholly non-sectarian. That there are also communal organizations based on religion and that they take part in politics is undoubtedly true. But that fact cannot sustain the categorical statement made by you. I do not wish in any way to minimize the importance of these organizations or the considerable part they play in the politics of the country. But I do assert that they do not represent the political mind of India. It can be shown that historically the politico-religious organizations are the result of the deliberate application by the alien Government of their "divide and rule" policy. When the British imperial influence is totally withdrawn, India will probably be represented solely by political parties drawn from all classes and creeds.

5. The Congress can claim at best barely more than half the population of India. Yet in their totalitarian spirit they claim to speak for the whole.

If you measure the representative character of the Congress by the number of members on the official roll, then it does not represent even half the population. The official membership is infinitesimal compared to India's vast population of nearly four hundred millions. The enrolled membership began only in 1920. Before that the Congress was represented by its All-India Committees whose members were mainly elected by various

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political associations. Nevertheless the Congress has, so far as I know, always claimed to speak the mind of India, not even excluding the Princes. A country under alien subjection can only have one political goal, namely, its freedom from that subjection. And considering that the Congress has always and predominantly exhibited that spirit of freedom, its claim to represent all India[1] can hardly be denied. That some parties repudiate the Congress, does not derogate from the claim in the sense in which it has been advanced.

6. When Mr. Gandhi called upon the British Government to quit India, he said it would be for the Congress to take delivery.

I never said that when the British quitted India, "the Congress would take delivery". This is what I said in my letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 29th January last:

> The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware, the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to form a national government, subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary, for the duration of the war, such government being responsible to a duly elected assembly. Being isolated from the Working Committee, except Shrimati Sarojini Devi, I do not know its present mind. But the Committee is not likely to have changed its mind.[2]

7. If this country or Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa or the United States had abstained from action as the Congress in India abstained . . .[3] then perhaps the cause of freedom everywhere would have gone under. . .[4] It is a pity that the leaders of the Congress do not realize that glory is not to be won in India by abandoning the cause of mankind.

How can you compare India with Canada and other dominions which are virtually independent entities, let alone Great Britain or the United States—wholly independent countries? Has India a spark of the freedom of the type enjoyed by the countries named by you? India has yet to attain her freedom. Supposing the Allied powers were to lose, and supposing further that the Allied forces were to withdraw from India under military necessity, which I do not expect, the countries

[1] *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government* has "the whole of India".
[2] *Vide* p. 55.
[3&4] Omissions as in the source

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you name may lose their independence. But unhappy India will be obliged to change masters, if she is even then in her defenceless state. The Congress does not abstain out of cussedness. Neither the Congress nor any other organization can possibly kindle mass enthusiasm for the Allied cause without the present possession of independence, to use your own expression either *de jure* or *de facto*. Mere promises of future independence cannot work that miracle. The cry of "Quit India" has arisen from a realization of the fact that if India is to shoulder the burden of representing, or fighting for the "cause of mankind", she must have the glow of freedom now. Has a freezing man ever been warmed by the promise of the warmth of sunshine coming at some future date?

The great pity is that the ruling power distrusts everything that the Congress does or says under my influence which it has suddenly discovered is wholly evil. It is necessary for a clear understanding that you should know my connection with the Congress and Congressmen. It was in 1935 that I was successful in my attempt to sever all formal connections with the Congress. There was no coolness between the Congress Working Committee members and myself. But I realized that I was cramped and so were the members whilst I was officially connected with the Congress. The growing restraints which my conception of non-violence required from time to time were proving too hard to bear. I felt therefore that my influence should be strictly moral. I had no political ambition. My politics were subservient to the demands of truth and non-violence as I had defined and practised for practically the whole of my life. And so I was permitted by the fellow members to sever the official connection even to the extent of giving up the four-anna membership. It was understood between us that I should attend the meetings of the Working Committee only when the members required my presence for consultation in matters involving the application of non-violence or affecting communal unity. Since that time I have been wholly unconnected with the routine work of the Congress. Many meetings of the Working Committee have, therefore, taken place without me. These proceedings I have often seen only when they have been published in the newspapers. The members of the Working Committee are independent-minded men. They engage me often in prolonged discussions before they accept my advice on the interpretation of non-violence as applied to the problems arising from new situations. It will be, therefore, unjust to

them and to me to say that I exercise any influence over them beyond what reason commands. The public know how even until quite recently in matters of moment the majority of the members of the Working Committee have on several occasions rejected my advice.

> 8. They have not merely abstained from action, but the Congress has deliberately proclaimed the formula that it is wrong to help the British war effort by men or money and that the only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance. In the name of non-violence they have led a movement which was characterized in many places by the utmost violence, and the White Paper gives clear proof of the complicity of the Indian leaders in the disorders.

This charge shows to what extent the British public has been misled by imaginary stories as in the Government of India publication on the disturbances; statements have been torn from their context and put together as if they were made at one time or in the same context. The Congress is committed to non-violence so far as the attainment of freedom is concerned. And to that end the Congress has been struggling all these twenty years, however imperfectly it may be, to express non-violence in action, and I think it has succeeded to a great extent. But it has never made any pretence of war resistance through non-violence. Could it have made that claim and lived up to it, the face of India would have been changed and the world would have witnessed the miracle of organized violence being successfully met by organized non-violence. But human nature has nowhere risen to the height which full non-violence demands. The disturbances that took place after the 8th of August were not due to any action on the part of the Congress. They were due entirely to the inflammatory action of the Government in arresting Congress leaders throughout India and that at a time which was psychologically wholly wrong. The utmost that can be said is that Congressmen or others had not risen high enough in non-violence to be proof against all provocation.

It surprises me that although you have admitted that "this White Paper may be good journalism but it is not so good as a State document", you have based your sweeping judgment on the strength of that paper. If you would read the very speeches to which the paper makes reference, you will find there ample material to show that the Government of India had not the slightest justification in making those unfortunate arrests on

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August 9 last and after, or in making the charges they have brought against the arrested leaders after their incarceration—charges which have never been sifted in any court of law.

> 9. Mr. Gandhi faced us with an utterly illegitimate method of political controversy, levying blackmail on the best of human emotions, pity and sympathy, by his fast. The only creditable thing to Mr. Gandhi about the fast was ending it.

You have used a strong word to characterize my fast. His Excellency the Viceroy has also allowed himself to use the same word. You have perhaps the excuse of ignorance. He had no such excuse, for he had my letters before him. All I can tell you is that fasting is an integral part of satyagraha. It is a satyagrahi's ultimate weapon. Why should it be blackmail when man under a sense of wrong crucifies his flesh? You may not know that satyagrahi prisoners fasted in South Africa for the removal of their wrongs; so they have done in India. One fast[1] of mine you know, as I think you were then a Cabinet Minister. I refer to the fast which resulted in the alteration of the decision of His Majesty's Government. If the decision had stood, it would have perpetuated the curse of untouchability. The alteration prevented the disaster.

The Government of India communique, announcing my recent fast issued after it had commenced, accused me of having undertaken the fast to secure my release. It was a wholly false accusation. It was based on a distortion of the letter[2] I had written in answer to that of the Government. That letter dated the 8th February was suppressed at the time when the communique was issued. If you will study the question, I refer you to the following which were published in the newspapers:

My letter[3] to His Excellency the Viceroy dated New Year's Eve, 1942.
His Excellency's reply[4] dated January 13, 1943.
My letter[5] dated January 19, 1943.
His Excellency's reply[6] dated January 25, 1943.
My letter[7] dated January 29, 1943.

[1] From September 20 to 26, 1932; *vide* Vol. LI.
[2] *Vide* pp. 61-2.
[3] *Vide* pp. 49-51.
[4] *Vide* Appendix I.
[5] *Vide* pp. 51-3.
[6] *Vide* footnote 4, p. 53.
[7] *Vide* pp. 54-6.

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His Excellency's reply[1] dated February 5, 1943.
My letter[2] dated February 7, 1943.
Sir R. Tottenham's letter[3] dated February 7, 1943.
My reply[4] dated February 8, 1943.

And I do not know from where you got the impression that I ended the fast, for which supposed act you give me credit. If you mean by it that I ended the fast before its time, I would call such an ending a discredit to me. As it was, the fast ended on its due date, for which I can claim no credit.

> 10. He (Lord Samuel) considered that the negotiations broke down on points on which they could not have broken down, had there been any real desire on the part of the Congress to come to a settlement.

The statements made by the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Pandit Nehru, who carried on the prolonged negotiations, I venture to think, make it quite clear that no true man could have shown more real or greater desire for a settlement. In this connection it is well to remember that Pandit Nehru was and, I have no doubt, still remains, an intimate personal friend of Sir Stafford Cripps at whose invitation he had come down from Allahabad. He could, therefore, leave no stone unturned to bring the negotiations to a successful issue. The history of the failure has yet to be written. When it is, it will be found that the cause lay elsewhere than with the Congress.

I hope my letter has not wearied you. Truth has been overlaid with much untruth. If not, justice to a great organization, the cause of Truth, which is Humanity, demands an impartial investigation of the present distemper.[5]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure 1
THE RT. HON'BLE LORD SAMUEL
HOUSE OF LORDS
LONDON

From a photostat : C.W. 10378. Courtesy: India Office Library. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, pp. 75-82, and *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 25-9

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.
[2] *Vide* pp. 58-60.
[3] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 61.
[4] *Vide* p. 61.
[5] In his reply dated July 25, 1944, the addressee reiterated his view and said: "Let me add how much I regret that the policy adopted hitherto

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26. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
May 15, 1943

SIR,

Will you please forward the enclosed[1] to the Right Hon'ble Lord Samuel?

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, p. 25

27. LETTER TO SIR REGINALD MAXWELL

DETENTION CAMP,
May 21, 1943

DEAR SIR REGINALD MAXWELL,

It was only on the 10th instant that I read your speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly on the 15th February last on the adjournment motion[2] about my fast. I saw at once that it demanded a reply. I wish I had read it earlier.

---

by yourself and the Congress Party during the present war has compelled me, with almost all the friends of the Indian national movement in this country, to take up an attitude of opposition, and how much I should rejoice if the case should be altered."

[1] *Vide* the preceding item. In his reply dated May 26, the addressee conveyed to Gandhiji that "for reasons which have been explained to you in another connection", the Government decided that the letter could not be forwarded. Gandhiji, however, after his release in 1944, sent a copy of the letter to Lord Samuel and some correspondence ensued; *vide* Vol. LXXX, "Letter to Lord Samuel", 8-6-1945.

[2] In *The Indian Annual Register, 1943*, Vol. I, p. 156, N. N. Mitra explains that the adjournment motion moved by L. K. Maitra "appealed to members of the House to set aside all political considerations and unite in demanding the 'immediate and unconditional' release of a great Indian who was revered by all classes of people". Maitra was supported by N. M. Joshi, Sant Singh, Dr. P. N. Banerjee and T. T. Krishnamachari.

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I observe that you are angry, or at least were, at the time you delivered your speech. I cannot in any other way account for your palpable inaccuracies. This letter is an endeavour to show them. It is written to you, not as an official, but as man to man. The first thought that came to me was that your speech was a deliberate distortion of facts. But I quickly revised it. So long as there was a favourable construction possible to put upon your language, the unfavourable had to be rejected. I must assume, therefore, that what appeared to me to be distortions were not deliberate.

You have said that "the correspondence that led to the fast is there for anyone to interpret as he chooses," yet you have straightway told your audience that "it can perhaps be read in the light of the following facts." Did you leave them the choice?

I now take your "facts" seriatim:

> 1. When the Congress Party passed their resolution of August 8, a Japanese attack on this country was thought to be likely.

You seem to have conveyed the meaning that the thought was that of the Congress and that it was gratuitous. The fact is that the Government gave currency to the thought and emphasized it by action which even seemed ludicrous.

> 2. By demanding the withdrawal of British power from India and by placing the Congress in open opposition to it, the Congress Party might be thought to have hoped for some advantage to themselves if the Japanese attack succeeded.

Now this is not a fact, but your opinion wholly contrary to facts. Congressmen never hoped for, nor desired any advantage from Japanese success; on the contrary, they dreaded it and that dread inspired the desire for the immediate end of the British rule. All this is crystal clear from the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee (8th August, 1942) and my writings.

> 3. Today, six months after, the Japanese danger has, at any rate for the time being, receded and there is little immediate hope from that quarter.

This again is your opinion; mine is that the Japanese danger has not receded. It still stares India in the face. Your fling that "there is little immediate hope from that quarter" should be withdrawn unless you think and prove that the resolution and my writings adverted to in the previous paragraphs did not mean what they said.

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4. The movement initiated by the Congress has been decisively defeated.

I must combat this statement. Satyagraha knows no defeat. It flourishes on blows the hardest imaginable. But I need not go to that bower for comfort. I learnt in schools established by the British Government in India that "freedom's battle once begun" is "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son". It is of little moment when the goal is reached so long as effort is not relaxed. The dawn came with the establishment of the Congress 60 years ago. Sixth of April 1919, on which All-India satyagraha[1] began, saw a spontaneous awakening from one end of India to the other. You can certainly derive comfort, if you like, from the fact that the immediate objective of the movement was not gained as some Congressmen had expected. But that is no criterion of "decisive" or any "defeat". It ill becomes one belonging to a race which owns no defeat to deduce defeat of a popular movement from the suppression of popular exuberance—maybe not always wise—by a frightful exhibition of power.

5. Now, therefore, it is the object of the Congress Party to rehabilitate themselves and regain, if they can, the credit they have lost.

Surely your own experience should correct this opinion. You know, as well as I do, that every attempt at suppression of the Congress has given it greater prestige and popularity. This the latest attempt at suppression is not likely to lead to a contrary result. Hence the question of "lost credit" and "rehabilitation" simply does not arise.

6. Thus they are now concerned to disclaim responsibility for the consequences that followed their decision. The point is taken up by Mr. Gandhi in his correspondence with the Viceroy. The awkward facts are now disowned as unproved.

"They," here can only mean me. For, throughout your speech I was the target. "Now" means at the time of my fast; I remind you that I disclaimed responsibility on 14th August last when I wrote[2] to His Excellency the Viceroy. In that same letter I laid it on the Government who, by the wholesale arrests of 9th August, provoked the people to the point of madness. "The awkward facts" are not awkward for me when the

[1] As a protest against the Rowlatt Act
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 406-10.

responsibility rests on the Government and what you put forward as "facts" are only one-sided allegations awaiting proof.

> 7. Mr. Gandhi takes up his stand: "Surely I can say with safety that it is for the Government to justify their action by solid evidence." To whom are they to justify themselves?[1]

Was not Sardar Sant Singh's answer a proper answer? How nice it would have been, if you had not put in the interjection. For, have not the Government of India been obliged before now to justify their acts by appointing inquiry committees as, for instance, after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre? But you proceed:

> 8. Elsewhere in his letters Mr. Gandhi makes this clear. He says: "Convince me that I was wrong and I will make ample amends."[2] In the alternative he asks: "If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of the Congress, you should put me among the Working Committee members."[3] So far as can be seen, these were the demands when he conceived his fast. There is no other solid demand made.

Here there is a double wrong done to me. You have ignored the fact that my letters were written to one whom I considered to be a friend. You have further ignored the fact that the Viceroy in his letter had asked me to make clear proposals. If you had borne these two facts in mind, you would not have wronged me as you have done. But let me come to the ninth count of your indictment, and it will be clear to you what I mean.

> 9. But now, fresh light emerges. Government without granting any of his demands informed Mr. Gandhi that they would release him for the purpose and for the duration of the fast in order to make it clear that they disclaimed responsibility for the consequences. On that Mr. Gandhi replied[4] that if he was released, he would at once abandon the fast, and that he had conceived the fast only as a prisoner. Thus, if he were released, the objects for which he declared his fast, although still unfulfilled, would recede into the background. As a free man he would neither demand these objects nor fast. Interpreted in this way, his fast would seem to amount to little more than a demand for release.

Together with the letter containing the offer of release, a copy of the draft communique that was to be issued by the

[1] To this question, Sant Singh answered: "Before an impartial enquiry committee".

[2]&[3] *Vide* p. 53.

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

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Government was delivered to me. It did not say that the offer was made in order "to make it clear that the Government disclaimed responsibility for the consequences". If I had seen that offending sentence, I would have sent a simple refusal. In my innocence, I put a fair meaning on the offer and in my reply I argued why I could not accept it. And, according to my wont, in order that the Government may not be misled in any shape or form, I told them how the fast was conceived and why it could not be taken by me as a free man. I went out of my way even to postpone for the convenience of the Government the commencement of the fast by a day. Mr. Irwin[1] who had brought the offer and the draft communique appreciated the courtesy. Why was this reply of mine withheld from the public at the time the revised communique was issued, and why was an unwarranted interpretation given instead? Was not my letter a material document?

Now for the second wrong. You say that if I were released, my objects for which I had declared the fast would recede into the background, and even gratuitously suggest that as a free man I would neither demand these objects nor fast. As a free man I could and would have carried on an agitation for an impartial public inquiry into the charges brought against Congressmen and me. I would also have asked for permission to see the imprisoned Congressmen. Assume that my agitation had failed to make any impression on the Government, I might then have fasted. All this, if you were not labouring under intense irritation, you could have plainly seen from my letter, supported as you would have been, by my past record. Instead you have deduced a meaning which, according to the simple rules of construction, you had no right to deduce. Again, as a free man I would have had the opportunity of examining the tales of destruction said to have been wrought by Congressmen and even by non-Congressmen. And if I had found that they had committed wanton acts of murder, then also I might have fasted as I have done before now. You should thus see that the demands made in my letter to His Excellency the Viceroy would not have receded to the background, if I had been released, for they could have been pressed otherwise than by the fast, and that the fast had not the remotest connection with any desire for release. Moreover imprisonment is never irksome to a satyagrahi. For him a prison is a gateway of liberty.

[1] Joseph Boyd Irwin, Secretary to the Government of Bombay

10. I could quote several resolutions of the Congress Working Committee against him . . . Mr. Gandhi himself took up the subject in *Harijan* dated 19th August, 1939. There he says:[1] "Hunger-strike has positively become a plague."

11. On the ethics of hunger-striking, Mr. Gandhi had something to say[2] in the *Harijan* of 20th May, 1939, after his Rajkot fast: "I now see that it was tainted with *himsa*." Further on he remarks: "This was not the way of ahimsa or conversion."

My views quoted by you have not undergone the slightest change. If you had read the quotations without passion, it would have prevented you from putting upon my letter the construction you have.

I am sorry to have to say that you have wholly misread my article. Fortunately I happen to have Anand Hingorani's collection of my writings, *To the Princes and Their Peoples*. I quote from the *Harijan* article referred to by you:

> At the end of my fast I had permitted myself to say that it had succeeded as no previous fast had done. I now see that it was tainted with *himsa*. In taking the fast I sought immediate intervention of the Paramount Power so as to induce fulfilment of the promise made by the Thakore Saheb. This was not the way of ahimsa or conversion; it was the way of *himsa* or coercion. My fast to be pure should have been addressed only to the Thakore Saheb, and I should have been content to die, if I could not have melted his heart. . . .

I hope you realize that you misapplied the stray sentences taken from their setting. I described my fast as "tainted" not because it was bad *ab initio* but because I sought the intervention of the Paramount Power. I have given you the credit of being unaware of the article. I wish you could read it. In any case, may I expect you to correct the error? For me the Rajkot episode is one of the happiest chapters of my life, in that God gave me the courage to own my mistake and purge it by renouncing the fruits of the award. I became stronger for the purging.

12. I must confess that speaking for myself it is certainly repugnant to Western ideas of decency to exploit against an opponent his feelings of humanity, chivalry or mercy or to trifle with such a sacred trust as one's own life in order to play on the feelings of the public for the sake of some purely mundane object.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXX, p. 87.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXIX, pp. 269-70.

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I must tread with extreme caution upon the ground with which you are infinitely more familiar than I can be. Let me, however, remind you of the historic fast of the late MacSwiney. I know that the British Government let him die in imprisonment. But he has been acclaimed by the Irish people as a hero and a martyr. Edward Thompson in his *You Have Lived Through All This* says that the late Mr. Asquith called the British Government's action a "political blunder of the first magnitude". The author adds:

> He was allowed to die by inches, while the world watched with a passion of admiration and sympathy, and innumerable British men and women begged their Government not to be such a damned fool.

And is it repugnant to Western ideas of decency to exploit (if that expression must be retained) against the opponent his feeling of humanity, chivalry or mercy? Which is better, to take the opponent's life secretly or openly or to credit him with finer feelings and evoke them by fasting and the like? Again, which is better, to trifle with one's own life by fasting or some other way of self-immolation, or to trifle with it by engaging in an attempt to compass the destruction of the opponent and his dependants?

> 13. What he says, in effect, is this: 'You say, Government is right and the Congress is wrong. I say the Congress is right and the Government is wrong. I choose to put the burden of proof on you. I am the only person to be convinced. You must either admit you are wrong or submit your reason to me and make me the sole arbiter in the matter. . . .' It seems to me that Mr. Gandhi's demand is rather like asking the United Nations to appoint Hitler to adjudge the responsibility for the present war. It is not usual in this country to put the accused person on the bench to judge his own case.

This is an unbecoming caricature of my letters to the Viceroy. What I said, in effect, was this: 'You have allowed me to consider myself as your friend. I do not want to stand on my rights and demand a trial. You accuse me of being in the wrong. I contend that your Government is in the wrong. Since you would not admit your Government's error, you owe it to me to let me know wherein I have erred. For, I am in the dark as to how I have erred. If you convince me of my guilt, I will make ample amends.' My simple request you have turned against me and compared me to an imaginary Hitler appointed to adjudge his own case. If you do not accept my

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interpretation of my own letters, can I not say, 'let an impartial judge examine the rival interpretations'? Will it be an offensive comparison, if I recall the fable of the wolf who was always in the right and the lamb who was always in the wrong?

> 14. Mr. Gandhi is the leader of an open rebellion. . . . He forfeits that right (the right of being heard) so long as he remains an open rebel. He cannot claim to function except through the success of his own method. He cannot take part in public life under the protection of the law that he denies. He cannot be a citizen and yet not a subject.

You are right in describing me as the leader of an open rebellion except for a fundamental omission, namely, strictly non-violent. This omission is on a par with the omission of 'not's from the Commandments and quoting them in support of killing, stealing, etc. You may dismiss the phrase or explain it away in any manner you like. But when you quote a person you may not omit anything from his language, especially an omission which changes the whole aspect of things. I have declared myself an open rebel on many occasions, even during my visit[1] to London on the occasion of the Second Round Table Conference. But the anathema that you have pronounced against me has not been pronounced before. You will perhaps recall the time when the late Lord Reading was willing to hold a Round Table Conference in which I was to be present, although I was leading a mass civil disobedience movement.[2] It was not called because I had insisted that the Ali Brothers who were then in prison should be released. British history which I was taught as a lad had it that Wat Tyler[3] and John Hampden[4] who had rebelled were heroes. In very recent times the British Government treated with Irish rebels whilst their hands were still red with blood. Why should I become an outcaste although my rebellion is innocent and I have had nothing to do with violence.

In spite of the validity of my claim that you have enunciated a novel doctrine, I admit that you made a perfect statement when you said, "He cannot claim to function except

[1] In 1931; *vide* Vol. XLVIII.

[2] In December 1921; *vide* Vol. XXII.

[3] Leader of the "Peasant Revolt" (1381) who was killed by the King's men

[4] English Parliamentary leader (1594-1643) who led the popular resistance against the tax levied by King Charles I without the sanction of the Parliament

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through the success of his own method." My method, being based on truth and non-violence, ever succeeds to the extent it is applied. Therefore I function always and only through the success of my method and to the extent that I correctly represent, in my own person, its fundamentals.

The moment I became a satyagrahi, from that moment I ceased to be a subject but never ceased to be a citizen. A citizen obeys laws voluntarily and never under compulsion or for fear of the punishment prescribed for their breach. He breaks them when he considers it necessary and welcomes the punishment. That robs it of its edge or of the disgrace which it is supposed to imply.

> 15. In some of the published correspondence, Mr. Gandhi has made much of his intention to seek an interview with the Viceroy. But the Congress resolution still stood, together with Mr. Gandhi's own words "do or die". The Government communique on the subject of his fast has already reminded the public of Mr. Gandhi's statement[1] made on 14th July that there was no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation. . . . I may again quote Mr. Gandhi's own words: "Every one of you should, from this moment onwards, consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if you are free and are no longer under the heel of this imperialism." Now listen to this:
>
> "You may take it from me that I am not going to strike a bargain with the Viceroy for Ministries or the like. I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. We shall do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt. This is open rebellion."

Let me first of all make a vital correction of the quotation you have taken from my Press statement made on the 14th July and reported in the *Harijan* of 19th July. You have quoted me as saying that "there was no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation." The real quotation is, "there is no room left for negotiations in the proposal for withdrawal." You will admit that the difference is material. The faulty quotation apart, you have omitted from my statement, which occupies nearly three columns of the *Harijan*, all the things which amplify my meaning and show the caution with which I was working. I take a few sentences from that statement.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 295.

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It is possible that the British may negotiate a withdrawal. If they do, it will be a feather in their cap. Then it will cease to be a case for withdrawal. If the British see, however late, the wisdom of recognizing the freedom of India without reference to the various parties, all things are possible but the point I want to stress is this.

Here follows the sentence misquoted by you. The paragraph then proceeds:

Either they recognize independence or they don't. After recognition many things can follow; for, by that single act, the British representatives will have altered the face of the whole landscape and revived the hope of the people which has been frustrated times without number. Therefore whenever that great act is performed on behalf of the British people, it will be a red-letter day in the history of India and the world. And, as I have said, it can materially affect the fortunes of the war.

From this fuller quotation, you will see how everything that was being done was done in order to ensure victory and ward off Japanese aggression. You may not appreciate my wisdom but you may not impugn my good faith.

Though I have no verbatim report of my speeches before the All-India Congress Committee, I have fairly full notes. I accept the correctness of your quotations. If you bear in mind that all things were said with non-violence always as the background, the statements become free from any objection. "Do or die" clearly means do your duty by carrying out instructions and die in the attempt, if necessary.

As to my exhortation[1] to the people to consider themselves free, I take the following from my notes :

The actual struggle does not commence this very moment. You have merely placed certain powers in my hands. My first act will be to wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy and plead with him for the acceptance of the Congress demand. This may take two or three weeks. What are you to do in the mean while? I will tell you. There is the spinning-wheel. I had to struggle with the Maulana Saheb before it dawned upon him that in a non-violent struggle it had an abiding place. The fourteenfold constructive programme is all there for you to carry out. But there is something more you have to do and it will give life to that programme. Every one of you should from this very moment consider yourself a free man or woman and even act as if you are free and no longer under the heel of this imperialism. This is

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 391-2.

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> no make-believe. You have to cultivate the spirit of freedom before it comes physically. The chains of a slave are broken the moment he considers himself a free man. He will then tell his master: 'I have been your slave all these days but I am no longer that now. You may kill me, but if you do not and if you release me from the bondage, I will ask for nothing more from you. For, henceforth instead of depending upon you, I shall depend upon God for food and clothing. God has given me the urge for freedom and therefore I deem myself to be a free man.'

Apart from your resentment of the "Quit India" cry, ask yourself whether the quotation as found in its own setting is in any way offensive ? Should not a man, longing to be free, first of all cultivate the spirit of freedom and act accordingly irrespective of consequences ?

> 16. It is not the method of peaceful persuasion to go to the person whom you wish to convince armed with a resolution declaring mass rebellion. The essence of negotiation is that both parties should be uncommitted and that neither should exert the pressure of force on the other. That is true in any circumstances. But as between a subject and the State which rules him, the position is still more emphatic. It is not for the subject to deal with the State on equal terms, still less to approach it with an open threat.

At the outset let me make one correction. The resolution did not "declare" mass rebellion. It merely sanctioned the "starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle". I was to "guide the nation in the steps to be taken". The paragraph sanctioning the mass struggle also "appeals to British and the United Nations in the interest of world freedom".

The essence of negotiation should undoubtedly be that the parties are uncommitted and that neither "exerts the pressure of force" on the other. In the case under consideration the actual position is that one party has overwhelming force at its disposal and the other has none. About non-committal too the Congress has no commitments except the immediate attainment of freedom. Subject to that there is the widest latitude for negotiation.

Your proposition about the subject and the State is I know a reply to the cry of "Quit India". Only the cry is intrinsically just and the subject-and-the-State formula is too antediluvian to have any real meaning. It is because the Congress has felt the subjection of India as an insufferable reproach, that it has been

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against it. A well-ordered State is subject to the people. It does not descend upon the people from above but the people make and unmake it.

The resolution of 8th August did not contain any threat open or veiled. It prescribed the limitations under which the negotiations could be carried on and its sanction was free of all "force", i.e., violence. It consisted of self-suffering. Instead of appreciating the fact that the Congress laid all its cards on the table, you have given a sinister meaning to the whole movement by drawing unwarranted inferences. In so far as there was any violence after the 8th of August last on the part of any Congressman, it was wholly unauthorized as is quite clear from the resolution itself. The Government in their wisdom left me no time whatsoever for issuing instructions. The All-India Congress Committee finished after midnight on the 8th August. Well before sunrise on the 9th, I was carried away by the Police Commissioner without being told what crime I had committed. And so were the members of the Working Committee and the principal Congressmen who happened to be in Bombay. Is it too much when I say that the Government invited violence and did not want the movement to proceed on peaceful lines?

Now let me remind you of an occasion of an open rebellion when you played an important part. I refer to the famous Bardoli satyagraha[1] under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He was conducting a campaign of civil disobedience. It had evidently reached a stage when the then Governor of Bombay felt that there should be a peaceful end to the struggle. You will remember that the result of an interview between His Excellency the then Governor and the Sardar was the appointment of a committee of which you were a distinguished member. And the committee's findings were for the most part in favour of the civil resisters. Of course, you may say, if you wish, that the Governor made a mistake in negotiating with a rebel, and so did you in accepting the appointment. Consider the reverse position, what would have happened if, instead of appointing a committee, the Governor had attempted heavy repression. Would not the Government have been held responsible for any outbreak of violence, if the people had lost self-control?

17. Government does hold Mr. Gandhi responsible for the recent happenings that have so disturbed the peace of India, caused so much loss of life and property of innocent persons and brought the

[1] From February 12 to August 6, 1928; *vide* Vols. XXXVI and XXXVII.

> country to the brink of a terrible danger. I do not say, he had any personal complicity in acts of violence . . . but it was he that put the match to the train carefully laid beforehand by himself and his colleagues. That he was forced to do so prematurely was not his fault but our fortune. This was the method by which they hoped to gain their ends. They may seek to repudiate it, now that it has proved unsuccessful, but the responsibility is theirs none the less. . . . If Mr. Gandhi wished to dissociate himself from them, he could have spoken for himself without consulting the members of the Working Committee. Can he then, without cancelling the Congress rebellion, without reparation, without even assurances for the future, claim at any moment to step back as though nothing had happened into the public life of the country and be received by Government and society as a good citizen?

I can accept no responsibility for the unfortunate happenings described by you. I have no doubt whatsoever that history will record that the responsibility for the happenings was wholly that of the Government. In the nature of things I could not put a match to a train which for one thing was never laid. And if the train was never laid, the question of prematureness does not arise. The deprivation of the people of their leaders you may consider "our fortune". I consider it a misfortune of the first magnitude for all concerned. I wish to repudiate nothing of what I have done or intended. I have no sense of repentance for I have no sense of having done any wrong to any person. I have stated times without number that I detest violence in any shape or form. But I can give no opinion about things of which I have no first-hand knowledge. I never asked for permission to consult the Congress Working Committee to enable me to dissociate myself from violence. I asked for permission to see them, if I was expected to make any proposals on behalf of the Committee. I cannot cancel the Congress rebellion which is of a purely non-violent character. I am proud of it. I have no reparation to make, for I have no consciousness of guilt. And there can be no question of assurances for the future when I hold myself guiltless. The question of re-entering the public life of the country or being received by Government and society as a good citizen does not arise. I am quite content to remain a prisoner. I have never thrust myself on the public life of the country or on the Government. I am but a humble servant of India. The only certificate I need is a certificate from the inner voice. I hope you realize that you gave your audience not facts but your opinions framed in anger.

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To conclude, why have I written this letter? Not to answer your anger with anger. I have written it in the hope that you may read the sincerity behind my own words. I never despair of converting any person even an official of the hardest type. Gen. Smuts was converted, or say reconciled, as he declared in his speech introducing the Bill giving relief in the terms of the settlement arrived at between him and me in 1914. That he has not fulfilled my hope or that of the Indian settlers which the settlement had inspired is a sad story, but it is irrelevant to the present purpose. I can multiply such recollections. I claim no credit for these conversions or reconciliations. They were wholly due to the working of truth and non-violence expressing themselves through me. I subscribe to the belief or the philosophy that all life in its essence is one, and that the humans are working consciously or unconsciously towards the realization of that identity. This belief requires a living faith in a living God who is the ultimate arbiter of our fate. Without Him not a blade of grass moves. My belief requires me not to despair even of converting you, though your speech warrants no such hope. If God has willed it, He may put power in some word of mine which will touch your heart. Mine is but to make the effort. The result is in God's hands.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE HON'BLE SIR REGINALD MAXWELL
HOME MEMBER
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 58-70; also *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 17-24

[1] In his reply dated June 17, the addressee said: "I see you still maintain the position which you took up in your letters to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding the Congress resolution of the 8th August and responsibility for the disturbances that followed it. As you know, Government have never accepted the construction you sought to put upon those events. So long as this fundamental difference exists, I must regretfully conclude that there is not sufficient common ground for profitable discussion of the other points raised."

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28. LETTER TO ARDESHIR E. KATELI

May 26, 1943

BHAI KHAN BAHADUR,

I gave you on the 4th a letter addressed to the Central Government and along with it was a letter[1] to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. Another I gave you on the 15th. With that there was a letter to Lord Samuel. Please be good enough to inquire and let me know whether these two letters have reached the proper quarters, and whether the letters to Qaid-e-Azam and Lord Samuel have been forwarded to them.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6302

29. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM

DETENTION CAMP,
May 27, 1943

DEAR SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM,

I received last evening your letter[2] of the 24th instant refusing my request to forward my letter addressed to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. I wrote[3] only yesterday to the Superintendent of this camp asking him kindly to inquire whether my letter to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, and the later one, dated the 15th instant to Right Hon'ble Lord Samuel, had been forwarded to the respective addressees.

I am sorry for the Government's decision. For, my letter to the Qaid-e-Azam was sent in reply to his public invitation to me to write to him, and I was especially encouraged to do so because his language had led me to think that, if I wrote to him, my letter would be forwarded to him. The public too are anxious that the Qaid-e-Azam and I should meet or at

[1] *Vide* pp. 75-6.
[2] This was from E. Conran-Smith; *vide* footnote 2, pp. 76-7.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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least establish contact. I have always been anxious to meet the Qaid-e-Azam, if per chance we could devise some solution of the communal tangle which might be generally acceptable. Therefore the disability in the present instance is much more that of the public than mine. As a satyagrahi I may not regard as disabilities the restrictions which the Government have imposed upon me. As the Government are aware, I have denied myself even the pleasure of writing to my relatives as I am not allowed to perform the service of writing to my co-workers who are in a sense more to me than my relatives.

The advance copy of the contemplated communique[1] with which you have considerably favoured me requires emendation in more places than one. For, as it stands, it does not square with facts.

As to the disavowal referred to in the proposed communique, the Government are aware that I regard the non-violent mass movement, for the launching of which the Congress gave me authority on the 8th of August last, as perfectly legitimate and in the interest both of the Government and the public. As it is, the Government left me no time to start the movement. Therefore how could a movement, which was never started, embarrass "India's" war effort? If then, there was any embarrassment by reason of the popular resentment of the Government's action in resorting to the wholesale arrests of principal Congressmen, the responsibility was solely that of the Government. The mass movement, as the resolution sanctioning it said in so many words, was sanctioned in order to promote India-wide effort on behalf of the Allied cause, including the causes of Russia and China, whose danger was very great in August last and from which, in my opinion, they are by no means free even now. I hope the Government will not feel offended when I say that all the war effort that is being put forth in India is not India's but the alien Government's. I submit that, if the Government had complied with the request of the Congress as embodied in its August resolution, there would have been a mass effort without parallel for winning the battle for human freedom and ridding the world of the menace that Fascism, Nazism, Japanism and imperialism are. I may be wholly wrong; anyway this is my deliberate and honest opinion.

In order to make the communique accord with facts, I suggest the following alterations in the first paragraph: After "Mr.

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, pp. 76-7.

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Jinnah'' add ''in response to his public invitation to Mr. Gandhi to write to him, stating that he (Mr. Gandhi) would be willing to correspond with or meet him according as he wished''.

I hope that the remaining portion of the communique too will be suitably amended in the light of my submission.[1]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10433. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, pp. 73-4, and *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 15-6

30. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM

May 28, 1943

DEAR SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM,

I handed my reply[2] to your letter[3] of the 24th instant, at about one o'clock yesterday, to the Superintendent. I hurried the writing and the despatch in the hope of my letter reaching you before the publication of the communique. I was, therefore, astonished and grieved to find the communique in the papers received in the afternoon, and Reuter's report[4] of the reactions[5] upon it in London. Evidently there was no meaning in an advance copy of the communique being sent to me. I regard the communique not only to be inconsistent with the facts but unfair to me. The only way partial redress can be given to

[1] Acknowledging this letter on June 4, Conran-Smith informed Gandhiji: '' . . . the Government of India have considered it but see no reason to modify their communique already published.'' *Vide* also the following item.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* footnote 2, pp. 76-7.

[4]&[5] *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. III pp. 1021-3, records that according to Amery's letter to Lord Linlithgow, the reaction in London was better than what they had expected. Only *The Manchester Guardian* was critical; ''others entirely supported the Government of India's action''. Jinnah's comments, as reported by Reuter, on Gandhiji's proposal to invite him to visit him, was that ''Gandhi's letter could only be construed as a move to embroil the Muslim League with the British Government as a means of helping his release. . . . if Gandhi was prepared to write a letter and abandon his policy culminating in revolution and was willing to settle on the basis of Pakistan, the Muslim League were prepared to bury the past. He still believed that the British Government would not stop such a letter. . . .''

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me is the publication of the correspondence between us. I, therefore request that it may be published.[1]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10435. Courtesy : India Office Library. *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, p. 16. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, pp. 74

31. TALK WITH MIRABEHN

May 29, 1943

I asked Bapuji how one could best help races who have an undeveloped idea of God, and suggested that one should not put before them any orthodox religion, but speak only in a very simple way of the Supreme Soul, and for the rest serve them and strive according to the ideals in which one believes. Bapu replied :

You should not even talk of the Supreme Soul. It is my profound conviction that Truth is self-acting. Truth, which is God, is ever present, ever working in all beings. Therefore one should[2] simply live one's own life amongst them and serve them according to their needs. Three R's have a value all their own. Therefore giving that knowledge to the illiterate is a special service obligatory on those who have that knowledge. For the rest, if we have Truth in us, it will go out to them without effort, for it is self-acting. God, i.e., Truth, comes to those who seek Him. If we know Him more than they (of which we can never be sure) the more will doubtless go out to them.

[PS.]

I had it copied for you.[3]

From a photostat: G.N. 9100

[1] Acknowledging this letter on June 8, Conran-Smith explained: " . . . the advance copy of the communique . . . was sent for your personal information, and the Government regret they see no reason to publish the correspondence."

[2] What follows is in Gandhiji's hand.

[3] *Vide* also the following item.

32. TALK WITH MIRABEHN

May 31, 1943

When I looked through what you had written down of our conversation[1], I saw that I should express what I had said in a shorter and clearer manner. I have now put it in the form of an aphorism. As a matter of fact it was only yesterday that I fully realized the value of the three R's. In the past, I have often expressed indifference to them. But yesterday it came to me that the three R's have unique place and value, and in serving illiterate peoples it is a vital part of one's duty to give them this knowledge. The man who cannot read, write or add, must remain in many ways an ignoramus. Whereas with this knowledge at his command he can reach out to further and further development. Of course this means that when I impart the three R's, I must try to do it in such a way as to whet the man's appetite for further knowledge. There can be no question for me of just counting heads and passing on. I do not impart the knowledge for all-round advance. If he advances materially all very well and good. Though my concern is with his spiritual development, it is through material service that I have to approach him. His body is all there, his soul is as yet unknown to him. Day by day, as he goes on accepting my material services, he will become more curious about my life. He will begin to notice something more than the physical side of my life: why do I sometimes sit in certain postures, why do I shut my eyes at times, what is it I am murmuring. When his curiosity leads him to ask me what it all means, I can explain it to him. How the information will affect him is not my concern. It is not for me to interfere with the working of the spirit. When I am face to face with a man, in proportion as I have God's spirit in me will it go out to him.[2] My purpose is not to give him my religion. My purpose is to let him see God through me if I have Him and express Him in reality, in my daily doings.

June 10, 1943

From a photostat: G.N. 9101

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] What follows is in Gandhiji's hand.

33. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM

DETENTION CAMP,
June 1, 1943

DEAR SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM,

I have your note[1] of the 26th ultimo conveying the Government's decision about my letter[2] to the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Samuel. I would just like to say that the letter is not political correspondence but it is a complaint to a Member of the House of Lords pointing out misrepresentations into which he has been betrayed, and which do me an injustice. The Government's decision amounts to a ban on the ordinary right belonging even to a convict of correcting damaging misrepresentations made about him. Moreover I suggest that the decision about my letter[3] to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah is wholly inapplicable to this letter to the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Samuel. Therefore I request reconsideration of the decision.[4]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 82-3; also *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, p. 31

34. LETTER TO SIR REGINALD MAXWELL

DETENTION CAMP,
June 23, 1943

DEAR SIR REGINALD MAXWELL,

I thank you for your reply[5] of 17th instant received on 21st instant to my letter[6] of 21st May last.

I had not hoped that my reply would remove the fundamental difference between us, but I had hoped and would still

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 85.
[2] *Vide* pp. 77-84.
[3] *Vide* pp. 75-6.
[4] Acknowledging this letter on June 7, 1943, Conran-Smith informed Gandhiji that the Government "do not see their way to alter the decision".
[5] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 98.
[6] *Vide* pp. 85-98.

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like to hope that the difference would be no bar to an admission and correction of discovered errors. I had thought, as I still think, that my letter did point out some errors in your Assembly speech of 15th February last.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, p. 24

35. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
July 15, 1943

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

SIR,

In reply to my request[1] dated 5th March last for a copy of Government of India publication entitled *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*, I received a copy on 13th April. It contains several corrections marked in red ink. Some of them are striking.

2. I take it that the Government have based the charges made in the publication against the Congress and myself on the material printed therein and not on the evidence which, as stated in the Preface, is withheld from the public.

3. The Preface is brief and is signed by Sir R. Tottenham, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department. It is dated 13th February last, i.e., three days after the commencement of my recent fast. The date is ominous. Why was the period of my fast chosen for publishing a document in which I am the target?

4. The Preface commences thus:

> In response to demands which have reached Government from several sources, Government have now prepared a review which brings together a number of facts . . . bearing on the responsibility of Mr.

[1] The request was actually made by Pyarelal on behalf of Gandhiji; *vide* p. 73.

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> Gandhi and the Congress High Command for the disturbances which followed the sanction of a mass movement by the A.I.C.C. on August 8, 1942.

There is an obvious mis-statement here. The disturbances followed not the "sanctioning of the mass movement by the A.I.C.C." but the arrests made by the Government. As for the "demands", so far as I am aware, they began soon after the wholesale arrests of principal Congressmen all over India. As the Government are aware, in my letters to His Excellency the Viceroy, the last[1] being dated 7th February, 1943, I had asked for proof in support of my alleged guilt. The evidence now produced might have been given to me when I raised the question. Had my request been complied with, one advantage would certainly have accrued. I would have been heard in answer to the charges brought against me. That very process would have delayed the fast and, who knows, if Government had been patient with me, it might have even prevented it.

5. The Preface contains the following sentence:

> Almost all the facts presented in this review are, or should be, already within the knowledge of the public.

Therefore, so far as the public are concerned, there was no such hurry as to require publication of the document during the fast. This train of reasoning has led me to the inference that it was published in expectation of my death which medical opinion must have considered almost a certainty. It was feared even during my previous long fasts. I hope my inference is wholly wrong, and the Government had a just and valid reason for choosing the time that they did for the publication of what is after all an indictment of the Congress and me. I hope to be pardoned for putting on paper an inference which, if true, must discredit the Government. I feel that I am being just to them by unburdening myself of a suspicion instead of harbouring it and allowing it to cloud my judgment about their dealings with me.

6. I now come to the indictment itself. It reads like a presentation of his case by a prosecutor. In the present case the prosecutor happens to be also the policeman and jailor. He first arrests and gags his victims, and then opens his case behind their backs.

[1] *Vide* pp. 58-60.

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7. I have read it again and again. I have gone through the numbers of *Harijan* which my companions happened to have with them, and I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing in my writings and doings that could have warranted the inferences and the innuendoes of which the indictment is full. In spite of my desire to see myself in my writings, as the author has seen me, I have completely failed.

8. The indictment opens with a misrepresentation. I am said to have deplored "the introduction of foreign soldiers into India to aid in India's defence". In the *Harijan* article[1], on which the charge is based, I have refused to believe that India was to be defended through the introduction of foreign soldiers. If it is India's defence that is aimed at, why should trained Indian soldiers be sent away from India and foreign soldiers brought in instead? Why should the Congress—an organization which was born and lives for the very sake of India's freedom —be suppressed? I am clearer today in my mind than I was when I penned that article on 19th April, that India is not being defended, and that if things continue to shape themselves as they are, India will sink at the end of the war deeper than she is today, so that she might forget the very word freedom. Let me quote the relevant passages from the *Harijan* article referred to by the author.

> I must confess that I do not look upon this event with equanimity. Cannot a limitless number of soldiers be trained out of India's millions? Would they not make as good fighting material as any in the world? Then why foreigners? We know what American aid means. It amounts, in the end, to American influence, if not American rule, added to British. It is a tremendous price to pay for the possible success of Allied arms. I see no Indian freedom peeping through all this preparation for the so-called defence of India. It is a preparation pure and simple for the defence of the British Empire, whatever may be asserted to the contrary.

9. The second paragraph of the indictment opens with this pregnant sentence:

> It will be suggested that during the period of Mr. Gandhi's first advocacy of British withdrawal from India and the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on August 7, the Congress High Command, and, in the later stages, the Congress organization as

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 49-50.

a whole, were deliberately setting the stage for a mass movement designed to free India finally from British rule.

Let me italicize the phrase, *It will be suggested.* Why should anything be left to suggestion about a movement which is open and above board? Much ado has been made about the simplest things which nobody has cared to deny and of which Congressmen are even proud. The Congress organization as a whole "deliberately set the stage designed to free India finally from British rule" as early as the year 1920, and not since my "first advocacy of British withdrawal from India" as suggested in the indictment. Ever since that year the effort for a mass movement has never relaxed. This can be proved from numerous speeches of Congress leaders and from Congress resolutions. Young and impatient Congressmen and even elder men have not hesitated, at times, to press me to hasten the mass movement. But I who knew better always restrained their ardour, and I must gratefully admit that they gladly submitted to the restraint. The contraction of this long period to the interval between my advocacy of British withdrawal from India and the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on August 7, is wholly wrong and misleading. I know of no special staging since 26th April, 1942.

10. The same paragraph then says that "an essential preliminary" to an examination of the type of movement "is a clear understanding of the real motives underlying the move". Why should motives be searched when everything is there in black and white? I can say without any hesitation that my motives are always plain. Why I asked for the immediate withdrawal of the British power from India has been discussed by me almost threadbare in public.

11. At page 2 of the indictment[1], a phrase has been taken from my article[2] entitled "One Thing Needful" dated 10th May, 1942, and I am represented as saying that I would devote the whole of my "energy" to this "supreme act". By simply detaching the phrase from its context, mystery has been made to surround it. The phrase "supreme act" occurs in an argument addressed to an English friend and, if it is read in its setting, it ceases to

[1] Which reads: "Although his earlier proposals for British withdrawal all emphasized the importance of this withdrawal being a voluntary act willingly performed, Mr. Gandhi had already by May 10 decided that he must devote the whole of his energy to this 'supreme act'; and it is clear that very shortly afterwards, he began to think in terms of a struggle to achieve his object"(*The Indian Annual Register, 1942*, Vol. II, p. 177).

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 85-7.

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be mysterious or objectionable, unless the very idea of withdrawal is held objectionable. Here are the relevant parts from the argument:

> I am convinced, therefore, that the time has come during the war, not after it, for the British and the Indians to be reconciled to complete separation from each other. That way, and that way alone, lies the safety of both and, shall I say, the world. I see with the naked eye that the estrangement is growing. Every act of the British Government is being interpreted, and I think rightly, as being in its own interest and for its own safety. There is no such thing as joint common interest. . . . racial superiority is treated not as a vice but a virtue. This is true not only in India; but it is equally true in Africa, it is true in Burma and Ceylon. These countries could not be held otherwise than by assertion of race superiority.
>
> This is a drastic disease requiring a drastic remedy. I have pointed out the remedy—complete and immediate orderly withdrawal of the British from India at least, in reality and properly from all non-European possessions. It will be the bravest and the cleanest act of the British people. It will at once put the Allied cause on a completely moral basis and may even lead to a most honourable peace between the warring nations. And the clean end of imperialism is likely to be the end of Fascism and Nazism. The suggested action will certainly blunt the edge of Fascism and Nazism which are an offshoot of imperialism.
>
> British distress cannot be relieved by nationalist India's aid in the manner suggested by the writer. It is ill-equipped for the purpose, even if it can be made enthusiastic about it. And what is there to enthuse nationalistic India? Just as a person cannot feel the glow of the sun's heat in its absence, even so Indians cannot feel the glow of freedom without the actual experience of it. Many of us simply cannot contemplate an utterly free India with calmness and equanimity. The first experience is likely to be a shock before the glow comes. That shock is a necessity. India is a mighty nation. No one can tell how she will act and with what effect when the shock is delivered.
>
> I feel, therefore, that I must devote the whole of my energy to the realization of the supreme act. The writer of the letter admits the wrong done to India by the British. I suggest to the writer that the first condition of British success is the present undoing of the wrong. It should precede, not follow, victory. The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait. Assume, however, that it does not; free India will be better able to cope with the invasion. Unadulterated non-co-operation will then have a full sway (*Harijan*, 10-5-1942, p. 148).

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In this long extract, the phrase "supreme act" takes its legitimate place. It does not refer simply to the British withdrawal. But it sums up all that must precede and succeed it. It is an act worthy of the energy not of one person but of hundreds. This is how I began my answer to the English friend's letter:

> I can but repeat what I felt and said in my letter to Lord Linlithgow recording my impressions of the first interview[1] with him after the declaration of war. I have nothing to withdraw, nothing to repent of. I remain the same friend today of the British that I was then. I have not a trace of hatred in me towards them. But I have never been blind to their limitations as I have not been to their great virtues (*Harijan*, 10-5-1942, p. 148).

To read and fully understand my writings, it is necessary to understand always this background. The whole of the movement has been conceived for the mutual benefit of India and England. Unfortunately, the author, ignoring this background, has approached my writings with coloured spectacles, and torn sentences and phrases from their context, and dressed them up to suit his preconception. Thus he has put out of joint "their withdrawal removes the bait", and omitted the sentence that immediately follows and which I have restored in the foregoing extract. As is clear from the above article, unadulterated non-co-operation here refers exclusively to the Japanese.

12. The last paragraph at page 2 begins thus:

> In its earlier stages Mr. Gandhi's "Quit India" move was meant and was widely interpreted as a proposal for the physical withdrawal from India of the *British*[2], and of all Allied and British troops.

I have searched, and so have the friends with me, in vain, for some expression in my writings which would warrant the opinion that "Quit India" move was *meant* as a proposal for the physical withdrawal of the British from India. It is true that colour was lent to such an interpretation by a superficial reading of a sentence[3] in the article of *Harijan* of April 26, already quoted. As soon as my attention was drawn to it by an English friend, I wrote[4] in *Harijan* of 24th May as follows:

> There is evidently confusion in some minds about my invitation to the British to withdraw. For a Britisher writes to say that he likes

[1] On September 4, 1939; for Gandhiji's statement, *vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 161-2.

[2] Italicized by Gandhiji

[3] Presumably, the one which follows immediately after the last sentence of the passage quoted in paragraph 8 above; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 49.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 119.

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India and her people and would not like willingly to leave India. He likes too my method of non-violence. Evidently the writer has confused the individual as such with the individual as the holder of power. India has no quarrel with the British people. I have hundreds of British friends. Andrews's[1] friendship was enough to tie me to the British people.

With this clear enunciation of my views before him at the time of penning the indictment, how could he say that I had *meant* physical withdrawal of the British as distinguished from the British power? And I am not aware that my writing was "widely interpreted as such". He has quoted nothing in support of this statement.

13. The author proceeds in the same paragraph:

As late as June 14, he makes, for the purpose of his scheme, the assumption that the Commander-in-Chief of the United American and British armies has decided that India is no good as a base.

"For the purpose of his scheme" is a gratuitous interpolation here. The extract is taken from an interview[2] with several journalists. I was answering a series of questions. At one stage I had put a counter-question thus :

Supposing England retires from India for strategic purpose, and apart from my proposal—as they had to do in Burma—what would happen? What would India do?

They replied :

That is exactly what we have come to learn from you. We would certainly like to know that.

I rejoined :

Well, therein comes my non-violence. For, we have no weapons. Mind you, we have assumed that the Commander-in-Chief of the United American and British armies has decided that India is no good as a base, and that they should withdraw to some other base and concentrate the Allied forces there. We can't help it. We have then to depend on what strength we have. We have no army, no military resources, no military skill either worth the name, and non-violence is the only thing we can fall back upon.

It is clear from this quotation that I was not expounding any scheme. I was merely arguing about possibilities based on assumptions agreed between the interviewers and myself.

[1] C. F. Andrews
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 192-7.

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14. The author proceeds :

> Added strength is given to the belief that this is a correct interpretation of Mr. Gandhi's original intentions by the prominence, to which attention has already been drawn, of the theme that the British withdrawal would remove any Japanese motive for invading India; for, with the British and Allied armies still in India, how is the bait removed ?

I have just now shown that the physical withdrawal of the British was never contemplated by me, of the Allied and the British troops was certainly contemplated in the first instance. Therefore it is not a question of "interpretation", because it is one of fact. But the sentence has been impressed in order to make what is straight look crooked.

15. Then proceeds the author :

> At the same time he made it clear that on the British departure the Indian army would be disbanded.

I made clear no such thing. What I did was to discuss with interviewers the possibilities in the event of British withdrawal. Indian army, being a creation of the British Government, I assumed, would be automatically disbanded when that power withdrew, unless it was taken over by a treaty by the replacing Government. If the withdrawal took place by agreement and with goodwill on both sides, these matters should present no difficulty. I give in the Appendix, the relevant passages from the interview on the subject. *Vide* Appendix I (S).

16. From the same paragraph I take the following:

> Owing to the gathering force of this opposition and also, as will be shown later, with a possible view to reconciling disagreement among members of the Working Committee, Mr. Gandhi discovered the 'gap' in his original proposals. In *Harijan* of June 14, he paved the way — by the slightly cryptic assertion that, if he had his way, the Indian national government when formed would tolerate the presence of the United Nations on Indian soil under certain well-defined conditions but would permit no further assistance—for the more definite statement made to an American journalist in the following week's *Harijan*, when in reply to a question whether he envisaged free India's allowing Allied troops to operate from India, he said: 'I do. It will be only then that you will see real co-operation.' He continued that he did not contemplate the complete shifting of Allied troops from India and that, provided India became entirely free, he could not insist on their withdrawal.

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This is for me the key thought opening the author's mind. It is built on finding motives other than those that are apparent from my language. Had I been guided by the force of the opposition whether from the foreign or the Indian Press or from Congressmen, I should not have hesitated to say so. It is well known that I am as capable of resisting opposition that makes no appeal to my head or my heart, as I am of readily yielding when it does. But the literal fact is that when I gave the country the withdrawal formula, I was possessed by one idea and one only, that if India was to be saved and also the Allied cause, and if India was to play not merely an effective but, maybe, a decisive part in the war, India must be absolutely free now. The "gap" was this: although the British Government might be willing to declare India's independence, they might still wish, for their own and for China's defence, to retain their troops in India. What would be my position in that case? It is now well known that the difficulty was presented[1] to me by Mr. Louis Fischer. He had come to Sevagram and stayed with me for nearly a week. As a result of the discussions between us, he drew up certain questions for me to answer. My reply to his second question the author describes as a "slightly cryptic assertion" paving the way for a "more definite statement in the following week's *Harijan*". I give below the whole of the article[2] embodying the questions and answers. It was written on 7th June, 1942, and appeared in *Harijan* dated 14th June, p. 188. . . .

What is described as the "more definite statement" is nothing but an impromptu reply given to an American journalist, Mr. Grover, representative of the Associated Press of America. If that interview[3] had not chanced to come about, there might have been no statement "more definite" than what appeared in my reply to Mr. Louis Fischer. Hence the writer's suggestion that I "paved the way" for "the more definite statement in the following week's *Harijan*" is altogether unwarranted, if I may not call it even mischievous. I do not regard my answers to Mr. Louis Fischer as a "slightly cryptic statement". They are deliberate answers given to deliberate questions framed after a full discussion lasting a week. My answers show very clearly that I had no scheme beyond the "Quit India" formula, that all else was guess, and that immediately the Allied nations' difficulty was made clear

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix V.
[2] Not reproduced here; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 186-8.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 207-12.

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to me, I capitulated. I saw the "gap" and filled it in the best manner I knew. The "definite statement" fortunately for me, in my opinion, leaves little room, if any, for conjectures and insinuations in which the writer has indulged. Let it speak for itself. Here are the relevant portions[1]:

17. The rest of the chapter[2] is taken up with a colourful description of the draft resolution I sent to Allahabad and a quotation containing remarks attributed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru[3]

[1] These are not reproduced here. Only the last six paragraphs were omitted by Gandhiji.

[2] Chapter I of the six chapters. The passage under reference reads: "Before any attempt is made to assess the motives actuating Mr. Gandhi in his 'Quit-India' move, reference must be made to the important evidence as to the working of his mind and the reactions of the members of the Working Committee furnished by the record (Appendix I) of the latter's Allahabad meeting, which was recovered in a subsequent police search of the All-India Congress Committee's office. Mr. Gandhi was not present at this meeting, but he sent for the consideration of the Working Committee a draft resolution which was the direct precursor of the resolution of July 14. 'Japan's quarrel,' he states in the draft, 'is not with India. She is warring against the British Empire. . . . If India were freed, her first step would probably be to negotiate with [Japan] whereas if the British withdrew, India would be able to defend herself against Japan.' Britain, Congress was of opinion, was incapable of defending India from the Japanese or any other aggressor. The draft goes on to assure the Japanese Government that India bears no enmity against Japan and desires only freedom from alien domination, which she will attain and retain through her non-violent strength. The hope is expressed that Japan will not have any designs on India; but should she attack India, all Indians who look to the Congress for guidance would be expected to offer non-violent non-co-operation to the Japanese" (*The Indian Annual Register*, *1942*, Vol. II, pp. 177-8). For Gandhiji's draft resolution, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 63-5.

[3] The "remarks attributed to" him read: "Withdrawal of troops and the whole apparatus of civil administration will create a vacuum which cannot be filled up immediately. If we said to Japan that her fight was with British imperialism and not with us, she would say : 'We are glad the British army is withdrawn; we recognize your independence. But we want certain facilities now. We shall defend you against aggression. We want aerodromes, freedom to pass our troops through your country. This is necessary in self-defence.' They might seize strategic points and proceed to Iraq, etc. The masses won't be touched if only the strategic points are captured. If Bapu's (Mr. Gandhi) approach is accepted, we become passive partners of the Axis powers. . . . The whole background of the draft is one which will inevitably make the world think that we are lining up passively with the Axis powers. The British are asked to withdraw. After the withdrawal we are to negotiate with Japan and possibly come to some terms with her. These terms may include a large measure of civil control by us, a certain measure of

and Shri Rajagopalachari[1] on that resolution. Immediately after the publication of the extracts from the notes seized by the Government, Panditji issued a statement which I append hereto. *Vide* Appendix V(C). I cannot understand why the author has disregarded that important statement, unless for the reason that he disbelieved Panditji's explanation. As for Shri Rajagopalachari's statement, the author stands on less insecure ground. Rajaji certainly holds the views attributed to him. In the interview with Mr. Grover, the American correspondent, this is what I said[2] about Rajaji's difference with me:

18. The first chapter concludes with the following commentary on the draft which had been sent by me to the Working Committee at Allahabad:

> A draft, to repeat, of which the whole thought and background is one of favouring Japan, a resolution which amounts to running into the arms of Japan.

And this is written in spite of Pandit Jawaharlal's repudiation of the statement attributed to him, and in spite of my explanation about differences with Rajaji—all of which was before the writer.

19. In support of my contention that the author had no warrant for the opinions expressed in the sentences quoted, I would like to draw attention to the following extracts from my Press statement[3] reported in *The Bombay Chronicle* of 5th August last:

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military control by them, passage of armies through India, etc. . . . Whether you will like it or not, the exigencies of the war situation will compel them to make India a battle-ground. In sheer self-defence they cannot afford to keep out. They will walk through the country. You can't stop it by non-violent non-co-operation . . . the whole thought and background of the draft is one of favouring Japan. It may not be conscious. Three factors influence our decisions in the present emergency: (i) Indian freedom (ii) sympathy for certain larger causes (iii) probable outcome of the war—who is going to win. It is Gandhiji's feeling that Japan and Germany will win. This feeling unconsciously governs his decision" (*The Indian Annual Register*, *1942*, Vol. II, p. 178).

[1] The "remarks attributed to" him read: "I do not agree that if Britain goes away, India will have some scope for organizing itself even if Japan should make some headway. Japan will fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal. Our reaction to the evils of Britain should not make us lose our sense of perspective. It is no use getting upset on small matters. Do not run into the arms of Japan, which is what the resolution comes to" (ibid., p. 178).

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 211.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 371-2.

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As the language of the draft (the one that was sent to Allahabad) shows, it had many 'i's to be dotted and 't's to be crossed. It was sent through Mirabehn to whom I had explained the implications of the draft, and I said to her or to the friends of the Working Committee who happened to be in Sevagram to whom I explained the draft, that there was an omission—deliberate—from my draft as to the foreign policy of the Congress and, therefore, any reference to China and Russia.

For, as I had said to them, I derived my inspiration and knowledge from Panditji about foreign matters of which he had been a deep student. Therefore I said that he could fill in that part in the resolution.

But I may add that I have never even in a most unguarded moment expressed the opinion that Japan and Germany would win the war. Not only that, I have often expressed the opinion that they cannot win the war, if only Great Britain will once for all shed her imperialism. I have given expression to that opinion more than once in the columns of *Harijan*, and I repeat here that in spite of all my wish to the contrary and of others, if disaster overtakes Great Britain and the Allied powers, it will be because even at the critical moment—most critical in her history—she had most obstinately refused to wash herself of the taint of imperialism which she had carried with her for at least a century and a half.

How in the face of this categorical statement the author could say that the actuating motive behind the "Quit India" move was that I was "convinced that Axis would win the war" passes understanding.

20. In support of the same charge the author says:

That this attitude persisted long after the Allahabad meeting of the Working Committee is shown by the following remark made by Mr. Gandhi in *Harijan* of July 19, in reply to a question whether it would not be wiser to postpone his movement until Britain had settled with the Germans and the Japanese: "No, because I know you will not settle with Germans without us."

I quote below from the article[1] in which this opinion is expressed. It is from *Harijan* of July 19, pages 234 and 235, and is entitled "A Two Minutes' Interview", the interviewer being a correspondent of *The Daily Express*, London.

But the correspondent of *The Daily Express* (London) who was among the first to arrive, and who was not staying until the end said,

[1] By Mahadev Desai

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he would be content with just a couple of minutes' interview, and Gandhiji acceded to his request. He had made up his mind that if the demand for withdrawal which seemed to gather strength every day was rejected, there would be some kind of a movement. So he asked:[1]

It is curious that sentences taken out of a piece breathing concern for the success of the Allied arms are here presented as an indication of my "pro-Axis" mentality!

21. The following passage is then reproduced from my letter[2] to His Excellency the Viceroy of 14th August last as "significant":

> I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring-rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can.

"The misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia" has been italicized by the author who thus comments on the passage:

> They foresaw a British rear-guard action across India and the devastation that this must entail!

According to his wont, the author has failed to quote the whole of the relevant part of the letter. Nor has he guided the reader by quoting the letter in the appendix. I quote below the relevant part:

> One thing more. The declared cause is common between the Government of India and us. To put it in the most concrete terms, it is the protection of the freedom of China and Russia. The Government of India think that freedom of India is not necessary for winning the cause. I think exactly the opposite. I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring-rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can and, may I say, than even you can. In that misery he tried to forget his old quarrel with imperialism.
>
> He dreads much more than I do the success of Nazism and Fascism. I argued with him for days together. He fought against my position with a passion which I have no words to describe. But the logic of facts overwhelmed him. He yielded when he saw clearly that without the freedom of India that of the other two was in great jeopardy. Surely you are wrong in having imprisoned such a powerful friend and ally.

[1] For the text of the interview which followed, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 286-7.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 409.

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The full letter is given in the appendix (*vide* Appendix IX[1]).

I suggest that the full quotation gives a meaning wholly different from that given by the author. The following passages from *Harijan* will further prove the baselessness of the charge of "pro-Axis" or "defeatist" tendency on my part :

> Q. Is it a fact that your present attitude towards England and Japan is influenced by the belief that you think the British and the Allies are going to be defeated in this war? . . .
>
> A. I have no hesitation in saying that it is not true. On the contrary, I said only the other day in *Harijan* that the Britisher was hard to beat. He has not known what it is to be defeated . . . (*Harijan*, 7-6-1942, p. 177)[2].
>
> America is too big financially, intellectually and in scientific skill to be subdued by any nation or even combination. . . (*Harijan*, 7-6-1942, p. 181)[3].

22. A further complete answer to the same charge, if one were still needed, is furnished by my letter[4] to Shrimati Mirabehn, dictated on the spur of the moment and never meant for publication. The letter was written to her in answer to her questions which carried to me her belief that the Japanese attack was imminent and that they were likely to have a walk-over. My answer leaves no doubt whatever as to my attitude. The letter was written after the Allahabad meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. It was dictated by me to the late Shri Mahadev Desai. The original is in Shrimati Mirabehn's possession. I know that she wrote a letter to Lord Linlithgow from this camp on December 24 last, sending copies of this correspondence and requesting its publication. She never received even an acknowledgement of her communication. I hope it was not pigeonholed without so much as being read. I give it in the appendix for ready reference. *Vide* Appendix II (H).

23. In view of the colourful description of my draft resolution sent to Allahabad, I reproduce apposite passages from the resolution to show that the author has gone to everything connected with the Congress with the deliberate intention, as it seems to me, of seeing nothing but evil. Thus "Britain is incapable of defending India" is followed by these sentences:

[1] Not reproduced here; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 406-10.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 168.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 164.
[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 173-5.

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It is natural that whatever she (Britain) does is for her own defence. There is an eternal conflict between Indian and British interests. It follows, their notions of defence would also differ. The British Government has no trust in India's political parties. The Indian army has been maintained up till now mainly to hold India in subjugation. It has been completely segregated from the general population who can in no sense regard it as their own. This policy of mistrust still continues and is the reason why national defence is not entrusted to India's elected representatives.

24. Then there is this sentence taken from the draft: "If India were freed, her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan." This has to be read in conjunction with the following paragraphs from the draft:

This Committee desires to assure the Japanese Government and people that India bears no enmity either towards Japan or towards any other nation. India only desires freedom from all alien domination. But in this fight for freedom, the Committee is of opinion that India while welcoming universal sympathy does not stand in need of foreign military aid. India will attain her freedom through her non-violent strength and will retain it likewise. Therefore the Committee hopes that Japan will not have any designs on India. But if Japan attacks India, and Britain makes no response to its appeal, the Committee would expect all those who look to Congress for guidance to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the Japanese forces and not render any assistance to them. It is no part of the duty of those who are attacked to render any assistance to the attacker. It is their duty to offer complete non-co-operation.

It is not difficult to understand the simple principle of non-violent non-co-operation:

1. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders.

2. We may not look to him for any favours nor fall to his bribes. But we may not bear him any malice nor wish him ill.

3. If he wishes to take possession of our fields, we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist him.

4. If he is attacked by disease or is dying of thirst and seeks our aid, we may not refuse it.

5. In such places where the British and Japanese forces are fighting, our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary.

At present our non-co-operation with the British Government is limited. Were we to offer them complete non-co-operation when they are actually fighting, it would be tantamount to placing our country

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deliberately in Japanese hands. Therefore not to put any obstacle in the way of the British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the Japanese. Neither may we assist the British in any active manner. If we can judge from their recent attitude, the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference. They desire our help only as slaves—a position we can never accept.

Whilst non-co-operation against the Japanese forces will necessarily be limited to a comparatively small number and must succeed if it is complete and genuine, the true building up of swaraj consists in the millions of India whole-heartedly working the constructive programme. Without it the whole nation cannot rise from its age-long torpor. Whether the British remain or not, it is our duty always to wipe out unemployment, to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor, to banish communal strife, to exorcise the demon of untouchability, to reform dacoits and save the people from them. If crores of people do not take a living interest in this nation-building work, freedom must remain a dream and unattainable by either non-violence or violence.

I contend that from this setting it is impossible to infer pro-Japanese attitude or anti-British attitude on my part or that of the Working Committee. On the contrary, there is determined opposition to any aggression and meticulous concern for the Allied arms. The demand for immediate freedom itself is born of that concern. If the search be for implacable opposition on my part to British imperialism, that search is superfluous; for, it is patent in all my writings.

25. I would like to close this subject by quoting some passages from my speeches on the 7th and 8th August last:

EXTRACT FROM THE HINDUSTANI SPEECH ON 7TH AUGUST

Then there is the question of your attitude towards the British. I have noticed that there is hatred towards the British among the people. They say, they are disgusted with their behaviour. The people make no distinction between British imperialism and the British people. To them the two are one. This hatred would even make them welcome the Japanese. This is most dangerous. It means that they will exchange one slavery for another. We must get rid of this feeling. Our quarrel is not with the British people, we fight their imperialism. The proposal for the withdrawal of British power did not come out of anger. It came to enable India to play its due part at the present critical juncture. It is not a happy position for a big country like India to be merely helping with money and material obtained

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willy-nilly from her while the United Nations are conducting the war. We cannot evoke the true spirit of sacrifice and valour so long as we do not feel that it is our war, so long as we are not free. I know the British Government will not be able to withhold freedom from us when we have made enough self-sacrifice. We must, therefore, purge ourselves of hatred. Speaking for myself I can say that I have never felt any hatred. As a matter of fact I feel myself to be a greater friend of the British now than ever before. One reason is that they are today in distress. My very friendship, therefore, demands that I should try to save them from their mistakes. As I view the situation they are on the brink of an abyss. It, therefore, becomes my duty to warn them of their danger even though it may, for the time being, anger them to the point of cutting off the friendly hand that is stretched out to help them. People may laugh, nevertheless that is my claim. At a time when I may have to launch the biggest struggle of my life, I may not harbour hatred against anybody. The idea of taking advantage of the opponent's difficulty and utilizing it for delivering a blow is entirely repugnant to me.

There is one thing which I would like you always to keep before your mind. Never believe that the British are going to lose the war. I know that they are not a nation of cowards. They will fight to the last rather than accept defeat. But suppose, for strategic reasons, they are forced to leave India as they had to leave Malaya, Singapore, and Burma, what shall be our position in that event? The Japanese will invade India and we shall be unprepared. Occupation of India by the Japanese will mean, too, the end of China and, perhaps, Russia. I do not want to be the instrument of Russia's and China's defeat. Pandit Nehru was only today describing to me the wretched condition of Russia. He was agitated. The picture he drew still haunts me. I have asked myself the question: "What can I do to help Russia and China?" And the reply has come from within: "You are being weighed in the balance. You have in the alchemy of ahimsa a universal panacea. Why don't you give it a trial? Have you lost faith?" Out of this agony has emerged the proposal for British withdrawal. It may irritate the Britishers today and they may misunderstand me; they may even look upon me as their enemy. But some day they will say that I was their true friend.

From the Hindustani Speech on 8th August

After showing concern for China, I said:

I, therefore, want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had. It cannot now wait for the realization of communal unity. If that unity is not achieved, sacrifice for attaining

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freedom will need to be much greater than would otherwise have been the case. The Congress has to win freedom or be wiped out in the effort. The freedom which the Congress is struggling to achieve will not be for Congressmen alone but for the whole of the Indian people.

From the Concluding Speech in English

It will be the greatest mistake on their (United Nations') part to turn a deaf ear to India's non-violent pleading and refuse her fundamental right of freedom. It will deal a mortal blow to Russia and China if they oppose the demand of non-violent India which is today, on bended knee, pleading for the discharge of a debt long overdue. ... I have been the author of the non-embarrassment policy of the Congress and yet today you find me talking in strong language. My non-embarrassment plea, however, was always qualified by the proviso, "consistently with the honour and safety of the nation". If a man holds me by the collar and I am drowning, may I not struggle to free myself from the stranglehold? Therefore there is no inconsistency between our earlier declarations and our present demand. . . . I have always recognized a fundamental difference between Fascism and the democracies, despite their many limitations, and even between Fascism and British imperialism which I am fighting. Do the British get from India all they want? What they get today is from an India which they hold in bondage. Think what a difference it would make, if India were to participate in the war as a free ally. That freedom, if it is to come, must come today. For, she will utilize that freedom for the success of the Allies, including Russia and China. The Burma Road will once more be opened and the way cleared for rendering really effective help to Russia.

Englishmen did not die to the last man in Malaya or on the soil of Burma. They effected instead what has been described as a "masterly evacuation". But I cannot afford to do that. Where shall I go, where shall I take the forty crores of India? How is this mass of humanity to be set aflame in the cause of world deliverance unless and until it has touched and felt freedom? Today there is no life left in them. It has been crushed out of them. If lustre has to be restored to their eyes, freedom has to come not tomorrow but today. Congress must, therefore, pledge itself to do or die.

These quotations show clearly why I advised the Congress to make the demand for the withdrawal of British power. The quotations also show that non-violence, i.e., self-suffering and self-sacrifice without retaliation was the key-stone of the movement.

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26. The author has had difficulty in finding an adequate explanation for my agreement to the stationing of Allied troops in India in spite of the withdrawal of British power. If he had an open mind, there should have been no difficulty. My explanation was there. There was no occasion to doubt its sincerity unless there was positive evidence to the contrary. I have never claimed infallibility or a larger share of intellect for myself than the ordinary.

27. The author says that no "satisfactory solution" of the difficulty raised by Rajaji, namely, that the stationing of the Allied forces without civil power being with the British Government, would be "reinstallation of the British Government in a worse form" was "ever made public by Mr. Gandhi". The author, therefore, suggests that "the solution was one which he (I) preferred should remain a secret"; and he proceeds to say:

> Now while the details of Mr. Gandhi's personal solution of this problem must remain a matter for speculation, an explanation which fulfils the logical requirements of the above situation immediately comes to mind; it is that, as has been shown above to be probable, Mr. Gandhi's admission of this amendment to his scheme was intended primarily as a bid for American support and secondarily as a sop to his opponents on the Working Committee, but that he envisaged, or planned to create, circumstances in which this permission would be meaningless, that is to say, circumstances in which the troops would either be forced to withdraw, or would, if they remained, be rendered ineffective.

It is difficult to characterize this suggestion. I take it that the secrecy suggested was to be secret even from the members of the Working Committee. If not, they would also become conspirators with me in the fraud to be perpetrated on the Allied powers. Amazing consequences would flow from such a fraud. Assume that the British Government has shed all power in India, that by an agreement between the free India government and the Allied powers, their troops are stationed in India. This assumption carries with it the further assumption that the agreement has been arrived at without any pressure, violent or non-violent, and simply from the British recognition of the necessity of recognizing independence of India. Assume further that the secret has all this time remained buried in my bosom, and that I suddenly divulge it to the free India government and, therefore, to the world and they carry out my plan to frustrate the terms of the agreement, what would be the

result? The Allied powers, having all the overwhelming military strength at their disposal, would forfeit my head to themselves—which would be the least—and would further let their righteous rage descend upon the free India government and put an end to independence, which was won, not by military strength, but simply by force of reason and, therefore, make it impossible, so far as they can, for India to regain such lost independence. I must not carry this train of thought much further. The author's suggestion, if it were true, would also conclusively prove that all of us conspirators were thinking, not of the deliverance of India from bondage, or of the good of the masses, but only of our base little selves.

28. The difficulty pointed out by Rajaji, and on which the writer has laid stress in order to infer "secret motive" on my part, was pointed out even more forcibly by another correspondent, and I dealt with it in the issue of *Harijan* dated 19th July, 1942, pages 232 and 233. As the whole of the article[1] consists of questions and answers which have a bearing on the author's insinuations, I reproduce them without apology. . . .

Why has the author ignored the explanation, for instance, in answers 2 and 4 which was before him? Boiled down, my explanation means that I would trust the Allies to carry out faithfully the conditions of the contract to be fulfilled by them, just as I would expect them to trust the government of free India to carry out their part of the contract. British withdrawal, whenever it comes, will carry with it so much honour that everything to be done thereafter by either party will be done with the greatest goodwill and utmost sincerity. I hold that this solution of the difficulty presented is perfectly comprehensible and satisfactory.

29. As to secrecy, this is what I said on the 8th August in my Hindustani speech before the A.I.C.C. meeting:

> Nothing, however, should be done secretly. This is an open rebellion. In this struggle secrecy is a sin. A free man would not engage in a secret movement. It is likely that when you gain freedom, you will have a C.I.D. of your own, in spite of my advice to the contrary. But in the present struggle we have to work openly and to receive bullets in our chests, without running away. In a struggle of this character, all secrecy is sin and must be punctiliously avoided. See also Appendix I (C).

[1] Not reproduced here; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 290-2.

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It is somewhat hard for a man who has avoided secrecy as a sin to be accused of it, especially when there is no evidence whatsoever for the charge.

30. The author proceeds:

> . . . and it is no coincidence that at the same time as Mr. Gandhi was developing his "Quit India" theme in *Harijan*, he was also inveighing against any form of "scorched earth" policy (Mr. Gandhi's solicitude for the property, largely industrial property, be it noted, which it might have been necessary to deny to the enemy, contrasts strangely with his readiness to sacrifice countless numbers of Indians in non-violent resistance to the Japanese. The property must be saved; it is perhaps legitimate to ask—for whom?).

"No coincidence" is a gratuitous suggestion for which there is no proof. The suggestion behind the parenthetical gloss is evidently that I was more solicitous about the property of moneyed men than of the lives and property of the masses. This appears to me to be a wilful distortion of truth. I give the following quotations which show the contrary:

> As a war-resister my answer can only be one. I see neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence. I would far rather leave, if I must, my crops and homestead for the enemy to use than destroy them for the sake of preventing their use by him. There is reason, sacrifice and even bravery in so leaving my homestead and crops, if I do so not out of fear but because I refuse to regard anyone as my enemy—that is, out of humanitarian motive.
>
> But in India's case there is, too, a practical consideration. Unlike Russia's, India's masses have no national instinct developed in the sense that Russia's have. India is not fighting. Her conquerors are (*Harijan*, 22-3-1942, p. 88).
>
> There is no bravery in my poisoning my well or filling it in, so that my brother who is at war with me may not use the water. Let us assume that I am fighting him in the orthodox manner. Nor is there sacrifice in it, for it does not purify me, and sacrifice, as its root meaning implies, pre-supposes purity. Such destruction may be likened to cutting one's nose to spite one's face. Warriors of old had wholesome laws of war. Among the excluded things were poisoning wells and destroying food crops. But I do claim that there are bravery and sacrifice in my leaving my wells, crops and homestead intact, bravery in that I deliberately run the risk of the enemy feeding himself at my expense and pursuing me, and sacrifice in that the sentiment of leaving something for the enemy purifies and ennobles me.

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> My questioner has missed the conditional expression "If I must". I have imagined a state of things in which I am not prepared just now to die and, therefore, I want to retreat in an orderly manner in the hope of resisting under other and better auspices. The thing to consider here is not resistance but non-destruction of food crops and the like. Resistance, violent or non-violent, has to be well thought out. Thoughtless resistance will be regarded as bravado in military parlance, and violence or folly in the language of non-violence. Retreat itself is often a plan of resistance and may be a precursor of great bravery and sacrifice. Every retreat is not cowardice which implies fear to die. Of course, a brave man would more often die in violently or non-violently resisting the aggressor in the latter's attempt to oust him from his property. But he will be no less brave if wisdom dictates present retreat (*Harijan*, 12-4-1942, p. 109).

So far there is solicitude only for the poor man's property. There is no mention of industrial property. I have also given my reasons, which I still hold to be perfectly sound, for non-destruction of such property. I have found only one note in the issues of *Harijan* in my possession which refers to industrial property. It is as follows:

> Suppose there are factories for grinding wheat or pressing oil-seed, I should not destroy them. But munitions factories, yes; ... Textile factories I would not destroy, and I would resist all such destruction (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942, p. 167).

The reason is obvious. Here too the solicitude is not for the owners, but for the masses who use food products and cloth produced in factories. It should also be remembered that I have all along written and even acted against both kinds of factories, in normal times, in the interests of village industries, my creed being to prefer the products of hand-labour in which millions can be engaged, to those of factories in which only a few thousands or at best a few lakhs can be employed.

31. Mark, too, the last sentence in the penultimate paragraph of the draft resolution sent to Allahabad:

> But it can never be the Congress policy to destroy what belongs to or is of use to the masses.

It is incomprehensible how the author could, in the face of the foregoing, distort truth as he has done.

32. In the same paragraph from which I have quoted the parenthetical remark of the author, I find the following:

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> We have, however, his own admission that he would not guarantee that non-violent action would keep the Japanese at bay; he refers indeed to any such hope as an "unwarranted supposition".

And this is cited to support the conclusion that in order to prevent India from becoming a battle-field between the Allied nations and Japan I was prepared "to concede to their (Japanese) demands". Let me quote where the phrase is taken from. In an article entitled "A Fallacy" in *Harijan* dated 5th July, 1942, I have dealt with the following question[1] addressed to me by a correspondent:

My reply[2] to this runs as follows:

The supposition referred to here is my correspondent's, namely, that the non-violent force created by my action which will be sufficient to force the English to withdraw, will be sufficiently strong to prevent Japanese occupation also and, therefore, I should not have resiled from my original proposition that the British power should withdraw their troops from India. I have shown the absurdity of such a supposition made for the sake of preventing the retention of British troops. My belief in the power of non-violence is unchangeable, but I cannot put it before the British in order to prevent their use of India as a base, if they consider it necessary, for dealing with the Japanese menace.

33. The author has further sought to strengthen his inference by quoting the following from my appeal to the Japanese:

> And we are in the unique position of having to resist an imperialism that we detest no less than yours (the Japanese) and Nazism.

The author has conveniently omitted the sentences which follow and which instead of strengthening his inference would negative it altogether. These are the sentences:

> Our resistance to it (British imperialism) does not mean harm to the British people. We seek to convert them. Ours is an unarmed revolt against the British rule. An important party in the country is engaged in a deadly—but friendly—quarrel with the foreign rulers.
>
> But in this they need no aid from foreign powers. You have been gravely misinformed, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to turn Britain's difficulty into our opportunity we should have done it as soon as the war broke out

[1&2] Not reproduced here; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 255-6.

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nearly three years ago. Our movement demanding the withdrawal of the British power from India should in no way be misunderstood. In fact, if we are to believe your reported anxiety for the independence of India, a recognition of that independence by Britain should leave you no excuse for any attack on India. Moreover the reported profession sorts ill with your ruthless aggression against China.

I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned, if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India. The end and aim of the movement for British withdrawal is to prepare India by making her free for resisting all militarist and imperialist ambition, whether it is called British imperialism, German Nazism, or your pattern. If we do not, we shall have been ignoble spectators of the militarization of the world in spite of our belief that in non-violence we have the only solvent of the militarist spirit and ambition. Personally I fear that without declaring the independence of India the Allied powers will not be able to beat the Axis combination which has raised violence to the dignity of a religion. The Allies cannot beat you and your partners unless they beat you in your ruthless and skilled warfare. If they copy it, their declaration that they will save the world for democracy and individual freedom must come to nought. I feel that they can only gain strength to avoid copying your ruthlessness by declaring and recognizing *now* the freedom of India, and turning sullen India's forced co-operation into free India's voluntary co-operation.

To Britain and the Allies we have appealed in the name of justice, in proof of their professions, and in their own self-interest. To you I appeal in the name of humanity. It is a marvel to me that you do not see that ruthless warfare is nobody's monopoly. If not the Allies, some other powers will certainly improve upon your method and beat you with your own weapon. Even if you win, you will leave no legacy to your people of which they would feel proud. They cannot take pride in a recital of cruel deeds, however skilfully achieved.

Even if you win, it will not prove that you were in the right, it will only prove that your power of destruction was greater. This applies obviously to the Allies, too, unless they perform *now* the just and righteous act of freeing India as an earnest and promise of similarly freeing all other subject peoples in Asia and Africa.

Our appeal to Britain is coupled with the offer of free India's willingness to let the Allies retain their troops in India. The offer is made in order to prove that we do not in any way mean to harm the Allied cause, and in order to prevent you from being misled into feeling that you have but to step into the country that Britain has vacated. Needless to repeat that, if you cherish any such idea and

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will carry it out, we will not fail in resisting you with all the might that our country can muster. I address this appeal to you in the hope that our movement may even influence you and your partners in the right direction and deflect you and them from the course which is bound to end in your moral ruin and the reduction of human beings to robots.

The hope of your response to my appeal is much fainter than that of response from Britain. I know that the British are not devoid of a sense of justice and they know me. I do not know you enough to be able to judge. All I have read tells me that you listen to no appeal but to the sword. How I wish that you are cruelly misrepresented and that I shall touch the right chord in your heart! Anyway I have an undying faith in the responsiveness of human nature. On the strength of that faith I have conceived the impending movement in India, and it is that faith which has prompted this appeal to you. (*Harijan*, 26-7-1942, p. 240, *et seq.*)

I have given this long quotation because I see that it is a complete answer to the author's insinuations, as it is also an open gate to the whole of my mind regarding the movement contemplated in the resolution of 8th August last. But the author has many arrows in his quiver. For, in defence of his inference that I was prepared to "concede to their (Japanese) demands", he proceeds:

> Only in the grip of some dominant emotion would he (I) have contemplated such a capitulation. This emotion was, there seems little doubt, his desire to preserve India from the horrors of war.

In other words, I would exchange Japanese rule for British. My non-violence is made of sterner stuff. Only a jaundiced eye can read such an emotion in the face of the clearest possible writings of *Harijan* that I would face all the horrors of war in order to end the horror of horrors which British domination is. I am impatient of it because I am impatient of all domination. I am in "the grip" of only one "dominant emotion" and no other, that is, INDIA'S FREEDOM. The author has admitted this in the same breath that he has charged me with an unworthy emotion. He has thus condemned himself out of his own mouth.

34. At page 14 of the indictment the author says:

> In conclusion, there are the famous words uttered by Mr. Gandhi at a Press conference[1] at Wardha, after the Working Committee had

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 294-7.

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passed the resolution of July 14, which show clearly how even at that early stage he was fully determined on a final struggle:

"There is no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation. There is no question of one more chance. After all it is an *open rebellion*."

There also lies the answer to those who have since accused Government of precipitating the crisis by the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders, and have suggested that the period of grace referred to by Mr. Gandhi in his Bombay speech should have been utilized for negotiation: "There is no room left for withdrawal or negotiation," Mr. Gandhi had said a month earlier. Moreover the Wardha resolution merely threatened a mass movement, if the demands of Congress were not accepted. The Bombay resolution went further.

It no longer *threatened* a movement with the delay that that might entail. It *sanctioned* the movement and if any further delay was intended, are there not at least good grounds for believing in the light of all that had been said, that it was to be used not for the purpose of negotiation but for putting the finishing touches to a plan to which its authors were already committed but which might not yet be completely ready to put into execution?

I shall presently show that the "famous words" attributed to me are partly a distortion and partly an interpolation not to be found in the authentic report of the Wardha interview as published in *Harijan* of 19th July, 1942. Let me quote in full the portion of the Wardha interview in which that part of the quotation which I claim is distorted appears in its correct form:

"Do you hope that negotiations may be opened by the British Government?"

"They may, but with whom they will do it I do not know. For, it is not a question of placating one party or other. For it is the unconditional withdrawal of the British power without reference to the wishes of any party, that is our demand. The demand is, therefore, based on its justice. Of course, it is possible that the British may negotiate a withdrawal. If they do, it will be a feather in their cap. Then it will cease to be a case for withdrawal. If the British see, however late, the wisdom of recognizing the independence of India, without reference to the various parties, all things are possible. But the point I want to stress is this, viz., that THERE IS NO ROOM LEFT FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN THE PROPOSAL FOR WITHDRAWAL. (Capitals mine.) Either they recognize independence or they don't. After that recognition many things can follow. For, by that one single act the British representatives will have

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altered the face of the whole landscape and revived the hope of the people which has been frustrated times without number. Therefore whenever that great act is performed, on behalf of the British people, it will be a red-letter day in the history of India and the world. And, as I have said, it can materially affect the fortunes of war" (*Harijan*, 19-7-1942, p. 233).

The corresponding quotation in the indictment I reproduce below in the capital letters:

THERE IS NO ROOM LEFT IN THE PROPOSAL FOR WITHDRAWAL OR NEGOTIATION.

I suggest that in the context from which this is torn and distorted, it is entirely out of place. I was answering the question: "Do you hope that negotiations may be opened by the British Government?" As an answer to the question, the sentence, as it appears in *Harijan*, "there is no room left for negotiations in the proposal for withdrawal", is perfectly intelligible and harmonizes with the sentences preceding and succeeding.

35. The distorted sentence in the indictment has two others tacked on to it. They are:

There is no question of one more chance. After all it is an *open rebellion*.

The italicizing is the author's. The two sentences are not to be found anywhere in the report of the interview as it appears in *Harijan*. "There is no question of one more chance" can have no place in the paragraph about negotiations with my approach to them as revealed in my answer. As to "open rebellion", I have even at the Second Indian Round Table Conference used that expression coupled with the adjective non-violent. But it has no place anywhere in the interview.

36. I have taxed myself to know how the two sentences could have crept into the author's quotation. Fortunately, on 26th June, while this reply was being typed, there came *The Hindustan Times* file for which Shri Pyarelal had asked. In its issue of 15th July, 1942, there appears the following message:

WARDHAGANJ, *July 14*

"There is no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation; either they recognize India's independence or they don't," said Mahatma Gandhi answering questions at a Press interview at Sevagram on the Congress resolution. He emphasized that what he wanted was not the recognition of Indian independence on paper, but in action.

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Asked if his movement would not hamper war efforts of the United Nations, Mahatma Gandhi said: "The movement is intended not only to help China but also to make common cause with the Allies."

On his attention being drawn to Mr. Amery's latest statement in the House of Commons, Mahatma Gandhi said: "I am very much afraid that we shall have the misfortune to listen to a repetition of that language in stronger terms, but that cannot possibly delay the pace of the people or the group that is determined to go its way."

Mahatma Gandhi added: "There is no question of one more chance. After all, it is an open rebellion."

Asked what form his movement would take, Mahatma Gandhi said: "The conception is that of a mass movement on the widest possible scale. It will include what is possible to include in a mass movement or what people are capable of doing. This will be a mass movement of a purely non-violent character."

Asked if he would court imprisonment this time, Mahatma Gandhi said: "It is too soft a thing. There is no such thing as courting imprisonment this time. My intention is to make it as short and swift as possible."—A.P.I.

37. This message is an eye-opener for me. I have often suffered from misreporting or coloured epitomes of my writings and speeches even to the point of being lynched[1]. This one, though not quite as bad, is bad enough. The above A.P. summary gives, if it does, the clue to the author's source for the misquotation and the additional sentences. If he used that source, the question arises why he went out of his way to use that doubtful and unauthorized source, when he had before him the authentic text of the full interview in *Harijan* of 19th July last. He has made a most liberal, though disjointed and biased use of the columns of *Harijan* for building up his case against me. At page 13 of the indictment he thus begins the charge culminating in the misquotation at page 14.

From this point onwards Mr. Gandhi's conception of the struggle developed rapidly. His writings on the subject are too lengthy to quote in full, but the following excerpts from *Harijan* illustrate the direction in which his mind was moving.

On the same page he has quoted passages from page 233 of *Harijan* from the report of the interview in question. I am, therefore, entitled to conclude that the quotation under examination was taken from *Harijan*. It is manifest now that it was not. Why not? If he took the three sentences from the aforementioned A.P. report, why has he quoted them without asterisks

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 138 and 154-9.

between the sentences that appear apart in the A.P. report? I may not pursue the inquiry any further. It has pained me deeply. How the two sentences not found in the authentic text of the interview found place in the A.P. summary, I do not know. It is for the Government to inquire, if they will.

38. The author's quotation having been found wanting, the whole of his conclusions and inferences based upon it must fall to the ground. In my opinion, therefore, the Government does stand accused not only of "having precipitated" but of having invited a crisis by their premeditated coup. The elaborate preparations they made for all-India arrests were not made over-night. It is wrong to draw a distinction between the Wardha resolution and the Bombay one in the sense that the first only *threatened* and the second *sanctioned* the mass civil disobedience. The first only required ratification by the All-India Congress Committee but the effect of either was the same, i.e., both authorized me to lead and guide the movement, if negotiations failed. But the movement was not started by the resolution of 8th August last. Before I could function, they arrested not only me but principal Congressmen all over India. Thus it was not I but the Government who started the movement and gave it a shape which I could not have dreamt of giving, and which it never would have taken while I was conducting it. No doubt, it would have been "short and swift", not in the violent sense, as the author has insinuated, but in the non-violent sense, as I know it. The Government made it very short and very swift by their very violent action. Had they given me breathing-time, I would have sought an interview with the Viceroy and strained every nerve to show the reasonableness of the Congress demand. Thus there were no "grounds", good or bad for believing, as the author would have one believe, that the "period of grace" was to be used for "putting the finishing touches to a plan to which its authors were already committed but which might not yet be completely ready to put into execution". In order to sustain such a belief it has become necessary for the author to dismiss from consideration the whole of the proceedings of the Bombay meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and seven vital parts of its resolution—save the clause referring to the mass movement—and the very awkward word "non-violence" to which I shall come presently.

39. I give below extracts from my speeches and writings to show how eager and earnest I was to avoid conflict and

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achieve the purpose by negotiation and to show that the Congress aim never was to thwart the Allies in any way:

> . . . It would be churlish on our part if we said: 'We don't want to talk to anybody, and we will by our own strong hearts expel the British.' Then the Congress Committee won't be meeting; there would be no resolutions; and I should not be seeing Press representatives (*Harijan*, 26-7-1942, p. 243)[1].
>
> Q. Cannot there be any arbitration on the question of independence?
>
> A. No, not on the question of independence. It is possible only on questions on which sides may be taken. The outstanding question of independence should be treated as common cause. It is only then that I can conceive possibility of arbitration on the Indo-British question. . . . But if there is to be any arbitration—and I cannot logically say there should not, for, if I did, it would be an arrogation of complete justice on my side—it can be done only if India's independence is recognized (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942, p. 168)[2].
>
> AN ENGLISH CORRESPONDENT: . . . Would you advocate arbitration for the Indo-British problem? . . .
>
> A. Any day. I suggested long ago that this question could be decided by arbitration. . . (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942, p. 168).
>
> The actual struggle does not commence this very moment. You have merely placed certain powers in my hands. My first act will be to wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy and plead with him for the acceptance of the Congress demand. This may take two or three weeks. What are you to do in the mean while? I will tell you. There is the spinning-wheel.
>
> I had to struggle with the Maulana Saheb before it dawned upon him that in a non-violent struggle it had an abiding place. The fourteen-fold constructive programme is all there for you to carry out. But there is something more you have to do and it will give life to that programme. Every one of you should from this very moment consider yourself a free man or woman and even act as if you are free and no longer under the heel of this imperialism. This is no make-believe. You have to cultivate the spirit of freedom, before it comes physically. The chains of the slave are broken the moment he considers himself a free man. He will then tell his master: "I have been your slave all these days but I am no longer that now. You may kill me, but if you do not and if you release me from the bondage, I will ask for nothing

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 303.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 115-6.

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more from you. For, henceforth instead of depending upon you I shall depend upon God for food and clothing. God has given me the urge of freedom and therefore I deem myself a free man."

You may take it from me that I am not going to strike a bargain with the Viceroy for ministries and the like. I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. Maybe, he will propose the abolition of the salt tax, the drink evil, etc., but I will say, "Nothing less than freedom".

Here is a *mantra*—a short one—that I will give you. You may imprint it on your hearts, and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The *mantra* is this: "We shall do or die. We shall either free India, or die in the attempt. We shall not live to see the perpetuation of slavery." Every true Congressman or woman will join the struggle with an inflexible determination not to remain alive to see the country in bondage and slavery. Let that be your badge. Dismiss jails out of your consideration. If the Government leaves me free, I will spare you the trouble of filling the jails. I will not put on the Government the strain of maintaining a large number of prisoners at a time when it is in trouble. Let every man and woman live every moment of his or her life hereafter in the consciousness that he or she eats or lives for achieving freedom and will die, if need be, to attain that goal. Take a pledge with God and your own conscience as witness that you will no longer rest till freedom is achieved, and will be prepared to lay down your lives in the attempt to achieve it. He who loses his life shall gain it; he who will seek to save it shall lose it.[1] Freedom is not for the faint-hearted (From the concluding speech in Hindustani on 8th August before the A.I.C.C.).

Let me tell you at the outset that the struggle does not commence today. I have yet to go through much ceremonial, as I always do, and this time more than ever because the burden is so heavy. I have yet to continue to reason with those with whom I seem to have lost all credit for the time being (From the concluding speech in English on 8th August before the A.I.C.C.).

In the same connection, I give extracts from the utterances of Maulana Saheb and others in the Appendix. *Vide* Appendices VI, VII and VIII.

40. At page 11 of the indictment the author says:

To summarize briefly, Mr. Gandhi did not believe that nonviolence alone was capable of defending India against Japan. Nor had he any faith in the ability of the Allies to do so: "Britain," he stated

[1] *St. Matthew*, XVI. 25; the verse reads: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it."

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in his draft Allahabad resolution, "is incapable of defending India." His "Quit India" move was intended to result in the withdrawal of the British Government to be succeeded by a problematical provisional government or, as Mr. Gandhi admitted to be possible, by anarchy; the Indian army was to be disbanded and Allied troops were to be allowed to operate only under the terms imposed by this provisional government, assisted by India's non-violent non-co-operation to Japan for which, as Mr. Gandhi had already admitted, there could be little scope with Allied troops operating in India. Finally, even if, in the face of the above arguments, it could be supposed that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress proposed to pin their faith on the ability of Allied troops to defend India, it should be noted that the former himself admitted that the ability of Allied troops to operate effectively would depend upon the formation of a suitable provisional government. Now, since this government was to be representative of all sections of Indian opinion, it is clear that neither Mr. Gandhi nor the Congress could legitimately commit it in advance to any particular course of action; they could not, that is to say, undertake that it would support the Allies in defending India against Japan. They could not in fact make any promise on behalf of this provisional government unless they intended that it should be dominated by Congress; the whole trend of Congress policy, however, coupled with the extravagant promises made in the Bombay A.I.C.C. resolution on behalf of this provisional government, leave little doubt that this *was* their intention—a view held, significantly, by the Muslim League and Muslims in general. You have then a situation in which the Allied troops would be dependent for support on a government dominated by a clique which has already been shown to be thoroughly defeatist in outlook, and whose leader had already expressed the intention of negotiating with Japan.

It is not the intention here to examine the third aim, the establishment of communal unity followed by the formation of a provisional government, at all closely. It has been suggested in the preceding paragraph that the Congress intended this government to be under their domination and a note has been made of the strength added to this view by the unity of Muslim opinion that the Congress move was aimed at establishing Congress-Hindu domination over India. It will suffice here to show, from Mr. Gandhi's own writings, the doubts that he entertained as to the feasibility of establishing any such government.

This brief summary is a perfect caricature of all I have said or written, and the Congress has stood for and expressed in the resolution of 8th August last. I hope I have shown in the foregoing pages how cruelly I have been misrepresented. If my argument has failed to carry conviction, I should be quite

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content to be judged on the strength of the quotations interspersed in the argument and those in the appendices hereto attached. As against the foregoing caricature, let me give a summary of my views on the quotations referred to above.

I. I believe that non-violence alone is capable of defending India, not only against Japan but the whole world.

II. I do hold that Britain is incapable of defending India. She is not defending India today; she is defending herself and her interests in India and elsewhere. These are often contrary to India's.

III. "Quit India" move was intended to result in the withdrawal of British power, if possible, with simultaneous formation of a provisional government, consisting of members representing all the principal parties, if the withdrawal took place by the willing consent of the British Government. If, however, the withdrawal took place willy-nilly, there might be a period of anarchy.

IV. The Indian army would naturally be disbanded, being British creation—unless it forms part of Allied troops, or it transfers its allegiance to the free India government.

V. The Allied troops would remain under terms agreed to between the Allied powers and the free India government.

VI. If India became free, the free India government would tender co-operation by rendering such military aid as it could. But in the largest part of India where no military effort was possible, non-violent action will be taken by the masses of the people with the utmost enthusiasm.

41. Then the summary comes to the provisional government. As to this, let the Congress resolution itself speak. I give the relevant parts below:

> The A.I.C.C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as non-violent forces at its command, together with its allied powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially all power and authority must belong.

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> The provisional government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it. . . .
>
> Lastly, whilst the A.I.C.C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A.I.C.C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on a mass struggle, it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

I claim that there is nothing in this clause of the resolution that is "extravagant" or impracticable. The concluding sentence proves, in my opinion, the sincerity and non-party character of the Congress. And as there is no party in the country which is not wholly anti-Fascist, anti-Nazi and anti-Japan, it follows that a government formed by these parties is bound to become an enthusiastic champion of the Allied cause which by the recognition of India as a free State will truly become the cause of democracy.

42. As to communal unity, it has been a fundamental plank with the Congress from its commencement. Its president is a Muslim divine of world-wide repute, especially in the Muslim world. It has besides him three Muslims on the Working Committee. It is surprising that the author has summoned to his assistance the Muslim League opinion. The League can afford to doubt the sincerity of Congress professions and accuse the Congress of the desire of establishing a "Congress-Hindu domination". It ill becomes the all-powerful Government of India to take shelter under the Muslim League wing. This has a strong flavour of the old imperial *mantra*—divide and rule. League-Congress differences are a purely domestic question. They are bound to be adjusted when foreign domination ends, if they are not dissolved sooner.

43. The author winds up the second chapter as follows:

> Whether the authors of the resolution genuinely believed that the Congress demand would, if accepted, help rather than hinder the cause

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> of the United Nations, and intended that it should have that effect, depends on the answer to two questions: In the first place, could any body of men who honestly desired that result have deliberately called the country, if their way of achieving it was not accepted, to take part in a mass movement the declared object of which was to have precisely the opposite effect by paralysing the whole administration and the whole war effort? In the second place, bearing in mind that less than a year previously it had been proclaimed under Mr. Gandhi's order to be a 'sin' to help the war with men or money, can it be denied that these men saw their opportunity in Britain's danger and believed that the psychological moment for the enforcement of their political demands must be seized while the fate of the United Nations hung in the balance and before the tide of war turned—if it was ever going to turn—in their favour? The answer to these two questions is left to the reader.

I have to answer these two questions both as reader and accused. As to the first question, there is no necessary inconsistency between the genuine belief that an acceptance of the Congress demand would help the cause of the United Nations, i.e., of democracy all the world over and a mass movement (which moreover was merely contemplated) to paralyse the administration on non-acceptance of the Congress demand. It is submitted that the attempt "to paralyse the administration" on non-acceptance proves the genuineness of the demand. It sets the seal on its genuineness by Congressmen preparing to die in the attempt to paralyse an administration that thwarts their will to fight the combine against democracy. Thus it is the administration's dead set against the Congress which proves the hollowness of its claim that it is engaged in a fight for democracy. My firm belief is that the administration is daily proving its inefficiency for handling the war in the right manner. China is slowly pining away while the administration is playing at war-handling. In the attempt to suppress the Congress it has cut off the greatest source of help to the millions of China who are being ground down under the Japanese heel.

44. The second question hardly demands a separate answer. Congressmen who proclaimed a year ago under my "orders" that it is a "sin" to help the war with "men or money" need not be considered here, if I give different "orders". For me, I am as much opposed to all war today as I was before a year or more. I am but an individual. All Congressmen are not of that mind. The Congress will give up the policy of non-violence today, if

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it can achieve India's freedom by so doing. And I would have no compunction about inviting those who seek my advice to throw themselves heart and soul into the effort to help themselves and thus deliver from bondage those nations that are wedded to democracy. If that effort involves military training, the people will be free to take it, leaving me and those who think with me to our own non-violence. I did this very thing during the Boer War and during the last war. I was a "good boy" then, because my action harmonized with the British Government's wishes. Today I am the arch enemy, not because I have changed but because the British Government which is being tried in the balance is being found wanting. I helped before, because I believed in British good faith. I appear to be hindering today because the British Government will not act up to the faith that was reposed in them. My answer to the two questions propounded by the author may sound harsh, but it is truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth as God lets me see it.

45. The gravamen, however, of the charges[1] against me is that "every reference to non-violence in the forecasts of the forms the movement would take, made by Mr. Gandhi and his Congress disciples, and in the post-arrest programmes and instructions is nothing more than a pious hope or at best a mild warning which was known to have no practical value." It is also described as mere "lip service".

46. The author gives no proof to show that it (the warning) "was known to have no practical value". If the references to non-violence are removed from my writings and my utterances in order to condemn me and my "Congress disciples", the removal would be on a par with the omission of 'not's from the commandments and quoting them in support of killing, stealing, etc. The author in robbing me of the one thing I live by and live for robs me of all I possess. The evidence given in support of dismissing references to non-violence as "valueless" mostly consists of innuendoes. "It was to be a struggle, a fight to the finish in which foreign domination was to be ended, cost what it may."[2] In a non-violent struggle the cost has always to be paid by the fighters in their own blood. "It was to

[1] Given in the concluding chapter; *vide* Appendix V.

[2] The passage under reference appears in Chapter III. It reads: "The general character of the movement contemplated by Mr. Gandhi emerges clearly from the foregoing extracts. It was to be a struggle, a fight to the

be an unarmed revolt, short and swift." The prefix 'un' in "unarmed", unless it be regarded as "valueless", gives "short" and "swift" an ennobling meaning. For, to make the struggle "short and swift" prisons have to be avoided as too soft a thing and death to be hugged as a true friend enabling the fighters to affect opponents' heart much quicker than mere jail-going can. Mention by me of "conflagration" meant *giving* of lives in thousands or more, if need be. The author has called it a "grimly accurate forecast". This has a *post-facto* meaning unintended by the author in that a heavy toll of lives was taken by way of reprisals by the authorities, and an orgy of unmentionable excesses let loose upon the people by the soldiery and the police, if the Press reports and statements by responsible public men are to be believed. "Mr. Gandhi was prepared to risk the occurrence of riots." It is true that I was prepared to take such a risk. Any big movement whether violent or non-violent involves certain risks. But non-violent running of risks means a special method, a special handling. I would have strained every nerve to avoid riots. Moreover my first act would have been to woo the Viceroy. Till then no question of running any risks could arise. As it was, the Government would not let me run the risk. They put me in prison instead! What the mass movement was to include and how the risk was to be taken, if at all, the author could not know, for the movement was never started. Nor had any instructions been issued by me.

47. The author complains of my "making full use of existing grievances". The use began even before the birth of the

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finish, in which foreign domination must be ended, cost what it may; it was to be an unarmed revolt, short and swift, sure to plunge the country into a conflagration—a grimly accurate forecast!—in which Mr. Gandhi was prepared to risk the occurrence of riots, in which he was prepared to go to the extremest limit, including, if necessary, the calling of a general strike; the struggle was to include everything that a "non-violent" mass movement could do, including strikes and the stoppage of railways, and possibly interference with British troop movements; and full use was to be made of existing grievances against the British; former Congress methods such as courting imprisonment were to be eschewed as too soft for the present occasion; finally every man and woman was to consider himself free and act for himself. These last words, or at least their sense, find a place in the resolution itself and any body of men that makes such an appeal to its followers can hardly disclaim responsibility for anything that may follow" (*The Indian Annual Register, 1942*, Vol. II, pp. 184-5).

Congress. It has never ceased. How could it, so long as the foreign domination, of which they were a part, lasted?

48. "Finally every man and woman was to consider himself free and act for himself. These last words or at least their sense finds a place in the resolution itself." This last sentence is a specimen of *suppressio veri.* Here is the relevant extract from the Congress resolution:

> They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide, urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

There is nothing new or startling in this. It is practical wisdom. Men and women must become their own leaders when their trusted guides are removed from them, or when their organization is declared illegal or otherwise ceases to function. True there were formerly nominal "dictators" appointed. This was more to court arrest than to guide followers by being in touch with them. For, touch was not possible except secretly. This time not prison but death was to be sought in the prosecution of the movement. Therefore everyone was to become his own leader to act within the four corners of the square foundation—non-violence. The omission of the two conditions for everyone becoming his or her own guide was an unpardonable suppression of relevant truth.

49. The author then proceeds to consider whether the movement contemplated by me could, by its very nature, be non-violent and further whether "Mr. Gandhi (I) intended that it should be so or hoped that it would remain so". I have already shown that the movement never having been started, nobody could say what I had contemplated or hoped unless my intention or my hope could be justly deduced from my writings. Let me, however, observe how the author has arrived at this conclusion. His first proof is that I have employed military terms in connection with a movement claimed to be wholly non-violent. I have employed such language from the commencement of my experiment in South Africa. I could more

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easily show the contrast between my move and the ordinary ones by using identical phraseology, so far as possible, and coupling it with non-violence. Throughout my experience of satyagraha since 1908, I cannot recall an instance in which people were misled by me by my use of military phraseology. And, indeed, satyagraha being a "moral equivalent of war", the use of such terminology is but natural. Probably all of us have used at some time or another or are at least familiar with, expressions such as "sword of the spirit", "dynamite of truth", "shield and buckler of patience", "assaulting the citadel of truth", or "wrestling with God". Yet no one has ever seen anything strange or wrong in such use. Who can be ignorant of the use of military phraseology by the Salvation Army? That body has taken it over in its entirety, and yet I have not known anyone having mistaken the Salvation Army with its colonels and captains for a military organization trained to the use of deadly weapons of destruction.

50. I must deny that "it has been shown that Mr. Gandhi had little faith in the effectiveness of non-violence to resist Japanese aggression". What I have said is that the maximum effectiveness cannot be shown when it has to work side by side with violence. It is true that Maulana Saheb and Pandit Nehru have doubts about the efficacy of non-violence to withstand aggression but they have ample faith in non-violent action for fighting against British domination. I do believe that both British and Japanese imperialisms are equally to be avoided. But I have already shown by quoting from *Harijan* that it is easier to cope with the evil that is, than the one that may come. *Vide* Appendix II (D)[1].

51. I admit at once that there is "a doubtful proportion of full believers" in my "theory of non-violence".[2] But it should

[1] Not reproduced here. *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 215.

[2] The passage under reference reads: "Again he had, as shown above, no illusions as to the very doubtful proportion of Indians who were full believers in his theory of non-violence. Yet he proposed embarking on a movement in which he expressed the hope that all classes and communities would join, and in which he directed every man and woman to consider themselves free and to think and act for themselves. Contrast this with his previous movement, the 'satyagraha campaign' of 1940-41, in which, in order to maintain the desired standard of non-violence, he had been forced to limit participation to specially selected satyagrahis, who were even then only allowed to commit a special formal offence; remember too that he had before him the example of his previous movements, each professedly non-violent, yet each giving rise to the most hideous violence. The certainty that

not be forgotten that I have also said that for my movement I do not at all need believers in the theory of non-violence; full or imperfect. It is enough if people carry out the rules of non-violent action. *Vide* Appendix IV (A).

52. Now comes the author's most glaring lapse of memory or misrepresentation in the paragraph under discussion. He says:

> . . . remember too that he had before him the example of his previous movements, each professedly non-violent, yet each giving rise to the most hideous violence.

I have before me a list of 20 civil resistance movements beginning with the very first in South Africa. I do recall instances in which popular frenzy had broken out resulting in regrettable murders. These instances of mob violence, though bad enough, were but a flea-bite in proportion to the vast size of this country—as big as Europe less Russia territorially and bigger numerically. Had violence been the Congress policy, secretly or openly, or had the Congress discipline been less strict, it is simple enough to realize that the violence, instead of being a flea-bite, would have been more like a volcanic eruption. But every time such outbreaks took place, the most energetic measures were taken by the whole Congress organization to deal with them. On several occasions I had myself resorted to fasting. All this produced a salutary effect on the popular mind. And there were also movements which were singularly free from violence. Thus the South African satyagraha, which was a mass movement, and similar movements in Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli and Borsad—not to mention others in which collective civil disobedience on a wide scale was offered —were wholly free from any outburst of violence. In all these the people had conformed to the rules laid down for their observance. The author has thus gone against history in making the sweeping statement that I had before me the "example of previous movements each professedly non-violent, yet each giving rise to the most hideous violence". My own experience being quite to the contrary, I have not the shadow of a doubt

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his movement could not remain non-violent is plain enough and, if further indication were wanted, it is supplied in the extracts, from Mr. Gandhi's own writings quoted in the preceding paragraphs, which make it clear that even if violence and rioting occurred during the movement, this would not deter him, that he was prepared to go to the extremest limit" (*The Indian Annual Register, 1942*, Vol. II, p. 185).

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that if the Government had not by their summary action unnecessarily provoked the people beyond endurance, there never would have been any violence. The members of the Working Committee were anxious that violence on the part of the people should be avoided, not from any philanthropic motive, but from the conviction borne in upon them from the experience of hard facts, that violence by the people could not usher in independence. The education that the people had received through the Congress was wholly non-violent, before 1920, because of the leaders' belief in constitutional agitation and faith in British promises and declarations, and since 1920, because of the belief, in the first instance induced by me and then enforced by experience, that mere constitutional agitation, though it had served up to a point, could never bring in independence, and that regard being had to the condition of India, non-violent action was the only sanction through which independence could be attained in the quickest manner possible. The accumulated experience of the past thirty years, the first eight of which were in South Africa, fills me with the greatest hope that in the adoption of non-violence lies the future of India and the world. It is the most harmless and yet equally effective way of dealing with the political and economic wrongs of the downtrodden portion of humanity. I have known from early youth that non-violence is not a cloistered virtue to be practised by the individual for his peace and final salvation, but it is a rule of conduct for society if it is to live consistently with human dignity and make progress towards the attainment of peace for which it has been yearning for ages past. It is, therefore, sad to think that a Government, the most powerful in the world, should have belittled the doctrine and put its votaries, however imperfect they may be, out of action. It is my firm opinion that thereby they have injured the cause of universal peace and the Allied nations.

53. For the author "the certainty" was "that his (my) movement could not remain non-violent". For me "the certainty" was quite the contrary, if the movement had remained in the hands of those who could guide the people.

54. It is also now "clear" what I meant when I said I was prepared to go to the extremest limit, that is, that I would continue the non-violent movement even though the Government might succeed in provoking violence. Hitherto I have stayed my hand when people have been so provoked. This time I ran the risk because the risk of remaining supine in the face

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of the greatest world conflagration known to history was infinitely greater. If non-violence be the greatest force in the world, it must prove itself during the crisis.

55. The final proof given by the author of my non-violence being "mere lip service" consists of the following caricature of my writing in defence of the Polish bravery:

> In other words in any fight the weaker of the two combatants may employ as violent measures as he likes or is able, and may still be considered to be fighting non-violently; or to put it in another way, violence when employed against superior odds automatically becomes non-violence. Surely a very convenient theory for the rebels in an "unarmed revolt".

I claim the writing quoted by the author does not warrant the misleading deduction. How can I possibly lay down a proposition against everyday experience? There is rarely a fight among absolute equals. One party is always weaker than the other. The illustrations I have given[1], taken together, can lead to one conclusion only, namely, that the weaker party does not make any preparation for offering violence, for the simple reason that the intention is absent, but when he is suddenly attacked he uses unconsciously, even without wishing to do so, any weapon that comes his way. The first illustration chosen by me is that of a man who having a sword uses it single-handed against a horde of dacoits. The second is that of a woman using her nails and teeth or even a dagger in defence of her honour. She acts spontaneously. And the third is that of a mouse fighting a cat with its sharp teeth. These three illustrations were specially chosen by me in order to avoid any illegitimate deduction being drawn in defence of offering studied violence. One infallible test is that such a person is never successful in the sense of overpowering the aggressor. He or she dies and saves his or her honour rather than surrender to the demands of the aggressor. I was so guarded in the use of my language that I described[2] the defence of the Poles against overwhelming numbers as "almost non-violence". In further elucidation of this, see discussion with a Polish friend. *Vide* Appendix IV (N).

56. Here it will be apposite to give extracts from my speeches bearing on non-violence on the 7th and 8th August last before the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay:

[1] In a paragraph preceding the one quoted in the text above
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 180-1.

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Let me, however, hasten to assure you that I am the same Gandhi as I was in 1920. I have not changed in any fundamental respect. I attach the same importance to non-violence that I did then. If at all, my emphasis on it has grown stronger. There is no real contradiction between the present resolution and my previous writings and utterances. . . . occasions like the present do not occur in everybody's and but rarely in anybody's life. I want you to know and I feel that there is nothing but purest ahimsa in all that I am saying and doing today. The draft resolution of the Working Committee is based on ahimsa, the contemplated struggle similarly has its roots in ahimsa. If, therefore, there is any among you who has lost faith in ahimsa or is wearied of it, let him not vote for this resolution. . . .

Let me explain my position clearly. God has vouchsafed to me a priceless gift in the weapon of ahimsa. I and my ahimsa are on our trial today. If, in the present crisis when the earth is being scorched by the flames of *himsa* and crying for deliverance, I failed to make use of the God-given talent, God will not forgive me and I shall be adjudged unworthy of the great gift. I must act now. I may not hesitate and merely look on when Russia and China are threatened. . . .

Ours is not a drive for power but purely a non-violent fight for India's independence. In a violent struggle, a successful general has been often known to effect a military coup and set up a dictatorship. But under the Congress scheme of things, essentially non-violent as it is, there can be no room for dictatorship. A non-violent soldier of freedom will covet nothing for himself, he fights only for the freedom of his country. The Congress is unconcerned as to who will rule when freedom is attained. The power, when it comes, will belong to the people of India, and it will be for them to decide to whom it should be entrusted. Maybe, that the reins will be placed in the hands of the Parsis, for instance—as I would love to see happen—or they may be handed to some others whose names are not heard in the Congress today. It will not be for you then to object saying: 'This community is microscopic. That party did not play its due part in the freedom's struggle; why should it have all the power?' Ever since its inception the Congress has kept itself meticulously free of the communal taint. It has thought always in terms of the whole nation and acted accordingly. . . .

I know how imperfect our ahimsa is and how far away we are still from the ideal, but in ahimsa there is no final failure or defeat. I have faith, therefore, that if, in spite of our shortcomings, the big thing does happen, it will be because God wanted to help us by crowning with success our silent, unremitting *sadhana* (striving) for the last twenty-two years.

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. . . I believe that in the history of the world there has not been a more genuinely democratic struggle for freedom than ours. I read Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution* while I was in prison, and Pandit Jawaharlal has told me something about the Russian revolution. But it is my conviction that inasmuch as these struggles were fought with the weapon of violence they failed to realize the democratic ideal. In the democracy which I have envisaged, a democracy established by non-violence, there will be equal freedom for all. Everybody will be his own master. It is to join a struggle for such democracy that I invite you today. Once you realize this you will forget the differences between Hindus and Muslims and think of yourselves as Indians only, engaged in the common struggle for independence. (From the Hindustani speech on 7th August before the All-India Congress Committee)

After describing the personal relations with the Viceroy, the late Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews and the Metropolitan of Calcutta, I proceeded:

With the background of this consciousness, I want to declare to the world that whatever may be said to the contrary and although I may have today forfeited the regard of many friends in the West and even the trust of some—even for their love and friendship—I must not suppress the voice within. . . . That something in me, which has never deceived me, tells me that I shall have to fight on even though the whole world be against me. . . .

I hold that there can be no real freedom without non-violence. This is not the language of a proud or an arrogant man but of an earnest seeker after truth. It is this fundamental truth with which the Congress has been experimenting for the last twenty-two years. Unconsciously, from its very inception, the Congress has based its policy on non-violence known in those early days as the constitutional method. Dadabhoy and Pherozeshah Mehta carried Congress India with them. They were lovers of Congress. They were, therefore, also its masters. But above all they were true servants of the nation. They became rebels but they never countenanced murder, secrecy and the like. Subsequent generations have added to this heritage and expanded their political philosophy into the principle and policy of non-violent non-co-operation which the Congress has adopted. It is not my claim that every Congressman conforms to the highest tenet of non-violence even as a policy. I know that there are several black sheep, but I am taking all on trust without subjecting them to cross-examination. I trust, because I have faith in the innate goodness of human nature which enables people instinctively to perceive the truth and carries

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them through crisis. It is this fundamental trust which rules my life and enables me to hope that India as a whole will vindicate the principle of non-violence during the coming struggle. But even if my trust is found to be misplaced I shall not flinch. I shall not abandon my faith. I shall only say: "The lesson is not yet fully learnt. I must try again." (From the English speech on 8th August)

The Congress has no sanction but the moral for enforcing its decisions. I believe that true democracy can only be an outcome of non-violence. The structure of a world federation can be raised only on a foundation of non-violence, and violence will have to be totally given up in world affairs. Solution of the Hindu-Muslim question, too, cannot be achieved by resort to violence. If Hindus tyrannize over Mussalmans, with what face will they talk of a world federation? It is for the same reason that the Congress has agreed to submit all differences to an impartial tribunal and to abide by its decisions.

In satyagraha there is no place for fraud or falsehood. Fraud and falsehood are today stalking the world. I cannot be a helpless witness of such a situation. I have travelled all over India as perhaps nobody in the present age has. The voiceless millions of the land saw in me their friend and representative, and I identified myself with them to the extent it was possible for a human being to do so. I saw trust in their eyes, which I now want to turn to good account in fighting this Empire which is built on and upheld by untruth and violence. However tight the Empire's control of us, we must get out of it. I know how imperfect an instrument I am for this great task, and how imperfect is the material with which I have to work. But how can I remain silent at this supreme hour and hide my light under a bushel? Shall I ask the Japanese to tarry a while? If today I sit quiet and inactive in the midst of this conflagration which is enveloping the whole world, God will take me to task for not making use of the treasure He has given me. But for this conflagration I should have asked you to wait a little longer, as I have done all these years. The situation has now become intolerable, and the Congress has no other course left for it. (From the concluding speech in Hindustani on 8th August)

57. Having given proof against me to show that my professions about non-violence were "valueless", the author turns to my colleagues in the Congress High Command to observe how they interpreted my "views to their Congress followers and to the masses". The author sees objection in Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Shankerrao Deo having singled out the student community for attention. Attention paid to the student community and peasantry was no new thing introduced

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for the first time, for the sake of the struggle, in the history of the Congress. As early as 1920, students were specially invited to join the non-co-operation movement and several thousand had responded to the call by suspending their studies. I do not know what happened after the August arrests, in the Banaras Hindu University. But, assuming that some students belonging to it went astray, that is no ground for associating Pandit Nehru with their acts. Positive proof would be necessary to establish such connection. Overwhelming proof can be produced in support of the contention that his faith in non-violence, for the purpose of achieving swaraj, is inferior to nobody's. The same thing can be said about his exhortation to the *kisans*[1] of the United Provinces. There is, too, nothing in favour of violence in the other leaders' speeches so far as one can judge from the extracts given in the indictment.

58. Having dealt with the leaders' speeches, the author comes to "detailed instructions regarding the conduct of the movement in existence before the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay". The "first example" has been "chosen" from *Harijan* of August 9. The article is entitled "Ways of Non-violent Non-co-operation". As it happens, it is a discussion in connection with the threatened invasion from Japan. Thus the article opens:

> Ever since 1920 we are familiar with some of the ways of offering non-violent non-co-operation. These included boycott of all Government institutions and services, and extended to the non-payment of taxes. They were directed against a foreign Government in occupation of the country for years. The ways of non-co-operation to adopt against a new foreign invader would naturally differ in details. It would as Gandhiji has said extend to the refusal of food or water. All non-co-operation calculated to make the functioning of the enemy impossible has to be resorted to within the limits of non-violence.

Then the writer of the article (Mahadev Desai) has given samples of non-violent non-co-operation offered elsewhere than in India. They are not examples of non-violence consciously exercised. That the whole article was written to show what could be non-violently done to repel the invader, is clear from the final paragraph:

> What one has to remember is that in war repression would be ten times as severe as was resorted to in France, but if there is the

[1] Farmers

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> will to suffer, the resourcefulness to devise ways and means on the lines indicated in these different instances of passive resistance, and above all the determination to drive out the invader, cost what it may, victory is certain. The vastness of our country, far from being a disadvantage, may be an advantage, as the invader would find it difficult to cope with resistance on a thousand and one fronts.

The theme of the article is not racial but anti-invader.

59. The other example given by the author is an extract from an article by Shri K. G. Mashruwala in *Harijan* of 23rd August, 1942. Shri Mashruwala is a valued co-worker. He carries non-violence to an extreme which baffles those who know him intimately. Nevertheless I do not propose to defend the paragraph quoted. He has guarded himself by saying that it represents his personal opinion only. He must have heard me debating the question whether interference with bridges, rails and the like could be classified as non-violent. I had always questioned the practicability of the interference being non-violent. Even if such interference could conceivably be non-violent, as I hold it can be, it is dangerous to put it before the masses who cannot be expected to do such things non-violently. Nor would I expect the classification of the British power in the same category as the Japanese for the purposes of the movement.

60. Having allowed myself to criticize the opinion of a respected colleague, I wish to say that Shri Mashruwala's opinion is no evidence of violent intention. At best it is an error of judgment which is much more likely in a novel subject like the applicability of ahimsa practised in all walks of life by masses of mankind. Great generals and statesmen have been known before now to have committed errors of judgment without losing caste or being accused of evil intentions.

61. Then comes the Andhra circular. I must regard it as forbidden ground for me inasmuch as I knew nothing about it before my arrest. Therefore I can only comment on it with reserve. Subject to that caution I consider the document to be harmless on the whole. This is its governing clause:

> The whole movement is based on non-violence. No act which contravenes these instructions should ever be undertaken. All acts of disobedience committed should be overt never covert (open but not under cover).

The parenthesis is in the original. The following warning is also embodied in the circular:

> Ninety-nine chances out of hundred are for the inauguration of this movement by Mahatmaji at an early date, possibly a few hours after the next All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay. The District Congress Committees should be alert and begin to act immediately, but please also take note that no movement should be launched or any overt act done till Mahatmaji decides. After all he may decide otherwise and you will be responsible for a great unwarranted mistake. Be ready, organize at once, be alert, but by no means act.

As to the body of the circular, I could not make myself responsible for some of the items. But I must refuse to judge a thing which I cannot correct, especially in the absence of what the Committee has to say on them, assuming, of course, that the circular is an authentic document. I miss in the indictment the text of the alleged "written amendment" "raising" the ban on the removal of rails.

62. Attention is then drawn to the fifth appendix showing how my mind was working in the direction of violence under the "valueless" cover of non-violence, as the author would say. The appendix gives what purport to be All-India Congress Committee instructions with extracts from my writings in parallel columns. I have tried to study that appendix. I have nothing to withdraw from my writings. And I contend that there is not a trace of violence in the instructions alleged to be from the All-India Congress Committee.

63. Independently of the argument in the indictment, I must now say something about non-violence as I know it. Its spread in all walks of life has been my mission from early youth. This covers a period of very nearly sixty years. It was adopted at my instance as a policy by the Congress in 1920. In its very nature it was not meant to be paraded before the world, but it was accepted as a means indispensable for the attainment of swaraj. Congressmen saw at an early date that its mere adoption on paper had no value. It was of use only in so far as it was put into practice individually and collectively. It was of no more use as a badge than a rifle in the hands of a person who did not know how to use it effectively on due occasion. Therefore if non-violence has raised the Congress prestige and popularity since its adoption, it has done so in exact proportion to its use, even as the power which the rifle gives to its possessor is in exact proportion to its effective use. The comparison cannot be carried very far. Thus while violence is directed towards the injury, including the destruction

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of the aggressor and is successful only when it is stronger than that of the opponent, non-violent action can be taken in respect of an opponent, however powerfully organized for violence. Violence *per se* of the weak has never been known to succeed against the stronger in violence. Success of non-violent action of the very weak is a daily occurrence. I make bold to say that I have applied to the present struggle the principles of non-violence as enunciated here. Nothing could be farther from my thought than injury to the person or property of those who are manning and regulating the machinery of British imperialism as it operates in India. My non-violence draws a fundamental distinction between the man and his machine. I would destroy a harmful machine without compunction, never the man. And this rule I have enforced in my dealings with my nearest relatives as also friends and associates, not without considerable success.

64. After disposing of non-violence the author has summarized what he calls the "ostensible aims" of the Wardha resolution[1] of July 14 and the Bombay resolution[2] of August 8 as follows:

> Three main *ostensible* aims are common to both the Wardha resolution of July 14 (Appendix III-1) and the Bombay resolution of August 8 (Appendix III-2). These are:
>
> 1. To remove foreign domination over India.
>
> 2. To check the growing ill-will against Britain, with its danger of passive acceptance by the masses of aggression against India; to build up a spirit of resistance to aggression among Indians; and by granting India's millions immediate freedom to release that energy and enthusiasm which alone can enable India to play an effective part in her own defence and in the war as a whole.
>
> 3. To achieve unity, by the removal of the foreign power with its policy of divide and rule, which will be followed by the formation of a provisional government representative of all sections of the Indian people.
>
> Three further aims appeared for the first time in the Bombay resolution:
>
> 4. To bring all subject and oppressed humanity to the side of the United Nations, thus giving these Nations the moral and spiritual leadership of the world.
>
> 5. To assist Asiatic nations under foreign domination to regain their freedom and to ensure that they are not again placed under the rule of any colonial power.

[1&2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendices VI and X.

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6. To bring about world federation, which would ensure the disbanding of national armies, navies and air forces, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all.

He says that "the genuineness of the first of these aims is undeniable. The freedom of India, in whatever terms it may have been expressed, has long been the main goal of the Congress and it has been shown above how this aim coincides with one of the main motives underlying the 'Quit India' move." Strange as it appears to me, notwithstanding this admission of the genuineness of the first aim, he ridicules the others in some shape or form. I contend that all the others follow from the first. Thus if the foreign domination goes by agreement, ill-will against Britain is automatically turned into goodwill, and the energy of millions is set free on behalf of the Allied cause. Similarly communal unity must follow as day follows night when the night of foreign domination is gone. If nearly four hundred million people become free, other portions of oppressed humanity must also become free and naturally the Allied nations being privy to this freedom, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world comes to them without seeking. The fifth aim is included in the fourth, and the sixth is but a repetition of the aim of the whole of humanity which it must attain or perish without. It is true that the three last aims were added in Bombay. That surely is not a matter to cavil at. Even if they were a result of criticism, what is there wrong about it? No democratic organization can afford to defy criticism, for it has to live upon the fresh air of criticism. As a matter of fact, however, world federation and rights of non-white people are no new ideas for Congressmen. They have been mentioned in Congress resolutions on other occasions. The paragraph about world federation found place in the August resolution at the instance of a European friend, and about non-white people at mine.

65. As to the disturbances that took place after the arrests of 9th August, I have carefully read Chapters IV and V of the indictment detailing them as also the appendices purporting to be instructions from various bodies. I must refuse to judge these one-sided statements or unverified documents. As to the so-called instructions, I can say that, so far as they are contrary to non-violence, they can never have my approval.

66. One searches in vain in the indictment for a detailed account of the measures taken by the Government by way of

reprisals. And if one is to believe what has been allowed to appear in the Press about these measures, the so-called misdeeds of exasperated people, whether they can be described as Congressmen or not, pale into insignificance.

67. Now for the responsibility for the happenings after the wholesale arrests of 9th August last. The most natural way to look at the disturbances is that they broke out after the arrests which were, therefore, the cause. The indictment has been framed for the sole purpose, as the title shows, of fastening the responsibility on the Congress. The argument seems to me to be this. First I and then the Congress had been setting the stage for a mass movement since April 1942 when I first bruited the idea of British withdrawal popularly known as "Quit India". Mass movement was bound to result in the outbreak of violence. I and the Congressmen who had accepted my guidance had intended that violence should take place. Leaders had been preaching it. Hence the disturbances were to take place in any case. The arrest, therefore, merely anticipated the violent movement and nipped it in the bud. This sums up the reasoning in the indictment.

68. I have endeavoured to show that no special stage for a mass movement was set or contemplated because of my proposal for British withdrawal, that violence was never contemplated by me or any Congress leader, that I had declared that, if Congressmen indulged in an orgy of violence, they might not find me alive in their midst, that the mass movement was never started by me, the sole charge for starting it was vested in me, that I had contemplated negotiations with the Government, that I was to start the movement only on failure of negotiations and that I had envisaged an interval of "two or three weeks" for the negotiations. It is, therefore, clear that but for the arrests no such disturbances would have taken place as happened on 9th August last and after. I would have strained every nerve first to make the negotiations successful and secondly, if I had failed, to avoid disturbances. The Government would have been no less able to suppress them than they were in August last. Only they would have had some case against me and the Congress. It was the duty of the Government, before taking action, to study the speeches of the Congress leaders and myself at the All-India Congress Committee meeting.

69. The Congress leaders were desirous that the movement should remain non-violent, if only because they knew that no violent movement in the existing circumstances could possibly

succeed when matched against a most powerfully equipped Government. Whatever violence was committed by people, whether Congressmen or others, was, therefore, committed in spite of the leaders' wishes. If it is held otherwise by the Government, it should be proved beyond doubt before an impartial tribunal. But why seek to shift the responsibility when the cause is patent? The Government action in enforcing India-wide arrests was so violent that the populace which was in sympathy with the Congress lost self-control. The loss of self-control cannot imply Congress complicity but it does imply that the power of endurance of human nature has limitations. If Government action was in excess of the endurance of human nature, it and, therefore, its authors were responsible for the explosions that followed. But the Government may assert that the arrests were necessary. If so, why should the Government fight shy of taking the responsibility for the consequences of their action? The wonder to me is that the Government at all need to justify their action when they know their will is law.

70. Let me analyse the system of Government in vogue here. A population numbering nearly four hundred millions of people, belonging to an ancient civilization, are being ruled by a British representative called Viceroy and Governor-General aided by 250 officials called Collectors and supported by a strong British garrison with a large number of Indian soldiers, trained by British officers, and carefully isolated from the populace. The Viceroy enjoys within his own sphere powers much larger than the King of England. Such powers, as far as I know, are not enjoyed by any other person in the world. The Collectors are miniature Viceroys in their own spheres. They are first and foremost, as their name implies, collectors of revenue in their own districts and have magisterial powers. They can requisition the military to their aid when they think necessary. They are also political agents for the small chieftains within their jurisdiction, and they are in the place of overlords to them.

71. Contrast this with the Congress, the most truly democratic organization in the world—not because of its numerical strength, but because its only sanction deliberately adopted is non-violence. From its inception the Congress has been a democratic body, seeking to represent all India. However feeble and imperfect the attempt may have been, the Congress has never in its history of now nearly sixty years shifted its gaze from the Pole Star of India's freedom. It has progressed from stage to stage in its march towards democracy in the truest term. If

it is said, as it has been, that the Congress learnt the spirit of democracy from Great Britain, no Congressman would care to deny the statement, though it must be added that the roots were to be found in the old panchayat system. It can never brook Nazi, Fascist or Japanese domination. An organization whose very breath is freedom, and which pits itself against the most powerfully organized imperialism, will perish to a man in the attempt to resist all domination. So long as it clings to non-violence it will be uncrushable and unconquerable.

72. What can be the cause of the extraordinary resentment against the Congress into which the Government have betrayed themselves? I have never known them before to exhibit so much irritation. Does the cause lie in the "Quit India" formula? Disturbances cannot be the cause, because the resentment began to show itself soon after the publication of my proposal for British withdrawal. It crystallized into the wholesale arrests of 9th August last which were prearranged and merely awaited the passing of the resolution of 8th August. Yet there was nothing novel in the resolution save the "Quit India" formula. Mass movements have been known to be on the Congress programme ever since 1920. But freedom seemed elusive. Now the Hindu-Muslim disunity, now the pledges to the Princes, now the interests of the scheduled classes, now the vested interests of Europeans barred the gateway to freedom. Divide and rule was an inexhaustible well. The sands of time were running out. Rivers of blood were flowing fast among the warring nations, and politically-minded India was looking on helplessly—the masses were inert. Hence the cry of "Quit India". It gave body to the freedom movement. The cry was unanswerable. Those who were anxious to play their part in the world crisis found vent in that cry of anguish. Its root is in the will to save democracy from Nazism as well as imperialism. For, satisfaction of the Congress demand meant assurance of victory of democracy over any combination of reactionary forces and deliverance of China and Russia from the menace of Japan and Germany respectively. But the demand irritated the Government. They distrusted those who were associated with the demand and thereby they themselves became the greatest impediment to the war effort. It is wrong, therefore, to accuse the Congress of hindering war effort. Congress activity up to the night of 8th August was confined to resolutions only. The dawn of the 9th saw the Congress imprisoned. What followed was a direct result of the Government action.

73. The resentment over what I hold to be a just and honourable desire confirms the popular suspicion about the *bona-fides* of the Government professions about democracy and freedom after the war. If the Government were sincere, they would have welcomed the offer of help made by the Congress. Congressmen who have been fighting for India's liberty for over half a century would have flocked to the Allied banner as one man for the defence of India's freedom newly won. But the Government did not wish to treat India as an equal partner and ally. They put out of action those who made this demand. Some of them are even being hounded as if they were dangerous criminals. I have in mind Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and others like him. A reward of Rs. 5,000, now doubled, has been promised to the informant who would show his hiding place. I have taken Shri Jayaprakash Narayan purposely as my illustration because, as he very rightly says, he differs from me on several fundamentals. But my differences, great as they are, do not blind me to his indomitable courage and his sacrifice of all that a man holds dear for the love of his country. I have read his manifesto which is given as an appendix to the indictment. Though I cannot subscribe to some of the views expressed therein, it breathes nothing but burning patriotism and his impatience of foreign domination. It is a virtue of which any country would be proud.

74. So much for politically-minded Congressmen. In the constructive department of the Congress also the Government have deprived themselves of the best talent in the country for the organization of hand-industries which are so vital a need in war time. The All-India Spinners' Association, which is responsible for having distributed without fuss over three crores of rupees as wages among the poor villagers whom no one had reached and whose labour was being wasted, has come in for a heavy hand. Its President Shri Jajuji[1] and many of his co-workers have been imprisoned without trial and without any known reason. Khadi centres which are trust property have been confiscated to the Government. I do not know the law under which such property can be confiscated. And the tragedy is that the confiscators are themselves unable to run these centres which were producing and distributing cloth. Khadi and charkhas have been reported to have been burnt by the authorities. The All-India Village Industries' Association worked by Kumarappa brothers[2] has also received much the same treatment. Shri

[1] Shrikrishnadas Jaju

[2] J. C. Kumarappa and Bharatan Kumarappa

Vinoba Bhave is an institution by himself. Many workers were incessantly doing creative labour under his guidance. Most men and women of constructive organization are not political workers. They are devoted to constructive work of the highest merit. And if some of them have found it necessary to appear at all on the political field, it is a matter for the Government to reflect upon. To put such organizations and their supervisors under duress is, in my opinion, an unpardonable interference with war effort. The self-satisfaction with which the highest officials proclaim that limitless men and material are being had from this unhappy land is truly amazing while the inhabitants of India are suffering from shortage of food, clothing and many other necessaries of life. I make bold to say that this scarcity would have been largely minimized, if not altogether obviated, if, instead of imprisoning Congress workers throughout India, the Government had utilized their services. The Government had two striking illustrations of the efficient working by the Congress agency—I mean the handling of the disastrous Bihar earthquake[1] by Congressmen under Dr. Rajendra Prasad and of the equally disastrous flood[2] in Gujarat under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

75. This brings me to the end of my reply to the indictment. It has become much longer than I had wanted to make it. It has cost me and my co-workers in the camp no end of labour. Although I must ask, in fairness to myself and the cause I represent, for the publication of this reply, my chief purpose is to carry conviction to the Government that the indictment contains no proof of the allegations against the Congress and me. The Government know that the public in India seem to have distrusted the indictment and regarded it as designed for foreign propaganda. Men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon. Shri M. R. Jayakar have given their opinion that the "evidence" produced in the indictment is of no judicial value. Therefore the Government should withdraw the indictment. I see from the preface to the indictment that the Government have in their possession "valuable evidence", presumably incriminating the detenus. I submit that if the Government cannot safely divulge the evidence, they should discharge the detenus and bring to book those who, after discharge, may be caught in the act of committing or promoting crimes. With limitless power at their back, they need not resort to unsustainable accusations.

[1] In 1934
[2] In 1927

76. It will be noticed that although the indictment is a Government publication, I have only criticized its unknown author in the fond hope that the individual members composing the Government of India have not read the originals on which it is based. For, I am of opinion that no one having a knowledge of the originals could possibly endorse the inferences and innuendoes with which it is replete.

77. Lastly I wish to state that if I have anywhere erred in analysing the indictment, and if my error is pointed out to me, I shall gladly correct myself. I have simply written as I have felt.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.][1]

It is requested that the appendices should be regarded as an integral part of the reply.

M. K. G.

APPENDIX I

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

In its earlier stage, Mr. Gandhi's "Quit India" move was meant and was widely interpreted as a proposal for the physical withdrawal from India of the British, and of all British and Allied troops (Indictment p. 2).

(A) CONFUSION[2]
(B) OUT OF TOUCH[3]
(C) FREE INDIA CAN HELP BEST

Answering to the question of a Press correspondent whether his present policy as revealed by his writings did not vitiate his own declaration that he was a friend of China, Gandhiji said:

"My answer is an emphatic 'No'. I remain the passionate friend of China that I have always claimed to be. I know what the loss of freedom means. Therefore I could not but be in sympathy with China which is my next-door neighbour in distress. And, if I believed in violence and if I could influence India, I would put in motion every force at my command

[1] This postscript is reproduced from *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 91, where it precedes the letter. According to *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, "the cover of Mr. Gandhi's original reply contained the request". The postscript and appendices are not available in the photostat source. Gandhiji's articles, speeches or statements, reproduced *in toto* as appendices, are not included here as they appear in their appropriate chronological order in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*.

[2] & [3] For the text under these titles, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 119 and 139-40.

on behalf of China to save her liberty. In making, therefore, the suggestion which I have made about withdrawal of British power, I have not lost sight of China. But, because I have China in mind, I feel that the only effective way for India to help China is to persuade Great Britain to free India and let a free India make her full contribution to the war effort. Instead of being sullen and discontented, India free will be a mighty force for the good of mankind in general. It is true that the solution I have presented is a heroic solution beyond the ken of Englishmen. But, being a true friend of Britain and China and Russia, I must not suppress the solution which I believe to be eminently practical and probably the only one in order to save the situation, and in order to convert the war into a power for good instead of being what it is, a peril to humanity.

I Am Not Pro-Japanese

"Pandit Nehru told me yesterday that he heard people in Lahore and Delhi saying that I have turned pro-Japanese. I could only laugh at the suggestion for, if I am sincere in my passion for freedom, I could not consciously or unconsciously take a step which will involve India in the position of merely changing masters. If, in spite of my resistance to the Japanese menace with my whole soul, the mishap occurs, of which I have never denied the possibility, then the blame would rest wholly on British shoulders. I have no shadow of doubt about it. I have made no suggestion, which, even from the military standpoint, is fraught with the slightest danger to British power or to Chinese. It is obvious that India is not allowed to pull her weight in favour of China. If British power is withdrawn from India in an orderly manner, Britain will be relieved of the burden of keeping the peace in India and at the same time gain in a free India an ally not in the cause of the Empire—because she would have renounced *in toto* all her imperial designs—but in a defence, not pretended but wholly real, of human freedom. That I assert and that only is the burden of my recent writings, and I shall continue to do so, so long as I am allowed by the British power."

No Secrecy

"Now what about your plan; you are reported to have matured plans for launching some big offensive?" was the next question. Gandhiji replied:

"Well, I have never believed in secrecy nor do I do so now. There are certainly many plans floating in my brain. But just now I merely allow them to float in my brain. My first task is to educate the public mind in India and world opinion, in so far as I am allowed to do so. And when I have finished that process to my satisfaction, I may have to do something. That something may be very big, if the Congress is with me and the people are with me. But British authority will have a full knowledge

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of anything I may wish to do, before I enforce it. Remember, I have yet to see the Maulana Saheb. My talks with Pandit Nehru are yet unfinished. I may say that they were wholly of a friendly nature and we have come nearer to each other even with the unfinished talk of yesterday. Naturally I want to carry the whole of the Congress with me, if I can, as I want to carry the whole of India with me. For, my conception of freedom is no narrow conception. It is co-extensive with the freedom of man in all his majesty. I shall, therefore, take no step without the fullest deliberation."

To Resist Slave-drivers

"How are we to help in driving away the British from here?" was the first question that was asked.

"We don't want to drive away the British people from here. It is the British rulers whom we are asking quietly to withdraw. It is the British domination that we want to vanish from our land. We have no quarrel with the Englishmen, many of whom are my friends, but we want the rule to end altogether, for that is the poison that corrupts all it touches, that is the obstacle that stops all progress.

"And what is needed for this are two things—the knowledge that the domination is a greater evil than any other evil we can think of, and that we have to get rid of it no matter what it may cost. The knowledge is so necessary because the British exercise their power and domination in all kinds of subtle and insidious ways that it is sometimes difficult to know that we are bound hand and foot. Next is the will to throw off the chains. We have simply to cultivate the will not to do the rulers' biddings. Is it very difficult? How can one be compelled to accept slavery? I simply refuse to do the master's bidding. He may torture me, break my bones to atoms and even kill me. He will then have my dead body, not my obedience. Ultimately, therefore, it is I who am the victor and not he, for he has failed in getting me to do what he wanted done.

"That is what I am trying to impress both on those whom I want to retire and those who are bound in their chains. I am going to use all my powers to do so, but not violence—simply because I have no faith in it. . . .

"But I am going to be patient, I am not going to hurry or hustle you. I am busy preparing the atmosphere and whatever I will do I shall do having in view the limitations of our people. I know that neither the rulers nor the public opinion understand the implications of my proposal."

"But," asked a friend, "have we not to see that the remedy may not be worse than the disease? There will be, in the course of resistance, in spite of all our will to prevent them, clashes and resultant anarchy. May not that anarchy be worse than the present anarchy which you have called ordered anarchy?"

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"That is a very proper question. That is the consideration that has weighed with me all these 22 years. I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait, I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed for and worked for may never come, and in the mean time I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that, even at certain risks which are obviously involved, I must ask the people to resist the slavery. But even that readiness, let me assure you, depends on the non-violent man's unflinching faith. All I am conscious of is that there is not a trace of violence in the remotest corner of my being, and my conscious pursuit of ahimsa for the last 50 years cannot possibly fail me at this crisis. The people have not my ahimsa; but mine should help them. There is ordered anarchy around and about us. I am sure that the anarchy that may result because of the British withdrawal or their refusal to listen to us, and our decision to defy their authority, will in no way be worse than the present anarchy. After all, those who are unarmed cannot produce a frightful amount of violence or anarchy, and I have a faith that out of that anarchy may arise pure non-violence. But to be passive witness of the terrible violence that is going on in the name of resisting a possible foreign aggression is a thing I cannot stand. It is a thing that would make me ashamed of my ahimsa. It is made of sterner stuff" (*Harijan*, 7-6-1942, pp. 183-4).

(D) WHY NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION

"Supposing England retires from India for strategic purposes, and apart from my proposal—as they had to do in Burma—what would happen? What would India do?"

"That is exactly what we have come to learn from you. We would certainly like to know that."

"Well, therein comes my non-violence. For, we have no weapons, mind you, we have assumed that the Commander-in-Chief of the United American and British armies has decided that India is no good as a base and that they should withdraw to some other base and concentrate the allied forces there. We can't help it. We have then to depend on what strength we have. We have no army, no military resources, no military skill either, worth the name, and non-violence is the only thing we can fall back upon. Now in theory I can prove to you that our non-violent resistance can be wholly successful. We need not kill a single Japanese, we simply give them no quarter."

"Supposing Britain decides to fight to the last man in India, would not your non-violent non-co-operation help the Japanese?" asked Mr. Chaplin reverting to the first question he had asked.

"If you mean non-co-operation with the British, you would be right. We have not come to that stage. I do not want to help the Japanese—not even for freeing India. India during the past fifty or more years of her struggle for freedom has learnt the lesson of patriotism and of not bowing to *any* foreign power. But, when the British are offering violent battle, our non-violent battle—our non-violent activity—would be neutralized. Those who believe in armed resistance and in helping the British military are and will be helping them. Mr. Amery says he is getting all the men and money they need, and he is right. For the Congress—a poor organization representing the millions of the poor of India—has not been able to collect in years what they have collected in a day by way of what I would say "so-called" voluntary subscriptions. This Congress can only render non-violent assistance. But let me tell you, if you do not know it, that the British do not want it, they don't set any store by it. But whether they do it or not, violent and non-violent resistance cannot go together. So India's non-violence can at best take the form of silence—not obstructing the British forces, certainly not helping the Japanese."

"But not helping the British?"

"Don't you see non-violence cannot give any other aid?"

"But the railways, I hope, you won't stop; the service, too, will be, I hope, allowed to function."

"They will be allowed to function, as they are being allowed today."

"Aren't you then helping the British by leaving the services and the railways alone?" asked Mr. Belldon.

"We are indeed. That is our non-embarrassment policy."

A Bad Job

"Don't you think Indian people and leaders have some duty to help accelerate the process (process of withdrawal)?"

"You mean by dotting India with rebellions everywhere? No, my invitation to the British to withdraw is not an idle one. It has to be made good by the sacrifice of the inviters. Public opinion has got to act, and it can act only non-violently."

"Is the possibility of strikes precluded?" wondered Mr. Belldon.

"No," said Gandhiji, "strikes can be and have been non-violent. If railways are worked only to strengthen the British hold on India they need not be assisted. But before I decide to take any energetic measures, I must endeavour to show the reasonableness of my demand. The moment it is complied with, India instead of being sullen becomes an ally. Remember I am more interested than the British in keeping the Japanese out. For Britain's defeat in Indian waters may mean *only the loss of India* but if Japan wins, India loses *everything*.

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The Crucial Test

"If you regard the American troops as an imposition, would you regard the American Technical Mission also in the same light?" was the next question.

"A tree is judged by its fruit," said Gandhiji succinctly. "I have met Dr. Grady, we have had cordial talks. I have no prejudice against Americans. I have hundreds, if not thousands of friends in America. The Technical Mission may have nothing but goodwill for India. But my point is that all the things that are happening are not happening at the invitation or wish of India. Therefore they are all suspect. We cannot look upon them with philosophic calmness, for the simple reason that we cannot close our eyes, as I have said, to the things that are daily happening in front of our eyes. Areas are being vacated and turned into military camps, people being thrown on their own resources. Hundreds, if not thousands, on their way from Burma perished without food and drink, and the wretched discrimination stared even these miserable people in the face. One route for the whites, another for the blacks. Provision of food and shelter for the whites, none for the blacks! And discrimination even on their arrival in India! India is being ground down to dust and humiliated, even before the Japanese advent, not for India's defence—and no one knows for whose defence. And so one fine morning I came to the decision to make this honest demand: 'For Heaven's sake leave India alone. Let us breathe the air of freedom. It may choke us, suffocate us, as it did the slaves on their emancipation. But I want the present sham to end.' "

"But it is the British troops you have in mind, not the American?"

"It does not make for me the slightest difference, the whole policy is one and indivisible."

"Is there any hope of Britain listening?"

"I will not die without that hope. And if there is a long lease of life for me, I may even see it fulfilled. For there is nothing unpractical in the proposal, no insuperable difficulties about it. Let me add that if Britain is not willing to do so whole-heartedly, Britain does not deserve to win" (*Harijan*, 14-6-1942, pp. 185-7).

(E) IMPLICATIONS OF WITHDRAWAL[1]

(F) ITS MEANING[2]

(G) ONLY IF THEY WITHDRAW[3]

(H) DELIBERATE DISTORTION[4]

(K) A POSER

There was obviously a gap (about Allied troops) in my first writing. I filled it in as soon as it was discovered by one of my numerous interviewers.

[1-4] For the text under these titles, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 105-6, 215, 213 and 237. The items under 'E' and 'H' appear as interviews. Titles under (I) and (J) are not given in the source.

Non-violence demands the strictest honesty cost what it may. The public have therefore to suffer my weakness, if weakness it may be called. I could not be guilty of asking the Allies to take a step which would involve certain defeat. I could not guarantee fool-proof non-violent action to keep the Japanese at bay. Abrupt withdrawal of the Allied troops might result in Japan's occupation of India, and China's sure fall. I had not the remotest idea of any such catastrophe resulting from my action. Therefore I feel that if in spite of the acceptance of my proposal, it is deemed necessary by the Allies to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation, they should do so, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the national government that may be set up after the British withdrawal (*Harijan*, 28-6-1942, pp. 204-5).

(L) A FALLACY[1]

(M) OH! THE TROOPS

I have to pay a heavy price for having drawn up an entrancing picture of a free India without a single British soldier. Friends are confounded now to discover that my proposal admits of the presence of British and even American troops under any circumstance at all. . . .

It has been pointed out that not to consent to the Allied troops remaining in India during the period of the war is to hand over India and China to Japan, and to ensure the defeat of the Allied powers. This could never have been contemplated by me. The only answer, therefore, to give was to suffer the presence of the troops but under circumstances the reverse of the existing. . . .

My proposal presupposes shedding of all fear and distrust. If we have confidence in ourselves, we need neither fear nor suspect the presence of Allied troops.

It will be most assuredly an event of the century and may be a turning-point in the war, if Britain can honestly perform the act of renouncing India with all that the renunciation would mean. . . .

As I have said already in the previous issue of *Harijan*, the British acceptance of my proposal may itself lead to a most honourable peace and hence automatic withdrawal of the troops. . . .

It (non-violence) will express itself in her ambassadors going to the Axis powers not to beg for peace but to show them the futility of war for achieving an honourable end. This can only be done if and when Britain sheds the gains of perhaps the most organized and successful violence the world has seen.

All this may not come to pass. I do not mind. It is worth fighting for, it is worth staking all that the nation has (*Harijan*, 5-7-1942, p. 212).

[1] For the text under this title, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 255-6.

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(N) FRIENDS' AMBULANCE UNIT IN INDIA

"We were wondering if it was auspicious for an English party to arrive in India, when you were asking the British to withdraw," said Prof. Alexander with a kindly smile. "Agatha suggested that we might have a party from India to work with us, and make of our party a mixed party."

"My first writing," said Gandhiji, "did, I am afraid, give rise to that kind of fear. That was because I had not given expression to the whole idea in my mind. It is not my nature to work out and produce a finished thing all at once. The moment a question was asked me, I made it clear that no physical withdrawal of every Englishman was meant, I meant the withdrawal of the British domination. And so every Englishman in India can convert himself into a friend and remain here. The condition is that every Englishman has to dismount from the horse he is riding and cease to be monarch of all he surveys and identify himself with the humblest of us. The moment he does it, he will be recognized as a member of the family. His role as a member of the ruling caste must end for ever. And so when I said 'withdraw' I meant 'withdraw as masters'. The demand for withdrawal had another implication. You have to withdraw, irrespective of the wishes of anybody here. You do not need the consent of a slave to give him freedom. The slave often hugs the chains of slavery. They become part of his flesh. You have to tear them asunder and throw them away. You must withdraw because it is your duty to do so, and not wait for the unanimous consent of all the sections or groups in India.

"There is thus no question of the moment being inauspicious for you. On the contrary, if you can assimilate my proposal, it is the most auspicious moment for you to arrive in India. You will meet many Englishmen here. They may have entirely misunderstood what I have said, and you have to explain to them what exactly I want them to do.

"... And it is well perhaps that your mission begins with me. Begin it with finding out what exactly is at the back of my mind by putting to me all the questions that may be agitating you."

That put both the friends at ease and prompted them to try to understand the whole of the background of Gandhiji's mind. And in this connection I may mention a curious but very significant fact. When Sir Stafford Cripps's mission was announced, Prof. Horace Alexander and Miss Agatha Harrison had sent Gandhiji a cable reminding him of the phrase Gandhiji himself had used, viz., "Andrews's legacy" meaning thereby that in memory of Andrews the best Englishmen and the best Indians should come together to bring about a permanent understanding between England and India. 'Here,' their cable seemed to say in effect, 'is one of the best Englishmen coming to India. You had better settle with him, as there is a great opportunity.'

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It was in reply to this cable that Gandhiji wrote a long letter[1] to Prof. Horace Alexander soon after the failure of the Cripps mission—a letter in which he gave expression for the first time to the demand for British withdrawal. He had not discussed it with any soul on earth, but as he was writing the letter the thing that was, so to say, cooking in his mind ever since his return from Delhi came to his pen. "Sir Stafford," he said in that letter, "has come and gone. How nice it would have been if he had not come with that dismal mission. How could the British Government at this critical hour have behaved as they did? Why should they have sent proposals without discussing them with the principal parties? Not one single party was satisfied. In trying to please all, the proposals pleased none. I talked to him frankly but as a friend, if for nothing else, for Andrews's sake, I told him that I was speaking to him with Andrews's spirit as my witness. I made suggestions, but all to no avail. As usual they were not practical. I had not wanted to go. I had nothing to say, being 'anti-all-wars'. I went because he was anxious to see me. All this I mention in order to give you the background. I was not present throughout the negotiations with the Working Committee. I came away. You know the result. It was inevitable. The whole thing has left a bad taste in the mouth."

And now comes the key paragraph: "My firm opinion is that the British should leave India now in an orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore, Malaya and Burma. That act would mean courage of a high order, confession of human limitations, and right-doing by India."

Gandhiji's talk was almost a commentary on the parts of the letter I have quoted: "You will see that I have used the words 'orderly withdrawal'. I had, when I used the phrase, Burma and Singapore in mind. It was a disorderly withdrawal from there. For they left Burma and Malaya neither to God, nor to anarchy, but to the Japanese. 'Here,' I say, 'don't repeat that story here. Don't leave India to Japan, but leave India to Indians in an orderly manner,' " said he, concluding the talk. The whole talk, even as the letter I have reproduced, was inspired by the spirit of C.F.A., and the idea of asking the British to withdraw was conceived in the friendliest spirit, as it was done with a remembrance of C.F.A. and all his noble work. As Gandhiji said, "So you have now to do what Andrews did—understand me, pitilessly cross-examine me, and then if you are convinced, be my messenger." Prof. Alexander felt overwhelmed and said: "We dare not assume his mantle. We can but try" (*Harijan*, 5-7-1942, pp. 214-5).

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 60-1.

(O) IF HARIJAN IS SUPPRESSED[1]

(P) THE WARDHA INTERVIEW

A Mass Movement

"Is it possible," asked the A.P. (America) representative, "for you to tell us the things you might do after the All-India Congress Committee meets and adopts the W.C. Resolution?"

"Is not that question a little premature? Supposing the All-India Congress Committee vetoes the resolution, the whole thing wears a different aspect. But you may know that it will be a mass movement of a strictly non-violent character and then you can fill in the details. It will include all that a mass movement can include."

"Will you include closing of liquor shops and foreign-cloth shops?"

"It will depend on the circumstances. I don't want rioting as a direct result. If, in spite of all precautions, rioting does take place, it cannot be helped."

If Imprisoned?

"Will you court imprisonment?"

"I am not going to court imprisonment. The struggle does not involve courting imprisonment. It is too soft a thing. We had, no doubt, made it a business to court imprisonment up to now, but there will be no such thing this time. My intention is to make the thing as short and swift as possible."

Quick came another question: "Will you resort to fasting if sent to jail?"

"It is not my desire this time, as I have said, to court imprisonment. But if I am dragged into jail, it is difficult to say what I may do. But I can fast, as I have fasted before now, though I should try to avoid such an extreme step so far as possible".

Negotiations?

"After the recognition of free India it starts to function at once?"

"Yes, from the very next moment. For, independence will not be on paper but in action. But your next legitimate question would be—'How will free India function?' And because there was that knot, I said: 'Leave India to God or anarchy.' But in practice what will happen is this—if withdrawal takes place in perfect goodwill, the change will be effected without the slightest disturbance. People would have to come to their own without disturbance. Wise people from among the responsible sections will come together and will evolve a provisional government. Then there will be no anarchy, no interruption, and a crowning glory."

[1] For the text under this title, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 288-9.

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Shape of Things to Come

"Can you visualize the composition of the provisional government?"

"I do not need to do so. But I am clear that it won't be a party government. All parties—including the Congress—will automatically dissolve. They may function later and when they do they may function complementary to one another, each looking to the other in order to grow. Then, as I have said, all unreality disappears like mist before the morning sun—we don't know how, though we witness the phenomenon every day."

"But," asked two of the Indian correspondents rather impatiently, "looking to all their past record will the British have the sense to come to terms?"

"Why not? They are human beings and I have never discounted the possibility of human nature's upward growth, and no other nation had ever had to face a freedom movement based not principally but wholly on non-violence." . . .

"May not your movement hamper the efforts of the Allies in China?"

"No, since the movement is intended to make common cause with the Allies, it should not hamper the Allied effort."

"But if there is no withdrawal, then disturbances are bound to happen?"

"You see ill-will is already there. It will grow apace. Immediately the movement is started, the ill-will may be changed into goodwill if the British people respond. But even if they don't respond, when people make an effort to free themselves from a foreign yoke, ill-will needs no other opening. It takes a healthy turn instead of the bad turn that it has today." . . .

Free India's Contribution

"You desire to have India's freedom in order to help the Allies?" was Mr. Edgar Snow's question, and the last question: "Will free India carry out total mobilization and adopt the methods of total war?"

"That question is legitimate," said Gandhiji, "but it is beyond me; I can only say free India will make common cause with the Allies. I cannot say that free India will take part in militarism or choose to go the non-violent way. But I can say without hesitation that, if I can turn India to non-violence, I will certainly do so. If I succeed in converting 40 crores of people to non-violence, it will be a tremendous thing, a wonderful transformation".

"But you won't oppose a militarist effort by civil disobedience?" Mr. Snow pertinently asked.

"I have no such desire. I cannot oppose free India's will with civil disobedience, it would be wrong" (*Harijan*, 19-7-1942, pp. 233-4).

(Q) American Opinion May Be Antagonized

. . . "Speaking as an American," said Mr. Steele, "I can say that the reaction of many Americans would be that a movement for freedom may be

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unwise at this moment, for it would lead to complications in India which may be prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war."

"This belief is born of ignorance," replied Gandhiji. "What possible internal complication can take place, if the British Government declare today that India is absolutely independent? It would be, in my opinion, the least risk the Allies could take on behalf of the war effort. I am open to conviction, if anybody could convince me that, in the midst of war, the British Government cannot declare India free without jeopardizing the war effort, I should like to hear the argument. I have not as yet heard any cogent one."

Open to Conviction

"If you were convinced, would you call off the campaign?"

"Of course. My complaint is that all these good critics talk *at* me, swear *at* me, but never condescend to talk *to* me. . . ."

. . . "If India were made of four hundred million Gandhis," interrupted Mr. Steele.

"Here," said Gandhiji, "we come to brass tacks. That means India is not sufficiently non-violent. If we had been, there would have been no parties, and there would be no Japanese attack. I know non-violence is limited in both numbers and quality, but deficient as it is in both these respects, it has made a great impression and infused life into the people which was absent before. The awakening that showed itself on April 6, 1919, was a matter of surprise to every Indian. I cannot today account for the response we then had from every nook and corner of the country where no public worker had ever been. We had not then gone among the masses, we did not know we could go and speak to them."

Provisional Government

"Can you give me an idea who would take the lead in forming a provisional government—you, Congress or the Muslim League?"

"The Muslim League certainly can; the Congress can. If everything went right, it would be a combined leadership. No *one* party would take the lead."

"Would it be within the present constitutional structure?"

"The constitution will be dead," said Gandhiji. "The Government of India Act of 1935 is dead. The I.C.S. would have to go and it might be anarchy; but there *need* be no anarchy, if the British withdraw with goodwill. *Free India government* would set up a constitution suited to Indian genius, evolved without dictation from outside. . . . The dictating factor will not be an outside one, but wisdom, and I believe there will be abundant wisdom among us."

"Would the Viceroy cease to exist as such?"

"We shall be friends *even* then, but on a par, and I have no doubt that Lord Linlithgow will welcome the day when he will be one of the people."

WHY NOT TODAY?

"Why can't all this be done today, without the British withdrawal?" said Mr. Emeny returning to the charge.

"The answer is simple. Why can't a prisoner do a thing which a free man can do? You may not have been behind prison bars, but I have been and I know. Imprisonment means civil death, and I suggest to you that the whole of India is civilly dead. The very breath is controlled by British power. Then there is another experience that you lack. You have not been a member of a nation that has been under subjection for several centuries. Our *habit* has been that we can never be free. You know the case of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of great self-sacrifice, who might have had a distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, but who is now an exile because he cannot possibly tolerate this helpless condition and feels that he must seek the help of Germany and Japan" . . . (*Harijan*, 26-7-1942, pp. 242-3).

(R) TO AMERICAN FRIENDS

. . . I claim to be a votary of truth from my childhood. It was the most natural thing to me. My prayerful search gave me the revealing maxim "Truth is God" instead of the usual one "God is Truth". That maxim enables me to see God face to face as it were. I feel Him pervade every fibre of my being. With this Truth as witness between you and me, I assert that I would not have asked my country to invite Great Britain to withdraw her rule over India, irrespective of any demand to the contrary, if I had not seen at once that for the sake of Great Britain and the Allied cause it was necessary for British boldly to perform the duty of freeing India from bondage. Without this essential act of tardy justice, Britain could not justify her position before the unmurmuring world conscience, which is there nevertheless. Singapore, Malaya and Burma taught me that the disaster must not be repeated in India. I make bold to say that it cannot be averted unless Britain trusts the people of India to use their liberty in favour of the Allied cause. By that supreme act of justice Britain would have taken away all cause for the seething discontent of India. She will turn the growing ill-will into active goodwill. I submit that it is worth all the battleships and airships that your wonder-working engineers and financial resources can produce.

. . . We say: 'This is the psychological moment for that recognition.' For then and then only can there be irresistible opposition to Japanese aggression. It is of immense value to the Allied cause, if it is also of equal

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value to India. The Congress has anticipated and provided for every possible difficulty in the way of recognition. I want you to look upon the immediate recognition of India's independence as a war measure of first-class magnitude (*Harijan*, 9-8-1942, p. 264).

(s) A PLEA FOR REASON

The suppression, of which perhaps the hysterical outburst in America and Great Britain is a precursor, may cow down the people for the moment but it will never put out the light of revolt once it has been lighted. . . .

JUSTICE OF CONGRESS DEMAND

The justice of the demand for the ending of British power has never been questioned; the moment chosen for enforcing it is the target of attack. It is clear as crystal in the Working Committee resolution, why this moment is chossen. Let me paraphrase it: India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so and, what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know, that if India does not become free now, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese, should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event would be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can avoid it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster.

AZAD'S STATEMENT CITED

But the critics say: 'To whom are the British rulers to hand the keys on their withdrawal?' It is a good question. Here is what Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, has said: "The Congress always stands, firstly, for sympathy towards democratic countries, secondly, never desires to embarrass Britain and war efforts, and thirdly, it stands for opposition to the Japanese aggression. The Congress does not desire to take power for itself but for all. If real power is handed over to the Congress, surely it will approach other parties and will persuade them to join." The Congress President added that he "had no objection to Britain handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party, provided it was real independence. The party will have to approach other parties as no single party can function properly without the co-operation of other parties."

The only thing needful is to hand over complete control without reservation save that, during the war period, the Allied troops will operate to stem the Japanese or Axis attack. But they will have no power of interference with the affairs of India which will be as free as Great Britain herself.

NOTHING TO CAVIL AT

Surely there is nothing here to cavil at for anyone. That party or a combination which takes over control of India will have to look to the

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remaining parties for its retention of power. There is no hope of the parties coming together so long as they have to look not to one another but to an outsider for support and sustenance. Not one of the Viceroy's numerous Indian Councillors are dependent upon anybody but the Viceroy for the positions they hold. How can the great or small representative parties operate without mutual support?

In a free India, even the Congress could not function efficiently for a day without the support of the smallest party. For, in a free India, at least for some time to come, even the strongest party will have no military backing. There will be no military to back. There will only be a raw police in the first stage unless the existing police will serve the national government on its terms. But the support, such as it may be, free India will be able to render to the Allied cause, will be of a sterling character. Its possibilities will be limitless and there will be no motive left for welcoming Japanese arms.

On the contrary, they will then look to the Allied arms to repel any Japanese or other attack, unless all Indians by then become non-violent. In any case, the Allied arms are there today and tomorrow and till the end of the war whether they are needed for India's protection or not.

If this representation of the implications of the Congress demand is not appreciated by the Allies' Press or the Allies themselves, Indian public men should be forgiven if they doubt the sincerity of the fierce opposition which is being organized with ominous unanimity. The latter can only stiffen India's suspicion and resistance (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 3-8-1942, being extract from article in *Harijan*, 2-8-1942, p. 252).

(T) AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

. . . "But to *whom* are the British to say—'India is free'?" asked the friends with a certain degree of exasperation.

"To the world," said Gandhiji without a moment's hesitation. "Automatically the Indian army is disbanded from that moment, and they decide to pack up as soon as they can. Or they may declare, they would pack up only after the war is over, but that they would expect no help from India, impose no taxes, raise no recruits—beyond what help India chooses to give voluntarily. British rule will cease from that moment, no matter what happens to India afterwards. Today it is all a hypocrisy, unreality. I want that to end. The new order will come only when that falsity ends."

"It is an unwarranted claim Britain and America are making," said Gandhiji concluding the talk, "the claim of saving democracy and freedom. It is a wrong thing to make that claim, when there is this terrible tragedy of holding a whole nation in bondage."

Q. What can America do to have your demand implemented?

A. If my demand is admitted to be just beyond cavil, America can insist on the implementing of the Indian demand as a condition of her

financing Britain and supplying her with her matchless skill in making war machines. He who pays the piper has the right to call the tune. Since America has become the predominant partner in the Allied cause, she is partner also in Britain's guilt. The Allies have no right to call their cause to be morally superior to the Nazi cause so long as they hold in custody the fairest part and one of the most ancient nations of the earth (*Harijan*, 14-6-1942, p. 187).

(U) FOREIGN SOLDIERS IN INDIA[1]

APPENDIX II

NOT PRO-JAPANESE

We can only infer that in the admittedly possible event of Japanese aggression on India after the departure of the British, he (I) was prepared to concede to their (Japanese) demands (Indictment p. 8).

(A) IF THEY REALLY MEAN?[2]

(B) FRIENDLY ADVICE

". . . You say you are willing to take all risks. Every brave man is. At the same time, is it not your duty to prepare the ground up to a point so as to minimize the risks as far as possible? The people must, for instance, be made to shed cowardice and feel that it *is* possible for us to stand on our own legs. They must not desire, as so many do, Japanese help. . . ."

As these columns show, with the overwhelming sense of the truth as it appears to me, I am taking every care humanly possible to prepare the ground. I know that the novelty of the idea and that too at this juncture has caused a shock to many people. But I could not help myself. Even at the risk of being called mad, I had to tell the truth, if I was to be true to myself. I regard it as my solid contribution to the war and to India's deliverance from the peril that is threatening. It is, too, my real contribution to communal unity. No one can visualize what it will be like. Only it will not be the sham we have had up to now. It has touched only the few politically-minded people. The masses have remained unaffected by it.

Whilst, therefore, I will take every imaginable care consistent with the urgency, I cannot guarantee freedom from cowardice, before taking any forward step. The cowardice will probably not be shed without much travail. Nor is waiting possible till hatred abates. Withdrawal of the hated power is the only way to rid the land of the debasing hatred. The cause gone, hatred must cease.

Of course, the people must not, on any account, lean on the Japanese to get rid of the British power. That was a remedy worse than the disease. But as I have already said, in this struggle, every risk has to be run in

[1]&[2] For the text under these titles, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 49-50 and 51.

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order to cure ourselves of the biggest disease—a disease which has sapped our manhood and almost made us feel as if we must for ever be slaves. It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure, I know, will be heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance (*Harijan*, 31-5-1942, p. 172).

(C) IF THEY COME[1]

(D) WHAT ABOUT RADIO MESSAGES?[2]

(E) IF JAPANESE COME?[3]

(F) QUESTION BOX[4]

(G) UNFAIR TO AMERICA?[5]

(H) MIRABEHN'S LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

DETENTION CAMP,
AGA KHAN'S PALACE, POONA,
Christmas Eve, 1942

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

My only excuse for writing you this letter is the deep pain I feel, as one born of English parents, over the falsehoods regarding Gandhiji and the Indian National Congress which seem to have appeared in certain English papers without being officially contradicted.

Within the limits of the newspapers that reach me here, I have been watching the ever-growing volume of anti-Congress propaganda in the British Press. Of the various untruths that are being circulated, I want, in this letter, to deal with only one, namely, the assertion that Gandhiji and the Congress are pro-Japanese. For samples of such propaganda that has come to my notice, I would refer to *The Bombay Chronicle Weekly* of November 29, 1942, page 22, and to *The Hindu*, (Dak Edition) of December 19, 1942, page 4, column 3.

Amongst the quotations and facsimiles given in *The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, is a photograph of the first page of the London *Daily Sketch* of August 5, 1942, showing a full page headline "Gandhi's India-Jap Peace Plan Exposed", and lower down, on the same page, a photograph of myself with the sub-heading "English Woman Gandhi's Jap-Peace Envoy". The *Punch* cartoons of which facsimiles are also given, are, if possible, even more disgraceful. In *The Hindu*, there is a protest by Shri K. M. Munshi from which it would appear that this libellous propaganda has spread even to the London *Daily Herald*.

Now the reason for my bringing this matter before you is that I have in my possession correspondence that passed between Gandhiji and myself while I was in Orissa, *after* the April meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad, which proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that Gandhiji is cent per cent anti-Japanese.

[1]—[5] For the text under these titles, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 179-80, 216, 321-2, 168-9 and 164.

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The correspondence of which I enclose copies, consists of a confidential report, with questionnaire regarding the then anticipated Japanese invasion, which I sent to Gandhiji by special messenger from Orissa, where he had deputed me for helping the Congress workers generally, especially as a Japanese attack on the East Coast was hourly expected.

The report which I have with me is the original draft, written in my own hand. It is not dated or signed, as these things I affixed to the typewritten copy which was sent; but it must be just about 3 to 4 days previous to Gandhiji's reply dated 31st May, 1942, which he dictated to the late Shri Mahadev Desai, and forwarded to me at once by the returning special messenger. Of this I have the original in Shri Mahadev Desai's own handwriting, and signed "Bapu" by Gandhiji. The interview referred to in the first paragraph of the letter was the one I had on 25th May, 1942, with Mr. Wood, then Chief Secretary to the Government of Orissa, at which Mr. Mansfield was also present.

Seeing that no godfearing ruler could, with any peace of mind, allow the above-mentioned slanderous propaganda on the part of his own people, against those whom he had rendered unable to reply, to continue unchecked once he had had unchallengeable proof of its falsehood, I put trust in the belief that you will publish the enclosed correspondence together with this covering letter, and refute the assertions of these British journals.

I may add that since I am personally acquainted with the members of the Working Committee and have freely discussed these matters with them, I can say with confidence that their feelings have been unequivocally anti-Japanese and anti-Fascist throughout.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
MIRABEHN

[1] MIRABEHN'S QUESTION ON THE FEARED INVASION AND OCCUPATION BY THE JAPANESE

We may take it that the Japanese will land somewhere along the Orissa coast. Probably there will be no bombing or firing at the time of landing, as there are no defence measures on the coast. From the coast they will advance rapidly across the flat, dry rice fields, where the only obstructions are rivers and ditches, now mostly dry and nowhere unfordable. As far as we are able to make out, there will be no serious attempts to hold the Japanese advance until the hilly and wooded regions of the Orissa State are reached. The army of defence, whatever it is, is reported to be hidden in the jungles of those parts. It is likely to make a desperate attempt to defend the Jamshedpur road, but the chances of its being successful must be very small. That means we may expect a battle to be fought in the north-west of Orissa, after which the Japanese army will pass

on into Bihar. At that time the Japanese are not likely to be broadly distributed over the country, but concentrated on their lines of communication between the sea and their advancing army. The British administration will have previously disappeared from the scene.

The problem before us is, in the event of these things happening, how are we to act?

The Japanese armies will rush over the fields and through the villages, not as avowed enemies of the population, but as chasers and destroyers of the British and American war effort. The population in its turn is vague in its feeling. The strongest feeling is fear and distrust of the British, which is growing day by day, on account of the treatment they are receiving. Anything that is not British is therefore something welcome. Here is a funny example. The villagers in some parts say: "Oh, the aeroplanes that make a great noise are British, but there are silent planes also, and they are Mahatma planes." I think the only thing possible for these simple innocent people to learn is the attitude of neutrality, for, it is, in reality, the only position that can be made logical to them. The British not only leave them to their fate without even instructing them in self-protection from bombing, etc., but they issue such orders as will, if obeyed, kill them before the day of battle comes. How then can they be ready enthusiastically to obstruct the Japanese who are chasing this detested raj, especially when the Japanese are saying: "It is not you we have come to fight." But I have found the villagers ready to take up the position of neutrality. That is to say, they would leave the Japanese to pass over their fields and villages and try as far as possible not to come in contact with them. They would hide their food-stuffs and money, and decline to serve the Japanese. But even that much resistance would be difficult to obtain in some parts, the dislike of the British raj being so great that anything anti-British will be welcomed with open arms. I feel we have got to try and gauge the maximum resistance which the average inhabitants may be expected to put up, and *maintain*, and make that our definite stand. A steady, long-sustained stand, though not cent per cent resistance, will be more effective in the long run than a stiff stand which quickly breaks.

This maximum sustainable stand which we may expect from the average people is probably:

1. To resist firmly, mostly non-violently, the commandeering by the Japanese of any land, houses, or movable property.
2. To render no forced labour to the Japanese.
3. Not to take up any sort of administrative service under the Japanese. (This may be hard to control in connection with some type of city people, Government opportunists and Indians brought in from other parts.)
4. To buy nothing from the Japanese.

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5. To refuse their currency and any efforts on their part at setting up a raj. (Lack of workers and lack of time make it very hard, we have to strive to stem the tide.)

Now as to certain difficulties and questions which arise:

1. The Japanese may offer to pay for labour, food and materials in British currency notes. Should the people refuse to sell for good prices or work for a good wage? For long-sustained resistance over many months it may be difficult to prevent this. So long as they refuse to buy or take "service", the exploitation danger is kept off.

2. What should be done about the rebuilding of bridges, canals, etc., which the British will have blown up? We shall also need the bridges and canals. Should we, therefore, set our hands to their rebuilding, even if it means working side by side with the Japanese, or should we retire on the approach of Japanese bridge-builders?

3. If Indian soldiers, who were taken prisoners in Singapore and Burma, land with the Japanese invading army, what should be our attitude towards them? Should we treat them with the same aloofness as we are to show the Japanese, or should we try to win them over to our way of thinking?

4. After the exodus (before the approaching Japanese) of the British raj what shall we do about currency?

5. After the battles have been fought and the Japanese armies will have advanced, the battle-fields will be left strewn with dead and wounded. *I think we must unhesitatingly work side by side with the Japanese in burning and burying the dead and picking up and serving the wounded.* The Japanese are likely to attend to the lightly wounded of their own men and take prisoners the lightly wounded of their enemy, but the rest would probably be left, and it will be our sacred duty to attend to them. For this we are from now planning the training of volunteers under the guidance of local doctors. Their services can also be used in case of internal disturbances, epidemics, etc.

6. Besides dead and wounded on the battle-field, a certain amount of rifles, revolvers and other small arms are likely to be left lying about unpicked up by the Japanese. If we do not make a point of collecting these things, they are likely to fall into the hands of robbers, thieves and other bad characters, who always come down like hawks to loot a battle-field. In an unarmed country like India this would lead to much trouble. In the event of our collecting such arms and ammunition, what should we do with them? My instinct is to take them out to sea and drop them in the ocean. Please tell us what you advise.

[J] MY REPLY TO THE ABOVE

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
May 31, 1942

I have your very complete and illuminating letter. The report of the interview is perfect, your answers were straight, unequivocal and courageous.

I have no criticism to make. I can only say: 'Go on as you are doing.' I can quite clearly see that you have gone to the right place at the right time. I, therefore, need do nothing more than come straight to your questions which are all good and relevant.

1. I think we must tell the people what they should do. They will act according to their capacity. If we begin to judge their capacity and give directions accordingly, our directions will be halting and even compromising which we should never do. You will, therefore, read my instruction in that light. Remember that our attitude is that of complete non-co-operation with the Japanese army. Therefore we may not help them in any way, nor may we profit by any dealings with them. Therefore we cannot sell anything to them. If people are not able to face the Japanese army, they will do as armed soldiers do, i.e., retire when they are overwhelmed. And if they do so, the question of having any dealings with the Japanese does not and should not arise. If, however, the people have not the courage to resist the Japanese unto death and not the courage and capacity to evacuate the portion invaded by the Japanese, they will do the best they can in the light of instructions. One thing they should never do—to yield willing submission to the Japanese. That will be a cowardly act, and unworthy of a freedom-loving people. They must not escape from one fire only to fall into another and probably more terrible. Their attitude, therefore, must always be of resistance to the Japanese. No question, therefore, arises of accepting British currency notes or Japanese coins. They will handle nothing from Japanese hands. So far as dealings with our own people are concerned, they will either resort to barter or make use of such British currency that they have in the hope that the national government that may take the place of British Government will take up from the people all the British currency in accordance with its capacity.

2. Question about co-operation in bridge-building is covered by the above. There can be no question of this co-operation.

3. If Indian soldiers come in contact with our people, we must fraternize with them if they are well-disposed, and invite them, if they can, to join the nation. Probably they have been brought under promise that they will deliver the country from foreign yoke. There will be no foreign yoke and they will be expected to befriend people and obey national government that might have been set up in place of British Government. If the British have retired in an orderly manner leaving things in Indian hands, the whole thing can work splendidly, and it might even be made difficult for Japanese to settle down in India or any part of it in peace, because they will have to deal with a population which will be sullen and resistant. It is difficult to say what can happen. It is enough if people are trained to cultivate the power of resistance, no matter which power is operating—the Japanese or the British.

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4. Covered by 1 above.

5. The occasion may not come, but if it does, co-operation will be permissible and even necessary.

6. Your answer about the arms found on the wayside is most tempting and perfectly logical. It may be followed but I would not rule out the idea of worthy people finding them and storing them in a safe place, if they can. If it is impossible to store them and keep them from mischievous people, yours is an ideal plan.

(K) "FIRE RAGING IN ME"

A journalist was on a visit here the other day. . . . He was full of the happenings in his province. . . .

He talked of the public feeling in his province. "It is more anti-British than pro-Japanese," he said. "There is a vague notion that we have had enough of this rule, and almost anything would be better than the existing state of things. People are happy when Subhas Babu says on the radio that there are no differences between him and you and when he says you are now out to fight for liberty at any cost."

"But I suppose you know that there he is wrong," said Gandhiji, "and I cannot possibly appropriate the compliments he is paying me. 'Liberty at any cost' has a vastly different connotation for me from what it has for him. 'At any cost' does not exist in my dictionary. It does not, for instance, include bringing in foreigners to help us in our liberty. I have no doubt, it means exchanging one form of slavery for another, possibly much worse. But, of course, we have to fight for our liberty and make whatever sacrifice it demands. In spite of all the hypocrisy that you find in all the inspired Press of Britain and America, I do not relent. I deliberately use the word hypocrisy, for they are now proving that when they were talking of the freedom of India, they did not mean it. So far as I am concerned, I have no doubt about the righteousness of my step. It seems to me to be axiomatic that the Allies are in for a defeat this time if they will not do this initial act of justice and thus put their own case on an unassailable basis. If they don't, they must face the opposition of those who cannot tolerate their rule and are prepared to die in order to get rid of it. 'Convert the deepening ill-will into goodwill,' is a sound proposition. It is not open to them to say that we must smother our consciences and say or do nothing because there is war. That is why I have made up my mind that it would be a good thing if a million people were shot in a brave and non-violent rebellion against British rule. It may be that it may take us years before we can evolve order out of chaos. But we can then face the world; we cannot face the world today. Avowedly the different nations are fighting for their liberty. Germany, Japan, Russia, China are pouring their blood and money like water. What is *our* record? You talk of the newspapers doing good business

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out of the war. It is a shame to be thus bought and to refrain from speaking out at Government's dictation. There is many a way of earning an honest crust of bread. If British money—which is our money—can buy us, Heaven help our country. . . .

"I do not feel flattered when Subhas Babu says, I am right. I am not right in the sense he means. For there he is attributing pro-Japanese feeling to me. If I were to discover that by some strange miscalculation I had not realized the fact that I was helping the entry of the Japanese in this country, I should not hesitate to retrace my steps. As regards the Japanese, I am certain that we should lay down our lives in order to resist them as we would resist the British.

"But it won't be the work of human hands. It will be the work of a Force—incalculable and invisible—which works often upsetting all our calculations. I rely implicitly on It. Otherwise I should go mad in face of all this torrent of what I must call irritating criticism. They do not know my agony. I cannot express it except perhaps by dying."

Was there the slightest suspicion that he wished victory to the Axis arms in order that the British may be humbled and their power in India may be destroyed? Gandhiji asked the friend to disabuse himself of any such notion:

"Destruction of the British power is not dependent on Japanese or German arms. If it depended on them, there would be nothing to be proud of, apart from the blight that would settle upon the world. But what matters to me is that I cannot be happy or proud if someone comes in and drives away my enemy. Where do I come in there? I cannot possibly enthuse over such a thing. I want to have the pleasure of having offered up my sacrifice for fighting the enemy in my own house. If I have not that strength, I cannot prevent the other from coming in. Only I must find a middle path to prevent the new enemy coming in. I am sure God will help me to find the way.

"I do not mind honest, strong, healthy criticism. All the manufactured criticism that I find being made today is sheer tomfoolery, meant to overawe me and demoralize the Congress ranks. It is a foul game. They do not know the fire that is raging in my breast. I have no false notions of prestige, no personal considerations would make me take a step that I know is sure to plunge the country into a conflagration" (*Harijan*, 2-8-1942, pp. 257-8).

(L) LETTER TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK[1]

Further reference to the same subject will be found in Appendix I:

B. OUT OF TOUCH

[1] For the text under this title, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 223-6.

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C. "I AM NOT PRO-JAPANESE"
E. IMPLICATIONS OF THE WITHDRAWAL
K. A POSER
L. A FALLACY
Q. AMERICAN OPINION MAY BE ANTAGONIZED
R. TO AMERICAN FRIENDS
S. "JUSTICE OF CONGRESS DEMAND"
" "AZAD'S STATEMENT CITED"
" "NOTHING TO CAVIL AT"

APPENDIX III

CONGRESS NOT FOR POWER

It has been suggested in the preceding paragraph that the Congress intended this Government to be under their domination and note has been made of the strength added to this view by the unity of Muslim opinion that the Congress move was aimed at establishing Congress-Hindu domination over India (Indictment p. 12).

(A) NOT RIGHT

Q. Are we right in believing that you wish the Congress and the people to become capable as soon as possible of taking over the administration and to do so on the first opportunity?

A. You are not right. I cannot speak for the Congress. But I want no organization or individual to become capable of taking over the administration. In non-violent technique, it is unthinkable. You do not take over power. It may descend to you being given by the people. In an anarchical State, all turbulent elements will make a bid for power. Those who will serve the people and will evolve order out of chaos will spend themselves in removing chaos. If they survive, the popular will may put them in as administrators. This is wholly different from what you have imagined. People who make a bid for power generally fail to achieve it (*Harijan*, 31-5-1942, p. 173).

(B) WHAT ABOUT MUSLIMS?

Q. But what does a free India mean, if, as Mr. Jinnah said, Muslims will not accept Hindu rule?

A. I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them entrust India to God or, in modern parlance, to anarchy. Then all the parties will fight one another like dogs, or will, when real responsibility faces them, come to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect non-violence to arise out of that chaos (*Harijan*, 14-6-1942, p. 187).

(C) TO MUSLIM CORRESPONDENTS

. . . I think that even a large number, if not all of us, prepared to undergo any sacrifice that may fall to our lot, would impress the British rulers

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that they can no longer hold India as a British possession. I believe, too, that such a number is available. Needless to say, their action must be non-violent, irrespective of their belief, as even a military man's has often to be, on behalf of his cause. The fight has been conceived in the interest of the whole of India. The fighters will gain no more than the poorest Indian. They will fight, not to seize power but to end the foreign domination, cost what it may. . . .

The Congress and the League being best organized parties in the country may come to terms and set up a provisional government acceptable to all. And this may be followed by a duly-elected constituent assembly (*Harijan*, 12-7-1942, p. 220).

(D) AN APPROPRIATE QUESTION[1]

(E) UNSEEMLY IF TRUE

. . . Hindustan belongs to all those who are born and bred here and who have no other country to look to. Therefore it belongs to Parsis, Beni-Israels, to Indian Christians, Muslims and other non-Hindus as much as to Hindus. Free India will be no Hindu raj, it will be Indian raj based not on the majority of any religious sect or community but on the representatives of the whole people without distinction of religion. I can conceive a mixed majority putting the Hindus in a minority. They would be elected for their record of service and merits. Religion is a personal matter which should have no place in politics. It is in the unnatural condition of foreign domination that we have unnatural divisions according to religion. Foreign domination going, we shall laugh at our folly in having clung to false ideals and slogans.

The discourse referred to is surely vulgar. There is no question of "driving out" the English. They cannot be driven out except by violence superior to theirs. The idea of killing the Muslims, if they do not remain in subjection, may have been all right in bygone days; it has no meaning today. There is no force in the cry of driving out the English if the substitute is to be Hindu or any other domination. That will be no swaraj. Self-government necessarily means government by the free and intelligent will of the people. I add the word "intelligent" because I hope that India will be predominantly non-violent (*Harijan*, 9-8-1942, p. 261).

Further reference to the same subject will be found in Appendix I:

F. ITS MEANING
G. ONLY IF THEY WITHDRAW
P. "NEGOTIATIONS?"
" "SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME"
S. "AZAD'S STATEMENT CITED"
" "NOTHING TO CAVIL AT"

[1] For the text under this title, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 354-5.

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APPENDIX IV

ABOUT NON-VIOLENCE

Mr. Gandhi knew that any mass movement started in India would be a violent movement (Indictment p. 39).

(A) EXPEDIENCE[1]

(B) NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION

Q. There is a report about some new scheme that you want to propound, in one of your *Harijan* articles about non-violent non-co-operation, if any invader came to India. Could you give us an idea?

A. It is wrong. I have no plan in mind. If I had, I should give it to you. But I think nothing more need be added when I have said that there should be unadulterated non-violent non-co-operation and, if the whole of India responded and unanimously offered it, I should show that without shedding a single drop of blood, Japanese arms—or any combination of arms—can be sterilized. That involves the determination of India not to give quarter on any point whatsoever and to be ready to risk loss of several million lives. But I would consider that cost very cheap, and victory won at that cost glorious. That India may not be ready to pay that price may be true. I hope it is not true, but some such price must be paid by any country that wants to retain its independence. After all the sacrifice made by the Russians and the Chinese is enormous, and they are ready to risk all. The same could be said of the other countries also, whether aggressors or defenders. The cost is enormous. Therefore, in the non-violent technique, I am asking India to risk no more than other countries are risking and which India would have to risk even if she offered armed resistance.

Q. But "unadulterated non-violent non-co-operation" has not been successful against Great Britain. How will it succeed against a new aggressor?

A. I combat the statement altogether. Nobody has yet told me that non-violent non-co-operation, unadulterated, has not succeeded. It has not been offered, it is true. Therefore you can say that what has not been offered hitherto is not likely to be offered suddenly when India faces the Japanese arms. I can only hope that, in the face of danger, India would be readier to offer non-violent non-co-operation. Perhaps India is accustomed to British rule for so many years that the Indian mind or India's masses do not feel the pinch so much as the advent of a new power would be felt. But your question is well put. It is possible that India may not be able to offer non-violent non-co-operation. But a similar question may be put regarding armed resistance. Several attempts have been made and they have not succeeded. Therefore it will not succeed against the Japanese. That leads us to the absurd conclusion that India will never be ready for gaining

[1] For the text under this title, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 11.

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independence and, seeing that I cannot subscribe to any such proposition, I must try again and again till India is ready to respond to the call of non-violent non-co-operation. But, if India does not respond to that call, then India must respond to the call of some leader or some organization, wedded to violence. For instance, the Hindu Mahasabha is trying to rouse the Hindu mind for an armed conflict. It remains to be seen whether that attempt succeeds. I for one do not believe it will succeed (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942, p. 167).

(C) SCORCHED EARTH POLICY

Q. Would you advise non-violent non-co-operation against scorched earth policy? Would you resist the attempt to destroy sources of food and water?

A. Yes. A time may come when I would certainly advise it; for, I think it is ruinous, suicidal and unnecessary—whether India believes in non-violent non-co-operation or in violence. And the Russian and Chinese examples make no appeal to me. If some other country resorts to methods which I consider to be inhuman, I may not follow them. If the enemy comes and helps himself to crops, I may be obliged to leave; because I cannot or care not to defend them, I must resign myself to it. And there is a good example for us. A passage was quoted to me from the Islamic literature. The Khalipha issued definite instructions to the armies of Islam that they should not destroy the utility services, they should not harass the aged, and women and children; and I do not know that the arms of Islam suffered any disaster because the armies obeyed these instructions.

Q. But what about factories—especially factories for the manufacture of munitions?

A. Suppose there are factories for grinding wheat or pressing oil-seeds, I should not destroy them. But munitions factories, yes; for, I would not tolerate munitions factories in a free India, if I had my way. Textile factories I would not destroy, and I would resist all such destruction. However, it is a question of prudence.

I have not suggested immediate enforcement of the whole programme in pursuance of the demand for British withdrawal. It is there, of course. But I am trying, if I am allowed to continue to cultivate and educate public opinion, to show that behind this demand of mine there is no ill-will, no malice. It is the most logical thing that I have suggested. It is in the interests of all, and since it is an entirely friendly act, I am moving cautiously, watching myself at every step. I will do nothing in haste, but there is the fixed determination behind every act of mine that the British must withdraw.

I have mentioned anarchy. I am convinced that we are living today in a state of ordered anarchy. It is a misnomer to call such rule as is

established in India a rule which promotes the welfare of India. Therefore this ordered, disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India, as a result, I would risk it, though I believe, and should like to believe, that 22 years of continuous effort at educating India along the lines of non-violence will not have gone in vain, and people will evolve real popular order out of chaos. Therefore if I find that all the best effort fails, I would certainly invite people to resist destruction of their property (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942, p. 167).

(D) WHAT WOULD FREE INDIA DO?

Gandhiji had over and over again said that an orderly withdrawal would result in a sullen India becoming a friend and ally. These American friends now explored the implications of that possible friendship: "Would a free India declare war against Japan?"

"Free India need not do so. It simply becomes the ally of the Allied powers, simply out of gratefulness for the payment of a debt, however, overdue. Human nature thanks the debtor when he discharges the debt."

"How then would this alliance fit in with India's non-violence?"

"It is a good question. The whole of India is not non-violent. If the whole of India had been non-violent, there would have been no need for my appeal to Britain, nor would there be any fear of a Japanese invasion. But my non-violence is represented possibly by a hopeless minority, or, perhaps, by India's dumb millions who are temperamentally non-violent. But there, too, the question may be asked: 'What have they done?' They have done nothing, I agree; but they may act when the supreme test comes, and they may not. I have no non-violence of millions to present Britain, and what we have has been discounted by the British as non-violence of the weak. And so all I have done is to make this appeal on the strength of bare inherent justice, so that it might find an echo in the British heart. It is made from a moral plane, and even as they do not hesitate to act desperately in the physical field and take grave risks, let them for once act desperately on the moral field and declare that India is independent today, irrespective of India's demand" (*Harijan*, 14-6-1942, p. 187).

(E) A CHALLENGE

The fact is that non-violence does not work in the same way as violence. It works in the opposite way. An armed man naturally relies upon his arms. A man who is intentionally unarmed relies upon the unseen force called God by poets, but called the Unknown by scientists. But that which is unknown is not necessarily non-existent. God is the Force among all forces known and unknown. Non-violence without reliance upon that Force is poor stuff to be thrown in the dust.

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I hope now my critic realizes the error underlying his question and that he sees also that the doctrine that has guided my life is not one of inaction but of the highest action. His question should really have been put thus:

'How is it that, in spite of your work in India for over 22 years, there are not sufficient satyagrahis who can cope with external and internal menaces?' My answer then would be that 22 years are nothing in the training of a nation for the development of non-violent strength. That is not to say that a large number of persons will not show that strength on due occasion. That occasion seems to have come now. This war puts the civilian on his mettle no less than the military man, non-violent no less than the violent (*Harijan*, 28-6-1942, p. 201).

(F) [A.I.S.A. AND KINDRED INSTITUTIONS]

. . . Therefore the golden rule is to dare to do the right at any cost. But there should be no camouflage, no secrecy, no make-believe. . . (*Harijan*, 12-7-1942, p. 217).

(G) GURU GOBIND SINGH

. . . But for me as a believer in non-violence out and out, they (Guru Govind Singh, Lenin, Kemal Pasha, etc.) cannot be guides in life so far as their faith in war is concerned. I believe in Krishna perhaps more than the writer. But my Krishna is the Lord of the universe, the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of us all. He may destroy because He creates. But I must not be drawn into a philosophical or religious argument with my friends. I have not the qualifications for teaching my philosophy of life. I have barely qualification for practising the philosophy I believe. I am but a poor struggling soul yearning to be wholly good, wholly truthful and wholly non-violent in thought, word and deed, but ever failing to reach the ideal which I know to be true. I admit, and assure my revolutionary friends, it is a painful climb, but the pain of it is a positive pleasure for me. Each step upward makes me feel stronger and fit for the next. But all that pain and the pleasure are for me. The revolutionaries are at liberty to reject the whole of my philosophy. To them I merely present my own experience as a co-worker in the same cause even as I have successfully presented them to the Ali Brothers and many other friends. They can and do applaud whole-heartedly the action of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and possibly De Valera and Lenin. But they realize with me that India is not like Turkey or Ireland or Russia and that revolutionary activity is suicidal at this stage of the country's life at any rate, if not for all time, in a country so vast, so hopelessly divided and with the masses so deeply sunk in pauperism and so fearfully terror-struck (*Harijan*, 12-7-1942, p. 219).

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(H) THE CONFLAGRATION[1]

(K) IN CASE OF ILLNESS

. . . But the relevant fact is that so long as the reason is unimpaired, physical illness is no bar to the conduct of a non-violent struggle. The peremptory belief in non-violent conduct is that all urge comes from God —the Unseen, even unfelt save through unconquerable faith. Nevertheless as a seeker and experimenter I know that even physical illness, even fatigue is counted as a defect in a non-violent person. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is literally accepted by votaries of truth and non-violence. But that is said of perfect men. Alas! I am far from the perfection I am aiming at (*Harijan*, 19-7-1942, p. 229).

(L) FASTING IN NON-VIOLENT ACTION[2]

(M) WHAT ABOUT NON-VIOLENCE[3]

(N) ANOTHER DISCOURSE

Bharatanandji[4], whose acquaintance the reader will make in another column, demurred to the compliment given to his countrymen, the Poles, by Gandhiji: "You say that the Poles were 'almost non-violent'. I do not think so. There was black hatred in the breast of Poland, and I do not think the compliment is deserved."

"You must not take what I say, so terribly literally. If ten soldiers resist a force of a thousand soldiers armed cap-a-pie, the former are almost non-violent, because there is no capacity for anything like proportionate violence in them. But the instance I have taken of the girl is more appropriate. A girl who attacks her assailant with her nails if she has grown them, or with her teeth if she has them, is almost non-violent, because there is no premeditated violence in her. Her violence is the violence of the mouse against the cat."

"Well then, Bapuji, I will give you an instance. A young Russian girl was attacked by a soldier. She used her nails and teeth against him and tore him, so to say, to pieces. Was she almost non-violent?"

"How can it cease to be non-violence, if offered on the spur of the moment, simply because it was successful?" I[5] interposed.

"No," said Gandhiji almost inadvertently.

"Then I am really puzzled," said Bharatanandji. "You say, there should be no premeditated violence and no capacity to offer proportionate violence. Here in this case she by her success proved that she had the capacity."

"I am sorry," said Gandhiji, "that I inadvertently said 'No' to Mahadev. There was violence there. It was equally matched."

[1] For the text under this title, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 273-4. Titles under (I) and (J) are not given in the source.

[2] &[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 317-9 and 215-6.

[4] Maurice Frydman, a Polish Engineer

[5] Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's Private Secretary

"But then, is not intention ultimately the test? A surgeon uses his knife non-violently. Or a keeper of the peace uses force against miscreants in order to protect society. That too he does non-violently," said Bharatanandji.

"Who is to judge the intention? Not we. And for us the deed in most cases is the test. We normally look at the action and not at the intention."

"Then God alone knows what is *himsa* and what is ahimsa."

"Yes, God alone is the final judge. It is likely that what we believe to be an act of ahimsa is an act of *himsa* in the eyes of God. But for us the path is chalked out. And then you must know that a true practice of ahimsa means also, in one who practises it, the keenest intelligence and wide-awake conscience. It is difficult for him to err. When I used those words for Poland, and when I suggested to a girl believing herself to be helpless that she might use her nails and teeth without being guilty of violence, you must understand the meaning at the back of my mind. There is the refusal to bend before overwhelming might in the full knowledge that it means certain death. The Poles knew that they would be crushed to atoms, and yet they resisted the German hordes. That was why I called it almost non-violence" (*Harijan*, 8-9-1940, p. 274).

Further reference to the same subject will be found in Appendix I:

C. "NO SECRECY"
" "TO RESIST SLAVE-DRIVERS"
D. WHY NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION
K. A POSER
L. A FALLACY
M. OH ! THE TROOPS
Q.[1] "OPEN TO CONVICTION"

APPENDIX V

(A) EXTRACTS FROM PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO THE JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION AT ALLAHABAD

"We do not wish to take advantage of the peril to Britain, Russia or China, nor do we want the Axis powers to win. We mean to stop the Japanese and to help China and the wider cause of democracy and freedom, but the nature of the peril is such now not only to us but through us to China also that we want to meet it by converting the war into a people's war as China has done. The preparation of the Government of India is entirely inadequate. We want to build up the national will to resistance.

PSYCHOLOGICAL REACTION

"We want to take up the present situation, even if we have to take risk in doing so. We want to save ourselves from immediate peril, and not to

[1] The source, however, has 'P'.

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take advantage of any situation in order to gain independence. If we remain passive, we allow the popular will against the British Government to be broken gradually, and that will break the popular will to resistance. We want to gamble with fate, if one chooses to call it so—and we will do it bravely."

Pandit Nehru said that it was not going to be a long-drawn-out affair, but it would be short and swift. How short and swift he did not know, because that depended on psychological factors. "Ours is not armed force. Our struggle depends upon the psychological reaction of a few million."

In reply to a question by an American journalist, Pandit Nehru said: "The movement can gain by what we do, and can be accelerated by what the Government does."

Gandhiji in his *Harijan* has indicated the steps, and the first step may be within a fortnight after the All-India Congress Committee meeting. That might be a preparatory step unless the Government takes such action as might accelerate it.

The present decision, the Pandit said, was not taken in a huff, but they came to the conclusion, following a close analysis of the current world politics and the method of the British Government in fighting the war. He emphasized that when the Congress talked of independence, it was thought that it was in the nature of bargaining. Therefore the demand for the withdrawal of British power from India had irritated the British. He explained that this demand was inherent in the nationalist movement. They were told that the "Quit India" demand was in the nature of blackmail, and India should wait till the situation was clear after the war.

Continuing, Pandit Nehru said that they waited these years and the Congress was on the point of starting satyagraha in 1940, but at the fall of France they desisted from starting the movement, because they did not want to embarrass England during her moment of great peril. They wanted to face peril as far as possible. They wanted to prevent the Japanese aggression upon India and help China. He said that he could not have thrown in his weight with the British Government because the British policy was so deep-rooted that they could do nothing. There was no loophole to function effectively. The Congress wanted India not to be a passive onlooker.

In conclusion, Pandit Nehru said that the average man in India looked to the Congress for a lead, and if the Congress failed, the result would be so much spiritual disillusionment that it might break their spirit. So the alternative left to them was to take the risk to shake this spirit and change the whole of Europe and America into the conception of the war of freedom (United Press of India, *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1-8-1942).

(B) EXTRACTS FROM PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECH, TILAK DAY CELEBRATIONS, ALLAHABAD

"My mind is quite clear that our decision is correct. I can say this with all the authority and dignity of a member of the Working Committee.

My mind is at rest. I can clearly see the path before us. We can tread it fearlessly and bravely."

No Truck with Axis

Pandit Nehru said that he wanted to make it clear that there was no intention to help Japan or to injure China. He said:

"If we succeed, that will release tremendous spiritual forces for the cause of freedom and democracy, and will greatly increase the resistance against Japan and Germany. If, on the other hand, we fail, Britain would be left to fight against Japan as best she can."

"Correct Slogan"

"Gandhiji's 'Quit India' slogan correctly represents our thoughts and sentiments. Passivity on our part at this moment and hour of peril would be suicidal. It will break down all our will to resistance. It would destroy and emasculate us. Our step is not merely for the love of independence. We want to take it to protect ourselves, to strengthen our will to resistance, to give a fresh orientation to the war, to fight and to help China and Russia: it is an immediate and pressing necessity with us."

People's War

Answering the question "How would you fight against Japan?", Pandit Nehru said:

"We would fight in every way possible with non-violence and with arms, by making it a people's war, by raising people's army, by increasing production and industrialization. By making it our primary consuming passion, by fighting like Russia and China and no price would be too big to pay to achieve our success against the aggressor.". . .

"Struggle—eternal struggle! That is my reply to Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps," said Pandit Nehru spiritedly criticizing the latest statements of Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps.

"India's national self-respect cannot be a matter of bargaining," he added, "I am galled with sorrow and anger to note that I for years wanted some settlement because I felt that Britain was in trouble. They have had their suffering and sorrow. I wanted my country to move forward step in step with them as a free country. But what is one to make of such statements!" (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 3-8-1942).

(c) PANDIT NEHRU'S STATEMENT ON THE SEIZED DOCUMENTS

I have just seen for the first time the Government's communique issuing certain documents obtained during the police raid from the All-India Congress Committee office. It is astonishing to what a pass the Government of India has been reduced when it has to adopt these discreditable and dishonourable

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tactics. Normally such tactics require no answer. But as there is likely to be misapprehension, I wish to clear up some matters.

It is not our custom to keep detailed minutes of the Working Committee's meetings. Only final decisions are recorded. On this occasion, the Assistant Secretary took brief notes unofficially apparently for his own record. These notes are very brief and disjointed and represent several days' prolonged debate during which I must have spoken on various occasions for two or three hours. Only a few sentences were taken down and torn from their context. They often give a wrong impression. None of us had a chance of seeing these notes, or of revising them. The record is very unsatisfactory and incomplete and hence often incorrect.

In our discussions, Mahatma Gandhi was not present. We had to consider every aspect of the question fully and to weigh the implications of words and phrases in the draft resolutions. If Gandhiji had been there, much of this discussion might have been avoided as he could have explained to us his attitude more fully.

Important Omission

Thus when the question of British withdrawal from India was considered, I pointed out that if the armed forces were suddenly withdrawn, the Japanese might well advance and invade the country without hindrance. This obvious difficulty was removed when Gandhiji later explained that British and other armed forces might remain to prevent aggression.

In regard to the statement that Gandhiji expected an Axis victory, an important qualification has been omitted. What he has repeatedly said and what I have referred to is his belief that unless Britain changes her whole policy in regard to India and her colonial possessions, she is heading for disaster. He has further stated that if a suitable change in this policy was made and the war really became one for freedom for all people, then victory would assuredly come to the United Nations.

Mahatma's Way

The references to negotiations with Japan were also incorrect and entirely torn from their context. Gandhiji always sends notice to his adversary before coming into conflict. He would thus have called upon Japan not only to keep away from India, but to withdraw from China, etc. In any event he was determined to resist every aggressor in India and he advised our people to do so even to the point of death. They were never to submit.

It is absurd to say that any of us envisaged any arrangements with Japan giving her right of passage, etc. What I said was that Japan would want this, but we could never agree. Our whole policy has all along been based on uttermost resistance to aggression (Associated Press of India—*The Bombay Chronicle*, 5-8-1942).

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(D) EXTRACTS FROM PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECH AT THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING

August 7, 1942

If the British Government were to accept the proposal, it would lead to an improvement of the position both internal and international from every point of view. The position of China would be improved. He was convinced that whatever change might come about in India would be for the better. The All-India Congress Committee knew that Mahatma Gandhi had agreed to retain and allow the British and armed forces stationed in India. This he agreed so as not to facilitate Japanese action on the Indian frontier. Those who wanted to bring about a change should agree to this.

Referring to criticisms from America that Congress was blackmailing, Pandit Nehru said that it was a curious and amazing charge. It was curious that people who talked in terms of their own freedom should level this charge against those who were fighting for their freedom. It was a curious charge to be made against a people who had been suffering for the last 200 years. If that was blackmail, then "our understanding of the British language has been wrong".

Concluding, he said, he could not take any more risks and that they should go forward although such step might involve perils and risks.

The attitude of the Government was one of defeatism. He could not tolerate it. His only object was to remove the defeatists and put in their place valiant fighters (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-8-1942).

APPENDIX VI

EXTRACTS FROM MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD'S SPEECH AT THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING

August 7, 1942

The extraordinary danger which India was facing was such that they could not face it, unless they had in their hands the reins of power. Danger was knocking at India's doors and it was necessary that they should make all preparations to check the enemy as soon as he jumped into our courtyard. That could be done only when they used every power in their possession. At Allahabad it had been decided that if Japan stepped into the land, they would resist aggression with all their non-violent strength; but during the last three months the world had not stood still. It had moved fast. The sound of war drums was coming nearer, while the world was flowing in blood, and nations were fighting and pouring out their life-blood to preserve their precious possession of freedom.

The Congress had made repeated proposals to Britain to give the people of India that freedom which would enable them to fight the aggressor.

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They had not asked for the keys of power so that they could sit back and make merry. That was not the way of the world today. The whole world was straining at its leash, was rushing towards freedom. In those circumstances, if they felt that conditions in India required a change, if they felt that their only salvation lay in making and bringing about drastic changes, then they should take such steps as would bring about those changes. At the same time they had to consider the possible consequences of their step on the entire world. They had to weigh the consequences of their action and inaction carefully in the balance.

When Indians Will Fight

Therefore the Working Committee had passed a resolution three weeks ago, after fully considering their responsibilities, their duties, the consequences of their action and how best they could achieve their object. Their view was that unless some change was brought about at once, the same fate which overtook Burma, Malaya and Singapore would overtake this country also. If they wanted to fight for the safety, freedom and honour of India, it was necessary that they should cast off the shackles that were holding them down, to shake off that lethargy and go to work in an entirely new spirit. It was only when they felt that they were fighting for something which they held sacred that the people of this country could fight, pour out their energy and blood and lay down their lives. They had made repeated appeals and entreaties to bring about this change and as they had failed, it had become their duty to take a positive step. That step was certainly fraught with hardships; but they could do nothing unless they were prepared to suffer hardships and make sacrifices. It was only by suffering and strife that they could achieve anything at all. That was the meaning of the resolution of July 14. During these three weeks the message had spread throughout the land. The resolution only reiterated the position which they had always taken. As long as three years ago, the Congress had made its position clear and had cast its lot in favour of democracy and against Fascism. Nothing that they had done since then was inconsistent with this fundamental position. They had always said that they would whole-heartedly aid the cause of freedom and democracy, if they were free. For freedom itself they could wait. But the present question was not merely of freedom, but of their very existence. If they survived and lived, they could have freedom. But the position now was that they could not live and survive without freedom.

Twice Tested

Continuing, the Congress President said that the demand they were putting forward before Britain and the United Nations was to be judged by the one and the only test, and that test was whether for the sake of the defence of India, for her very survival, freedom was necessary. India had

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become a vital field of battle. If India were free, she could have kindled a new light throughout the land and the cry of victory would ring from every corner. No army could wage a relentless war unless it had behind it an administration which had the fullest popular support. If anybody could show them that what they were doing would contribute to the defeat of freedom powers, they would be prepared to change their course. But, if the argument was merely a threat holding out the prospect of civil war and chaos, he for one would tell them: 'It is our right to wage a civil war; it is our responsibility to face chaos.'

Proceeding, the Congress President observed that having thus once tested the gold of their demand they took the bright gold and applied to it yet another test and that test was: 'Are we contributing to others' defeat, to others' misfortune?'

If their demand was such that it would not contribute to the strength of the freedom powers, would not promote the cause of those powers fighting with valour for their freedom, they would never have put it forward. They had considered this question for full nine days. And the Congress President said: "Our demand is twice-tested pure gold." He challenged: "Is the British Government prepared to allow its actions and policies to be subjected to these same tests?"

Answering critics of the Congress, he said that there was no right thinking man who would not accept the tests he had propounded as valid. It was the duty of the critics to understand their position correctly and not merely to give it a bad name.

In this connection he referred to the statement of Sir Stafford Cripps that if the Congress demand was accepted, the whole Government from the Viceroy to the sepoy would have to leave. This was misrepresentation with a vengeance. Their resolution had said in clear terms that as soon as Britain or the Allied nations declared India's independence, India would enter into a treaty with Britain for the carrying out of the administration and the conduct of the war to victory. They had not asked that all the Government officials should go home bag and baggage, and after reaching England, return to India for negotiations. Gandhiji had repeatedly made it clear that "Quit India" demand meant only the removal of the British power and not the physical removal of British officers, administrators and army personnel. All of them, including the armies of Britain and the Allies, would continue to stay here—only under an agreement with us and not against our will as at present. Not to see this clear point was suicidal blindness.

Simultaneous Decision on Both Issues

The Maulana stated: "There was a time for mere promises. But the resolution of July 14 makes one thing clear, namely, the condition of India and of the world has reached a stage when it was absolutely necessary

that everything should be done at once. What we ask for from Britain and the Allied powers should be done here and now. We do not rely on mere promises about the future. We have had bitter experiences of promises having been broken. They also suspect our promise to fight with them against the Axis. Let us come together today, and simultaneously decide both the issues —the freedom of India and India's complete participation in the war efforts. Let there be simultaneous declaration of India's independence and the signing of a treaty between India and the United Nations. If you do not trust us in this, we cannot trust you either."

Concluding, Maulana Azad observed that even in this grave hour when every minute counted, we had decided to make one last minute appeal to the United Nations to demonstrate to them that the object of India and the Allied powers was the same, that their interests were the same, that the satisfaction of India's demand would promote the welfare of the Allies. But if the Allies were obdurate and deaf to all appeals, it was their clear duty to do what they could to achieve freedom (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-8-1942).

APPENDIX VII

EXTRACTS FROM SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S PUBLIC SPEECHES

August 2, 1942

(A) AT CHOWPATTY, BOMBAY

The war was coming nearer India, and the fall of Malaya, Singapore and Burma which were lost led India to consider all possible steps to prevent a similar fate.

Gandhiji and the Congress thought that such a situation could be avoided, if only the British left the country. Public sympathy and co-operation was necessary to keep the enemy away. If the British left the country, the people could be galvanized and could be made to fight in the same manner as the Russians and the Chinese.

It was also Gandhiji's belief that as long as an imperialist power remained, it could also act as a temptation to another imperialist power to covet this land, and in this vortex of imperialist ambitions, war would extend and continue. The only way to stop this was to end the imperialist regime. . . .

The Congress did not desire anarchy or the defeat of the British power. But they found themselves helpless. The curtain had to be rung down before further harm could be done. If the independence of the country was secured, then the Congress would have achieved its goal. It was prepared to give a pledge now that the Congress organization would be disbanded, if that purpose was fulfilled . . . (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 3-8-1942).

(B) AT SURAT

Let Britain only transfer power to Indian hands, whether it is to the Muslim League or any other party, and the Congress is prepared to dissolve itself, declared Sardar Patel, addressing a public meeting here. The Sardar

added that the Congress was started with independence of India as its main and only goal and once that was achieved, the body would willingly cease to function (Associated Press of India—*The Bombay Chronicle*, 3-8-1942).

(c) AT THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING

August 7, 1942

No Secret Plans

Referring to the charge levelled against the Congress Working Committee that it had secret plans, the speaker said that there was nothing secret about the Congress plans. There were no differences of opinion among the members of the Working Committee regarding the means of achieving India's independence.

Japan professed love for India and promised her freedom. But India was not going to be fooled by the Axis broadcasts. If Japan genuinely wished to secure freedom for India, why did the Japanese Government still continue the war against China? It would be Japan's duty to set China free before talking of India's freedom.

Follow Mahatma's Lead

Referring to the struggle ahead, Sardar Vallabhbhai said that it would be strictly non-violent. Many people were anxious to know the details of the programme. Gandhiji was going to place the details before the nation when the time came. The nation would be called upon to follow him. In case of arrest of the leaders, it would be the duty of every Indian to be his own guide. It was necessary to bear in mind that no nation had won independence without sacrifices (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-8-1942).

APPENDIX VIII

EXTRACTS FROM DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD'S SPEECH AT THE BIHAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING

July 31, 1942

Explaining the implications of the present Wardha resolution, Dr. Rajendra Prasad emphasized that it was not going to be mere jail-going this time. It was going to be more drastic, calling for the worst repression—shooting, bombing, confiscation of property, all were possible. Congressmen, therefore, had to join the movement fully conscious that they might be exposed to all these. The new plan of action included all forms of satyagraha based on pure non-violence and this was going to be the last struggle for the independence of India. They could face all the armed might of the world with non-violence, the greatest weapon in the armoury of satyagraha, he declared.

But the Congress had now come to the conclusion that there could be no unity until British power disappeared. The foreign element in the body politic of the country created such new problems that they proved

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difficult of solution. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, was now of the definite opinion that there could be no unity in India without swaraj, though formerly he held the opposite view. This opinion was the result of bitter experience and the outcome of the Cripps mission.

Concluding, Dr. Rajendra Prasad affirmed that the Congress had no quarrel with anyone. The Congress only hoped to convert its opposition by its suffering and sacrifice. He was confident that the opposition would also join them in the great cause of India's freedom (*The Bombay Chronicle, Weekly*, 2-8-1942).[1]

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 76-213, and *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 34-111. Also from a photostat : C.W. 10385. Courtesy : India Office Library

36. *LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*

July 16, 1943

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

SIR,

I observe from the daily papers that there is a persistent rumour going round that I have written to His Excellency the Viceroy withdrawing the A.I.C.C. resolution of the 8th August last. I observe, too, that much speculation is being built upon the rumour. I suggest that the Government should issue a contradiction of the rumour. For, I have neither the authority nor the wish to withdraw the resolution. My personal opinion is that the resolution was the only one the A.I.C.C. could have passed, if the Congress was to make any effective contribution to the cause of human freedom which is involved in the immediate independence of India.[2]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, p. 32. Also from a photostat : C.W. 10379 a. Courtesy : India Office Library

[1] For Appendix IX, the concluding one, which contained Gandhiji's letter dated August 14, 1942, to the Viceroy, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 406-10. For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix XI.

[2] The addressee, in his reply dated July 29, said that the Government of India did not "think it necessary to issue a contradiction of the rumour". According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. IV, p. 97, in the course of a cable

37. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

September 10, 1943

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT

SIR,

On 15th July last I handed to the Superintendent of this camp for despatch to you my reply[1] to the Government of India publication entitled *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. As yet I have no acknowledgment of the receipt of my reply, let alone answer to what I hold to be complete refutation of the charges set forth against me in that publication.[2]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, pp. 111-2

38. LETTER TO ARDESHIR E. KATELI[3]

September 16, 1943

RESPECTED KATELI SAHEB,

You have informed me that the Central Provinces Government desires to release me, since I was detained by that Government, but that if I want to stay here, I can do so under the present restrictions. In reply to this, I have to say that I have come here only to serve Smt. Kasturba Gandhi and, so long as she wants me here, I shall stay with her under the present restrictions.

Truly speaking, I should ascertain the wishes of my father, but I think that he will certainly want me to stay here to look

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to the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy reported that, the Government had, however, informed the Press in reply to enquiries that there was no foundation for the rumour.

[1] *Vide* pp. 105-99.

[2] The addressee, in his reply dated September 20, said that it was "still under consideration".

[3] This was drafted by Gandhiji for Manu Gandhi, daughter of Jaisukhlal Gandhi.

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after her. I understand that if I wish to, I can obtain my release; hence there is no need to ascertain the wishes of my father. However, when I write to my father, I shall let him know my desire to stay here for the present.

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

39. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

Personal

DETENTION CAMP,
September 27, 1943

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

On the eve of your departure from India, I would like to send you a word.

Of all the high functionaries I have had the honour of knowing, none has been the cause of such deep sorrow to me as you have been. It has cut me to the quick to have to think of you as having countenanced untruth, and that regarding one whom, at one time, you considered as your friend. I hope and pray that God will some day put it into your heart to realize that you, a representative of a great nation, had been led into a grievous error.

With good wishes,[1]

I still remain,
Your friend,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10394. Courtesy : British High Commission, New Delhi

[1] The addressee, in his reply dated October 7 said: "I am indeed sorry that your feelings about any deeds or words of mine should be as you describe. But I must be allowed, as gently as I may, to make plain to you that I am quite unable to accept your interpretation of the events in question. As per the corrective virtues of time and reflection, evidently these are ubiquitous in their operation and wisely to be rejected by no man."

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40. LETTER TO ARDESHIR E. KATELI[1]

October 2, 1943

SHRI KHAN BAHADUR SAHEB,

You have sent me a copy of the reply given by the Government of Bombay to my letter. Pyarelalji has translated it to me. I understood the first letter of the Bombay Government according to my lights. But now I understand that, once I convey my intention to stay here, I cannot subsequently change my mind. This does not fully conform to the complete idea of 'one's free will'. But I have come here and am staying here for the sake of service. That is why I accept the condition laid in the reply to my letter, and it suits me well. Why should a *sevika* even entertain any wishes of her own? So long as revered Kasturba is here, I shall also be here.[2]

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

41. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
October 26, 1943

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[3] of 14th instant received on 18th instant.

2. Your letter makes it clear that my reply[4] to the charges brought against me in the Government publication *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*, has failed in its purpose, namely, to convince the Government of my innocence of those charges. Even my good faith is impugned.

3. I observe, too, that the Government did not desire "comments" upon the charges. Previous pronouncements of the

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji for Manu Gandhi.
[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, pp. 200-1.
[3] *Vide* Appendix VI.
[4] *Vide* pp. 105-99.

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Government on such matters had led me to think otherwise. Be that as it may, your current letter seems to invite an answer.

4. In my opinion, I have, in my letter of 15th July last, unequivocally answered all charges referred to in your letter under reply. I have no regret for what I have done or said in the course of the struggle for India's freedom.

5. As to the Congress resolution of 8th August, 1942, apart from my belief that it is not only harmless but good all round, I have no legal power to alter it in any way. That can only be done by the body that passed that resolution, i.e., the All-India Congress Committee which is no doubt guided by its Working Committee. As the Government are aware, I offered[1] to meet the members of the Working Committee in order to discuss the situation and to know their mind. But my offer was rejected. I have thought and still think that my talk with them might have some value from the Government standpoint. Hence I repeat my offer.[2] But it may have no such value so long as the Government doubt my *bona fides*. As a satyagrahi, however, in spite of the handicap, I must reiterate what I hold to be good and of immediate importance in terms of war effort. But if my offer has no chance of being accepted so long as I retain my present views, and if the Government think that it is only my evil influence that corrupts people, I submit that the members of the Working Committee and other detenus should be discharged. It is unthinkable that when India's millions are suffering from preventable starvation and thousands are dying of it, thousands of men and women should be kept in detention on mere suspicion, when their energy and the expense incurred in keeping them under duress could, at this critical time, be usefully employed in relieving distress. As I have said in my letter of 15th July last, Congressmen abundantly proved their administrative, creative and humanitarian worth at the time of the last terrible flood in Gujarat, and equally terrible earthquake in Bihar. The huge place in which I am

[1] *Vide* pp. 52 and 53.

[2] The offer was again rejected. In his letter dated November 18, the addressee said: "I am directed to say that since there is no change in your attitude towards the Congress resolution of August 8, 1942, and Government have received no indication that the views of any of the Members of the Working Committee differ from your own, a meeting between you would appear to serve no useful purpose. Both you and they are all aware of the conditions on which such a proposal could be entertained. I am to add that the other points in your letter have been noted."

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being detained with a large guard around me, I hold to be waste of public funds. I should be quite content to pass my days in any prison.

6. As to "satisfactory assurances" about my "good conduct", I can only say that I am unaware of any unworthy conduct at any time. I presume that the impression Government have of my conduct is referable to the charges mentioned in the indictment, as I have succinctly called, *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. And since I have not only denied the charges *in toto* but, on the contrary, have ventured to bring counter-charges against the Government, I think that they should agree to refer both to an impartial tribunal. Seeing that a big political organization and not a mere individual is involved in the charges, I hold that it should be a vital part of the war effort to have the issue decided by a tribunal, if mutual discussion and effort are considered by the Government to be undesirable and/or futile.

7. Whilst your letter rejects my request that my letter of 15th July last should, in fairness to me, be published[1], you inform me that their decision in this matter, however, "is without prejudice to the freedom of Government to use at any time and in any manner which they think fit the various admissions contained in the communication which you have voluntarily addressed to them". I can only hope that this does not mean that as in the case of the *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*, garbled extracts will be published. My request is that my letter should be published in full, if and when the Government think fit to make public use of it.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, pp. 114-5. Also from a photostat : C.W. 10380. Courtesy : India Office Library

[1] It was published by the Government of India on June 21, 1944.

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42. *LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*

DETENTION CAMP,
November 16, 1943

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (HOME DEPARTMENT)
NEW DELHI

SIR,

Dr. Nayyar[1], whom the Government of India, or maybe the Government of Bombay have placed with me, received on the 12th instant a wire addressed to her by her brother[2] who is a railway employee in New Delhi, to the effect that his wife had a Caesarian operation and had lost so much blood, that he had applied for Dr. Nayyar's temporary discharge. This wire was received in Yeravda, as appears from the date marked on it, on the morning of the 5th. The second wire, which was sent from New Delhi on the 9th instant and received at Yeravda on the same afternoon, was delivered to her on the 15th instant. The wire reports the patient's death. Dr. Nayyar has already complained about the delay in the delivery of the first wire. She is naturally prostrate with grief which has been aggravated by the delay in the delivery of the wires. I do not know that, if she were a condemned criminal, the news of the death of a dear one would be withheld from her as this has been, without any cause that I can guess. It seems to me that those who are lodged with me have to suffer extra hardship by reason of their being so lodged. For, it is not only Dr. Nayyar who has to suffer, others do likewise. Thus Dr. Gilder is debarred from receiving visits even from his ailing wife or his daughter. Little Manu Gandhi can receive neither her father nor her sisters, nor can my wife receive visits from her sons or grandchildren. I discount the fact that the former could have gone out if she resented the restrictions. I know, too, that my son Ramdas was permitted to visit his mother

[1] Dr. Sushila Nayyar
[2] Mohanlal Nayyar; *vide* p. 210.

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when she was very ill. I do not understand this denial of ordinary rights of prisoners. I can understand the restrictions against me by reason of the Government's special displeasure against me. But the restrictions on the others it is difficult to understand, unless it be that the Government do not trust those who are put in charge of us. On any other basis it is difficult to understand why the Superintendent of the camp, or even the Inspector-General, cannot deal with the wires of the nature I have referred to, and with the visitors who may be permitted to visit the co-detenus.

I request early relief.[1]

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3922. Also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, p. 5

43. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
November 16, 1943

THE SECRETARY,
GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (H.D.)
BOMBAY

SIR,

I enclose herewith for dispatch a letter[2] addressed to the Government of India, but it need not be dispatched, if the

[1] The Bombay Government's reply dated November 23 read: "Government most regrets that there has been so much delay in the transmission to Miss Nayyar of the two telegrams addressed to her. Arrangements have now been made by which telegrams will be handled more expeditiously. . . . On the subject of Dr. Gilder's interviews with members of his family, a letter was recently received from his daughter, and it has been referred to the Government of India. A copy of your letter under reference has now been forwarded to the Government of India in continuation. . . ." A letter dated November 30, addressed to Gandhiji from the Government of India, read: "Government of India have agreed to allow Dr. Gilder to have an interview with his wife and daughter under certain conditions, and they will be prepared to consider requests for similar interviews under suitable conditions for other members of the party who are detained with you, if any special need for them arises."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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Government of Bombay can *suo moto* deal with the matters referred to therein. My object is to secure as prompt a relief as possible.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3923. Also from Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, p. 17

44. TALK WITH MIRABEHN

November 18, 1943

When I asked Bapuji as to how we should deal with dangerous wild animals such as tigers, bears, panthers, etc., and also snakes and scorpions, he said:

It is a difficult question. If I am to give a definite answer for acting upon, I must debate it in my mind for a while.

I suggested to Bapuji that it was a question which we would have to settle on a nation-wide scale before long, and I would ask him again after he had thought it over for two or three days. When I again asked Bapuji he replied:

If I were faced with the option of killing a tiger or a snake, or otherwise being killed by it, I would rather be killed by it than take its life. But that is a personal position, not to be put forward for adoption by others. If I had the fearless power to tame these dangerous creatures by the force of my love and my will, and could show others how to do likewise, then I should have the right to advise other people to follow my example.

But I have not that power. I must, therefore, advise others to kill all creatures, dangerous to human life, such as tigers, bears, snakes, scorpions, etc., and also vermin such as fleas, flies and mosquitoes as well as rats and other crop-destroying vermin. It should be done in the most human way possible, and with regard to vermin, which is often the outcome of carelessness and dirt, we should try to live in such a way as not to give rise to its occurrence.

"Then," I replied, "this means that you are no longer satisfied with the catching of snakes, rats, etc., and the turning of them loose elsewhere, as is done in Sevagram and other places."

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That is so. If one is not prepared to live in the company of these creatures oneself, one has no right to turn them loose on other people's lands. For that is what it comes to. One may remove them from the Ashram and let them go in a jungly place, but that jungly place also belongs to someone, and women and children will, as likely as not, be going there to gather cow-dung and wood, or if it is rats one is letting loose, they will be sure to find their way to the nearest fields. One has either got to live with these creatures or destroy them. And to turn one's own place into a vermin sanctuary is not fair on one's neighbours either. Therefore live cleanly and carefully, and if even then these creatures appear, they must be destroyed.

Then I said to Bapuji : "Seeing that tigers, bears, etc., have got to be killed, and that in the most human way possible, should not some suitable person in each village be provided with a rifle?"

That is a difficult question. If one man may have a rifle, why not all people who are capable of handling arms. But be that as it may, if rifles are to be used and one man is to be chosen for the job, I think he should be elected by the villagers.[1]

This is correct but I am not satisfied as it appears in cold writing.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 9103

45. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
December 1, 1943

THE SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (HOME DEPARTMENT)
BOMBAY

SIR,

I write this in continuation of my letter[2] of November 16, 1943. As the Government are aware, Dr. Nayyar's brother's wife who had an abdominal operation for delivery, died leaving behind a week-old infant. The only female member of the

[1] What follows is in Gandhiji's hand with the signature in Devanagari.
[2] *Vide* pp. 205-6.

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family is Dr. Nayyar's mother, a widowed old lady, who is a chronic invalid. Dr. Nayyar received from her brother in New Delhi the following wire on November 16, 1943:

> Proposing sending you baby with Prakash, Government permitting. Wire approval applying Government you yourself too.

To this she sent the following reply on November 17, 1943:

> Just received wire. Permission improbable. Hence advise Prakash, Satya alternatively staying with mother till baby out of danger.

She has had no reply yet from her brother. But she has now heard from her uncle's daughter, Dr. Prakash Nayyar, who is Assistant Superintendent at the Bettiah Raj Hospital (Bihar). She went to Delhi specially for the purpose of helping the bereaved family. She says, she cannot stay any length of time in Delhi, and is strongly of opinion that the best place for the motherless baby is near Dr. Nayyar. Dr. Satyavati Malhotra (Satya) is also a cousin and is serving in the Lady Dufferin Hospital, Quetta. A postcard was received from her on 29th ultimo saying that she cannot get leave to go to Delhi till January next. Dr. Nayyar tells me, she would gladly take charge of the baby, if the Government can see their way to grant the necessary permission. Naturally the responsibility regarding the baby would be solely hers. It would be the best way out of the difficulty. If, however, Government cannot grant the permission, the next best thing would be to grant Dr. Nayyar a brief parole (say, two months') to enable her to look after the baby during the initial period and make arrangements for its future care. Dr. Nayyar has been placed here, according to the Government communique of 30th August, 1942, for my sake. She has been medical attendant to my wife and me for several years. She and her brother are like our children. Therefore, even her temporary absence will be for us a deprivation. Dr. Gilder was brought here during my fast. His aid is, of course, inestimable both on account of his great knowledge and experience. But for obvious reasons he cannot replace Dr. Nayyar. Moreover she is effectively dividing the secretarial work with her brother. I know it is open to the Government to take away both the doctors from us. I simply mention the facts as they are, to help the Government to a correct decision. Whatever the inconvenience to my wife and to me, we would rather that Dr. Nayyar got the parole if she cannot have the baby here.

As the suspense is great, and as the life of the baby hangs in the balance, may I request an early decision? If the Bombay

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Government have not the power of decision in their hands, this letter may be kindly treated as addressed to the Government of India and the decision obtained through the phone.[1]

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 1110(108), p. 13. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

46. TALK WITH NIRMALA AND DEVDAS GANDHI[2]

December 7, 1943

3.30 to 4.35 p.m.

Talk about domestic affairs and enquiry about the health of relations, friends and some people of Sevagram Ashram.

Mrs. Ramdas asked about the health of other inmates of the palace.

Mrs. Ramdas said that Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, with whom she is now staying, had sent word that he was willing to offer his services for Mrs. Gandhi, if permitted by the Government. . . .

Mr. Gandhi told her to inform Mr. Ramdas that there was no need for him to come from Nagpur for the present.

4.45 to 6.45 p.m.

After making mutual enquiries about the family members, Mr. Devdas mentioned about the talk which took place between him and Sir Richard Tottenham, before he left Delhi for Poona, regarding (1) Nayyar's family, (2) the newly-born baby of her [brother] Mohanlal Nayyar, and (3) whether he would discuss with his father about some political affairs. Mr. Devdas said that he was not permitted by Sir Richard to discuss about the political affairs.

Then they talked and discussed lengthily about the baby's care and where and how to arrange for it and also about the release on parole of Dr. Nayyar. During the parole discussion Mr. Gandhi said that it was the duty of every satyagrahi to court jail again, if released. He also said that he was in correspondence with the Government about the baby and regular monthly interviews for other inmates of this camp.[3] Some talk took

[1] In his letter dated December 11, the addressee "regretted that neither request could be granted".

[2] This and the following item are extracted from enclosures to a secret letter dated March 9, 1943, addressed to Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay, by the Officer-in-charge, Aga Khan Palace, who described these as "notes taken at the time of interviews".

[3] *Vide* pp. 205-6, and the preceding item.

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place about the Bengal famine, and Mr. Devdas said that latterly some good arrangements were being made and the funds raised were used through public hands and not through Government.

Mr. Devdas asked his father how he passed his time. Mr. Gandhi replied that he taught Sanskrit to Dr. Nayyar and Miss Manu, and the major part of his time was passed in preparing an index in all subjects from the various newspapers and filing the cuttings from the papers.[1]

Mr. Gandhi said that there was some correspondence between him and Government of India on *Congress Responsibility*, and he had asked[2] the Government to release the correspondence but Government had refused.

From the replies received from Government, I understand that I will be kept in custody for five years more. . . .

Enquiry about health of: Prithvi Singh, Jayaprakash, Pandit Govind Malaviya, Vallabhbhai and Meherali.

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 76-1, Secret, Home Department, Special Branch (6), 1943-44. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

47. *TALK WITH DEVDAS GANDHI*[3]

December 9, 1943
4.15 to 5.20 p.m.

Mr. Devdas informed his father about the telegram he had sent to Sir Richard Tottenham regarding the condition of his mother.

He asked his father whether he received the following newspapers: *Free Press*, *Social Reformer* and *Indian Express*.

Mr. Gandhi replied that these papers were not supplied to him, though a copy of *Reformer* came during the week.

Enquiry about the health of: Prabhudas Gandhi, Narahari Parikh, Kishorelal Mashruwala and Rajaji.

Mr. Gandhi said about the ill-health of Mirabehn that she was getting acute pain in her back and arm for the last six months. Doctors, civil surgeons and specialists examined and treated her but there was no visible relief. . . .

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 76-I, Secret, Home Department, Special Branch (6), 1943-44. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

[1] For a detailed report of Gandhiji's daily routine, *vide* Appendix VII.
[2] *Vide* pp. 202-4.
[3] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 210.

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48. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
December 14, 1943

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
NEW DELHI

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge your letter about Dr. Nayyar of 6th instant in reply to mine[1] of the 1st instant. It was received yesterday afternoon together with that of the Government of Bombay after 12 days of suspense and anxiety. I am sorry that the Government could not recognize the humanity underlying my alternative request. In the absence of reasons for the unexpected decision, my conclusion, that the punishment inflicted by the decision on the Nayyar family is due to Dr. Nayyar being housed with me, receives additional strength. The sorrow caused by the decision is somewhat balanced by the fact that the baby, as far as can be judged, is still living.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 1110 (108), p. 27. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

49. TALK WITH MIRABEHN

December 24, 1943

The fundamental essential in non-violence is right thinking.

It may be asked—'What is right thinking?' Right thinking is not right contemplation or right planning; it is right conception of fundamentals, for example, 'God is' is right thinking, and 'God is not' is wrong thinking. 'I must be honest' is right thinking, 'I may be dishonest', is wrong thinking.

[1] *Vide* pp. 208-10.

When the mind is habituated to right thinking, right action follows spontaneously, but when the mind turns to wrong thinking, wrong action will follow. And, even if circumstances lead one[1] to right action, if the mind is given to wrong thinking, the right action will be lacking in convincing force, and it will also not bring to the doer all the fruits[2] of right action.

Non-violence without right thinking will never carry within itself the vital power of faith—or, if you prefer, conviction. Nor will the man who is not a habitual right thinker be able to depend on himself to act rightly (even if he wants to) at a given moment.

The foregoing is the cream of a conversation I had with Bapuji during the morning walk on December 24, 1943.

After discussing the meaning of right thinking, Bapuji applied it to the present situation in the country. He pointed out how lack of right thinking led people to seek advancement of India through co-operation with evil (in the form of the British system). They pursue false hopes and empty promises. And again it is wrong thinking which fills them with fear of the growing consolidation of the Muslims. All these things are illusions after which and from which they run because they lack the right conception of fundamentals.

During the talk Bapuji said in parenthesis one very striking thing. When he gave, as an illustration of wrong thinking, 'I may be dishonest', he added:

Of course there is no such thing as 'I must be dishonest.'[3]

Correct, December 29, 1943.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 9104

50. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON[4]

DETENTION CAMP,
December 29, 1943

DEAR AGATHA,

It was a perfect pleasure to receive your unexpected letter yesterday afternoon. Dr. Gilder and Mira and Pyarelal and

[1] Gandhiji had substituted the word for Mirabehn's expression: "the reason".

[2] Mirabehn's note has: "doer the true fruits".

[3] What follows is in Gandhiji's hand.

[4] The addressee was Secretary of India Conciliation Group formed in 1931 by members of the Society of Friends and others. According to the G.N.

Sushila have shared it with me. I gave Ba its gist. She is oscillating between life and death. The complications are many and great. She is receiving all the attention possible in a detention camp.

As for the subject matter of your letter, I am the same man you have known me. The spirit of Andrews is ever with me. But suspicion about my motives and utter distrust of my word in high places has hitherto rendered every move made by me nugatory. However, I am watching, waiting and praying. Truth and non-violence remain my sheet-anchor as never before. They sustain me. I do not give up the hope that light will shine through the surrounding darkness.

Much love to you and all our friends,

Yours,
BAPU

MISS AGATHA HARRISON
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD
LONDON S.W. 11

From a photostat : G.N. 1524; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 13-I, p. 13

51. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
December 29, 1943

THE SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (H.D.)
BOMBAY

SIR,

The Superintendent of this camp gave me yesterday afternoon a letter from Miss Agatha Harrison. According to her letter, she wrote to me by permission of the Rt. Hon. Secretary

source, she said : "In past years it had been possible to write to Gandhiji in prison. Now this was not possible. So I asked the India Office to let me send a few letters through them, *via* the Viceroy. In the one to which this is in answer, I wrote at length giving him an interpretation, as I saw it, of the situation here after the resolution, etc." For excerpts from the letter, *vide* Appendix VIII.

of State for India. I enclose herewith for dispatch to Miss Agatha Harrison my reply[1] to her letter.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3924; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 13-I, p. 11

52. LETTER TO ARDESHIR E. KATELI

DETENTION CAMP,
January 6, 1944

BHAI KHAN BAHADUR,

After the talk I had with my son Devdas today, I have ascertained Kasturba's wishes which are as follows:

1. In case Kanu Gandhi[2] cannot stay here during patient's illness, he should be allowed to visit her for about an hour daily so that he can sing her some *bhajans* and also do some little nursing. As you are aware, the patient is insistent upon having Kanu as a whole-time nurse.

2. The son and daughters of Jayabehn, whose names I have already given, and Dhirendra Gandhi should be permitted to come and sing and play to her, whenever they can come.

3. Including my father they were six brothers. Their descendants and sons-in-law would, according to the common practice, be regarded as near relations. Such of them whose names may be sent up by Devdas, Shamaldas or Jamnadas Gandhi, should be permitted to come and see her. The idea underlying this is that if some of the relations can see the patient once a week, it would give her some mental peace. In case they are given the permission, it is necessary that those who can come should be able to see her all together. The patient does not mind their number. On the contrary, the greater the number, the more pleased she would be.

4. I must confess that the patient has got into very low spirits. She despairs of life, and is looking forward to death to deliver her. If she rallies on one day, more often than not, she is worse on the next. Her state is pitiful. The aim behind seeking permission for visits from relations is that they may give her some peace.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Also called 'Kanaiyo'; younger son of Narandas Gandhi

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5. I regard the experiment of having an ayah as having failed. Shrimati Prabhavati Jayaprakash Narayan has done a lot of nursing for the patient before. She is like a daughter to us. Her father himself sent her to stay in the Ashram when she was quite young. If she is sent here, she will be of great help.

I am,
Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From the photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3925

53. MESSAGE TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

[After *January 14, 1944*][1]

Mahatma Gandhi conveyed his feelings of grief to Mrs. Pandit on the death of her husband through Mr. Devdas Gandhi when the latter saw him during Mrs. Gandhi's illness. Mahatma Gandhi could not write to her personally as he feels his hands are tied. He has asked Mrs. Pandit to remember that henceforth Mr. Pandit would live in her actions.

The Hindu, 19-2-1944

54. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
January 24, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
(HOME DEPARTMENT)
BOMBAY

SIR,

I have been served with a notice[2] showing the cause of my detention and informing me that I have a right to make representation against the order. In the exercise of the right thus conferred upon me, I beg to say as follows:

[1] From the reference to Ranjit Pandit who died in Lucknow on January 14; *vide* also "Letter to Vijayalakshmi Pandit", 1-2-1944.

[2] Issued by the addressee under Section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944). It reads "(1) In pursuance of Section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944, you, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI, are informed that the grounds for your detention were that you took a leading part in the passing of the Congress resolution of August 8, 1942, sanctioning a mass movement which was calculated to impede the successful prosecution of the war, and there was reason to suppose that, if not detained,

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I admit that I took a leading part in the passage of the Congress resolution of 8th August, 1942. I must deny emphatically that the mass movement sanctioned by the Congress was "calculated to impede the successful prosecution of the war". Moreover I am in a position to show conclusively from my speeches at the Congress meeting and otherwise that there was no intention on my part, as the person in sole charge of the movement, to start it immediately and that, as publicly announced by me, I was to enter into correspondence with H.E. the Viceroy with a view to avoiding the contemplated movement. Had the correspondence proved abortive, being a firm and tried believer in non-violence, I would have taken every precaution to keep the movement under restraint.

By their hasty and ill-conceived action in arresting me and leading Congressmen, the Government goaded the populace to acts which they would otherwise have never done and thus did disservice to the Allied cause. By their persistence in continuing the unfortunate policy of August 1942, the Government are increasing the existing bitterness between the Government and the people. And this I say in spite of the fact that they are able to procure recruits and money enough for the military.

I have little hope of getting a fair or impartial hearing for my representation. By their pamphlet *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*, Government have condemned unheard Congressmen and me. That pamphlet bristles with inaccuracies and reckless statements.

In view of the foregoing, I ask for an open investigation by an independent tribunal into the charges against the Congress, Congressmen and me, and counter-charges against the Government, or, in the alternative, the discharge of detained Congressmen and myself.[1]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6642

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you would take an active part in directing the movement. (2) You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the officer-in-charge of your place of detention as soon as possible" (File No. 3/41/44. Courtesy: National Archives of India).

[1] This letter was forwarded, on January 26, to Sir Richard Tottenham who advised the Government of Bombay, on February 17, to send the

55. TALK WITH DEVDAS GANDHI[1]

January 26, 1944

Mr. Devdas suggested that some country medicine should be tried for his mother. She has faith in Ayurvedic physician. Mr. Gandhi replied that Devdas should try for this and approach Government for allowing some vaidya to treat her. Further he said that he was going to write to Government for allowing Dinshaw Mehta[2] and Shiv Sharma of Lahore to give treatment to Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Devdas said that Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Nayyar were not applying to the authority for interview with their mother. . . . He applied to the Government of India three times on behalf of their mother for the interview, but the request was turned down. Mr. Gandhi replied that he had once written[3] to Government on the subject and would write again.

Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 76-I, 1943-44

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following reply to Gandhiji: "Government have considered your representation and have decided not to cancel the order under which you are detained. The order will, therefore, remain in force until July 15, 1944, unless sooner revoked or Government decide to extend it under Section 7 of Ordinance No. III (File No. 3-41-44. Courtesy : National Archives of India).

[1] This is extracted from a letter dated January 27, 1944, addressed to Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay, by the Officer-in-charge, Aga Khan Palace.

[2] Of the Nature-cure Clinic, Poona

[3] Probably the reference is to Gandhiji's suggestion to the Home Secretary, Government of Bombay, for two months' parole to Dr. Sushila Nayyar; *vide* pp. 208-10.

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56. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
January 27, 1944

ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
(HOME DEPARTMENT)
NEW DELHI

SIR,

Some days ago Shri Kasturba Gandhi told the Inspector-General of prisons and Col. Shah that Dr. Dinshaw Mehta of Poona be invited to assist in her treatment. Nothing seems to have come out of her request. She has become insistent now and asked me if I had written to the Government in the matter. I, therefore, ask for immediate permission to bring in Dr. Mehta. She has also told me and my son that she would like to have some Ayurvedic physician to see her.[1] I suggest that the I.G.P. be authorized to permit such assistance when requested.

2. I have no reply as yet to my request[2] that Shri Kanu Gandhi, who is being permitted to visit the patient every alternate day, be allowed to remain in the camp as a whole-time nurse. The patient shows no signs of recovery and night-nursing is becoming more and more exacting. Kanu Gandhi is an ideal nurse, having nursed the patient before. And what is more, he can soothe her by giving her instrumental music and by singing *bhajans*. I request early relief to relieve the existing pressure. The matter may be treated as very urgent.

3. The Superintendent of the camp informs me that when visitors come, one nurse only can be present. Hitherto more than one nurse has attended when necessary. The Superintendent used his discretion as to the necessity. But when difficulty arose I made a reference to the I.G.P. The result was that an order was issued that a doctor in addition may be present. I submit that the order has been issued in ignorance or disregard of the

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* p. 215.

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condition of the patient. She often requires to be helped by more persons than one. Therefore I ask that there should be no restriction as to the number of the attendants.

4. It would be wrong on my part, if I suppressed the fact that in the facilities being allowed to the patient grace has been sadly lacking. The order about the attendants is the most glaring instance of pin-pricks, besides being in defeat of the purpose for which attendance during visits of relatives is allowed. Again, my three sons are in Poona. The eldest, Harilal, who is almost lost to us, was not allowed yesterday, the reason being that the I.G.P. had no instructions to allow him to come again. And yet the patient was naturally anxious to meet him. To cite one more pin-prick, every time visitors who are on the permitted list come, they have to apply to Government Office, Bombay, for permission. The consequence is that there is unnecessary delay and heart-burning. The difficulty, I imagine, arises because neither the Superintendent nor the I.G.P. has any function except that of passing on my requests to Bombay.

5. I am aware that Shri Kasturba is a Government patient, and that even as her husband I should have no say about her. But, as the Government have been pleased to say that instead of being discharged she is being kept with me in her own interest, perhaps, in interpreting her wishes and feelings, I am doing what the Government would desire and appreciate. Her recovery or at least mental peace when she is lingering is common cause between the Government and me. Any jar tells on her.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3926

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57. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
January 27, 1944

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
(HOME DEPARTMENT)
BOMBAY

SIR,

I enclose herewith for dispatch a letter[1] addressed to the Government of India, but it need not be dispatched if the Government of Bombay can *suo moto* deal with the matters referred to therein. As the object is to obtain relief as promptly as possible, instructions from the Central Government, if necessary, may be obtained on the phone.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3927; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, p. 179

58. TALK WITH RAMDAS GANDHI[2]

January 28, 1944

Mr. Ramdas said that Government was taking unnecessary risk in detaining Mrs. Gandhi. The old man (Gandhiji) replied that there was a greater risk in releasing her. In case she was released and if she died, Government would be compelled to release him, which they did not like to risk.

Mr. Ramdas said that it was his impression that Harilal, being an irresponsible man, might give in papers anything about the Palace, and hence Government were reluctant to give Harilal frequent interviews. Mr. Gandhi laughed and said:

Perhaps I may take advantage of Harilal's weakness and ask him to do something for me.

Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 76-1, 1943-44

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] This is extracted from a letter dated January 29, 1944, addressed to Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay, by the Officer-in-charge, Aga Khan Palace.

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59. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY*

DETENTION CAMP,
January 31, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (H.D.)
BOMBAY

SIR,

I sent on the 27th instant a very urgent letter[1] addressed to the Government of India. I am still without a reply. The patient is no better. The attendants are about to break down. Four only can work—two at a time on alternate nights. All the four have to work during the day. The patient herself is getting restive, and inquires: "When will Dr. Dinshaw come?" May I know as early as may be—even tomorrow, if possible:

1. Whether Shri Kanu Gandhi can come as full-time nurse,
2. whether Dr. Dinshaw's services may be enlisted for the present, and
3. whether the restriction on the number of attendants during visits can be removed.

I hope it may not have to be said that the relief came too late.[2]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3928; also Bombay Secret Abstracts: Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, p. 215

[1] *Vide* pp. 219-20.

[2] According to *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 228, the addressee's reply dated February 3, 1944, read : (1) Government have agreed to Kanu Gandhi staying in for the purpose of helping in nursing Mrs. Gandhi on condition that he agrees to be bound by the same regulations as other security prisoners in the detention camp. Government consider that with Kanu Gandhi staying in, the nursing assistance provided should be adequate and they cannot agree to any requests for further assistance. (2) Government have decided that no outside doctors should be allowed unless the Government medical officer considers that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons . . . . (3) Interviews with near relatives have been sanctioned for Mrs. Gandhi. While Government have no objection to your being present during those interviews, they consider that other inmates should not be present except to the extent demanded by the condition of Mrs. Gandhi's health . . ." For a joint letter from Dr. Sushila Nayyar and Dr. M. D. D. Gilder to Col. Bhandari for further medical assistance, *vide* Appendix IX.

60. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO SUPERINTENDENT, DETENTION CAMP[1]

[*January 31, 1944*][2]

She has no particular Ayurvedic physician in mind, but my son Devdas suggested the name of Vaidyaraj Sharma of Lahore. Any physician who is admitted will be in addition to Dr. Dinshaw, and that too, if and when the latter has failed to give satisfaction. She has often expressed a desire to be seen by an Ayurvedic physician. If the permission is granted, it should be of a general character. She is losing will-power and I have to judge between a multiplicity of advice so long as I am permitted to have responsibility for her peace of mind, which is about all that is possible at this stage.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 226

61. LETTER TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT[3]

AGA KHAN PALACE,
February 1, 1944

THROUGH THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT

DEAR DAUGHTER,

Your letter[4] reached me yesterday about 2 p.m. What can I write to you? The news which I read in the papers was read out by me to Ba. Thereupon with tears in her eyes Ba said: "Oh God (Rama) I am at death's door and I am not taken away while Ranjit is taken away! What will happen to Sarup?" I did not feel like that. You cannot become helpless.

[1&2] Pyarelal explains that the letter was scribbled out by Gandhiji at 4 p.m. on "Monday, the silence-day", and "handed immediately to the Superintendent of the Camp" who had conveyed the following communication from the Government: "Government wants to know whether Mrs. Gandhi has any particular physician in mind and whether she would want one in addition to Dr. Dinshaw Mehta."

[3] Originally written in Hindi, this is a translation by the jail authorities.

[4] Dated January 15, conveying the news of her husband's death

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You are a brave daughter of a brave father, and brave sister of a similarly brave brother. The disease of Ranjit was such that he had to go before his time. His body was not meant to suffer jail life. But all these are my imaginations. The fact is that God gives you birth and whenever He likes He takes you up. And this is all for the body. Soul, however, neither takes birth nor dies. You had married a soul named Ranjit. You can never become a widow. You have rightly stated that you will represent all the qualities of Ranjit. May God satisfy this wish of yours. You should look after your body and be engrossed in your duty.

It is good that Rita[1] is with you. Please send my blessings to Chand[2] and Tara[3]. Also give my blessings to Krishna[4], Feroze[5] and Indu[6]. May God bless you.

Your letter has been delivered to me against the rules[7]. And this will also be delivered against the rules. This is my first letter from jail.

Ba has been counting her days in the hope of death.

Blessings to you from us both,

SHRIMATI VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT
2 MUKHERJI ROAD
ALLAHABAD

Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 13-I (5), p. 47

[1] – [3] Rita, Chandralekha and Nayantara, addressee's daughters
[4] Krishna Hutheesing, addressee's sister
[5] & [6] Feroze and Indira Gandhi
[7] Allowing security prisoners to correspond only with family members

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62. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY*

DETENTION CAMP,
February 3, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
BOMBAY

SIR,

Shri Kasturba asked me yesterday when Dr. Dinshaw was coming, and whether a vaidya (Ayurvedic physician) could see her and give her some drugs. I told her, I was trying for both but that we were prisoners and could not have things as we liked. She has since been repeatedly asking me whether I could not do something to hasten matters. She had a restless night again. This is, of course, nothing new for her at present. I request immediate orders about Dr. Dinshaw and Vaidyaraj Sharma of Lahore. The latter will be some time coming. But Dr. Dinshaw can come even today if authority is given for calling him in.

I must confess that I do not understand this delay when a patient's life is hanging in the balance and may be saved by timely aid. After all, for a patient alleviation of pain is as important as the highest matters of State.[1]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3929; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, p. 229

[1] For the addressee's reply of even date, *vide* footnote 2, p. 222.

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63. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
February 7, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (HOME DEPARTMENT)
BOMBAY

SIR,

On 29th December, 1943, I sent for dispatch to the addressee a letter[1] addressed to Miss Agatha Harrison of [2][2] Cranbourne Court, Albert Bridge Road, London. May I know whether that letter was sent to Miss Harrison?

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3930; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 13-I, p. 21

64. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
February 7, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (HOME DEPARTMENT)
BOMBAY

SIR,

In pursuance of the right conferred upon me of making a representation against my detention, I sent one[3] on 24th January, 1944. May I know when I shall be favoured with a reply thereto?

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3931; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 13-I, p. 23

[1] *Vide* pp. 213-4.
[2] Illegible in the source
[3] *Vide* pp. 216-7.

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65. NOTE TO INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, BOMBAY[1]

DETENTION CAMP,
February 11, 1944

The responsibility for bringing in a non-allopath assistant would be wholly mine, and the Government shall stand absolved from responsibility for any untoward result following such treatment. I am not sure that I shall accept the advice that such vaidyas or hakims may give. But if I do, and if the prescription is ineffective, I would like to reserve the right to revert to present treatment.

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 229

66. LETTER TO INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, BOMBAY

Immediate

DETENTION CAMP,
February 14, 1944

THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
POONA

SIR,

I told you yesterday that Shri Kasturba was so bad during the night that Dr. Nayyar got frightened and awakened Dr. Gilder. I felt that she was going. The doctors were naturally helpless. Dr. Nayyar had, therefore, to wake up the Superintendent who kindly phoned the Vaidyaraj. It was then about 1 a.m. Had he been on the premises he would certainly have given relief. I, therefore, asked you to let him stay at the

[1] In an introductory note to this, in the source, Pyarelal explains: "In pursuance of the request for an Ayurvedic physician for Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi, Gandhiji had a talk with the Inspector-General of Prisons on the morning of February 11, 1944. He then wrote out the following confirming what he had already told the jail authorities."

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camp during the night. But you informed me, the Government orders did not cover night stay. The Vaidyaraj, however, you said, could be called in during the night. I pointed out the obvious danger of delay but you were sorry, the orders would not allow you to go further. In vain I argued that the Government having given the authority to call in Vaidyaraj on condition that I absolved them from responsibility for any untoward result of the *vaidic* treatment, they could not contemplate any restriction on the duration of the physician's stay at the camp so long as it was thought necessary in the interest of the patient. In view of your rejection of my request, I had to trouble the Vaidyaraj to rest in his car in front of the gate so that in case of need he might be called in. He very humanly consented. He had to be called in and he was able to bring the desired relief. The crisis has not passed as yet. I, therefore, repeat my request and ask for immediate relief. I would like, if I can, to avoid the last night's experience. I do wish that the vexations caused by the delay in granting my requests about the patient's treatment came to an end. Both Dr. Mehta and the Vaidyaraj were permitted to come in after protracted delay. Precious time was lost making recovery more uncertain than it was. I hope you will be able to secure the necessary authority for the vaid's stay in the camp during night, if the patient's condition requires it. The patient needs constant and continuous attention.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3932; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, p. 299

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67. LETTER TO INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, BOMBAY

Immediate

DETENTION CAMP,
February 16, 1944

THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
POONA

SIR,

This is in continuation of my letter[1] of the 14th instant.

When I asked[2] for Vaidyaraj and took upon myself the responsibility[3] of changing Shri Kasturba's treatment, and absolved the Government physician of all responsibility, I naturally took for granted that the Vaidyaraj would be allowed such facilities as would in his opinion be necessary for carrying out his treatment. The patient's nights are much worse than her days and it is essentially at night that constant attendance is necessary. The Vaidyaraj considers himself handicapped in his treatment of the case under the present arrangement.

In order to be within immediate call, he has been good enough to sleep in his car outside the gate of this camp for the last three nights, and every night he has had to be called up at least once. This is an unnatural state of things and, though he seems to have infinite capacity for suffering inconvenience for the sake of the patient, I may not take undue advantage of his generous nature. Besides, it means disturbing the Superintendent and his staff (in fact the whole camp) once or more often during the night. For instance, last night she suddenly developed fever with *rigor*. The Vaidyaraj, who had left the premises at 10.30 p.m., had to be called in at 12 midnight. I had to request him to leave her soon afterwards, although he would have liked to have stayed with her longer, because so long as he stayed in, it would have meant keeping the Superintendent and his staff awake which might have been even for the whole night. I would not do this even for saving my life-long partner especially when I know that a humane way is open.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2&3] *Vide* pp. 219-20, 223 and 227.

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As I have said already, the Vaidyaraj considers it necessary to be in constant attendance on the patient. He varies the drugs from moment to moment as the patient's condition requires. Drs. Gilder's and Nayyar's assistance is at my disposal all the time—they are more than friends and would do everything in their power for the patient. But, as I have said in my last letter, they cannot help while treatment of a wholly different nature from theirs is going on. Besides, being in its very nature impracticable, such a course would be unjust to the patient, to the Vaidyaraj and to themselves.

I, therefore, submit below the following three alternative proposals :

I. Vaidyaraj should be permitted to remain in the camp day and night so long as he considers it necessary in the interests of the patient.

II. If the Government cannot agree to this, they may release the patient on parole to enable her to receive the full benefit of the physician's treatment.

III. If neither of these two proposals are acceptable to the Government, I request that I be relieved of the responsibility of looking after the patient. If I as her husband cannot procure for her the help she wants or that I think necessary, I ask for my removal to any other place of detention that the Government may choose. I must not be made a helpless witness of the agonies the patient is passing through.

The Government have kindly permitted Dr. Mehta to visit the patient at her repeated requests. His help is valuable, but he does not prescribe drugs. She needs the physical therapy given by him which soothes her greatly but she cannot do without drug treatment either. Drugs can only be prescribed by the doctors or the Vaidyaraj. The doctors' treatment has already been suspended. In the absence of a satisfactory reply to this letter by this evening, I shall be constrained to suspend Vaidyaraj's treatment also. If she cannot have the drug treatment which she should in full, I would rather that she did without it altogether.

I am writing this by the patient's bedside at 2 a.m. She is oscillating between life and death. Needless to say she knows nothing of this letter. She is now hardly able to judge for herself.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3933; also Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, pp. 311-3

68. TELEGRAM TO FINANCE MEMBER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Express Telegram

DETENTION CAMP,
February 16, 1944

HONOURABLE FINANCE MEMBER[1]
NEW DELHI

HAVING READ YOUR STATEMENT[2] ABOUT SALT CLAUSE IN GANDHI-IRWIN AGREEMENT I BEG TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO NOTICE THAT WAS ISSUED BY SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER[3] EXPLAINING IMPLICATIONS OF THAT CLAUSE. ANY AMENDMENT SHOULD BE IN TERMS OF THAT NOTICE.[4]

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 13-II, p. 5

[1] Sir Jeremy Raisman

[2] In the Central Legislative Assembly, on February 14, during a debate on Finance Member's "Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Central Excise duties, as reported by the Select Committee", T. T. Krishnamachari (Nationalist), moved an amendment for according legislative sanction for the practice which had been in existence ever since Gandhi-Irwin Pact of March 3, 1931, in respect of salt manufactured for domestic purposes. The Finance Member had stated "that the Government did not intend to retract from the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, would be quite willing to meet the desire of the House, if there was no technical difficulty". He had also added, "that the Government did not intend to levy any duty on salt collected or manufactured for domestic purposes by any person" (*The Indian Annual Register, 1944*, Vol. I, p. 134).

[3] The then Finance Member; for Gandhiji's subsequent correspondence with him and his successor, Sir James Grigg, in 1934, *vide* Vols. LVII and LVIII.

[4] The addressee's reply, forwarded through the Government of Bombay by their letter dated February 25, read: "After discussion in the House it was felt best course to leave matters to be regulated as hitherto by notification issued in 1931, terms of which have been scrupulously observed by Government. No amendment was therefore made."

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69. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

February 17, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Although I have not had the pleasure of meeting you, I address you on purpose as "dear friend". I am looked upon by the representatives of the British Government as a great, if not the greatest, enemy of the British. Since I regard myself as a friend and servant of humanity including the British, in token of my goodwill I call you, the foremost representative of the British in India, my "friend".

2. I have received in common with some others, a notice informing me, for the first time, why I am detained and conferring on me the right of representation against my detention. I have duly sent my reply[1], but I have as yet heard nothing from the Government. A reminder[2], too, has gone after a wait of thirteen days.

3. I have said some only have received notices because out of the six of us in this camp, only three have received them. I presume that all will receive them in due course. But my mind is filled with the suspicion that the notices have been sent as a matter of form only, and not with any intention to do justice. I do not wish to burden this letter with argument. I repeat what I said[3] in the correspondence with your predecessor, that the Congress and I are wholly innocent of the charges brought against us. Nothing but an impartial tribunal to investigate the Government case, and the Congress case against the Government, will bring out the truth.

4. The speeches recently made on behalf of the Government in the Assembly on the release motion,[4] and on the gagging order[5] on Shri Sarojini Devi, I consider to be playing with

[1&2] *Vide* pp. 216-7 and 226.

[3] In letters to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India; *vide* pp. 156 and 204.

[4] On February 8, the Central Legislative Assembly rejected Lalchand Navalrai's resolution for releasing political prisoners. In his speech, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, had said that "if Government were asked to release the Congress leaders, they must be assured that the results would be beneficial to India and to war effort" (*The Indian Annual Register, 1944*, Vol. I, p. 131).

[5] On February 7, the Assembly rejected A. C. Datta's adjournment motion to censure the Government on this order under Defence of India

fire. I distinguish between defeat of Japanese arms and Allied victory. The latter must carry with it the deliverance of India from the foreign yoke. The spirit of India demands complete freedom from all foreign dominance and would, therefore, resist Japanese yoke equally with British or any other. The Congress represents that spirit in full measure. It has grown to be an institution whose roots have gone deep down into the Indian soil. I was, therefore, staggered to read that Government were satisfied with things as they were going. Had they not got from among the Indian people the men and money they wanted? Was not the Government machinery running smooth? This self satisfaction bodes ill for Britain, India and the world, if it does not quickly give place to a searching of hearts in British high places.

5. Promises for the future are valueless in the face of the world struggle in which the fortune of all nations and therefore of the whole of humanity is involved. Present performance is the peremptory need of the moment, if the war is to end in world peace and not be a preparation for another war bloodier than the present, if indeed there can be a bloodier. Therefore real war effort must mean satisfaction of India's demand. "Quit India" only gives vivid expression to that demand and has not the sinister and poisonous meaning attributed to it without warrant by the Government of India. The expression is charged with the friendliest feeling for Britain in terms of the whole of humanity.

6. I have done. I thought that, if I claim to be a friend of the British, as I do, nothing should deter me from sharing my deepest thoughts with you. It is no pleasure for me to be in this camp, where all my creature comforts are supplied without any effort on my part, when I know that millions outside are starving for want of food. But I should feel utterly helpless, if I went out and missed the food by which alone living becomes worth while.[1]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, p. 118. Also C.W. 10505. Courtesy: India Office Library

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Rules passed on Sarojini Naidu on January 26. Sir Reginald Maxwell who defended the prohibitory order had, in his speech, argued that it was unfair to give freedom of speech to Mrs. Naidu which was denied to her colleagues of the Congress Working Committee. (ibid.)

[1] In his reply dated February 25, Lord Wavell said that the question of issuing notices "will be looked into at once". He also forwarded a copy

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70. LETTER TO INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
February 18, 1944

THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
POONA

SIR,

Vaidyaraj Shri Shiv Sharma regretfully informs me that having put forth all the resources at his disposal, he has been unable to produce a condition in Shri Kasturba so as to give him hope of final recovery. As his was simply a trial to see whether Ayurvedic treatment could yield better result, I have now asked Drs. Gilder and Nayyar to resume the suspended treatment. Dr. Mehta's assistance was never suspended and will be continued till recovery or the end.

I want to say that the Vaidyaraj has been most assiduous and attentive in the handling of this most difficult case, and I would have willingly allowed him to continue his treatment, if he had wished to do so. But he would not continue it, when his last prescription failed to bring about the result he had expected. Drs. Gilder and Nayyar tell me that they would like to receive the benefit of the Vaidyaraj's assistance in the matter of sedatives, purgatives and the like. These have proved effective both from the doctors' and the patient's point of view. I hope that the Government will have no objection to the Vaidyaraj continuing to come in for the purpose. Needless to say, under the altered circumstances, he will not be required for night duty. I cannot refrain from regretfully saying that had there not been the wholly avoidable delay in granting my request for allowing the services of the Vaidyaraj and Dr. Mehta, the patient's condition might not have been so near the danger point as it is today. I am well aware that nothing happens outside the Divine Will, but man has no

---

of his speech of February 17 to the Legislature which, according to him, stated "his point of view". For Gandhiji's comments on the speech, *vide* "Letter to Lord Wavell", 9-3-1944.

other means of interpreting that Will apart from the results he can see.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3934; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, p. 335

71. CABLE TO SHIRINBAI JALBHOY RUSTOMJEE[1]

Immediate [On or before *February 21, 1944*][2]

SHIRINBAI JALBHOY RUSTOMJEE
BOX 1610, DURBAN
SOUTH AFRICA

THANKS. BA SLOWLY GOING. MANILAL SUSHILA SHOULD CONTINUE THEIR WORK. LOVE.

BAPU

Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 76-I, 1943-44

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's cable to Kasturba Gandhi which read: "Regret your serious illness. If you desire Manilal-Sushila's presence, can arrange their passage. We pray for you and Bapu's blessings." The Home Department, Government of India, which communicated the cable to Bombay Government, in a telegram, said: "Following cable for Mrs. Gandhi received from Durban. . . . Please convey urgently to Gandhi with intimation that Government are prepared to give him facilities for reply which you should pass or refer to us, if necessary."

[2] The cable was forwarded by Bombay Government to Home Department, Government of India, on February 21, 1944.

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72. *REQUEST TO GOVERNMENT ON KASTURBA'S FUNERAL*[1]

[*February 22, 1944*][2]

1. Body should be handed over to my sons and relatives which would mean a public funeral without interference from Government.

2. If that is not possible, funeral should take place as in the case of Mahadev Desai[3]; and if the Government will allow relatives only to be present at the funeral, I shall not be able to accept the privilege unless all friends who are as good as relatives to me are also allowed to be present.

3. If this also is not acceptable to the Government, then those who have been allowed to visit her will be sent away by me and only those who are in the camp (detenus) will attend the funeral.

It has been, as you will be able to bear witness, my great anxiety not to make any political capital out of this most trying illness of my life companion. But I have always wanted whatever the Government did, to be done with good grace which, I am afraid, has been hitherto lacking. It is not too much to expect that now that the patient is no more, whatever the Government decide about the funeral will be done with good grace.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 233

[1&2] Kasturba Gandhi died at 7.35 p.m. Pyarelal explains that this was "Gandhiji's reply taken down by the Inspector-General of Prisons in writing from dictation at 8.07 p.m. on February 22, 1944, in answer to his inquiry on behalf of the Government as to what Gandhiji's wishes in the matter were". *Vide* also "Letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India", 4-3-1944.

[3] On August 15, 1942, when Gandhiji lit the pyre on the Aga Khan Palace grounds

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73. *LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*

DETENTION CAMP,
February 26, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT

SIR,

I have read the speech of the Hon'ble the Home Member in the Assembly on the debate[1] arising out of the ban on Shrimati Sarojini Devi. The speech has reference, among other things, to the correspondence between Shrimati Mirabai and myself and the Government's refusal to publish that correspondence. The following is the relevant portion of the speech:

> She (Shrimati Sarojini Devi) refers, and the point has been raised in this debate, to a letter said to have been written[2] by Miss Slade to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Gandhi's reply[3], and I have been asked why no publicity was given to that letter. That letter was written and answered long before the Congress leaders were placed in detention. If Mr. Gandhi had wished to give publicity to that letter, he was perfectly free to do it himself. But it was a confidential communication addressed to him, and I do not see any reason why Government should disclose a communication of that nature. I might say that it would not help the Congress case, if it were disclosed.
>
> Then it has been said that Mrs. Naidu wishes to defend the Congress from the implication of being pro-Japanese. Government have never at any time, either here or at home, charged the Congress with being pro-Japanese. Well, the allusion to that in the booklet called *Congress Responsibility* refers to a statement quoted from Pandit Nehru himself. I have not the time to quote it at length but if Hon'ble Members will refer to the quotation given in the *Congress Responsibility* pamphlet, they will easily find the passage in question.

Assuming that the report is correct, it makes strange reading.

Firstly, as to the non-publication by me of this correspondence between Shrimati Mirabai and myself, surely the publication was

[1] *Vide* footnote 5, pp. 232-3.
[2&3] *Vide* pp. 177-81.

unnecessary until the charge of my being pro-Japanese was spread abroad.

Secondly, why do the Government feel squeamish about publishing "confidential" correspondence when both the correspondents have specially invited publication?

Thirdly, I do not understand the reluctance of the Government to publish the correspondence when, according to the Hon'ble the Home Member, the correspondence will not serve the Congress case.

Fourthly, the Government seem intentionally or unintentionally to have suppressed the very relevant fact that Shrimati Mirabai wrote to Lord Linlithgow drawing attention to the libellous propaganda in the London Press at the time, containing allegations that I was pro-Japanese, which allegations she invited him to repudiate. Her letter[1] to Lord Linlithgow enclosed copies of the correspondence referred to and asked for its publication. It was written on December 24, long before the Government publication entitled *Congress Responsibility* which bears the date February 13, 1943, appeared.

Fifthly, as to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's alleged statement before the Working Committee, I have already made it clear in my reply[2] to the Government pamphlet that it was wholly wrong on their part to make use of the unauthorized notes of the discussions at the Allahabad meeting of the Working Committee, after Pandit Nehru's emphatic repudiation[3] published in the daily Press.

It is difficult for me to understand the Hon'ble the Home Member's speech and the Government's persistence in making charges and innuendoes against Congress people whom they have put in custody and thus effectively prevented from answering those charges. I hope, therefore, that the Government will at the very least see their way to publish the correspondence referred to, namely, Shrimati Mirabehn's letter to Lord Linlithgow of the 24th December, 1942, together with the enclosures.[4]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, pp. 116-7

[1] *Vide* pp. 176-7.

[2&3] *Vide* pp. 114-5 and 192-3.

[4] Sir Richard Tottenham, in his reply dated March 11, said: "... I am directed to say, the Government do not think that any useful purpose would be served by publishing the correspondence in question. So far as the

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74. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

[*February 27, 1944*][1]

CHI. MANUDI,

Did you sleep well? Yesterday I drafted a long letter about keeping you and Prabhavati here, but I kept thinking over the matter the whole of last night and could get no sleep. In the end, I saw light. We cannot make such a request. Aren't we prisoners after all? We must endure our separation. You are a sensible girl. Forget your sorrow. You want to do great service. Stop crying and live cheerfully. Learn what you can after leaving the jail. After all this service that you have given, you are bound to prosper no matter what happens.

More after my silence ends. I am your mother. Am I not? It is enough, if you understand this much.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Preserve this letter.

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

Government are concerned, there is the statement in the Home Member's speech: 'Government have never at any time, either here or at home, charged the Congress with being pro-Japanese.' They do not see how this can be regarded as 'Government persistence in making charges and innuendoes against Congress people'. So far as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is concerned, I am again to refer you to para 2 of my letter of October 14, 1943, in which it was made clear that he did not, in his public statement, repudiate the words in the *Congress Responsibility* pamphlet to which you take exception in paragraph 18 of your letter of July 15, 1943. There can, therefore, be no question of Government's having made use of that passage after his repudiation of it."

[1] According to an entry in the addressee's diary, the note was received on this date.

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75. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

AGA KHAN PALACE,
February 27, 1944

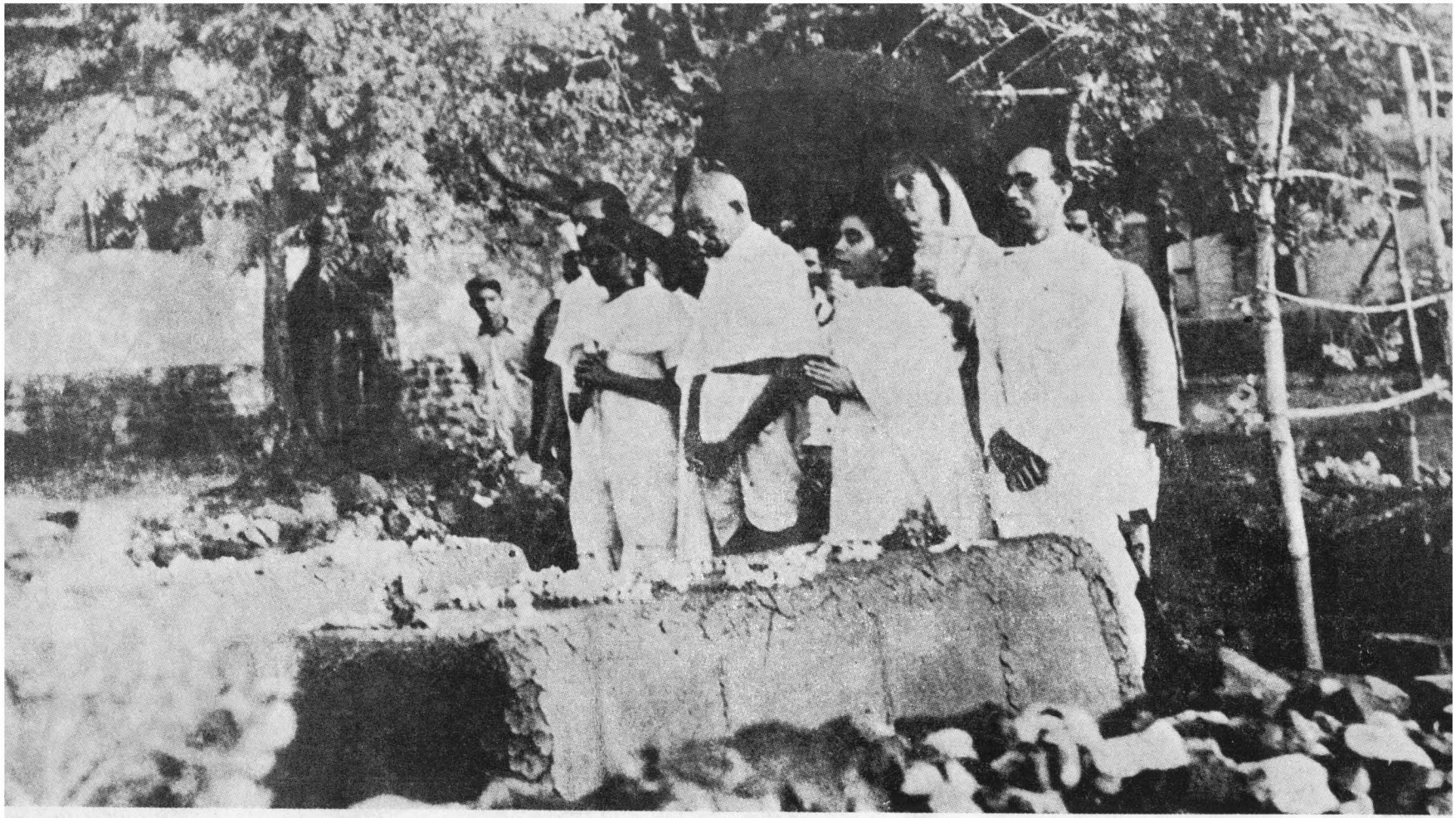
I feel much worried about you. You are a class by yourself. You are good, simple-hearted and ever ready to help others. Service has become dharma with you. But you are still uneducated and silly also. If you remain illiterate, you will regret it, and if I live long, I too will regret it. I will certainly miss you, but I do not like to keep you near me as that would be weakness and ignorant attachment. I am quite sure that at present you should go to Rajkot. You will get there the benefit of the company of Narandas; such good company you will get nowhere else. You will learn there besides music, the art of working methodically. You will learn Gujarati, too. There may be other benefits also. If you spend at least one year there, your slovenliness will disappear. If you go to Karachi or anywhere else you like after you have become more mature, you will get all that you want. Gurudayalji[1] will not be in Karachi for long now. Hence you will get only education there. That also will be useful, of course. Living in the company of so many girls will also do you good. But what you will get in Rajkot you will get nowhere else.

Blessings from
BAPU

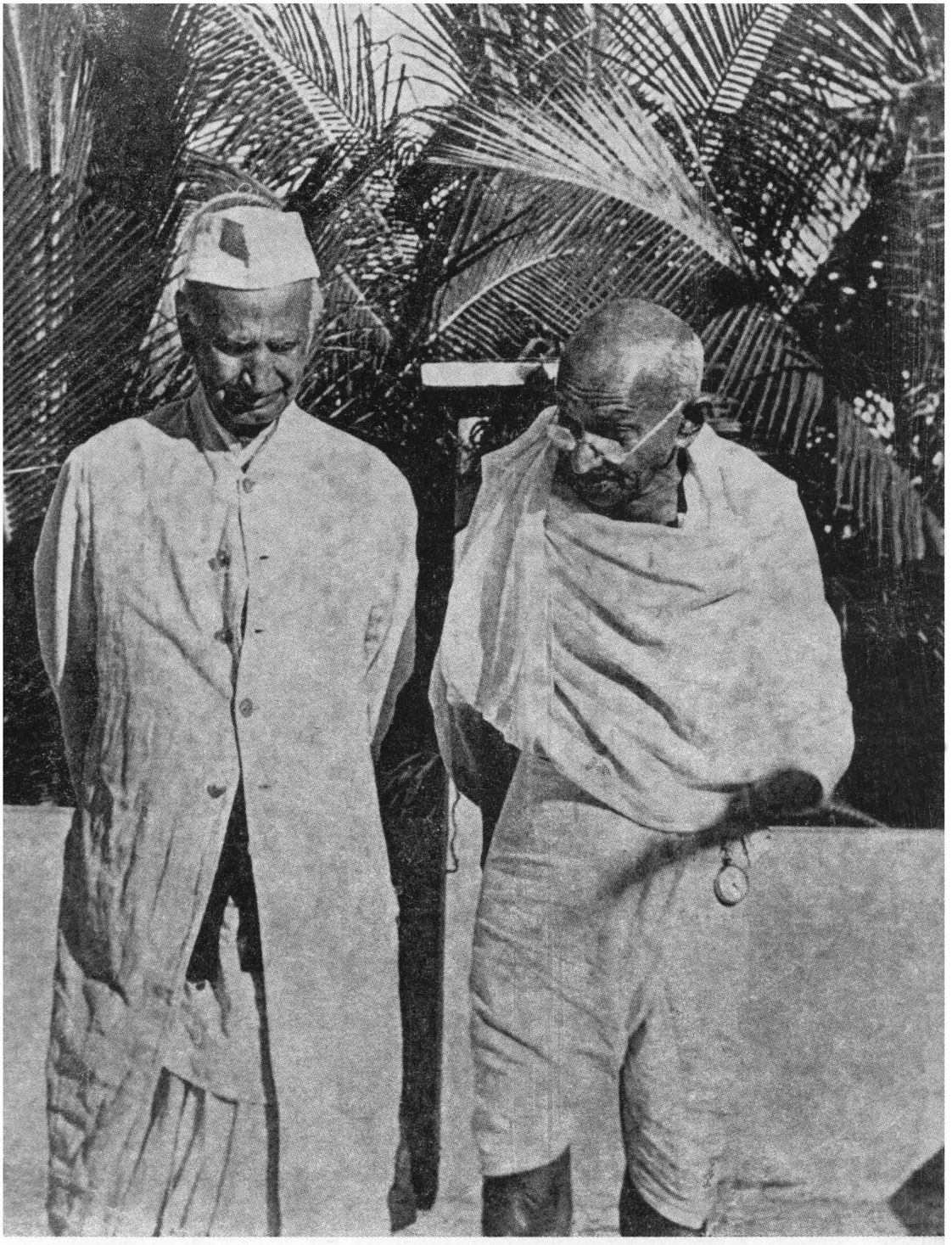
From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./XXIV

[1] Gurudayal Malik

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AT THE SAMADHIS OF KASTURBA AND MAHADEV DESAI



AT JUHU WITH THAKKAR BAPA

76. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
March 4, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
(HOME DEPARTMENT), NEW DELHI

SIR,

In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Hon'ble the Home Member is reported to have said:[1]

> The provision for the expenses of Mr. Gandhi and those detained with him in the Aga Khan's Palace amounted to about Rs. 550 a month.

In my letter[2] to you dated 26th October last I remarked as follows:

> The huge place in which I am being detained with a big[3] guard around me, I hold to be waste of public funds. I should be quite content to pass my days in any prison.

The Hon'ble the Home Member's reply quoted above is a sharp reminder to me that I should have followed up the remark just referred to by me. But it is never too late to mend. I, therefore, take up the question now.

The expenses on behalf of my companions and me are not merely Rs. 550 per month. The rent of this huge place (of which only a portion is open to us) and the expense of maintaining the big outer guard and an inner staff consisting of Superintendent, *jamadar* and sepoys have got to be added. And to this a large squad of convicts from Yeravda to serve the inmates and to look after the garden. Virtually the whole of this expense is, from my point of view, wholly unnecessary; and when people are dying of starvation, it is almost a crime against Indian humanity. I ask that my companions and I be removed to any regular prison Government may choose. In conclusion, I cannot conceal from myself the sad thought that the whole expense of this

[1] Reginald Maxwell was answering K. C. Neyogi in the Central Legislative Assembly on March 2.

[2] *Vide* pp. 202-4.

[3] The letter of October 26, however, has "large".

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comes from taxes collected from the dumb millions of India.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 268-9

77. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
March 4, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
(HOME DEPARTMENT), NEW DELHI

SIR,

It is not without regret and hesitation that I write about my dead wife. But truth demands this letter.

According to the newspapers, Mr. Butler[1] is reported to have said in the House of Commons on 2nd March, 1944:

> ". . . She was receiving all possible medical care and attention, not only from her regular attendants but from those desired by her family. . . ."

Whilst I gratefully acknowledge that the regular attendants did all they could, the help that was asked for by the deceased or by me on her behalf, when at all given, was given after a long wait, and the Ayurvedic physician was permitted to attend only after I had to tell[2] the prison authorities that, if I could not procure for the patient the help that she wanted or I thought necessary, I should be separated from her, I ought not to be made a helpless witness of the agonies she was passing through. And even then I could make full use of the Vaidyaraja's services only after I wrote a letter[3] to the Inspector-General of Prisons of which a copy is hereto attached. My application[4] for Dr. Dinshaw was made in writing on 27th January, 1944. The deceased herself had repeatedly asked the Inspector-General of Prisons for Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's help during practically a month previous to that. He was allowed to come only from February 5, 1944. Again, the regular physicians Drs. Nayyar and Gilder made a written application[5] for consultation with Dr. B. C.

[1] R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, had expressed British Government's regret at the death of Kasturba Gandhi.
[2] *Vide* pp. 229-30.
[3] *Vide* pp. 234-5.
[4] *Vide* pp. 219-20.
[5] *Vide* Appendix IX.

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Roy of Calcutta on 31st January, 1944. The Government simply ignored their written request and subsequent oral reminders.

Mr. Butler is further reported to have said:

> No request for her release was received and the Government of India believe it would be no act of kindness to her or her family to remove her from the Aga Khan's Palace.

Whilst it is true that no request was made by her or by me (as satyagrahi prisoners it would have been unbecoming), would it not have been in the fitness of things, if the Government had at least offered to her, me and her sons to release her ? The mere offer of release would have produced a favourable psychological effect on her mind. But unfortunately no such offer was ever made.

As to the funeral rites, Mr. Butler is reported to have said:

> I have information that the funeral rites took place at the request of Mr. Gandhi in the grounds of the Aga Khan's Palace at Poona, and friends and relatives were present.

The following[1], however, was my actual request which the Inspector-General of Prisons took down in writing from dictation at 8.07 p.m. on February 22, 1944. . . .

Government will perhaps admit that I have scrupulously avoided making any political capital out of my wife's protracted illness and the difficulties I experienced from the Government. Nor do I want to make any now. But in justice to her memory, to me and for the sake of truth, I ask the Government to make such amends as they can. If the newspaper report is inaccurate in essential particulars or the Government have a different interpretation of the whole episode, I should be supplied with the correct version and the Government interpretation of the whole episode. If my complaint is held to be just, I trust that the amazing statement said to have been made in America by the Agent[2] of the Government of India in U.S.A. will be duly corrected.[3]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 233-5

[1] *Vide* p. 236.

[2] Girija Shankar Bajpai who was reported to have told the American public that "at various times, the Government considered her (Kasturba's) release for health reasons but she wished to remain with her husband, and her wishes were respected. Furthermore, living on the premises, she has the benefit of care from an eminent doctor living on the premises" (*History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, p. 776).

[3] For the Government's reply, *vide* Appendix X. *Vide* also "Letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India", pp. 252-5.

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78. LETTER TO GEN. CANDY

DETENTION CAMP,
March 7, 1944

DEAR GENERAL CANDY[1],

Pray accept my deep sympathy in your bereavement. I know from my own recent experience what the death of a life-long partner must mean to the survivor.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 2343

79. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

March 9, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I must thank you for your prompt reply[2] to my letter of 17th February. At the outset, I send you and Lady Wavell my thanks for your kind condolences on the death of my wife. Though for her sake I have welcomed her death as bringing freedom from living agony, I feel the loss more than I had thought I should. We were a couple outside the ordinary. It was in 1906 that after mutual consent and after unconscious trials we definitely adopted self-restraint as a rule of life. To my great joy this knit us together as never before. We ceased to be two different entities. Without my wishing it, she chose to lose herself in me. The result was she became truly my *better* half. She was a woman always of very strong will which, in our early days, I used to mistake for obstinacy. But that strong will enabled her to become quite unwittingly my teacher in the art and practice of non-violent non-co-operation. The practice began with my own family. When I introduced it in 1906, in the political field, it came to be known by the more comprehensive and specially coined name of satyagraha. When

[1] Surgeon-General, Government of Bombay
[2] *Vide* footnote 1, pp. 233-4.

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the course of Indian imprisonment commenced in South Africa, Shri Kasturba was among the civil resisters. She went through greater physical trials than I. Although she had gone through several imprisonments, she did not take kindly to the present incarceration during which all creature comforts were at her disposal. My arrest simultaneously with that of many others, and her own immediately following, gave her a great shock and embittered her. She was wholly unprepared for my arrest. I had assured her that the Government trusted my non-violence, and would not arrest me unless I courted arrest myself. Indeed the nervous shock was so great that after her arrest she developed violent diarrhoea and, but for the attention that Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who was arrested at the same time as the deceased, was able to give her, she might have died before joining me in this detention camp. My presence soothed her, and the diarrhoea stopped without any further medicament. Not so the bitterness. It led to fretfulness ending in painfully slow dissolution of the body.

2. In the light of the foregoing, you will perhaps understand the pain I felt when I read in the papers the statement made on behalf of the Government, which I hold was an unfortunate departure from truth regarding her who was precious to me beyond measure. I ask you please to send for and read the complaint[1] in the matter which I have forwarded to the Additional Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department). Truth is said to be the first and the heaviest casualty in war. How I wish in this war it could be otherwise in the case of the Allied powers!

3. I now come to your address which you delivered before the Legislature and of which you kindly sent me copy. When the newspapers containing the address were received, I was by the bedside of the deceased. Shri Mirabai read to me the Associated Press report. But my mind was elsewhere. Therefore the receipt of your speech in a handy form was most welcome. I have now read it with all the attention it deserves. Having gone through it, I feel drawn to offer a few remarks, all the more so, as you have observed that the views expressed by you "need not be regarded as final". May this letter lead to a re-shaping of some of them!

4. In the middle of page two, you speak of the welfare of the "Indian peoples". I have seen in some Viceregal pronouncements

[1] *Vide* pp. 242-3.

the inhabitants of India being referred to as the people of India. Are the two expressions synonymous?

5. At page thirteen, referring to the attainment of self-government by India, you say:

> I am absolutely convinced not only that the above represents the genuine desire of the British people, but that they wish to see an early realization of it. It is qualified only at present by an absolute determination to let nothing stand in the way of the earliest possible defeat of Germany and Japan; and by a resolve to see that in the solution of the constitutional problem full account is taken of the interests of those who have loyally supported us in this war and at all other times—the soldiers who have served the common cause; the people who have worked with us; the Rulers and populations of the States to whom we are pledged; the minorities who have trusted us to see that they get a fair deal . . . but until the two main Indian parties at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress.

Without reasoning out I venture to give my paraphrase of your pronouncement. 'We, the British, shall stand by the Indian soldier whom we have brought into being and trained for consolidating our rule and position in India, and who, by experience, we have found can effectively help us in our wars against other nations. We shall also stand by the Rulers of the Indian States, many of whom are our creation, and all of whom owe their present position to us, even when these Rulers curb or actually crush the spirit of the people whom they rule. Similarly shall we stand by the minorities whom too we have encouraged and used against the vast majority when the latter have at all attempted to resist our rule. It makes no difference that they (the majority) seek to replace it by a rule of the will of people of India taken as a whole. And in no case will we transfer power unless Hindus and Muslims come to us with an agreement among themselves.' The position taken up in the paragraph quoted and interpreted by me is no new thing. I regard the situation thus envisaged as hopeless, and I claim in this to represent the thought of the man in the street. Out of the contemplation of this hopelessness was born the anguished cry of "Quit India". What I see happening in this country day after day provides a complete vindication of the "Quit India" formula as defined by me in my considered writings.

6. I note, as I read your speech, that you do not regard the sponsors of the formula of "Quit India" as outcastes to be shunned by society. You believe them to be high-minded persons.

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Then treat them as such and trust their interpretation of their own formula and you cannot go wrong.

7. After developing the Cripps offer you have said at page sixteen in the middle of the paragraph:

> . . . the demand for release of those leaders who are in detention is an utterly barren one until there is some sign on their part of willingness to co-operate. It needs no consultation with anyone or anything but his own conscience for anyone of those under detention to decide whether he will withdraw from the Quit India resolution and the policy which had such tragic consequences, and will co-operate in the great tasks ahead.

Then again, reverting to the same subject you say on pages nineteen and twenty:

> There is an important element which stands aloof; I recognize how much ability and high-mindedness it contains; but I deplore its present policy and methods as barren and unpractical. I should like to have the co-operation of this element in solving the present and the future problems of India. If its leaders feel that they cannot consent to take part in the present Government of India, they may still be able to assist in considering future problems. But I see no reason to release those responsible for the declaration of August 8, 1942, until I am convinced that the policy of non-co-operation and even of obstructions has been withdrawn—not in sack-cloth and ashes that helps no one, but in the recognition of a mistaken and unprofitable policy.

8. I am surprised that you, an eminent soldier and man of affairs, should hold such an opinion. How can the withdrawal of a resolution, arrived at jointly by hundreds of men and women after much debating and careful consideration, be a matter of individual conscience ? A resolution jointly undertaken can be honourably, conscientiously and properly withdrawn only after joint discussion and deliberation. Individual conscience may come into play after this necessary step, not before. Is a prisoner ever *free* to exercise his conscience? Is it just and proper to expect him to do so?

9. Again, you recognize "much ability and high-mindedness" in those who represent the Congress organization and then deplore their present policy and methods as "barren and unpractical". Does not the second statement cancel the first? Able and high-minded men may come to erroneous decisions, but I have not before heard such people's policy and methods being described as "barren and unpractical". Is it not up to you to discuss the pros and cons of their policy with them before

pronouncing judgment, especially when they are also admittedly representatives of millions of their people? Does it become an all-powerful Government to be afraid of the consequences of releasing unarmed men and women with a backing only of men and women equally unarmed and even pledged to non-violence? Moreover why should you hesitate to know their minds and reactions?

10. Then you have talked of the "tragic consequences" of the "Quit India" resolution. I have said enough in my reply[1] to the Government pamphlet *Congress Responsibility*, etc., combating the charge that the Congress was responsible for those consequences. I commend the pamphlet and my reply to your attention, if you have not already seen them. Here I would just like to emphasize what I have already said. Had Government stayed action till they had studied my speeches and those of the members of the Working Committee, history would have been written differently.

11. You have made much of the fact that your Executive Council is predominantly Indian. Surely their being Indians no more makes them representatives of India than non-Indians. Conversely it is quite conceivable that a non-Indian may be a true representative of India, if he is elected by the vote of the Indian people. It would give no satisfaction even if the head of the Indian Government was a distinguished Indian *not* chosen by the free vote of the people.

12. Even you, I am sorry, have fallen into the common error of describing the Indian forces as having been recruited by "voluntary enlistment". A person who takes to soldiering as a profession will enlist himself wherever he gets his market wage. Voluntary enlistment has come to bear by association a meaning much higher than that which attaches to an enlistment like that of the Indian soldier. Were those who carried out the orders at the Jallianwala massacre volunteers? The very Indian soldiers who have been taken out of India and are showing unexampled bravery will be ready to point their rifles unerringly at their own countrymen at the orders of the British Government, their employers. Will they deserve the honourable name of volunteers?

13. You are flying all over India. You have not hesitated to go among the skeletons[2] of Bengal. May I suggest an interruption

[1] *Vide* pp. 105-99.

[2] The reference is to the Bengal famine.

in your scheduled flights and a descent upon Ahmednagar and the Aga Khan's Palace in order to probe the hearts of your captives? We are all friends of the British, however much we may criticize the British Government and system in India. If you can but trust, you will find us to be the greatest helpers in the fight against Nazism, Fascism, Japanism and the like.

14. Now I revert to your letter of the 25th February. Shri Mirabai and I have received replies to our representations. The remaining inmates have received their notices. The reply received by me I regard as a mockery; the one received by Shri Mirabai is an insult. According to the report of the Home Member's answer to a question in the Central Assembly, the replies received by us seem to be no replies. He is reported to have said that the stage "for the review of the cases had not yet arrived. Government at present were only receiving representations from prisoners." If the representations in reply to the Government notices are to be considered merely by the executive that imprisoned them without trial, it will amount to a farce and an eye-wash, meant perhaps for foreign consumption, but not as an indication of a desire to do justice. My views are known to the Government. I may be considered an impossible man—though altogether wrongly I would protest. But what about Shri Mirabai? As you know, she is the daughter of an Admiral[1] and former Commander-in-Chief of these waters. But she left the life of ease and chose instead to throw in her lot with me. Her parents, recognizing her urge to come to me, gave her their full blessings. She spends her time in the service of the masses. She went to Orissa at my request to understand the plight of the people of that benighted land. That Government was hourly expecting Japanese invasion. Papers were to be removed or burnt, and withdrawal of the civil authority from the coast was being contemplated. Shri Mirabai made Chaudwar (Cuttack) airfield her headquarters, and the local military commander was glad of the help she could give him. Later she went to New Delhi and saw General Sir Alan Hartley[2] and General Molesworth[3], who both appreciated her work and greeted her as one of their own class and caste. It, therefore, baffles me to understand her incarceration.

[1] Sir Edmond Slade

[2] Commander-in-Chief, India, since March, 1942

[3] Lt.-Gen. George Noble Molesworth, Deputy Chief of General Staff, India, 1941-42; Secretary, Military Department, India Office, 1943-44

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The only reason for burying her alive, so far as I can see, is that she has committed the crime of associating herself with me. I suggest your immediately releasing her, or your seeing her and then deciding. I may add that she is not yet free from the pain for the alleviation of which the Government sent Captain Simcox[1] at my request. It would be a tragedy if she became permanently disabled in detention. I have mentioned Shri Mirabai's case because it is typically unjust.

15. I apologize to you for a letter which has gone beyond the length I had prescribed for myself. It has also become very personal and very unconventional. That, however, is the way my loyalty to friends works. I have written without reservation. Your letter and your speech have given me the opening. For the sake of India, England and humanity, I hope, you will treat this as an honest and friendly, if candid, response to your speech.

16. Years ago, while teaching the boys and girls of Tolstoy Farm in South Africa, I happened to read to them Wordsworth's "Character of the Happy Warrior". It recurs to me as I am writing to you. It will delight my heart to realize that warrior in you. There will be little difference between the manners and methods of the Axis powers and the Allies, if the war is to resolve itself into a mere trial of brute strength.[2]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 256-62

80. LETTER TO ARDESHIR E. KATELI

DETENTION CAMP,
March 16, 1944

DEAR KHAN BAHADUR,

You have given me the following memorandum:

> Mr. Gandhi may reply to messages from his relatives, and Government will, if he so wishes, inform other correspondents that their messages have been delivered to him.

[1] Of the Royal Army Medical Corps
[2] For Lord Wavell's reply, *vide* Appendix XI.

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In reply, I beg to say that unless I can write to senders of condolences irrespective of relatives, I would not care to exercise the facility Government have been pleased to give me. As to the other messages, I have no wish in the matter beyond what I have said above. From the newspaper notices of the messages sent to me, I observe that all the messages sent to me have not yet been handed to me. From the memorandum I infer that they will be handed to me in due course. I should perhaps mention that the messages received and given to me during my son Devadas's presence were handed by me to him.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

KHAN BAHADUR KATELI
SUPERINTENDENT, DETENTION CAMP

From a photostat : G.N. 3935; also Bombay Secret Abstracts : Home Department, Special Branch (6), File No. 67, p. 13

81. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
March 20, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (H.D.)
NEW DELHI

SIR,

I have read with painful interest the answer given on behalf of the Government in the Central Assembly about the facilities, medical and otherwise, given to my deceased wife. I had hoped for a better response to my letter[1] of 4th March, 1944, assuming that it was in Government's hands when the answer was given. Beyond the admission[2] that the deceased was never offered release, the statement makes no amends for the misrepresentations pointed out in that letter. On the contrary, it adds one more by stating that "trained nurses were made available. . . ." No trained nurse was asked for or supplied. An ayah, however, was sent in the place of Shri Prabhavati Devi

[1] *Vide* pp. 242-3.

[2] In the Central Legislative Assembly, on March 13, by Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary, External Affairs, in his reply to K. S. Gupta

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and Shri Kanu Gandhi for whom my wife had asked. The ayah left in less than a week because she found herself ill-fitted for the work entrusted to her. Only then, and after some further delay and repeated requests about Shri Kanu Gandhi, were the two allowed to come. The facilities have been recited as if they had been granted promptly and willingly. The fact is that most of them, when not refused, were granted as if grudgingly and when it was almost too late.

My object in writing this letter is not to make the complaint (though quite legitimate) that the facilities came too late. My complaint is that in spite of my representation of 4th instant, the Government instead of giving the naked truth have seen fit to give a varnished version.[1]

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 242-3. Also C.W. 10507.
Courtesy : India Office Library

82. *LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*

DETENTION CAMP,
April 1, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA (HOME DEPARTMENT)
NEW DELHI

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge your letter[2] of 21st March handed to me on the 27th.

As to extra medical aid, I wish to state that the first request for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was made by the deceased verbally to Col. Advani[3] some time in December last. When repeated verbal requests met with little or no response, I had to make a written request[4], addressed to the Government of India, dated January 27, 1944. On the 31st of January, I sent

[1] In his reply dated March 30, the addressee stated that the "reply given in the Legislative Assembly . . . was substantially correct".
[2] *Vide* Appendix X.
[3] He was the Government doctor officiating for Col. Bhandari.
[4] *Vide* pp. 219-20.

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a reminder[1] to the Government of Bombay (Appendix A), and so did Drs. Nayyar and Gilder in a letter[2] addressed to the Inspector-General of Prisons (Appendix B). I wrote[3] again on the 3rd of February to the Government of Bombay (Appendix C), who sent a reply[4] (Appendix D) which resulted in Dr. Dinshaw being brought in on the 5th of February last, i.e., after an interval of over six weeks from the date of the first request. And even when permission was granted, restrictions were placed upon the number of the visits and the time he was to take in administering treatment. It was not without difficulty that these restrictions were later relaxed and then removed.

As to the reference in the letter under reply to Dr. Gilder, I showed it to him. The result was the attached letter[5] addressed by him to the Government which he has asked me to forward (Appendix E). While it shows that Dr. Gilder never expressed the opinion attributed to him, it does not alter the tragic fact that Dr. Dinshaw's services were held up for over six weeks.

The question of calling in a non-allopath was definitely and formally raised before the Inspector-General of Prisons by my son after his visit to this camp early in December last.[6] On Col. Bhandari mentioning to me my son's request to him, I told him that if my son thought that non-allopathic treatment should be tried, the Government should permit it. While the consideration of my son's request was on the anvil, the patient's condition began to worsen and she herself pressed for the services of an Ayurvedic physician. She spoke to both the Inspector-General of Prisons and Col. Shah several times, again with no result. In despair I wrote[7] to the Government of India on January 27, 1944. On the 31st of January, the Superintendent of this camp enquired on behalf of the Government, among other things, whether the deceased had any particular Ayurvedic physician in mind to which I replied[8] in writing, it being my silence day (Appendix F). As no relief was forthcoming as a result, and the patient's condition admitted of no delay, I sent an urgent letter to the Government of Bombay on the 3rd of

[1] *Vide* p. 222.
[2] *Vide* Appendix IX.
[3] *Vide* p. 225.
[4] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 222.
[5] *Vide* Appendix XII.
[6] *Vide* p. 218.
[7] *Vide* pp. 219-20.
[8] *Vide* p. 223.

February (Appendix C). It was on the 11th of February that a local vaidya was sent and on the 12th that Vaidyaraj Sharma was brought in. Thus there was an interval of more than eight weeks between the first request for non-allopathic aid and of actual bringing in of that aid.

Before Vaidyaraj Sharma came, I had been asked to give a written undertaking[1] (which I gladly did) that I absolved the Government of all responsibility about the result of his treatment (Appendix H). The Vaidyaraj was thus in sole charge of the case for the time being. One would have thought that a physician in sole charge of a patient would have all such facilities of visiting and watching the patient as he considered necessary. And yet there was no end to the difficulties in getting these facilities for him. These have been alluded to in the enclosure[2] to my letter[3] of March 4, 1944, and in Appendix G[4]. . . .

All this time the patient was passing through great suffering, and her condition was deteriorating so rapidly that every delay weighed against chances of her recovery.

Whether the delays and difficulties experienced by the patient and me were caused by one department of the Government or another, or even by the Government doctors, the responsibility surely rests with the Central Government.

I note that the Government have maintained complete silence over the written request (which was reinforced by subsequent verbal reminders) of Drs. Nayyar and Gilder to call Dr. B. C. Roy in consultation, and have not even condescended to give their reasons for not granting the request.

Similarly the letter under reply is silent about the discrepancy, pointed out by me in my letter[5] dated March 20, 1944, in the Hon. the Home Member's statement in the Assembly that trained nurses were in attendance. The fact is that they never were. Let me add here that nurses of the deceased's choice who were permitted were brought after considerable delay, especially Shri Kanu Gandhi.

I hope, after a calm perusal of this bare recital of facts and of the relevant copies of correspondence attached hereto, it will be conceded that the claim of the Government of India that "they did everything possible" to ensure that the deceased received all the treatment that I *wished* during her illness is

[1] *Vide* p. 227.
[2] *Vide* pp. 234-5.
[3] *Vide* pp. 242-3.
[4] *Vide* pp. 227-8.
[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

not justified. Much less can Mr. Butler's claim be justified. For, he went further when he said, "she was receiving all possible medical care and attention, not only from her regular attendants, but from those *desired by her family*." Does not the statement of the Government of Bombay (Appendix D), "Government have decided that no outside doctors should be allowed unless the *Government Medical Officer* considers that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons" contradict the above claims?

On the question of release, and the report received by the Government of India of a "private conversation" my son had with his mother in this connection, a prisoner can have no "private" conversation with anybody from outside. Therefore, so far as I am concerned, the Government are free to make use of the conversation after verification (usual and obligatory in such cases) by my son. In any case the Government would have been absolved from all blame, if they had made an offer of release and laid on me the burden of deciding what was "best and kindest" for her.

As to the arrangement for the funeral, my letter to the Government dated March 4, 1944, embodying my actual request, which the Inspector-General of Prisons took down in writing from dictation, speaks for itself. It, therefore, astonishes me that on "enquiries" made by the Government, they were "informed" that I had "no special preference between the first two alternatives" mentioned in my letter. The information given to the Government is wholly wrong. It is inconceivable that, given the freedom of choice, I could ever be reconciled to the cremation of a dear one being performed in a jail compound (which this camp is today) instead of the consecrated cremation ground.

It is not pleasant or easy for me to write about such personal matters to the Government. But I do so in this case for the sake of the memory of one who was my faithful partner for over sixty-two years. I leave it to the Government to consider what could be the fate of other prisoners not so circumstanced as Shri Kasturba was.[1]

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosures: A to H

From a photostat : G.N. 3936; also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, pp. 237-40

[1] *Vide* also the following item.

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83. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
April 2, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

SIR,

This is in continuation of my letter[1] of yesterday's date to the Government of India. For, after handing the letter to the Superintendent of the camp, on looking at the papers I came upon the following startling statement in *The Hindustan Times*, 30-3-1944:

> New Delhi, Wednesday [March 29, 1944]—Today in the Council of State, Lala Ramsarandas asked whether and when Mahatma Gandhi had asked Government to permit the eminent Ayurvedic physician Pandit Shiv Sharma to take up the treatment of Mrs. Gandhi.
>
> The Home Secretary, Mr. Conran-Smith, replying said the first definite request for Pandit Sharma's services was made to the Government of India on February 9 and was granted on February 10. He understood that Pandit Sharma paid his first visit a day or two later. —A.P.I.

The fact is that Vaidyaraj Shiv Sharma's name was first submitted to the Government on 31st January, 1944, and not on the 9th February. But my letter of yesterday will show further that the first request for a non-allopathic physician was made early in December 1943. May I look for correction of the statement referred to?[2]

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 242

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] For the Government's reply to this letter and the preceding one, *vide* footnote 1, p. 261.

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84. LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI

DETENTION CAMP,
April 2, 1944

DEAR COL. BHANDARI,

In the Government of India's letter[1] to me dated March 21[2], 1944, there occur these two passages:

> It was on January 28 that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta.... If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called in earlier, it was due to the view originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services would not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion.
>
> The arrangements for the funeral were understood here to be in accordance with your wishes. The Government made enquiries on the point and were informed that you had no special preference between the first two alternatives mentioned in your letter[3].

Dr. Gilder has no recollection of his having given the opinion attributed to him.[4] I have never expressed indifference as to whether the deceased was cremated in the consecrated public cremation ground or in the jail compound which this camp is. Can you please throw light on the discrepancies?

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 241

85. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

April 9, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[5] of 28th March received by me on the 3rd instant. Please accept my thanks for it.

[1] *Vide* Appendix X.
[2] The source, however, has "31".
[3] *Vide* p. 236.
[4] *Vide* also Appendix XII.
[5] *Vide* Appendix XI.

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I take up the general matter first.

You have sent me a frank reply. I propose to reciprocate your courtesy by being perfectly frank. Friendship to be true demands frankness even though it may some time appear unpleasant. If anything I say offends you, please accept my apology in advance.[1]

It is a pity that you have refused to deal with important points raised in my letter.

Your letter is a plea for co-operation by the Congress in the present administration, and failing that, in planning for the future. In my opinion, this requires equality between the parties and mutual trust. But equality is absent and Government distrust of the Congress can be seen at every turn. The result is that suspicion of Government is universal. Add to this the fact that Congressmen have no faith in the competence of the Government to ensure India's future good. This want of faith is based upon bitter experience of the past and present conduct of the British administration of India. Is it not high time that you co-operate with the people of India through their elected representatives instead of expecting co-operation from them?

All this was implied in the August resolution. The sanction behind the demand in the resolution was not violence, but self-suffering. Anyone, be he Congressman or other, who acted against this rule of conduct had no authority to use the Congress name for his action. But I see that this resolution repels you as it did Lord Linlithgow. You know that I have joined issue on the point. I have seen nothing since to alter my view. You have been good enough to credit me with "intelligence", "experience", and "acumen". Let me say that all these three have failed to make me realize that the effect of the Congress resolution "must be to hamper the prosecution of the war". The responsibility for what followed the hasty arrests of Congressmen must rest solely on the Government. For, they invited the crisis, not the authors of the resolution.

You remind me that you were Commander-in-Chief at the time. How much better it would have been for all concerned if confidence in the immeasurable strength of arms had ruled your action instead of fear of a rebellion! Had the Government stayed

[1] According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. IV, p. 898, in his report to the Secretary of State for India, the addressee said: "Gandhi has sent me an ill-tempered letter in reply to mine. I am sending you a copy and am not continuing the correspondence."

their hand at the time, surely all the bloodshed of those months would have been avoided. And it is highly likely that the Japanese menace would have become a thing of the past. Unfortunately it was not to be. And so the menace is still with us, and what is more, the Government are pursuing a policy of suppression of liberty and truth. I have studied the latest ordinance about the detenus, and I recall the Rowlatt Act of 1919. It was properly called the Black Act. As you know, it gave rise to an unprecedented agitation. That Act pales into insignificance before the series of ordinances that are being showered from the Viceregal throne. Martial Law in effect governs not one Province as in 1919, but the whole of India. Things are moving from bad to worse.

You say, "it is clear to me that you had lost confidence in our ability to defend India and were prepared to take advantage of our supposed military straits to gain political advantage." I must deny both the charges. I venture to suggest that you should follow the golden rule, and withdraw your statement and suspend judgment till you have submitted the evidence in your possession to an impartial tribunal and obtained its verdict. I confess that I do not make the request with much confidence. For, in dealing with Congressmen and others, Government have combined the prosecutor, judge and jailor in the same person and thus made proper defence impossible on the part of the accused. Judgments of courts are being rendered nugatory by fresh ordinances. No man's freedom can be said to be safe in this extraordinary situation. You will probably retort that it is an exigency of the war. I wonder !

As I visualize India today, it is one vast prison containing four hundred million souls. You are its sole custodian. The Government prisons are prisons within this prison. I agree with you that whilst you hold the views expressed in your letter under reply, the proper place for one like me is a Government prison. And unless there is a change of heart, view and policy on the part of the Government, I am quite content to remain your prisoner. Only I hope you will listen to the request made by me through the proper channels to remove me and my fellow-prisoners to some other prison where the cost of our detention need not be even one tenth of what it is today.

As to my complaint[1] about Mr. Butler's statement and later the Home Secretary's, I have received two letters from the Home

[1] *Vide* pp. 242-3 and 251-2.

Department in reply. I am sorry to say, they have appeared to me highly unsatisfactory. They ignore patent facts, and betray an obstinate refusal to face truth even on a wholly non-political issue. My correspondence with the Home Department continues. I invite your attention to it, if you can spare the time and are interested in the subject.

I am glad and thankful that Shri Mirabai's (Miss Slade's) case is being considered in the light of what I say[1] about her in my letter.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 264-6, and *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 124-5. Also C.W. 10503. Courtesy : India Office Library

86. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
April 13, 1944

ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[2] of 30th March, received by me on the 6th of April. It is good proof to show how ill-informed the Central Government were about the whole situation.

As to "trained nurses", I draw attention to the statement made on behalf of the Government that they "were made available for a short period". That my wife preferred an ayah to a trained nurse is hardly relevant to the consideration whether trained nurses were in fact supplied. Therefore that statement seems to me clearly to demand public adjustment.

[1] *Vide* pp. 249-50.
[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 252.

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I hope to have satisfactory reply[1] regarding other matters contained in my letter[2] of April 1, 1944.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 244-5

87. LETTER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DETENTION CAMP,
April 21, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
(HOME DEPARTMENT)
NEW DELHI

SIR,

I wrote to you on the 4th March[3] requesting the Government to transfer the party of detenus in this camp to a prison where the expense entailed in our detention here may be materially reduced. I request an early decision in the matter.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 269

[1] The Government's reply dated April 29, read: "The Government of India have read with regret your letters of April 2 and 13. They believe that no impartial judgment would support the complaints you have made against them. At the same time they feel that it is impossible to expect from you in your bereavement a fair recognition of their endeavours to do all that was reasonably possible to meet the requests that reached them and that no useful purpose would be served by continuing the correspondence."

[2] *Vide* pp. 252-5.

[3] *Vide* pp. 241-2.

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88. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
May 3, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
(HOME DEPARTMENT)
BOMBAY

SIR,

Shri Jamnadas Gandhi came in yesterday. When I was asked whether I would see him, I had consented so as to cause as little disappointment as possible. For the future, my position is that whilst I would be glad to see any relatives who might secure Government permission, I must not break the rule I have made for myself that I would deny myself the pleasure, so long as the Government restrict the permission only to relatives and exclude the members of the Ashram or those who stand in the same category. I regard them as equal with my relatives. The Government were good enough to grant such permission during my fast last year[1] without any untoward result so far as I know. Can they do likewise during my convalescence[2] which bids fair to be protracted ?

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3937

[1] From February 10 to March 3, 1943

[2] According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. IV, pp. 948-9, in a cable dated May 4, 1944, to the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy reported: "Latest reports show progressive deterioration in Gandhi's anaemia, blood-pressure and kidney functions, all of which in opinion of Dr. B. C. Roy shared by Surgeon-General Candy, have tendency to produce coronary or cerebral thrombosis. . . . This is a case in which I consider we must be guided by medical opinion. Deterioration in Gandhi's health appears such that his further participation in active politics is improbable and I have no doubt that death in custody would intensify feeling against Government. . . . I am accordingly instructing Bombay Government to release Gandhi unconditionally at 8 a.m. on Saturday, 6th May, with announcement that release is entirely on medical grounds and am informing all Governors accordingly." For the British Premier Winston Churchill's displeasure at Viceroy's decision, *vide* footnote 1, Appendix XXII.

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89. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

DETENTION CAMP,
7.45 a.m., May 6, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
(HOME DEPARTMENT)
BOMBAY

SIR,

I have been told by the Inspector-General of Prisons that the party of detenus in this camp is to be discharged at 8 a.m., today. I wish to put on record the fact that by reason of the cremation of the corpses of Shri Mahadev Desai and then my wife, the place of cremation which has been fenced off becomes consecrated ground. The party has daily visited the ground twice and offered floral tributes to the departed spirits and said prayers. I trust that the plot will be acquired by the Government with the right of way to it through H. H. the Aga Khan's grounds so as to enable those relatives and friends who wish to visit the cremation ground whenever they like. Subject to the permission of the Government, I would like to arrange for the upkeep of the sacred spot and daily prayers. I hope that the necessary steps will be taken by the Government in terms of my prayer. My address will be: Sevagram, *via* Wardha (C.P.)[1]

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3938

[1] According to *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 271, the Government's reply dated July 7, 1944, stated: " . . . it is legally impossible for Government to acquire the site compulsorily under the Land Acquisition Act. Government considers that the matter is one for private negotiations between you and His Highness the Aga Khan. . . . Your request has been communicated to His Highness the Aga Khan and is now understood to be under his consideration. Government understands that he has no objection, in the mean while, to the relatives of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai and any other person suggested by you going through the Palace grounds to the place of cremation . . ."

90. TELEGRAM TO M. M. MALAVIYA[1]

May 6, 1944

AT A STROKE YOU HAVE CUT OFF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.[2] ADD TWENTY-FIVE TO YOURS !

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 14

91. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[3]

PARNAKUTI,
YERAVDA HILL, POONA,
May 6, 1944

CHI. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BAZULULLAH ROAD
MADRAS

YOUR WIRE. PHYSICIAN HEAL THYSELF. LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 14

[1] Pyarelal explains that this was in reply to the addressee's telegram which read: "Thank God. He has heard prayers of vast millions and set you free to breathe fresh air. Have every hope. He will let you live a hundred years to serve motherland and mankind."

[2] Pyarelal says: "The allusion was to Gandhiji's last speech in the All-India Congress Committee before his arrest in August 1942, when he had said that he would like to live and serve the country for 125 years."

[3] According to Pyarelal, the addressee "whose health was never too robust" had inquired about Gandhiji's health and expressed joy at his release.

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92. TELEGRAM TO DR. KHAN SAHEB

PARNAKUTI, POONA,
May 6, 1944

DR. KHAN SAHEB[1]
PESHAWAR

WIRE BADSHAH'S[2] HEALTH. LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

93. DISCUSSION WITH A FRIEND[3]

[After *May 6, 1944*][4]

Gandhiji questioned the statement that sabotage could be part of the non-violent programme or that it was derivable from the principle of ahimsa as he understood it. The friend, however, persisted that sabotage had come to stay whether one liked it or not.

GANDHIJI: Irresponsible prophesying leads to nowhere. The real question is where *we* stand, what *our* attitude towards it is going to be.

FRIEND: Was destruction of Government property violence? You say that nobody has a right to destroy any property not his own. If so, is not Government's property mine? I hold it is mine and I may destroy it.

[1] He led the Congress Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province, which resigned on November 7, 1939, along with other Congress Ministries.

[2] Addressee's brother, Abdul Ghaffar Khan

[3&4] The discussion appeared under the title "A Pointer for the Future" by Pyarelal who explains that "a friend" had asked Gandhiji "How is the cutting of telegraph wires contrary to the principle of ahimsa?" And another who met him some time after he left the Aga Khan Palace had posed the problem thus: "There are two schools of thought amongst our youth today. One school holds, and openly says, that as a programme of action ahimsa is played out. It has done its work, which was to awaken the masses, and has set the stage for the final struggle for independence. In this struggle, force of arms cannot be excluded. The other school, while professing belief in ahimsa, says that there is room for modification and further elaboration in its technique. They aver that the next phase of our struggle would be characterized by organized sabotage on an extensive scale."

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There is a double fallacy involved in your argument. In the first place, conceding that Government property is national property—which today it is not—I may not destroy it because I am dissatisfied with the Government. But even a national government will be unable to carry on for a day if everybody claimed the right to destroy bridges, communications, roads, etc., because he disapproved of some of its activities. Moreover the evil resides not in bridges, roads, etc., which are inanimate objects but in men. It is the latter who need to be tackled. The destruction of bridges, etc., by means of explosives does not touch this evil but only provokes a worse evil in the place of the one it seeks to end.[1] To sterilize it needs not destruction but self-immolation of the purest type, which would demonstrate that the authorities might break but would not be able to bend a will that has resigned itself to the God of truth.

I agree that the evil is within ourselves, not in the bridge which can be used for a good purpose as well as an evil one. I also agree that its blowing up provokes counter-violence of a worse type. But it may be necessary from a strategic point of view for the success of the movement and in order to prevent demoralization.

It is an old argument. One used to hear it in old days in defence of terrorism. Sabotage is a form of violence. People have realized the futility of physical violence, but some people apparently think that it may be successfully practised in its modified form as sabotage.[2] It lacked the quality of non-violence and could not take the place of full-fledged armed conflict. . . . We have to deal with a power which takes pride in not recognizing defeat. In the early part of the British rule there were powerful risings. In several places the British were actually beaten. But they won in the end. A British statesman used to say, "I do not believe in wooden guns." National struggles could not be won by "wooden guns".

It is my conviction that the whole mass of people would not have risen to the height of courage and fearlessness that they have, but for the working of full non-violence. How it works we do not yet fully know. But the fact remains that under non-violence we have progressed from strength to strength even through our apparent failures and set-backs. On the other hand, terrorism resulted in demoralization. Haste leads to waste.

[1&2] The rest of the paragraph is from *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 38

You characterized the "Quit India" movement as a non-violent rebellion. Is not non-violent rebellion a programme of seizure of power?

No. A non-violent rebellion is not a programme of seizure of power. It is a programme of transformation of relationship ending in a peaceful transfer of power. . . . It will never use coercion. Even those who hold contrary views will receive full protection under it.[1]

We have found that a person who has had a schooling in violent activity comes nearer to true non-violence than one who has had no such experience.

That can be true only in the sense that having tried violence again and again he has realized its futility. That is all. Would you maintain also that a person who has had a taste of vice is nearer to virtue than the one who had none? For, that is what your argument amounts to.[2]

It is no secrecy, if the person concerned is boldly prepared to face the consequences of his action. He resorts to secrecy in order to achieve his object. He can refuse to take any part in subsequent interrogations during his trial. He need not make a false statement.

No secret organization, however big, could do any good. Secrecy aims at building a wall of protection round you. Ahimsa disdains all such protection. It functions in the open and in the face of odds, the heaviest conceivable. We have to organize for action a vast people that have been crushed under the heel of unspeakable tyranny for centuries. They cannot be organized by any other than open, truthful means. I have grown up from youth to 76 years in abhorrence of secrecy. There must be no watering down of the ideal. Unless we cling to the formula in its fulness, we shall not make any headway.

I know we have not always lived up to our ideals. There have been grave lapses. Had our instruments been less imperfect, we would have been nearer our goal. But in spite of our temporizing with our ideal, non-violence has worked like a silent leaven among the dumb millions. That does not mean that we can afford to go on like this for ever. We cannot remain static. We must move forward or we shall slide back.

Are you of opinion then, that the August resolution caused a set-back in the struggle for independence; that all the heroism and courage which our people showed in the course of it was useless?

[1&2] These two paragraphs are reproduced from *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, pp. 38-9.

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No, I do not say that. In the historical process, the country will be found to have advanced towards freedom through every form of struggle, even through the August upheaval. All that I have said is that the progress would have been much greater, if we had shown the non-violent bravery of my conception. In this sense the sabotage activity has retarded the country's freedom. I have the highest admiration for the courage, patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice of people, say, like Jayaprakash Narayan. But Jayaprakash cannot be my ideal. If I had to give a medal for heroism, it would go not to him but to his wife who, though simple and unlearned in politics, typifies in her person the power of satyagraha in its purest form before which even Jayaprakash has to bow. What I have said about the August upheaval is not by way of judgment upon the past—I have consistently refused to condemn it—but as a guidance for the future.

Our people have faith in non-violence but they do not know how to make it dynamic. What is the reason for this failure?

By hammering away at it through painful years, people have begun to see that there is a potency in non-violence, but they have not seen it in all its fulness and beauty. If they had responded to all the steps that had to be taken for the effective organization of non-violence and carried out in their fulness the various items of the eighteenfold constructive programme, our movement would have taken us to our goal. But today our minds are confused because our faith in constructive work is so weak. I know, one must push forth undaunted by difficulties.[1]

Harijan, 10-2-1946

94. ANSWER TO VISITORS

POONA,
May 7, 1944

Do not worry about my health or my life which is in the hands of God. He, in His infinite mercy, would do what best pleased Him.[2]

The Hindu, 8-5-1944

[1] For a discussion on the same subject with a woman worker and Appa Pant, *vide* Appendix XIII.

[2] According to the report, "these were the words which Gandhiji told all those who asked him about his health". For the Viceroy's brief report on Gandhiji's health, *vide* footnote 2, p. 262.

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95. TELEGRAM TO T. B. SAPRU

PARNAKUTI, POONA,
May 8, 1944

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
ALLAHABAD

THANKS. TRYING UTMOST FOR SPEEDY RECOVERY. BUT GOD DISPOSES. HOPE YOU ARE WELL.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

96. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

POONA,
May 9, 1944

AMTUSSALAAM
CARE HUMAYUN KABIR
26 AMIR ALI AVENUE
CALCUTTA

PROGRESSING SLOWLY. SEE DAILY BULLETINS. GET WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 475

97. TELEGRAM TO FRANK MORAES

PARNAKUTI, POONA,
May 9, 1944

MORAES
CARE "TIMES OF INDIA"
BOMBAY

THANKS. PLEASE WAIT A WHILE. WILL WRITE WHEN READY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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98. TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, MYSORE STATE CONGRESS[1]

[Before *May 13, 1944*][2]

THANKS BUT INADVISABLE TO GO THERE.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-5-1944

99. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

BOMBAY,
May 13, 1944

AMTUSSALAAM
CARE PIONEER BANK
COMILLA

SLOWLY PROGRESSING. NO CAUSE ANXIETY. EXPECT YOU CONTINUE YOUR EXCELLENT WORK[3] WITH REDOUBLED ENERGY. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 476

[1]&[2] According to the report, the telegram was in reply to the addressee's "invitation to Gandhiji to stay at Nandi Hill for recuperation and rest". It appeared under the date-line "Bangalore, May 13".

[3] In *Bapuke Patra–8: Bibi Amtussalaamke Nam*, the addressee explains that she started working at Kasturba Seva Mandir, Borkamata, East Bengal, as soon as she got this wire. *Vide* also "Letter to Amtussalaam", p. 282.

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100. TELEGRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

BOMBAY,
May 13, 1944

ANAND HINGORANI
SADAR VILLA
FYZABAD ROAD
LUCKNOW

NO FORLORNNESS[1] PERMISSIBLE. GOD OUR ETERNAL COMPANION. YOU CAN COME AFTER EAR TREATMENT.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy : National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

101. ANSWER TO A FRIEND[2]

[*May 14, 1944*][3]

If you had put me this question yesterday, I should have been at a loss for an answer. But today I can say that it is well with me for, during the night, I have got back what I had lost for a while—a living faith in God. He is the Master Physician —the Great Healer.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book One, p. 15

[1] The addressee had lost his wife. *Vide* also "Letter to Anand T. Hingorani", pp. 297-8.

[2] Pyarelal explains that Gandhiji gave this answer during his convalescence at Juhu, where he reached on May 11. Gandhiji was asked "how he was".

[3] From the contents it is presumed that Gandhiji gave the answer before he commenced his 15-day silence at noon on this date. *Vide* also "Silence-Day Note to Doctors", pp. 272-3.

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102. TELEGRAM TO INAYATULLAH KHAN MASHRIQUI[1]

[On or before *May 15, 1944*][2]

MY LAST YEAR'S REQUEST[3] TO QAID-E-AZAM JINNAH STILL STANDS AND I WILL BE READY TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNDERSTANDING AS SOON AS I GET BETTER.[4]

The Hindu, 17-5-1944

103. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO DOCTORS[5]

[*May 15, 1944*][6]

The oppression was the fancied or real control of the doctors rather than the mind. I believe I have freed myself from the doctors' control. It does not matter if the freedom is imaginary or imagined. The effect on me is the same. Whatever I may now do will be due either to my weakness or strength. Next fortnight will show us all what is in store for me and us. I am approaching the thing with a detached mind. The difference is this. If I have the strength of mind, what I announced yesterday will abide. If the mind has become weak I do not know to what extent I shall go.

[1] This was in reply to a telegram dated May 9 from the addressee, leader of Khaksars, a militant Muslim organization. The addressee said: "Your release delightful. Pray speedy recovery. Requesting Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to make appointment for meeting you as soon as possible in response to your last year's request. Shall accompany him if necessary. Please wire condition for possible interview."

[2] The telegram was reported under the date-line "Lahore, May 15".

[3] *Vide* pp. 75-6.

[4] *Vide* also "Letter to Inayatullah Khan Mashriqui", p. 319.

[5] Pyarelal, describing Gandhiji in his own words as 'a very fiend of destruction so far as papers and documents . . . were concerned', explains that this and other such "scribblings" preserved by him "give in part the story of Gandhiji's tussle with doctors".

[6] From the reference to the fortnight silence which Gandhiji "announced" on May 14, 1944

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If the medicine is the least thing, you are safe and I am safe. About visitors I shall be stricter than the doctors have [advised].

From a facsimile : *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, between pp. 144 and 145

104. TELEGRAM TO SUPERINTENDENT, CENTRAL PRISON, AJMER

PALM BUN, JUHU,
May 17, 1944

SUPERINTENDENT
CENTRAL PRISON
AJMER

JUST HEARD FROM MRS. BALKRISHNA KAUL HER HUSBAND ON HUNGER-STRIKE IN YOUR JAIL.[1] PLEASE TELL HIM ON MY BEHALF HE SHOULD GIVE UP HUNGER-STRIKE. I HOPE HE WILL BE PERMITTED WRITE TO ME CAUSE FASTING.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

105. TELEGRAM TO MRS. BALKRISHNA KAUL

PALM BUN, JUHU,
May 17, 1944

MRS. BALKRISHNA KAUL
SREENAGAR ROAD
AJMER

HAVE WIRED SUPERINTENDENT. WRITE WHY FASTING.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Balkrishna Kaul, All-India Congress Committee member, who was undergoing imprisonment from August 1942, began his fast on April 25, 1944. He gave it up in response to Gandhiji's appeal; *vide* also "Interview to the Press", pp. 383-4.

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106. LETTER TO R. R. DIWAKAR

May 18, 1944

Your letter is very good. You are right and so am I, each in his own way.[1] Therefore you should do only what appeals to your heart and head. I have learnt now not to blame anybody for his action so long as that action has come from the heart as has yours and many other co-workers'.[2] You know my view. Weigh it and act according to your light. This ought to satisfy you. Don't expect orders from me especially while I am on a sick-bed.

Love.

BAPU

From a facsimile : *Mahatma—Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. VI, between pp. 328 and 329

107. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

JUHU,
May 20, 1944

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Bapa[3] just informs me of your loss.[4] Why should I be the only loser through death of a dear one. My sympathy in abundance, if your philosophy stands in such need.

[1] In *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, p. 35, Pyarelal explains that some of the underground workers, of whom the addressee was one, had been "forced to the same conclusion" as was expressed in Gandhiji's advice to them; *vide* also Appendices XIII and XIV.

[2] According to Pyarelal, R. R. Diwakar had reported to Gandhiji: "Possibly my trying to remain outside influenced me in not trying to dissuade workers from evading arrest after they had done some action. It became a part of the technique of dislocation activities to go on doing things without being arrested."

[3] Amritlal V. Thakkar, Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh

[4] The reference is to the death of the addressee's brother, V. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

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I feel like being in a wilderness. The so-called freedom jars. But God is our help. And so I take heart.

With love.

Yours,
LITTLE BROTHER

From a photostat : G.N. 8821; also *Letters of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*, pp. 358-9

108. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR[1]

JUHU,
May 20, 1944

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

The country expects much from me. I do not know how you feel about this release. I am not at all happy. I feel even ashamed. I should not have fallen ill. I tried hard not to, but failed at length. I feel that they will imprison me as soon as I am declared free from the present weakness. And, if they do not arrest me, what can I do? I cannot withdraw the August resolution. As you have very properly said, it is innocuous. You may differ about the sanction. It is the breath of life for me. I am silent till 29th. Meanwhile shall I send Pyarelal to you? That, too, depends upon your health.

I know you are none too well.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Jayakar Papers : File No. 826, p. 1. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] This appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1-6-1944, with the following note by Pyarelal: "In view of the garbled and unauthorized version in a newspaper, Gandhiji has asked me to release for publication the full text of his letter to Dr. Jayakar. . . . Gandhiji hopes that no deeper meaning would be read into the letter which was not meant for publication and was necessarily brief."

[2] The addressee's reply dated May 21 read: "Thank you for your letter. It shows the anguish you are feeling. If I can be of the slightest use in helping to ease it, I shall be most happy. Please don't trouble to send Pyarelal to me. I am now sufficiently well to come and see you at Juhu, if your doctors will permit such a visit. Please let me know what your wishes are."

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109. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

JUHU,
May 20, 1944

CHI. VIJAYA,

From today I am exercising the liberty of writing a few letters.[1] I am in Juhu till the 29th at any rate. Then, maybe three weeks, in Poona. The silence will end on the 29th. But do come over here. Perhaps it may be difficult to accommodate you here. I am staying in a hut. You may, therefore, stay somewhere else. I am helpless. In Sevagram all of you could have been accommodated. I am glad that Nanabhai[2] has been released. About me it is as you say.

Blessings to all of you from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7148. Also C.W. 4640. Courtesy : Vijaya M. Pancholi

110. LETTER TO DURGA M. DESAI

JUHU,
May 20, 1944

CHI. DURGA[3],

I may be regarded as crippled for the present. God does not allow even a Mahatma's pride to last. These lines are for all. Once I start writing letters everyone expects one from me, but before I can satisfy their wish, maybe I will be there. Write to me in detail. Let all those who wish to write do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] The Government had laid a condition, while Gandhiji was in jail, that he could not write to anyone besides his family. So he took a vow not to write any letter for twenty-one months. This was one of the "few letters" that Gandhiji wrote after the fulfilment of the vow.

[2] Nrisimhaprasad Kalidas Bhatt, Principal, Lok Bharati, Sanosara

[3] Wife of Mahadev Desai

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111. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

JUHU,
May 20, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

I went carefully through your Annual Report. I have not yet started writing anything. I have written only three letters to invalids. But *Daridranarayana* is the greatest invalid in the world. You are one of His matchless devotees dedicated exclusively to His service. You celebrate the *Rentia Baras*[1] on the occasion of my birthday and every year you make your plan of service more rigorous. This year the test will be the hardest so far. May you succeed in it. This time, while in jail, I read about Marx and whatever literature I could get about the great experiment in Russia. What a great difference between that experiment and our spinning-wheel? There also, as in India, the whole nation is invited to join in the *yajna*. But the experiments there and here are as different from each other as East from West or North from South.

What a difference between our spinning-wheel and their machines driven by steam or electricity? But all the same I prefer the snail-like speed of the spinning-wheel. The spinning-wheel is a symbol of ahimsa, and ultimately it is ahimsa that will triumph. If, however, we who claim to be its votaries are weak, we shall dishonour ourselves and discredit ahimsa. Your activity is excellent indeed. But you should now introduce some new changes in it. There is a science of the spinning-wheel, as there is one of machines. We have still not fully evolved the "technique" of the spinning-wheel. It requires deep study.

Just as knowledge without faith is useless, even so faith without knowledge is blind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8607. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

[1] Sacrificial spinning initiated by the addressee in honour of Gandhiji's birthday; this was also called *Rentia Yajna* meaning non-stop spinning beginning on *Bhadarva Vad* 12, Gandhiji's date of birth according to Vikram era, usually falling in the second half of September, to October 2. *Vide* also Vol. LXIX, pp. 420-1.

112. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

JUHU,
May 20, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

I drafted an article for you while lying in bed. I was afraid that it would have too many corrections, but that did not happen. I didn't feel like making a fair copy with ink. If you want any changes to be made in the draft, send it back to me. I will think over your revisions and will make a fair draft and send it over to you. We have enough time still.

Secondly, you know Manu (Jaisukhlal's); she has created a very good impression on me. I have not seen any other girl in our family with the same spontaneous spirit of service that she has. The devotion with which she looked after Ba has captured my heart. She would like to remain with me, but I do not wish it. I am a broken reed just now and, therefore, can give her nothing. The others are busy with their work. And what can they give her now? Her education must go on regularly. That can be done only if she is with you. She is not the type of girl whose presence will irritate you. She is simple-hearted. She is dull in her studies, has a good voice, and her health is fairly good. She does not know how to take care of her health. She forgets everything concerning herself while serving. She is obedient. She will do whatever work you give her. I do wish that her knowledge of Sanskrit and Gujarati should improve. I myself taught her the *Gita*. She can recite it fairly well. Purushottam[1] or you can help her to improve her pronunciation still further. Jaisukhlal will pay whatever expenses on her account you think reasonable to ask for. Send me a wire whether or not you can receive her. I intend to send her with the first available escort. If you are inclined to refuse, do not hesitate to say so.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Addressee's son

[2] *Vide* also "Silence-Day Note to Manu Gandhi", p. 240.

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[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8608. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

113. LETTER TO G. L. MEHTA

May 20, 1944

BHAI SHRI GAGAN,

I read your article on Mahadev. May I entrust you with a job for Mahadev as long as you are here ? Narayan[1] does not like to attend school or college and whatever he has acquired has been through Mahadev. I cannot, in my present condition, do anything for him. After I get well, I do think, I will be free. As long as I am out [of jail] he wishes to stay with me. It would be nice, if you can spare some time for him. You can teach him economics, Sanskrit, Bengali, etc. If, on reflection, you think it would overtax you, then please do not take it up. I have made this request because I saw in your article your overflowing love for Mahadev.

Secondly, Smt. Saudamini[2] also kindly offered whatever help I might need. If Chi. Uma[3] does not care any more to be nursed as an invalid, by all means let her give some time to me. I will think over what she can give. How much time and when, that also I will have to think over. Maybe you two will not be able to spare time. I am only hungry for the company of the good and, therefore, I accept whatever is offered or is available from any source.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Also called Bablo, son of Mahadev Desai
[2] Addressee's wife
[3] Addressee's daughter, Uma Randeria

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114. TELEGRAM TO M. M. MALAVIYA

PALM BUN, JUHU,
May 21, 1944

BHARATBHUSHAN MALAVIYAJI
BENARES

YOUR KIND WIRE[1]. DOCTORS WON'T COUNTENANCE SUCH JOURNEY. SUGGEST TALKING THROUGH MESSENGER AFTER END MONTH. TILL THEN COMPLETE SILENCE.[2]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

115. LETTER TO ASHFAQ HUSSAIN

JUHU,
May 21, 1944

MY DEAR ASHFAQ,

Your welcome letter. I can write only love letters. Do come when, if at all, I reach Sevagram.

I have to be under doctors' care yet for a while.

Love to all friends there.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

116. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 21, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I could just read your letter. At present I am not able to write much. Please, therefore, be content with the little I write. What I write to one of you should be regarded as addressed to

[1] Dated May 20, 1944, it read: "If doctors permit, suggest your staying Allahabad two months. Consultation necessary important matter. Wish meet you when your health permits."

[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 282.

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all. I do not know anything about the quarrel between Balvantsinha and Amtussalaam. I think it is good that Munnalal is leaving. It is desirable that he should settle down somewhere. But he is a restless soul and will not do that. God protects him because his intentions are good. What is Parnerkar[1] doing? How is his health ?

Even if I don't write, those who wish to write to me may do so.

I will not be in a hurry to go there. My heart is there, of course. Now I will go over only after it cools down. The silence will end on the 29th. After that I am eager to spend a couple of weeks at Dr. Mehta's sanatorium. Blessings to all. Why is Shankaran displeased?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

117. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JUHU,
May 21, 1944

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am now able to write a little. I, therefore, write to persons like you. I see nothing wrong in the letter you have written. Keep on writing even though you may make mistakes unintentionally. Many a time we learn to avoid mistakes only by making them. We can only try, it is God Who gives the reward. We must be content with whatever happens. I need not write all this to you. Do not worry about me. Just now I am observing silence which will end on the 29th.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10212. Courtesy : Chhaganlal Gandhi

[1] Yashwant Mahadev Parnerkar of Sevagram Ashram dairy

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118. LETTER TO M. M. MALAVIYA

May 21, 1944

PUJYA BHAI SAHEB,

The doctor has permitted me to write such letters. I don't deserve your love. I know that I am unable to fulfil your wishes[1].

The doctors don't permit my travelling long distances. The fact is I don't feel as if I am out of jail. Is being released on grounds of health any release at all? Let us see what way God shows me after I am all right.

YOUR YOUNGER BROTHER

From a microfilm of the Hindi : M.M.U./XXIII

119. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

JUHU,
May 22, 1944

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I got your wire and letter. Pyarelal has replied to them. I have been given permission to write to a few and am, therefore, writing this letter. If your health is good enough, give there[2] whatever service you can, otherwise go to Sevagram. I am regaining strength fairly well. My health is certainly better than yours. But who will let me work, and am I a person who will work?

Kanti arrived here yesterday. He is all right. He will return to Mysore in a couple of days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 477

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 280.

[2] Kasturba Seva Mandir, Borkamata; *vide* also telegram to the addressee, p. 270.

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120. LETTER TO GOMATI K. MASHRUWALA

JUHU,
May 22, 1944

CHI. GOMATI,

Today I feel like writing to you. This letter is for all of you. Vijayabehn and the others came and saw me. Manju too came.

I do not worry about Kishorelal[1]. He has come into this world to endure joy and sorrow silently.

I get news about you, too. I feel satisfied.

Tell Durga that she may accept Shantikumar's[2] invitation and come. Lilavati tells me that she is unhappy there. We should not be unhappy. This is only philosophizing. That she is unhappy is, however, a fact; so let her come here. She will get some peace of mind at any rate. Bablo is here, and that is also one reason why she should come. I am, of course, here too. Let her do what she thinks best. . . .[3]

Ask her to write to me in detail about her activities.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

121. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

May 23, 1944

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

Many thanks for your prompt reply.[4] As soon as the doctors permit me I shall trouble you to come.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Jayakar Papers : File No. 826, p. 3. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Addressee's husband
[2] Shantikumar N. Morarjee
[3] Omission as in the source
[4] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 275.

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122. LETTER TO PRANLAL D. NANJI

By hand with Mathuradas

JUHU,
May 23, 1944

BHAI PRANLAL,

You certainly have the blessings you ask for. If I could not look at such a matter in a detached spirit, it would be shameful for me to associate myself with the collection of this Fund[1]. But instead I am taking as much interest as I can in its success. How can a Fund, the appeal for which has the signatures of so many wealthy men like you, be anything but a success?

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PRANLAL DEVKARAN NANJI
BOMBAY

From a facsimile of the Gujarati : *Pranlal Devkaran Nanji Abhinandan Granth*, between pp. 14 and 15

123. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

[*May 23, 1944*][2]

I will ask him [the doctor]. You also may ask him. If he permits, you may come daily. Do keep troubling me often.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 198

[1] Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

[2] In the source, the addressee explains that he visited Gandhiji on the seventh and thirteenth day after his arrival at Juhu on May 11. This note was written when he visited Gandhiji the second time.

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124. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

May 23, 1944

What you said in your note[1] is perfectly true. In reply I have to say that I am doing exactly that. I will take no hasty step and am not going to take a blind plunge. For most of the time I observe silence.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 200

125. LETTER TO DINKAR

JUHU,
May 23, 1944

CHI. DINKAR,

I have been granted permission to write a few short letters. Hence this, just for the sake of love. I have persuaded myself to believe that what has happened is nothing but good. As to the question of going deep into the matter, we shall see about it when I am well enough. I am happy to learn that your health is improving. I know, you are weaker in body than I am. You have acted rightly in restraining your desire to come over. These days I am observing unbroken silence.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] The reference is to the addressee's letter dated May 20 in which he had said that it would be proper to take up the question of Hindu-Muslim unity only after Gandhiji had decided the policy of the Congress as regards the Government.

126. LETTER TO DADUBHAI DESAI

JUHU,
May 23, 1944

BHAI DADUBHAI,

I have your loving letter. My entire life has been full of experiments which have borne fruit. But please don't worry. I believe that my experiment has been prompted by God. I am quite sure that God will sustain my life as long as He wants to take work from me. You did well in refraining from rushing down here.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

127. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

JUHU,
May 23, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

I was very glad to get your letter. I am not yet permitted to write much. I am improving slowly. Naturally it will take some time to regain strength.

Do come over when you are done with things there, and when I reach Sevagram.

I hope your health is all right.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

SHRIMATI RAMESHWARI NEHRU
SRINAGAR
KASHMIR

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 8004. Also C.W. 3104. Courtesy : Rameshwari Nehru

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128. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND

JUHU,
May 23, 1944

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I got your letter. I find no reason to complain for what has happened. One can only act according to one's capacity.

Your work must be going on smoothly.

I am permitted to write just a little.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 843

129. LETTER TO INDRA VIDYAVACHASPATI

JUHU,
May 23, 1944

CHI. INDRA,

Come over when you wish to. But why should you take the trouble just to see me, when travelling is so difficult these days? I am observing silence which will end on the 29th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 7206. Also C.W. 4864. Courtesy : Chandragupta Vidyalankar

130. LETTER TO A. KALESWARA RAO

JUHU,
May 24, 1944

MY DEAR KALESWARA RAO[1],

Your letter. *Rishis* are made of sterner stuff.

[1] Member of A.I.C.C., also of Madras Legislative Assembly

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Let me remain what I am—a striving servant of India and, through her, of humanity.[1]

Hope you are well.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI A. KALESWARA RAO
NANDIGAM, KRISHNA DISTRICT

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

131. LETTER TO TARA AND RAMNIKLAL MODI

JUHU,
May 24, 1944

CHI. TARA AND RAMNIKLAL,

Shouldn't Tara have precedence as in the compound 'Sitarama'. I am making progress although very slowly.[2] God has brought down my pride, which is what I deserved. I used to consider myself healthier than all of you. But I now realize that we are all made of the same stuff! You can see that I have gained enough strength to write this.

No one should rush here.

Blessings from
BAPU

17 SHANTINAGAR
ASHRAM ROAD
SABARMATI

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

[1] In *Reminiscences of Gandhiji*, p. 141, Chandrashanker Shukla explains that the addressee, in his letter, had "described Gandhiji as a great *rishi* of the present age and wished him 116 years of life and activity to fulfil his mission on earth".

[2] Literally: "My cart is moving slowly."

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132. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 24, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

When an inadvertent mistake can wipe out even our own lives, it is no surprise if some pictures fade out. We should derive not only a lesson from this but some consolation also. The rest from Pyarelal's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4440

133. MESSAGE TO CHINA[1]

May 25, 1944

My heartiest good wishes to China from which the world expects much. I am sorry that I cannot write Chinese.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-5-1944; also *The Hindu*, 27-5-1944

134. LETTER TO KRISHNAVARMA

JUHU,
May 25, 1944

BHAISHRI KRISHNAVARMA[2],

I have told you that I used to go through the *Divya Jivan* with great care. I have, however, not been able to get anything out of it. A reader cannot undertake an experiment [on its basis]. The journal lacks scientific knowledge. Of course,

[1] The report in *The Hindu* said: "Six Chinese saw Gandhiji after evening prayers. Gandhiji signed an album of photographs containing some photos of himself which the visitors had brought with them. The Chinese then made a collection among themselves and handed the sum to Gandhiji as their contribution towards the Harijan Fund."

[2] Of the Nature-cure clinic at Malad, in suburban Bombay

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I know Mahadevprasad very well. His writings suggested to me that his knowledge was rusting. Please pass on this to him to read. I write this only to tell you that either the two of you should fill the pages of your journal with knowledge or close down the monthly.

I am a votary of nature cure. But the practitioners neither work hard nor go deep into the subject. They do not pursue the science with single-minded devotion. They neither study it [themselves] nor try to co-ordinate [one another's efforts].

Blessings from
BAPU

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

135. LETTER TO S. K. VAIDYA

May 25, 1944

BHAI VAIDYA,

It is my keen desire that you should take up some social work with this idea in your mind, if for no other reason, that you are thus identifying yourself with the poor.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5754

136. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[*May 26, 1944*][1]

MY DEAR AMRIT,

You won't expect letters from me but love I can send now. Hope you are keeping well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4202. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7838

[1] In the source, the letter appears on top of a letter dated May 26, 1944, from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to Amrit Kaur.

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137. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

JUHU,
May 26, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have seen your postcard and letter. It is enough for me to know that you understand my joke[1] all right. Your letter admits that you are worse than I am in physical health. Whilst you are free to come any time you like, I shall not press you to come till I feel I am ready for sustained discussion. Meanwhile you can send me, in writing, whatever you have to say. Just now I pass the time reading some literature I had not read and the correspondence which Pyarelal chooses to show me.

I hope Papa[2] and Narasimhan[3] are flourishing.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2094

138. NOTE TO GULAM ALI KHAN[4]

May 26, 1944

I like songs in praise of God. I don't know much of music; neither have I heard many *ustads*[5].

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-5-1944; also *The Hindu*, 28-5-1944

[1] *Vide* p. 264.

[2&3] Addressee's daughter, Namagiri, and son

[4] The report in *The Hindu* said : "Gandhiji wrote this on a slip of paper appreciating the rendering of classical songs and *bhajans* by Gulam Ali Khan of Lahore."

[5] *Maestri*

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139. LETTER TO E. W. ARYANAYAKAM

JUHU,
May 27, 1944

MY DEAR ARYANAYAKAM,

I thank God and His instrument Asha that you are alive. She has been your Savitri to deliver you from the jaws of death. God bless you both. Don't do it again. Even a Savitri has her limits. I see you are in harness again. I am wrong. You were in harness even in your sick-bed.

Don't waste your time in answering this.

Love to you.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

140. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

JUHU,
May 27, 1944

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

I read your letter[1]. Let them acquire it if they want to. After all does it not belong to them? Remember what the poet said in the *bhajan*[2]: "It is useless to sorrow over what God ordains." Who could be the Divine Preceptor of our world? He also has a Lord over him. But the *mantra* of worshipping Him is altogether different. "You may enjoy things only after renouncing them, etc."[3]

MAGANBHAI DESAI
VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

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

[1] Which reported that the Government intended to requisition the Gujarat Vidyapith buildings

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, pp. 447-8.

[3] *Ishopanishad*, v. 1

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141. LETTER TO SAMYUKTA GANDHI

JUHU,
May 27, 1944

CHI. YUKTI[1],

... [2]death and disease stalk us right from our birth. They are both ... [3]fruits of our own actions. We should suffer them with patience.

YUKTIBEHN
SEVAGRAM

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

142. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

JUHU,
May 27, 1944

DAUGHTER,

Your letter is painful reading. I am surprised that you pull on in spite of your illness. It also pains me, for I don't understand how a worker like you can fall ill. But then you are what you are. Ultimately you are sure to die in harness. You have sent for Munnalal. What for, may I ask ? If you stick to the place in spite of all this illness, how much work do you expect to do? A better course would be to go to the Ashram and get well. I write this and yet wonder who am I to guide you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I hope you can decipher my handwriting.

AMTULBEHN

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

[1] Elder sister of Manu Gandhi
[2]&[3] Omission as in the source

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143. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

PALM BEACH, JUHU,
May 27, 1944

If I were keeping good health, I would not have let you go anywhere but would have given you what I myself could. But I am a broken reed now. After I get well, they will certainly not let me remain free. Your good, therefore, lies in going down to Rajkot as early as you can. I will write to Narandas about your education. The things which Yukti has asked for can be sent to her. You may send for them. In all this overcrowding [in trains] I would not like to send you there even in Abha's[1] company. Please guess what I mean from this. God is sure to look after your well-being. Your services can never go unrewarded. Preserve this.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

144. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

May 27, 1944

CHI. KANTI,

I have done what you wanted. Write a short letter of thanks on behalf of both. Write, in Hindi, saying that you will both try to be worthy of his generosity. Write to this effect, if you don't mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KANTI GANDHI
1882-4 WESLEY ROAD
NEAR BUS STAND
MYSORE

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7368. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

[1] Daughter of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

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145. A LETTER

JUHU,
May 27, 1944

I myself have not seen the papers, but Sushila told me that you obtained Nathubhai's signature on your bulletin. Nathubhai was the last to come into my life, through Mahadev. But Jivraj and Purushottam Patel had come into it even before you did. They were followed by Deshmukh and then Nerulkar.

Dalal is dead. I sent a gentle note of reproach to Nathubhai and asked him why he had not called. If, now, Nathubhai signs as a doctor, you should rope in Deshmukh and Nerulkar too. I know that you were prevailed upon by Dr. Gilder. This protest, therefore, is not addressed to you. It is against that Mayor. The bulletin, of course, is not to be issued. But this is one reason for my blood-pressure. There are other reasons, too, but I will not bother you with them. The pressure, of course, will come down, and then a day will come when I also will go the way Dalal has gone. Despite the different therapies, I and all others will have to go one day under some pretext or other. That is why I tell you that you are welcome to go on torturing me till you have conquered death.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 2719. Courtesy : Nathubhai Patel

146. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA

[After *May 27, 1944*][1]

CHI. GULZARILAL,

I read your letter to Pyarelal. Dr. Das visits me from time to time. Dr. Chugh has not impressed me, Dr. Das has. He does not propose to administer any medicine to me. By all means bring over anyone you like from among the names that you suggest. I wish I could have faith in homoeopathy and biochemic medicines, but I don't. Now I am thinking of taking allopathic

[1] In the source, the letter is placed between the letters of May 27 and June 4, 1944.

drugs to get rid of the hook-worms and the amœbae. Your work seems to be going on well. Can one say that you have completely recovered ?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

147. MESSAGE TO NATIONALIST CHRISTIAN PARTY[1]

May 28, 1944

I thank you all for having taken the trouble to come to Juhu and offer prayers for my health. If God has any service still to take from me, I am sure that your prayers and that of so many others in many lands will be answered. God bless you all.

The Hindu, 4-6-1944

148. A MESSAGE TO FRANK MORAES[2]

JUHU,
May 29, 1944

I have complete and categorical replies to all the charges. As soon as I get well, and if I am left free, I shall deal with the questions put.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

149. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

JUHU,
May 31, 1944

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I have your letter. Let me write a few words to you too, since I am writing a little to all those dear to me. You seem to

[1] The report said that this was given, "in writing, to a gathering of about 400 Christians organized by the Nationalist Christian Party . . . when prayers were held for the health of Mahatmaji and for the peace of the world".

[2] The message was communicated over the phone at 9.05 p.m.

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be well settled there. Satis Babu gets, I hope, the help which you should give him. Take care of yourself. Restrain your desire to visit me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1944

150. TELEGRAM TO MANUBHAI PANCHOLI

JUHU,
June 1, 1944

MANUBHAI
GRAM, DAKSHINAMURTI
AMBLA, SONGADH

AM JUHU TILL FIFTEENTH.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

151. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

JUHU,
June 2, 1944

MY DEAR ANAND,

Since you have written in English I answer likewise. You must cease to grieve. You should summon to your aid all you have read and digested. Here is a true thought[1] a lady has sent

[1] Gandhiji sent with the letter a poem received from Glen E. Snyder of U.S.A. when Kasturba died. The poem, by James Whitecomb Riley (1849-1916), American poet, read:

"You cannot say, you must not say
That she is dead.
She is just away!
With a cheery smile
And a wave of the hand
She has wandered into an unknown land
And left us dreaming how very fair
It needs must be, since she lingers there;
So think of her faring on, as dear
In the love of There, as the love of Here;
Think of her still as the same, and say
She is not dead, she is just away!"

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me. Inwardly digest it. Vidya[1] is not dead. She has gone elsewhere leaving the body which she was inhabiting and taking another suitable to her estate.

Of course, you will come when you have finished the course of treatment. I am making slow progress.

BAPU

SADAR VILLA
FYZABAD ROAD
LUCKNOW

From a microfilm. Courtesy : National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

152. LETTER TO SAROLA

PALM BAN, JUHU,
June 2, 1944

MY DEAR SAROLA,

I did have your wire. Pyarelal acknowledged it, too. You must have got it by this time. I do not know what is going to happen to me on recovery. I cannot guide you from a sick-bed. As yet I am allowed only to tackle light correspondence. All I can say is that you should do such national service as comes your way. How is Dipak?

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

153. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

JUHU,
June 3, 1944

MY DEAR AMRIT,

Your note in reply to mine[2]. Your first letter was never received. Sushila will write to you fully. I am progressing steadily though slowly. You must not worry. If God wants more service

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] *Vide* p. 290.

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from me, He will surely keep me and give me sufficient strength to do His work. How about you? How about Shummy[1] and Beryl? Give me all the details you are permitted to give. Are all the old attendants still with you?

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4144. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7779

154. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

JUHU,
June 3, 1944

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. Thanks to your rheumatism, I was able to get news about you. For some time I had given up hopes about you. If Gordhandas[2] had not been released, you might not have been alive. It can be said that you owe your life to his labour and care. May you both live long. I am also eager to see you. But let us both observe self-control. When I get well and go to Sevagram, do come over and meanwhile get well completely. You had this serious illness at the wrong time! I am improving. Keep on writing to me. I think Anand[3] must have grown so much as not to be recognized.

Blessings to all three of you from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10045. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

155. LETTER TO KAUSALYA MALHOTRA

JUHU,
June 4, 1944

CHI. KAUSALYA,

Do you not know Hindi or any other Indian language ? You need not unlearn English to be able to learn your mother tongue and write in it.

[1] Addressee's brother, Lt.-Col. Kanwar Shumshere Singh
[2&3] Addressee's husband and son

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I have read your letter though my prescription holds. If you will be true to yourself, marry without becoming a doll but for the sake of having a partner to serve the country.

With love,

BAPU

MISS KAUSALYA MALHOTRA
C/O H. R. MALHOTRA
CHIEF SECRETARY TO JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

156. LETTER TO MANEKLAL GANDHI

JUHU,
June 4, 1944

CHI. MANEKLAL,

I got your postcard. You are not far ahead of me in age. You have preserved your health well and it can also be said that you have given good service. May you excel me.

I am progressing slowly.[1] Manu has gone to Sevagram on account of Yukti. Both the sisters will come from there on the 23rd to catch the boat. To keep Manu with me now will mean ruining her life. Ba, of course, valued her service. I too would welcome it, but I don't need it. Now she must pay attention exclusively to study.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MANEKLAL AMRITLAL GANDHI
DEVALI THANA
KATHIAWAR

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 891. Courtesy: Maneklal Amritlal Gandhi

157. LETTER TO INDU N. PAREKH

JUHU,
June 4, 1944

CHI. INDU,

I have your letter. You have decided to do the right thing. You will be steadier when you marry. After all one has to marry,

[1] Literally: "My cart is jogging along slowly."

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sooner or later. It is no easy task to observe unbroken *brahmacharya*. Practising abstention after marriage is, however, comparatively easier. Don't let your health deteriorate.

I still cannot work as much as before.

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

158. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

JUHU,
June 5, 1944

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

I am glad you have returned. I hope to send you in a day or two the papers I had intended to. I propose that we should meet after you have studied the papers.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Jayakar Papers. File No. 826, p. 8. Courtesy : National Archives of India

159. LETTER TO SAILENDRANATH CHATTERJEE

JUHU,
June 5, 1944

MY DEAR SAILEN[1],

I was glad to have your letter. Abha will be with me whilst I am free. She has become very weak but there is no cause for anxiety.

About your difficulty, we shall talk when I am in Sevagram.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10494. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

[1] Son of Amrita Lal Chatterjee

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160. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

JUHU,
June 5, 1944

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I read the *ghazal*[1] sent by you. I can understand it. But it does not have the same effect on my mind as it has on yours. I have read a good deal of Manibhai's writings. He was my professor.

Your ship seems to be sailing fairly well. Do not be eager to come here. The other papers also were shown to me. Send me details of your work.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BHAGWANJI PURUSHOTTAM
HARIJAN ASHRAM
WADHWAN CITY

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 398. Courtesy : Navajivan Trust

161. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

JUHU,
June 5, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I read your anguish-filled letter. Constant efforts do result in purity. Meditate upon chapters VI and XII[2]. More when we meet.

Shankaran is quite distressed and I feel that, if his father is ill, he should be permitted to go.

What work was Parnerkar doing?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4441

[1] By Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi, Gujarati poet and thinker
[2] Of *Bhagavad Gita*

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162. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

BOMBAY,
June 7, 1944

AMTUSSALAAM
105 HARRISON ROAD
CALCUTTA

BAPUJI SEEN YOUR POSTCARD. HE IS LEAVING FOR POONA NEXT WEEK. ASKS YOU PROCEED SEVAGRAM. SENDS BLESSINGS.

SHANTIKUMAR

From a photostat : G.N. 478

163. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

June 8, 1944

CHI. MANU,

Instead of calling you Manu I should call you Mridulabehn[1]. Even before leaving Bombay you have disobeyed me. At this rate, how much of my advice are you going to follow? You have not earned a single pie yourself. You have a generous father, and so are wasting his money. Do you wish to spoil the baby[2]? But I will not let you do so while I am alive. If you think the silver rattle and cups are all right for you, you may keep them yourself. If you do not want them, give them to someone like you. I myself want that you should keep them as a reminder of your foolishness. I am returning the cup and rattle along with this letter.[3]

Rama Rama from your unhappy
BAPU

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

[1] Addressee's full name
[2] Nandini, daughter of Pyarelal's brother, Mohanlal
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Jaisukhlal Gandhi", pp. 311-2.

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164. LETTER TO VITHALDAS

June 8, 1944

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I read your letter. My mind has become confused. If I hear both sides, it might throw some light. But is that possible in my present condition? I would advise you to assume that I have not been released and do what all of you think best. If that is not possible, then I may spare some time, listen to both the parties and give my decision.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9805

165. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

June 8, 1944

CHI. KANAM[1],

I received the plans sent by you. I learnt about your perseverance, as also about the service you are rendering to your grandmother. We can serve our elders even when they are no more. There is likely to be greater purity in such service. My purpose in writing this is, however, different. That you are immersed in study is good, no doubt, but you must realize its limitation, which is this: Spiritual progress is as essential as intellectual progress; so also development of the body. We often tend to forget this. Don't you forget this. The rest when we meet, although, I am afraid, it will be some time before we can meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Son of Ramdas Gandhi

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166. SPEECH AT JUHU

June 8, 1944

I thought you were all good men and that you had faith in prayer. But if the report that has reached me is correct, I do not think that you answer to that description. If I am mistaken, you can correct me. You have gate-crashed and broken in. If that is so, I do not wish to have your *darshan*[1], neither do I wish to give you my *darshan*. When it rained, I came out and begged to be excused. I thought that none of you were left out. But you were late, though you had come in time for the usual prayers.[2] So I was helpless. I thought that if Sarojini Devi had allowed you and if you had come quietly, I would have had no objection. Instead you howled and broke open the gate. I am pleased to see you. But the way you have come here has pained me greatly. I hope you will not repeat this. I do not wish to say any more. I shall be obliged, if you disperse quietly.

Even this much speaking is beyond my strength and against the orders of my doctors. But I have spoken because I felt that, unless I gave expression to my anguish, I would not be able to sleep peacefully. You gate-crashed and it hurts me. If you disperse peacefully, my anguish will be lightened. But if you do not remain peaceful and disperse in an orderly manner, I shall have to come back.

Those of you who wish to contribute to the Harijan Fund may do so. But you will not expect me to keep standing here. That is beyond my strength.[3]

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-6-1944

[1] Sight of a person, place or thing considered holy

[2] The report said: "Due to the inclement weather Gandhiji went to the usual prayer ground facing the sea, a little earlier than usual, and begged to be excused. It was decided to hold the prayers inside the compound. . . ." The report in *The Hindu*, 10-6-1944, said: "After waiting for more than an hour, they were told that they could proceed to Mr. Gandhi in batches. But the crowd rushed in. . . ."

[3] The report concluded: "After Gandhiji turned back some people made their contributions to the Fund and all of them walked out of the grounds peacefully."

167. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

June 9, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

I have your kind letter[1]. I am glad your son is making rapid progress. May the residence in Kashmir bring about complete recovery.

The publication of my letter[2] to Dr. Jayakar had become inevitable. You need fear no hasty statement[3] from me till I am declared passable by the doctors. I shall look forward to meeting you in Sevagram. I shall be for a fortnight from 15th instant in Dr. Dinshaw's sanatorium and may have to go to Panchgani thereafter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library. Also G.N. 7576

168. LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI

June 9, 1944

I have been filled with admiration for your courage and heroism. I have sent you messages that you must not die underground.[4] You are reduced to a skeleton. Do come out and surrender yourself and win the prize offered for your arrest. Reserve the prize money for the Harijan cause.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book One, p. 36

[1] Dated June 4, 1944

[2] *Vide* p. 275.

[3] The addressee had said in his letter that "any statement at this stage . . . might make the task of general reconciliation difficult" and reserved his "suggestions for a personal discussion".

[4] Pyarelal explains : "Aruna Asaf Ali had been suffering from acute dysentery. It had been accentuated by the vicissitudes of her underground life."

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169. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU CHOWDHARY

June 9, 1944

Secrecy, in my opinion, is a sin and symptom of violence, therefore, to be definitely avoided, especially if the freedom of the dumb millions is the goal. Hence all underground activity, in my opinion, is taboo. What I, however, say is that even the content of violence and non-violence, whether as policy, or creed, should be judged by every individual worker according to the dictates of his head and heart. And when there is a conflict between the head and the heart, the heart wins.

I am not saying anything as the leader of the movement, I must be regarded still as a prisoner with freedom to give opinions, not to issue instructions.

Glimpses of Gandhiji, pp. 74-5

170. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAKVASA[1]

June 9, 1944

Don't you think I have beaten you? You were only able to sign, but I have been able to write two lines also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4782. Courtesy : Mangaldas Pakvasa

[1] This was written as postscript to Pyarelal's reply to the addressee who was not keeping well.

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171. LETTER TO H. P. MODY[1]

SUNDER BUN, JUHU,
June 10, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I send you herewith in two volumes copies of correspondence between the Government of India or the Bombay Government and myself during my incarceration in the palace of H. H. the Aga Khan in Yeravda.

The second volume is a copy of my reply[2] to the Government of India pamphlet entitled *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. The first contains copies of correspondence arising out of the above mentioned reply and on miscellaneous matters of public importance.

I had the copies cyclostyled with the help of kind friends. For fear of censorship difficulties I did not try to have the copies printed at any printing press. But lest the Government of India may think that there is anything in the correspondence objectionable from military standpoint, I am circulating for private use only the copies among friends who, I think, should know the nature of the correspondence that took place between the two Governments and me. You are free to show your copy to any friends you like, subject to the precaution that applies to you.

You will confer on me a favour, if you will take the trouble of letting me have your reaction upon the correspondence, especially upon the points arising from my reply to the Government of India pamphlet. I have endeavoured to answer every item of importance in the Government indictment. I should like to know the points, if any, which require elucidation.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : H. P. Mody Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also G.N. 1192, and *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. xxvii

[1] In *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, this appears as "Gandhiji's Prefatory Covering Letter".

[2] *Vide* pp. 105-99.

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172. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

June 10, 1944

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I have your love letter[1] delivered through a precious messenger. I agree with you in the main. But I understand you will be in Poona at least up to the 15th. I reach Poona on that date. Could you not postpone your departure for one day? Then we can meet face to face. You are to have with this a parcel[2] which will tell its own tale.

Love from,

Your little brother,

From a photostat : G.N. 8822. Also *Letters of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*, pp. 361-2

173. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

June 10, 1944

CHI. NARANDAS,

We have had Abha's tonsils removed. She is better today. The wound still bleeds a little. I have been discussing the matter with Kanaiyo. I have already talked with Abha. I feel inclined to get them married soon, either in Poona or in Sevagram, wherever I am. According to me, it is not necessary either for any of you, or for Amrita Lal and others, to be present. But I should not like to discourage you or Jamna[3], if either of you desires to attend. The same view I hold about Amrita Lal. If both of them fully agree, I will fix the date and the place and inform you. Tell me in time whether or not you wish to attend.

[1] *Vide* Appendix XV.

[2] The reference is, presumably, to the volumes of copies of correspondence between Gandhiji and the Government; *vide* the preceding item.

[3] Addressee's wife

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We shall be leaving for Poona on the 15th. Abha will be with us. She will stay with me so long as I remain out.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8609. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

174. LETTER TO P. C. JOSHI

JUHU,
June 11, 1944

MY DEAR JOSHI[1],

I had expected a prompt reply to the questions I had raised at our meeting[2]. Meanwhile some additional questions have arisen which please, answer when you answer my first questions.

1. What is the meaning of "people" in "people's war"? Does it mean war on behalf of India's millions, or the Negroes in East, South or West Africa, or the Negroes of America, or all of them? Are the Allies engaged in such a war?

2. Are the finances of the Communist Party, represented by you, subject to public audit? If they are, may I see them?

3. It is stated that the Communist Party has actively helped the authorities to arrest leaders and organizers of labour strikes during the last two years.

4. The Communist Party is said to have adopted the policy of infiltrating the Congress organization with a hostile intent.

5. Is not the policy of the Communist Party dictated from outside ?[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, p. 2

[1] Puran Chandra Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India

[2] According to the addressee, it was early in June.

[3] For excerpts from the addressee's letter in reply to this, *vide* Appendix XVI.

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175. TELEGRAM TO P. C. RAY

[On or before *June 12, 1944*][1]

HOPE YOU WILL INSIST ON FINISHING AT LEAST A CENTURY.[2]

The Hindu, 14-6-1944

176. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

June 12, 1944

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I wanted to write this letter immediately after Manu's departure but I could not. Manu disappointed me very much just before she left. I thought she had understood everything and would do as she had promised, but I was wrong. Before leaving, she bought and sent a silver toy and a silver cup for Pyarelal's brother's daughter. I was very much pained. I poured out all my pain in my letter[3] to her and returned the things. You must have come to know about all this. Now you will have to be on your guard. I had suggested that she should stay for a year at Rajkot in the hope that that would develop all her fine qualities and cure her weaknesses. But Manu was reluctant. On receipt of an enthusiastic letter from the teacher at Karachi, she was beside herself with joy, and I, therefore, sent her there.

I should like to tell you the thoughts which occurred to me about you. You seem to have such a lot of money that you have taught Manu to spend money as if she was more than even a multi-millionaire. I very much appreciate your love for your daughters. But the question is from where you got all this money. You could not have saved it from khadi work. Did you, then, save it from your job there? Is it possible to save so much money in this way? If you have kept accounts, I should certainly like to see them. How can I hide from you the suspicion that has arisen in my mind? When I got angry,

[1] According to the report, the telegram was received by the addressee, an eminent scientist, on June 12.

[2] The addressee, who was ailing, died on June 16.

[3] *Vide* p. 303.

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Shantikumar was present. When I asked him, he told me that you could not have saved so much from the Scindia job. He had no reason to suspect you, as strict care was taken to see that there was no scope for corruption among their employees. Now let me have your reply.

Sushila must have written to you about Yukti. Take good care of her. Manu's eyes are very weak. They can be saved only with great care. Otherwise in a few years' time she might not be able to read and write.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

177. MESSAGE TO BOMBAY KERALEEYA SAMAJ[1]

June 12, 1944

I am glad you took the trouble of coming to me and giving me a purse for the Harijans. I hope your efforts on behalf of the poor in the country will prosper. God be with you.

The Hindu, 14-6-1944

178. SILENCE-DAY INTERVIEW TO JOURNALISTS[2]

BOMBAY,
June 12, 1944

Amen. So help us God. The contract is that there should be silence on both sides. You may read what you can from the silence.

[1] The report said: "Over a hundred members of the Bombay Keraleeya Samaj offered prayers . . . for Gandhiji's speedy recovery . . . and presented him with a purse of Rs. 501. The party was led by Mr. K. Subramaniam."

[2] The report said: "Mahatma Gandhi . . . received some thirty journalists at his shack at Juhu this evening. Today was his day of weekly silence and since he was leaving the city for Poona on Thursday, he agreed to 'see' Pressmen today. He was seen in his characteristic pose, squatting cross-legged on a mattress, busy writing something. The Pressmen crowded around him and someone passed on a chit to him, stating that the Press was not satisfied with 'this silent interview' and that they were eagerly looking forward to the day when he would be completely restored to health and would speak to them again as before. Mahatma Gandhi wrote back on the same chit.

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Another spell of a few minutes' silence followed and Mahatma Gandhi was asked, how long they could stay there. By a sign of his finger he replied that the interview would last ten minutes. The journalists replied that they had been waiting at Juhu practically all the days since his arrival, and therefore the time of the "silent interview" should be extended. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in reply:

If there is a good singer amongst you, you can take extra time; otherwise what is the use of your wasting time? There is no such thing as silence in journalists.

The reporters were taken aback at the request, but one journalist came to the rescue of the party, and he sang a song, which seemed to have pleased Mahatma Gandhi. Another gentleman, to everybody's surprise, volunteered to follow up and Mahatma Gandhi wrote:

I would gladly listen to more, but ill though I am, the time is all pledged to the nation[1].

The Hindu, 14-6-1944

179. LETTER TO H. P. MODY

SUNDER BUN, JUHU,
June 12/13, 1944

BHAI HOMY MODY,[2]

I promised[3] to give you a written reply to your very kind letter of 9th instant. Here is my reply.

The conferences that are meeting to consider the future, I regard as one of the methods of diverting public attention from the grim realities of the war.[4] The future will be decided not by conferences but by the way in which the principal actors behave now. We should, therefore, control the present so that the future may correspond to the present. We shall reap as we sow. The realities are that we allow ourselves to be exploited with our eyes shut and/or open.

[1] The report concluded: "The journalists then pooled some money for Harijan Fund, gave it to Mahatma Gandhi and left the shack."

[2] The salutation and subscription are in Gujarati.

[3] The addressee had discussion with Gandhiji on June 9 and 11.

[4] The addressee had said in his letter (C.W. 4891) : "India is looking on as a distant spectator; even when her representatives are admitted to a conference table, they have to play the role of spokesmen of a subordinate member of the British Commonwealth. . . ."

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I feel that I know the way out but I am helpless not merely because I am ill, but principally because the censorship tightens round me like the coil of a snake. I am taxing God to show me how to disengage myself from the coil.

I shall take no hasty step. Before I take any step, I shall certainly correspond with H. E. the Viceroy.

As to communal unity, I am wedded to it. All I can say is that I shall leave no stone unturned to make my contribution towards a just solution.[1]

There is a ring of despair running through your letter. I wish I could induce you to share my optimism. Time never runs against a just cause, especially when it is backed by equally just means.

Anyway you must not despair of me, even though we may not see eye to eye on things of common interest.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR HOMY MODY
BOMBAY

From a photostat : C.W. 4882. Courtesy : H. P. Mody

180. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

JUHU,
June 13, 1944

CHI. AMRIT,

This is merely my love letter, not a business letter. For the latter you will look to Pyarelal and Sushila. I was delighted to receive your letter through Dr. Sen. I may not meet him, for I go to Poona tomorrow. I have also your annual gifts. I am

[1] The addressee had stated : "... the issue seems to lie between acceptance of the Muslim demand, and determination to uphold the political integrity of India even at the cost of an indefinite postponement of swaraj ... there is a tendency to underrate the strength of the Muslim insistence on Pakistan, and that there is an increasing number of people who feel that nothing is to be gained by postponing a Hindu-Muslim settlement ... continuance of the present stalemate would have a certain measure of justification only if there were reasonable grounds for hoping that, by patiently marking time, it would be possible to achieve political unity as well as freedom."

already in your new dhotis. They are too wide for me. But that matters little. They are well woven. The shawl also I prize. I did not know that you had begun to spin wool too.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4145. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7780

181. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

JUHU,
June 14, 1944

CHI. KANAM,

I have your letter. Your handwriting, I must say, is very shabby. You ought to cultivate tidiness in all respects. You should properly space your words, and use punctuation marks. I hope, you don't want to forget the Gujarati script altogether.

We will certainly play odds-and-evens when we meet. But shouldn't you play games involving vigorous physical exercise? Your English handwriting also needs improvement. How can one believe in both violence and non-violence ? Can one ride two horses simultaneously?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

182. LETTER TO JITENDRA BHATIA[1]

[After *June 15, 1944*][2]

During my stay in Juhu the volunteers rendered devoted service. God alone can repay them.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-6-1944

[1] Head of the volunteers who had kept guard at Gandhiji's shack during his stay in Juhu

[2] According to the report, Gandhiji wrote the letter in Hindustani and sent from Poona, where he arrived on June 15.

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183. LETTER TO MOTICHAND

POONA,
June 16, 1944

BHAI MOTICHAND,

I got your gift of grace. I have not brought over all the books in the packet. I have brought with me only one book. But I now see that perhaps I shall not be able to touch any literature. I have not been able to cope with even the material collected by Pyarelal.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

184. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

POONA,
June 16, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. At present I don't feel like going to any other place besides Bombay, Poona, Panchgani and places nearby. Of course, I do wish to go to Sevagram when the doctors permit. I shall surely stay with you, if I feel like going to Kashmir. Birlaji told me about the responsibility you are shouldering. May God give you success.

I am recovering.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 8005. Also C.W. 3105. Courtesy : Rameshwari Nehru

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185. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

NATURE-CURE CLINIC,
6 TODDIWALA ROAD, POONA,
June 17, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

But for the fact that this letter is along the lines of your pre-occupation, I should not have troubled you with any letter from me.

Though there is little cause for it, the whole country and even many from outside expect me to make some decisive contribution to the general good. I am sorry to say, my convalescence threatens to be fairly long. Even if I was quite well, I could do little or nothing, unless I knew the mind of the Working Committee of the Congress. I pleaded[1] as a prisoner for permission to see them. I plead now as a free man for such permission. If you will see me before deciding, I shall gladly go wherever you want me to, as soon as I am allowed by my medical advisers to undertake long-distance travelling.

I have circulated among friends for private use, copies of the correspondence that passed between the authorities and me during detention. I do feel, however, that in fairness to me Government should permit its publication in the Press.[2]

My address will be as above till 30th instant.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-7-1944

[1] *Vide* pp. 52 and 53.

[2] In his reply dated June 22, the Viceroy declined both the requests and said: "If, after your convalescence and after further reflection, you have a definite and constructive policy to propose for the furtherance of India's welfare, I shall be glad to consider it. ... Since ... the correspondence ... has ... appeared in the Press, I have given instructions for the publication of the whole of political letters written during your detention." *Vide* also "Telegram to Private Secretary to Viceroy", p. 336.

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186. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

June 17, 1944

BHAI RANCHHODDAS,

I like your letter, although I don't like your writing to me in English. You certainly know Gujarati and so do I. Why should not we write to each other in our mother tongue?

I understand the change in your thinking.[1] I want you to come and see me at Sevagram, after I am all right. I can take quite a good amount of work from you. I had at heart nothing but esteem for you even when you used to write and speak against me because I always knew that you had no personal grudge against me. You believed that I was doing harm to the country, and hence you opposed me thinking it to be your duty to do so.

Write to me frankly whenever you wish to.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

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

187. LETTER TO SURENDRA

[After *June 17, 1944*][2]

CHI. SURENDRA,

I have your letter. Are you troubled by the menace of dogs? Of jackals? Rabid foxes? Snakes? How is the dwelling? Is the foundation high enough? Does it have a verandah? How many rooms does it have? How is the roofing? What are you reading these days ? Do you take any exercise ? What work are you doing among the people? I have nothing to say about your not participating in any public activities. It is good that you refrain from coming to me. But don't hesitate to pay me a visit, if you

[1] The addressee had previously opposed Gandhiji's campaign against untouchability; *vide* Vol. LIII, pp. 13-24.

[2] In the source, the letter is placed between the letters of June 17 and 21, 1944.

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wish to, when I reach Sevagram. Nathji[1] had met me. He will come here. I am here till the 30th. I am keeping fairly well. The two [kinds of] worms[2] won't leave me yet.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

188. LETTER TO INAYATULLAH KHAN MASHRIQUI[3]

June 18, 1944

I may say at once that nothing has been issued from this office to say that you were coming to see Gandhiji. He certainly endorses your view that Qaid-e-Azam is the man he should try to see. He does not remember the warning you gave him through the late Dr. Ansari. He has no objection to your publishing your letter under reply. But he very much doubts the wisdom of carrying on public correspondence of the nature of your letter. Premature publicity robs such correspondence of its intrinsic value and use, and lays the publisher open to the charge of self-advertisement.

From File No. 51/4/44. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni, Kishorelal Mashruwala's guru

[2] Hook-worms and amoeba; *vide* pp. 295-6.

[3] This was written by Pyarelal in reply to the addressee's letter dated June 12 to Gandhiji, which, *inter alia*, read : "You must be remembering in what exact terms I warned you in 1930 . . . I must avoid coming to see you at Bombay until I have exhausted all efforts to make your meeting with Qaid-e-Azam possible. . . . I understand that a report was recently issued from your office that I was coming over to see you to discuss the question of Hindu-Muslim understanding. . . . I still consider Mr. Jinnah the proper man for this unless he totally refuses to meet you. *Vide* also telegram to the addressee, p. 272.

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189. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

June 18, 1944

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter today. You are as impatient as you have always been. Come over when you wish to. Here I am my own sentry. People respect my wishes and no visitors come. It is only those whom I send for or have given an appointment to, that come. Do not believe any rumour without first referring it to me for verification. Nobody has been able to come and see me regardless of my wishes. If you have any information [about such persons], ask me whether it is true. About Juhu, too, you may ask me whatever you wish to.[1] Nobody holds back your letters.

I have come here with the sole intention of meeting Prof. Limaye[2]. He can bring along anybody else whom he wishes. These days the Professor himself is ill. I wish to do here what I could not in Juhu. I think it a matter of shame for me that Prof. Limaye should ask for my permission through you. I have the greatest regard for him.

I hope you will be satisfied with this much today. I need not write separately about Deshpandeji[3], need I?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10430. Also C.W. 6869. Courtesy : Prema Kantak

[1] Sarojini Naidu had stopped the addressee from meeting Gandhiji at Juhu
[2] Prof. V. P. Limaye of Vidhayak Samiti
[3] G. A. Deshpande, alias Tatyasaheb, Secretary, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee

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190. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

POONA,
June 18, 1944

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

Krishnachandra writes and tells me that just because a man deceived you, you have given up milk at one meal and that you castigated yourself too. Both these things can be done on the right occasion but was it the right occasion in your case? During the last imprisonment I learnt one thing, namely, that one must never be hasty in judging the actions of one's co-workers. One should put before the person concerned the other side for consideration and then let him judge himself. Think over your action from this point of view.

Do not hesitate to write anything to me.

My going there keeps on getting postponed. I think I would be lucky, if I could go there by the end of July. I can say that I do not intend to wait much longer after the end of August.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 809. Courtesy : Balkrishna Bhave

191. LETTER TO R. K. PRABHU

POONA,
June 19, 1944

MY DEAR PRABHU,

I hope you had my letter. Will 28th instant (Wednesday) 5 p.m. suit you? I can't give you an earlier time.[1] I want to take things easy.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 9227

[1] Regarding compilation of *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi* by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao, published by the Oxford University Press in March 1945. *Vide* also "Letter to G. V. Mavalankar", p. 354.

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192. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

POONA,
June 19, 1944

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I hope you had my note[1] addressed to you at Poona. Your letter of 17th does not seem to be a reply to it.

Of course, I would love you to come any time you can, i.e., if your health permits. There will be much noise about our meeting and more conjecture, but it is inevitable.

I need not think of the past but what of the present?[2] Will not the present which I can see mould the future? Must I not get rid of the present hook-worm and amoeba, if I am to ensure the future good of the body? Think it over and answer the question when we meet unless you would do otherwise.

I am making fair progress in spite of the two enemies.

Love.

Yours,
LITTLE BROTHER

[PS.]

Will you rather have my letters typed?

From a photostat : G.N. 8823. Also *Letters of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*, pp. 362-3

[1] *Vide* p. 309.

[2] In his letter, the addressee had said: "You have had great wrongs and they cry aloud for redress. But at this moment the future is more important than the past. While I don't venture to say that you shouldn't seek to re-establish yourself, I would beseech you earnestly to attend to the demands of the world's peace. India's cause and yours may—who knows—be best served that way."

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193. LETTER TO KAMALA DEVI

POONA,
June 19, 1944

MY DEAR KAMALA DEVI[1],

If I had the mischievous intention of teaching you a lesson, I would have given you 26th instant. You did not look up your calendar when you wrote. It is my silence day. But I shall be good. You can come on 27th instant and see me at 5 p.m.

With love,

BAPU

SHRIMATI KAMALA DEVI
84 NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

194. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

POONA,
June 19, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

We shall meet on the 24th at five o'clock. I am maintaining my progress, although slowly.[2]

Blessings to all from
BAPU

SHRI KANU MUNSHI
ADVOCATE
26 RIDGE ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 7674. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

[1] Presumably, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, President, All-India Women's Conference

[2] Literally : "My village cart moves at its own speed."

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195. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

POONA,
June 19, 1944

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. I would have allowed you to come for my sake and it would have been a pleasure to see you; but I stopped you for your own sake. Never mind even if you are fit enough to travel from Surat to Bombay. You will improve still further if you observe self-control. And haven't you learnt self-control from me ? I do not remember having ever spoilt you, not even at the time of your wedding.

Chokhawala has broad shoulders and is a soldier. Anand is really *anand*[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10046. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

196. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

POONA,
June 19, 1944

CHI. MANUDI,

I have your letter. If you behave as you promise, I shall be very happy. I am glad that you did not go to the cinema. Even if I do not write to you, you should write to me regularly. It would be very good if the climate suits Yukti. The weather there is supposed to be good.

I am improving day by day.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Literally, "joy"

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197. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

POONA,
June 20, 1944

CHI. ANAND,[1]

You must not brood over Vidya's death nor get disconcerted. If she was the inspiration of your life whilst she was in the flesh, she must be more so having gone to her resting place. That to me is the meaning of the true union of souls. The classic example is that of Jesus and, in modern times, of Ramakrishna. They became greater influences after their death. Their spirit did not die, nor is Vidya's dead. You must, therefore, leave off sorrowing and think of your duty in front of you. Do not think of running to me whilst you are having your treatment and whilst I am having mine. You will come when I go to Sevagram.[2]

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Try to write in Hindustani.

From a microfilm. Courtesy : National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

198. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

June 20, 1944

VALJIBHAI,

This certainly reads well.[3] But the whole thing deserves to be reconsidered. The writing can be misinterpreted. For instance, what can a man do in the present war? As you say, he cannot remain neutral which means that either he should participate in

[1] This is in Devanagari.

[2] *Vide* also pp. 271 and 297-8.

[3] The reference is to a collection of passages, extracted by the addressee from his article "The Quintessence of Gandhism" published in *Young India*, 22-1-1925. For the passages which the addressee considered as "suitable mottoes to be printed inside the cover page of *History of Satyagraha in South Africa*", *vide* Appendix XVII.

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the war or commit *harakiri* by plunging into it. Isn't it? Should he go to jail? The answer is not as simple as we might think.

The second part deserves a more serious consideration.

Must only the brave grant forgiveness? One seldom comes across brave people. Hence the quotations cited by you, although true, are like reciting the *Bhagavata* before a buffalo, or casting pearls before a swine, or maybe, attaching gold trappings on to an ass!

These are but random thoughts as they come to my mind, and I am flinging them at you! It is only for your understanding. Under the circumstances it is best to go on doing our work silently.

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

199. LETTER TO BHAGIRATHI DEVI UPADHYAYA

POONA,
June 20, 1944

CHI. BHAGIRATHI,

I was happy to get your letter but was equally unhappy to learn about Haribhau[1]. Keep writing to me.

I shall be in Poona till the 30th. It would be at least one and a half months before I can go to Sevagram. I am getting better gradually. The doctors say that it will be some time before I regain my full strength. There is not the slightest cause for worry about me.

Durgabehn, Narayan and Aryanayakam are with me and, of course, Pyarelal, Sushilabehn and Kanu. Abha was unwell and, therefore, she also is here.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Addressee's husband

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200. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

POONA,
June 21, 1944

BHAI MAVALANKAR[1],

Pyarelal could not deal with the papers you had sent. He was not attending to our discussion with sufficient care for that. Besides, he has never concerned himself with that subject. So I myself have done what I thought proper in this matter. I could have written more, but I think this much will be sufficient for you. If you think any points need further clarification, please ask me and I will immediately explain. Your two questions regarding the Kasturba Fund could have been drafted differently. But I have not touched them. I wanted to save time. I have made only a slight change regarding copyright, and it is self-explanatory.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Maganbhai's letter is enclosed. According to our understanding, I assume that you yourself will explain the matter to him, won't you?[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1249

201. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

POONA,
June 21, 1944

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. The party had gathered at Juhu and it was decided that whatever problems were brought to me should be referred by me to anyone I like from among the list of certain names. The question may, if at all, be referred to me after this.

I have accordingly passed on your letter to Dada Mavalankar. If he cannot satisfy you, you can have Rs. 8,000 from me. You are not to waste any time over it.

[1] Speaker, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937 to 1945; later Speaker, Central Legislative Assembly and Lok Sabha

[2] *Vide* also the following item.

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Herewith find a copy of my letter to Vidyabehn[1] regarding the [Gujarat] Vidyapith. It did not occur to me, although it ought to have occurred, to consult you in the matter. Still, I hope you will like my reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

202. LETTER TO NRISINHAPRASAD K. BHATT

June 21, 1944

BHAI NANABHAI,

I have your letter. I have also heard a lot from Manubhai[2] and Vijaya[3]. There seems to be some trouble about Prithvi Singh. They have asked for your experience. Do not for a moment think that it is your responsibility. You talked open-heartedly and were, in consequence, deceived. Why then feel hurt about it? How can the world go on, if we do not have such faith ? I could understand your pain from what Manubhai told me. Hence this letter.

Never mind, if you did not get my earlier letter. Come over to Sevagram, if and when I go there.

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

203. LETTER TO PARACHURE SHASTRI

POONA,
June 21, 1944

BHAI PARACHURE SHASTRI[4],

I have preserved your postcard. I have always been pained that the country cannot fully utilize your learning. I have looked in vain for possibilities. You should yourself find a way through persistent effort. The rest when we meet. It appears almost impossible to reach there by the end of July. Bhai Manohar's[5] *tapascharya* is incomparable.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] Vidyagauri Ramanbhai Nilkanth

[2&3] Manubhai and Vijaya Pancholi

[4] A leprosy patient who came to Sevagram in November 1939, and stayed there till his death on September 5, 1945

[5] Manohar Divan who "dedicated himself to the service of lepers"; *vide* Vol. LXXIII, p. 104.

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204. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

POONA,
June 22, 1944

MY DEAR HARIBHAU,

I could not trace your precious letter when Baburao called. I admitted him, being sent by you. He had nothing to say. I found your letter after you had gone.

I did not know that there was no Board here. I am more than agreeable that you should take charge. As you know, the whole thing is under the Sangh's[1] charge. Bapa is arriving here on 1st July. Probably he is here today. I advise your seeing him and showing this letter to him. You need have no delicacy about offering your services. Of course, cases like Baburao's should be helped, and helped promptly.

The collection made here should principally, if not wholly, be used in Poona or perhaps Maharashtra proper. This again should pass through the Sangh who accept my recommendation without demur. This I shall do.

Could you come on Sunday at 4.30 p.m.?

I do not know whether I ever acknowledged your letter accompanying the sweets you sent. I have not yet tasted them.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 2803. Courtesy : Chhaganlal Gandhi

205. LETTER TO LAKSHMIBAI ABHYANKAR

POONA,
June 22, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

Of course, I remember your husband very well. I was struck by his sincerity, and the accuracy with which he approached the subject he had made his own.

And only two days ago I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Belvalkar and receiving from him his volumes on the *Bhagavad Gita*.

[1] Harijan Sevak Sangh

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It gives me, therefore, much joy to be able to send my blessings to your son and to Usha Belvalkar on their forthcoming marriage.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SMT. LAXMIBAI ABHYANKAR
SARDAR GRIHA
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

206. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

POONA,
June 22, 1944

CHI. KANCHAN,

I waited for you in Bombay. If you had met me there, you could have travelled with me up to Poona. Now I cannot send for you here. If I send for you, why not Amtul Salaam? Why not the other women also who wish to come? Vasumati is pining to come. Even the present number in Panchagani is too large. When I go there you all can have the pleasure of my company to your hearts' content. I am impatient to go there just for that reason. I hope that you will understand my position and have patience. There are lots of people here to attend on me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8268. Also C.W. 7174. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

207. LETTER TO GOKHALE

POONA,
June 23, 1944

MY DEAR GOKHALE,

I am quite clear that you should try to cure yourself of pleurisy. It is unnecessary to think ahead of four or five months. You will then act according to the circumstances then existing. If I am out, you will write to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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208. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI[1]

POONA,
June 23, 1944

CHI. MANUDI,

Your falling ill as soon as you arrived there has shaken me. If you faithfully carry out all that I have told you, you would never fall ill. The decision to study is a good one. But you must not study just to get through the examination. Study whatever you can without straining your eyes. You are impatient as all young people are. But I expect patience from you. The virtues that I have seen in you are not found in all girls. Having regard to them, when I see the smallest drawback in you it seems to me a mountain and something unbearable.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

209. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

POONA,
June 24, 1944

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

Just a line to tell you that I had a long chat with Abha and Kanu. They are both prepared to be married after we descend from Panchgani, if your and your wife's blessings can be had. Narandas and Jamnabehn have given their consent. Narandas won't be present at the ceremony.[2] Kanu is trying to persuade his mother, too, to abstain. I hope you two will also be able to exercise restraint. What is the use of spending money for a sentiment. But if you cannot, you will, of course, come. Please let me know your wishes per return. Write to me at Panchgani[3],

[1] The addressee had been upset by Gandhiji's letter to Jaisukhlal Gandhi, *vide* pp. 311-2, and had asked Gandhiji to forgive her.
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", pp. 309-10.
[3] Where Gandhiji reached on July 4

Satara District. Abha and Manu will be with me. Hope you are all well.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10495. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

210. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

POONA,
June 24, 1944

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your two letters. You did right in giving all the details. I will write about that later. There is no need at all to send Manu to Rajkot. She has come there only with my permission. Let her get well soon and then study. Let her not be impatient to get through the examination. She knows household chores; let her, therefore, busy herself a little in that work. She will have to do it because of the difficulty regarding servants. If she remains ill there, I will conclude that her place is at Sevagram. But if she follows my instructions, I am sure she would never fall ill. If the vaid's medicine agrees with Yukti, and if he wishes to give some medicine to Manu also, he may do so. Her health is good and it must not be impaired. She must study with due care for her eyes.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I intend showing your letter to Shantikumar. He should know what you have written.[2]

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

[1&2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 312, and "Letter to Manu Gandhi", p. 331.

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211. LETTER TO VIJAYA ANAND

POONA,
June 25, 1944

MY DEAR VIJAYA ANAND[1],

I have your dear letter. You did well in writing to me so frankly as you have done.

I have signed 10 albums for you.

I hope the Maharaniji is well. Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

212. LETTER TO V. P. LIMAYE

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,[2]
June 25, 1944

DEAR ACHARYA LIMAYE,

I have seen a copy of the notice. It reads awful. It gives the occasion[3] a public character. Have you seen it? And it advertises the time as 4 to 6. I see that I shall be unequal to it. Not more than half an hour should be given in all. If the questions are the fewest possible, I can wind up the whole thing in a few minutes. Let there be an exhaustive report of the work done sent to me and the questions well beforehand. Let me have also a list of those invited with their addresses and status in the organization. I trust that Prof. Javdekar and Bhagwat are included in the list.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 999. Courtesy : V. P. Limaye

[1] The Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram

[2] Permanent address

[3] The reference is to Gandhiji's proposed meeting with the representatives of the Maharashtra Congress on June 29; *vide* "Speech to Congressmen, Poona", p. 338-43.

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213. LETTER TO V. P. LIMAYE

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,[1]
June 26, 1944

DEAR ACHARYA,

No apology needed. The fault was initially mine. I overrated my strength. And Sushila was not near me to repress my oversanguine nature. What followed was excusable. Of course, whatever happened was unconscious and with the best of intentions. What I am anxious about is that we should make the most of the forthcoming meeting and so ensure efficient previous preparation. I shall be very busy tomorrow. If, therefore, I am unable to see you, you will have full chat with Pyarelal.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 998. Courtesy : V. P. Limaye

214. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

POONA,
June 26, 1944

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I have read your letter.

My advice is that you should not submit to the conditions; it is better to go to prison.

As to the Bengal distress, my illness renders me useless.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also G.N. 5594

[1] Permanent address

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215. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR[1]

[*June 26, 1944*][2]

Too busy to send you more than my love of which you have as much as you can carry.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4200. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7836

216. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

June 26, 1944

BHAI DINSHAW,

I could have only a brief talk with you. But all the time I have been thinking about the nature cure. The result is:

This institution should remain as it is, with some modifications, because it is your creation. Do not enlarge its sphere of work.

Buy about a thousand acres of land near a village under your supervision. There should be enough space for patients and also provision for the healthy ones to remain so. The rich and the poor should stay in the same way, and food for them should be produced there itself. Almost all the things should be grown there. Treatment through earth, water, light, air and ether should be given. Manage everything in such a way that the poor can get what they require. Such new institutions should come up as you get more workers. The management should be such that the institution is able to meet its expenses.

Do not take Government aid so long as power is not in the people's hands.

Convene a meeting of naturopaths and discuss the issue. Take workers from among them.

[1&2] The letter was written as postscript to one dated Poona, June 26, 1944, from Dr. Sushila Nayyar to Amrit Kaur, which read: "I went to Bombay yesterday . . . when I returned at night I found that a reply had been received from my 'Dear Friend' [M. A. Jinnah]. He has said a firm 'No'. I must say that though we did not expect much from him, we were not quite prepared for that. Now the end is clear. It is only a matter of weeks. . . ."

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There should be a trust for this and the new institution which will come into being. At least you, Ghanshyamdas and myself should be among the trustees. You can take any fees you think proper. But take [only] the sum fixed for your personal expense. The rest should be debited to the institution's account.

Define what items can come under nature cure, and write books of general knowledge about them.

There is no need to wait for some occasion to arise. So long as I am out and alive, it will be under my supervision. But it should be so planned that it will function even during my absence.

I have already started discussing it with Ghanshyamdas. He has agreed to do as I say.

Think over this and let me know what changes you would like. You are absolutely free to suggest them. This can be accomplished only if you have your heart and mind in it. I can think only of you in this matter. I wish to forget about it, if you are not convinced. I believe we can get the help we need for the institution.

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

217. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

POONA,
June 27, 1944

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP

IN VIEW PERSISTENT INQUIRY ABOUT EXCHANGE RECENT LETTERS SUGGEST RELEASE THEREOF FOR PUBLICATION.[1]

GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 4

[1] The correspondence was released to the Press from New Delhi on July 1, 1944.

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218. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

POONA,
June 27, 1944

MY DEAR BROTHER,

The enclosed copies[1] speak for themselves. The Viceregal reply does not dishearten me. I had expected nothing else. The reply, however, makes it clear to me that they cannot keep me free after discharge by the doctors. For, I see no way of giving co-operation in the continuing degradation of the people. Even the food relief is only so-called. But we must discuss the whole thing when we meet. Come to Panchgani when and if your health permits. I am in no hurry to make any public declaration. I am simply storing and digesting the information I gather.

Love from
YOUR LITTLE BROTHER

From a photostat : G.N. 8824

219. LETTER TO GAJANAN N. KANITKAR

POONA,
June 28, 1944

DEAR BALUKAKA,

Apart from everything else, I plead for pity on me. I have not a moment to spare. I tell you, I have been longing to have your son[2] by me to teach me spinning on his improved *takli*. But I had to give up the attempt. So you should excuse me for old times' sake. Write out all you have to say. The Congress can't be compromised by you or me. It will be compromised by the collective activities of its members, if the sum total is discreditable. Do see the distinguished friends you mention. Your work need not be affected by the absence of the contemplated interview with me.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 971. Courtesy : Gajanan N. Kanitkar

[1] Of Gandhiji's letter to Lord Wavell and his reply; *vide* p. 317.
[2] Dhundiraj; *vide* also "Letter to Dhundiraj G. Kanitkar", pp. 361-2.

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220. SPEECH TO CONGRESSMEN, POONA[1]

June 29, 1944

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

When some of you came to Juhu, doctors forbade me to speak a word to you. And I felt very unhappy. When I came over to Poona I thought I would be able to meet you. Even now I am unwell, but still I meet many people and am able to talk to them. Why not with you then? I had hoped to spend some more time with you, but the doctors have permitted only half an hour. I have promised not to take more than the allotted thirty minutes. Hence I omit all preliminaries.

At my request[2], the Secretary kindly sent me a report of the happenings in Maharashtra since August 9, 1942. Besides the names of those assembled here, he has sent some questions. I have read all these papers carefully. I do not propose to reply to all the questions. This will not be possible within half an hour. You will, therefore, excuse me for confining my remarks only to the main issues.

Today I do not meet you in any representative capacity. In terms (the language) of satyagraha, the moment I was imprisoned I ceased to wield the authority reposed in me by the Congress. And if I am now out of prison, it is not because of my strength or yours, but because of my illness. In a satyagrahi, illness is a thing to be ashamed of. This fortuitous release does not restore to me the authority that lapsed with my imprisonment.

I discussed my position with some lawyer-friends[3] in terms of the law prevalent in the land, and they are of the opinion that what I hold to be true in terms of satyagraha happens to be true legally too. What then is my status today? You who have gathered here occupy certain positions of authority in the Congress. I do not hold any such position. I am not even a four-anna

[1] About 50 representative Congressmen of Maharashtra met Gandhiji at the Nature-cure Clinic of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta. Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani. The translation given here has been collated with that of *The Hindu*, 1-7-1944.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to V. P. Limaye", p. 333.

[3] Bhulabhai Desai, V. F. Taraporewala and K. M. Munshi. For their opinion, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

member of the Congress. I resigned from the Congress some years ago to try out the subtler laws of satyagraha. Nevertheless, I know that I hold a big place in your hearts, and you would give weight to whatever I might say. What I may say is to be regarded merely as an individual opinion, to be accepted or rejected by you at will. It could have been otherwise, if I were speaking in a representative capacity. Then I would have expected you as disciplined soldiers to carry out my instructions. I thought of many things after reading the documents sent by you. But instead of discussing past happenings, I shall speak only of our present duties.

What work I have done and am still doing in India or abroad is rooted in truth and non-violence. I have been experimenting all along with the introduction of truth and non-violence in day-to-day life. Some people believe that truth and non-violence have no place in the practice of politics and public affairs. I do not agree. I have always believed that these weapons are entirely useless, if they are meant only for personal salvation. I would not like to have even beatitude for myself alone. I am no slave of any rigid school. I have no guru. If I discover a guru, I shall bow before him. My religion teaches me the need for a guru and how to honour one. But today my heart is my only guru. I do not propose to give you a religious discourse today. I must say that if you have lost faith in the efficacy of truth and non-violence, I have no remedy for your despondency. Inside the prison I used to read the newspapers and now, when I am out, I hear from people that a sense of frustration has overpowered the country. But I felt no frustration in my heart in the prison and I feel none outside. If Congressmen feel frustrated, it is because they lack faith in truth and non-violence. Examine your hearts. Has your faith dwindled ? You are good for nothing, if you are still in the Congress but have no faith in truth and non-violence. Your being in the Congress would then be a sign of your ignorance.

Who are Congressmen? Only those whose names are in its register? The Congress should be a poor organization, if it depended for its strength on the few lakhs of members whose names appeared on Congress rolls. At the Faizpur Congress[1], Deo and Dastane used to stress the point that the work done on behalf of the Congress was beyond description. Huge crowds gathered at Faizpur. But a very small proportion of them was on the Congress

[1] In December 1936

rolls. I noticed at Faizpur that not even untouchability had disappeared from the place. A cow could drink water at a well, but not an untouchable. Deo and Dastane did not notice this, but it did not escape my eyes. It has been my endeavour from childhood to identify myself with the masses. I am one of them and not separate or different. That has enabled me to enter their hearts and to understand them. At the Round Table Conference I claimed that I represented the whole of India, those who supported the Congress and also those who had nothing to do with it. Since the Congress claims to serve all, it represents them all. Congress represents to a greater extent the poor, hungry and helpless millions. I shall not discuss today why they lost the lustre in their eyes. I will merely affirm that you represent Congress, and you cannot represent it without subscribing to truth and non-violence.

Experience has led me to the firm conviction that our success has been mathematically proportionate to the extent to which we have adhered to truth and non-violence. The phenomenal awakening in the masses during the last 25 years has been entirely due to the purity of our means. And to the extent untruth and violence have crept in, they have hindered our progress. Whatever harm has come our way, it is due to our lack of faith in truth and non-violence.

Today I do not wish to sit in judgment upon your actions. I only wish to place my convictions before you. Your faith in me overwhelms me. My fortuitous release has given rise to great expectations. I am doubtful whether I deserve all this confidence. But this much I know that whatever strength I may have is entirely due to my being a votary of truth and non-violence. If I make any suggestions, they are based on my faith in these fundamentals. You want to follow a man like me. You raise minor doubts which trouble me. If you feel frustrated, ask yourself whether your faith in truth and non-violence has ebbed away. If so, you should strengthen it.

Dark clouds surround us. The Government is sitting tight. We do not see the way ahead of us. The communal tangle is, of course, there. Many people are cursing me. And yet I suffer from no sense of frustration. Frustration can spring only from one's own weakness and loss of faith. So long as we do not lose faith in ourselves, it is well with India. My talking to you would have served its purpose, if I am able to drive away your frustration.

You will ask me, what about the political deadlock, the communal tangle, the food-scarcity and the like? I have an answer

for each of these. But I may not attempt it at this meeting. I am convinced that the sufferings of the people cannot be alleviated until India has real political power. I cannot alleviate the food situation by feeding a few hungry mouths. I have friendly relations with millionaires, not for personal gain or in order to flatter them, but in order to get a portion of their wealth for the service of the poor. They too know this. But their money cannot serve the hungry millions at present.

What is the root cause of this widespread starvation? Under the cover of war, the Government is extorting huge sums. I am of the opinion that if India had been free, there would have been no war with Japan. And if Japan attacked us, we would have defeated it much earlier. I do not want to bring in Japan. I do not want a change of masters. I want to be free from all foreign control. For me the four corners of India are enough for us. If India understands my message thoroughly, freedom can come to us this moment.

You must have seen my recent correspondence with the Government. Starvation and destitution are stalking the land. Millions of rupees are being drained out of India. We may not be deceived by the wealth to be seen in the cities of India. That wealth does not come from England or America. It comes from the blood of the poorest. I claim to be an economist though not of the academic sort. I understand the roots of misery and [poverty] of India. Are you going to stamp out India's starvation by feeding a few hungry mouths? There are said to be 7,00,000 villages in India. Some of them have been simply wiped out. Who has kept count of them? I am a villager. I can recognize at a glance the traces of a ruined village. Where has it gone? Where are the villagers? If anyone raises a doubt about my allegations, I can go round with him and show him the devastation. God will give me the strength for that. The Government reports, though an underestimate, of the thousands who have died of starvation and disease in Bengal, Karnataka and elsewhere are shocking. But this devastation is negligible compared to the wider havoc wrought over India through the centuries. Why this havoc? It is because the blood of the poorest is being sucked; whoever eats a morsel more than he really needs, is sucking the blood of the poor. The money that goes to England and America is not your money, it is the blood of the poorest. I tell you that the pressure from the top crushes those at the bottom. What then is the remedy? All that is necessary is to get off their backs. This is the meaning of non-co-operation with evil. We have the

mighty weapon of ahimsa. In action, it takes the form of civil disobedience and non-violent non-co-operation. Civil disobedience is a very potent weapon. But everyone cannot wield it. For that, one needs training and inner strength. It requires occasions for its use. But non-violent non-co-operation can be practised by everybody. I have already indicated the areas where we could non-co-operate. If we had stuck to non-co-operation, the prevailing mood of frustration would never have arisen.

I have been receiving most depressing letters and also stimulating ones. Many Congressmen write to me saying that we must do something. Should we co-operate with the Government in the famine-relief work? The present deadlock, they say, must somehow be ended. Imitating the language of the Government, I would say, where is the deadlock? If the Government does not seek our co-operation, let it be so. The country, no doubt, belongs to us. If we do not co-operate with the Government, it will come to a halt in one day. But we run after the Government. We do so for a mess of pottage, for a monthly salary. The whole country has to suffer because a few fall a prey to the temptation. But we are born to suffer. Our capacity for suffering should not weaken. Many people believe that they are serving the poor by drawing a salary of Rs. 300 a month and contributing Rs. 290 for the welfare of the poor. But this is not correct. One who non-co-operates with the Government, and gives up the remaining ten rupees and prefers to die starving with the poor, renders the greatest service to the poor.

I cannot offer you any further guidance today. If you grasp the significance of all that I have said, your way will be clear. I have no strength to get into details. The August resolution is still there. I cannot alter, nor do I wish to alter, a single comma in that resolution. You too cannot do so without sanction from the Working Committee. Remember the last few golden lines of the August resolution. On the arrest of the principal Congressmen on the 9th day of August, 1942, every Congressman became his own leader competent to act as he liked, provided that his action fell within the limits prescribed by truth and non-violence. Today you are in a position to meet and exchange notes. Even this is, in fact, not necessary. No hair-splitting discussions are called for. One step is enough. We must learn resolutely to say 'No' when it becomes a duty. Lord Willingdon used to say, 'You are all yes-men.' We must give up that tendency. If someone forcibly raises my hand to my forehead, it will not be a salute. And, in fact, despite his raising my hand, he cannot make me salute, if I

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have the strength to resist. My hand will involuntarily refuse. No one can force us to do anything against our will. No one can enslave us against our will.

[From Hindi]

Maharashtrake Congress Karyakartaonke Sath Mahatma Gandhijiki Baatcheet

221. LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI

POONA,
June 30, 1944

CHI. DAUGHTER ARUNA,[1]

I have just read your letter. My whole heart goes out to you. I consider myself to be incapable of asking anybody, much less you, of doing anything that would hurt your pride.[2] If you surrender yourself, you would do so to raise yourself and the country with you. The surrender won't be out of your weakness but out of your strength. This struggle has been full of romance and heroism. You are the central figure. I would love to see you since you are so near. Therefore come, if you at all can. Lest you cannot, this is my advice: I do not want you to surrender unless you feel that it is the better course. I have brought myself to regard secrecy as a sin in the application of non-violence. But it cannot be followed mechanically. I am working for and in the name of the dumb and the downtrodden millions. They are strangers to the art of secrecy as I am. You must, therefore, be the best judge of what is proper. And is that not the final message of the Congress in the closing sentence of the great resolution of 8th August, 1942? Every Congressman is the bearer, in his (or

[1] This is in Devanagari.

[2] In *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book One, pp. 40-1, Pyarelal explains: "The upshot of Gandhiji's discussions with underground workers [*vide* Appendix XIV] was that most of the Congressmen who were engaged in carrying on or directing underground activities in various parts of the country came out into the open. Some surrendered themselves to the authorities while others courted imprisonment by offering civil disobedience openly. Achyut Patwardhan and Aruna Asaf Ali could not reconcile themselves to the idea of surrendering to the British authorities. . . . out of deference to Gandhiji's judgment, Achyut decided to withdraw from underground activity. But Aruna preferred to continue her outlaw career till the last. . . . Both Achyut and Aruna came out in the open when the warrants against them were cancelled in the beginning of 1946."

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her) own person, of the Congress message which he (or she) is to carry out according to his (or her) own will, remaining within truth and non-violence. My being out does not entitle me to issue any instructions. Apart from the technicality I really do not know how to guide you. God be your sole guide and do as He bids you. This I promise: I will not judge you, no matter what you do.

More if we meet.

Much love from
BAPU

From a facsimile : *Link*, 6-10-1968

222. TELEGRAM TO BRIJLAL NEHRU

July 1, 1944

BRIJLAL NEHRU
SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

RECEIVED TELEGRAM. HAVE NO ANXIETY. WRITING.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

223. SPEECH AT POONA[1]

July 1, 1944

Gandhiji said that when he saw in the papers in the detention camp that he was appointed Chairman of the Trust he was surprised, but he reconciled himself to the position by the thought that the conception behind the proposal to make him Chairman was that he should, on his release, guide the trustees in determining the object of the Fund and regulating its application from time to time. The belief was reinforced by the fact that the chief originator of the idea was Shri Narandas Gandhi who had set up the practice of presenting him with a purse collected chiefly in Kathiawar for the purpose of helping the spread of the hand-spinning movement and allied activities in Kathiawar. Gandhiji, however, could not shoulder the burden of attending meetings of the Trust regularly and guiding its day-to-day work. The real Chairman was Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, the Vice-Chairman.

[1] Gandhiji presided over a meeting of trustees of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund. He spoke in Gujarati.

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While the Fund was taking shape, the tragic death of Kasturba came. The idea of a National Memorial possessed the public, and the originator responded by combining the purse with the Memorial and merging the former in the latter. Thus the present Trust was formed. Kasturba was a simple woman devoted to village life, actually living and serving among villages. The object of the Fund was very properly the welfare of village women and children. It was well that the trustees and the donors should know the whole of his mind on the question of the welfare of women and children in the numerous villages of India. The welfare of his conception encompassed the whole life of the women and children in the villages. It, therefore, included maternity, hygiene and the treatment of diseases, and education. Education meant the basic education of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The scope of the Fund, therefore, excludes its use in towns and cities or in education abroad or even in the Universities of India. He said that it would be readily conceded that while the sum of rupees 75 lakhs appeared to be big for the purpose of a Memorial, it was ridiculously small for the scope he had indicated. Gandhiji said that he would be a useless Chairman and guide, if the trustees did not share his idea as to the scope of the Fund.

Proceeding, Gandhiji said that there was talk that he had said that the collection should be confined to capitalists and that the general public need take no part in the collection. It was a travesty of truth. The principal men who could move in the matter of organizing country-side collection were behind prison bars. He was himself disabled. He, therefore, expected his rich friends to pull their fullest weight. He could never be guilty of harbouring even the thought that the Congress and other workers should sit supine. The Memorial was a National Memorial in which everyone, no matter what his politics, was expected to put in his best effort. It would be no Memorial, if the collections were confined to capitalists. Indeed Mridulabehn, who was one of the most active of workers, had come to him for guidance in the matter of collections in Gujarat.

An unwarranted but pardonable suspicion seems to have been created by the currency of the conversation he had with Dadasaheb Mavalankar who had come for discussion. Gandhiji had told him that so far as he was concerned his work should be confined to the exercise of his unrivalled influence among the moneyed men. "He is, like me, an ailing man," said Gandhiji. He would not like him to risk his health in doing the taxing work of house-to-house collection. That could be easily organized by the workers that are still available.

It would be a thousand pities, if anyone who had faith in the object of the Memorial avoided paying his quota, or inducing his friends to pay theirs, under the false belief that Gandhiji wishes people other than capitalists to refrain from contributing to the Memorial. Indeed he considered it a good sign that so many millionaires of India were not deterred by any real or

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imaginary fear of harm from identifying themselves with the Memorial of the dead wife of a detenu condemned by the powers that be. For him, the Chairman, it was a matter of gratification.

Gandhiji said that he did count moneyed men among his friends. He knew that critics were not wanting who considered his association with moneyed men a sign of weakness unworthy of a votary of truth and non-violence. The speaker, on the other hand, considered such association as essentially a sign of his non-violence. His many friends knew well the motive for his association with them. He received money from them for many constructive activities, some of which were also supremely humanitarian. They allowed him to put his hands into their pockets for the All-India Spinners' and Village Industries' Associations, and for basic education as defined by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, and other similar causes. So far as he knew, they had nothing to gain by his association with them. His contact with them took place after they had proved their success as businessmen. His mission was to convert capitalists not into mere friends and patrons of the millions of unemployed, but willing sharers of their goods with them.

Further he had observed that some had doubted whether the Funds collected would not be used for political ends. He had no hesitation whatsoever in giving the assurance that he had no such idea in view. The All-India Spinners' Association and the other bodies just referred to by him, even though initiated by the Congress, had no political character about them.

This Memorial movement, Mr. Gandhi added, had been initiated not by the Congress or Congressmen, but by non-Congressmen and for a purely humanitarian purpose. In a higher sense, no great act done by an Indian, whether politician or no, could be without political significance. He had in mind the activities of Indians in the field of literature and science and philosophy.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-7-1944

[1] The report added that during a discussion which followed "Gandhiji's definition of the object of Memorial Fund was unanimously agreed to .... it was decided ... to amend the previous resolution on the definition of the aims and objects of the Fund and to restrict it to the welfare and education of women and children in the villages."

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224. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

July 3, 1944

BHAI DINSHAW,

I saw the houses. I found them dirty. You must attend to this. How can one bear to see dirty chairs in a hospital? The patients should also be taught how to use them. Your assistant should know about it. The houses of the labourers are not good at all. They should be simple but at the same time good enough for people like us to live in. You saw the lavatory and noticed the stink. Improving this does not involve much expense. Take this up as soon as you come down. There is room for improvement in the kitchen also. Things will not improve till you yourself take it up.

I was very much impressed by your management. There is peace all over in the institution. Nobody talks loudly. You are yourself soft-spoken, and you seldom talk. Usually we shout while talking.

I hope to write more about the new scheme immediately.

I often call to mind Gulbai's[1] services.

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

225. INTERVIEW TO STUART GELDER[2]

July 4, 1944

I saw Gandhi at Panchgani on the 4th July. I told him: "My Editor is anxious to help in solving the political deadlock in India. I went to Delhi and I was disappointed. I hope you will not disappoint me." I asked: "Supposing you saw the Viceroy, what would you say to him?" He immediately replied:

I would tell him that I sought the interview with a view to help and not to hinder the Allied war-effort. But I can do nothing without seeing the members of the Working Committee for

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] This appeared under the date-line "Panchgani, July 12" as "notes" prepared by Gandhiji for publication in *News Chronicle* which Gelder represented. The interview was "distributed over three days"; *vide* "Telegram to S. Sadanand", p. 367, and "Statement to the Press", pp. 368-70.

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I believe that my authority under the August resolution ended with my imprisonment. It was not revived by my release. You are not interested in my personal views, but you should be, if I spoke as a representative.

I interrupted and said : "The Viceroy and everybody else is interested to know your mind because of your hold on the masses of India." He replied:

I am a democrat and I cannot exploit that hold except through the organization in the building of which I had a hand.

But again I interrupted and said: "Before the Viceroy permits you to see the Committee, he would want to know how you would influence the members." He said:

History does not repeat itself. The conditions of 1942 do not exist today. The world has moved on during the last two years. The whole situation has to be reviewed *de novo*. The point, therefore, for me to discuss with the Working Committee is to know how they react to the knowledge that I gained since my release.

I have to take up the thread that was broken by the Government in 1942. I was first to negotiate and, on failure, to offer civil resistance, if I thought it necessary. I want to plead with the Viceroy. I can do so only when I know the Working Committee's mind.

But I tell you that the common talk among us is that whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, he has no authority in the political sphere. Mr. Churchill does not want any settlement. He wants to crush me, if he has been correctly reported.[1] He has never denied the report. The beauty of it, for me, and the pity of it, for him, is that no one can crush a satyagrahi; for, he offers his body as a willing sacrifice and this makes the spirit free.[2]

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-7-1944

[1] In *This Was Bapu*, p. 139, R. K. Prabhu explains that while referring to Gandhi-Irwin talks in his address to the Council of the West Essex Unionist Association on February 23, 1931, Churchill was reported to have said: "It is alarming and also nauseating to see Mr. Gandhi, an Inner Temple lawyer now become a seditious fakir of a type well-known in the East, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal palace while he is still organizing and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience, to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor. I am against these conversations. . . . The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will have to be grappled with and finally crushed."

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Winston Churchill", pp. 391-2.

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226. INTERVIEW TO STUART GELDER[1]

July 4[to 6][2], *1944*

I saw Mahatma Gandhi on July 4th at Panchgani. I told him: "My Editor is anxious to help in solving the political deadlock in India. I went to Delhi and I was disappointed. I hope you will not disappoint me." I asked him: "Supposing you saw Lord Wavell how would you begin to talk? What would you say to him?"

He promptly replied that he would tell the Viceroy that he had sought the interview with a view to help and not to hinder the Allies, and it was to this end he had asked for permission to see the members of the Congress Working Committee. He said, he had no authority to act in the name of the Congress. According to the canons of satyagraha, when a civil resister was imprisoned, the authority vested in him automatically came to an end. Hence the need for him to see the members of the Working Committee.

I said: "The Viceroy might feel, as you swear by the August resolution and by the weapon of civil disobedience, your meeting the Working Committee members may only result in their re-investing you with authority to carry on civil disobedience in the name of the Congress, and the result will be that when you come out of the interview you will hold the pistol on the Viceroy's head and say: 'Do this or I start civil disobedience.' That would make things worse than they are today." Gandhi replied:

At the back of that is total distrust of my profession that I am, and have always been, a friend of the British. Therefore I can never use the weapon of civil disobedience during the war, unless there was a very grave reason as, for instance, the thwarting of India's natural rights to freedom.

My next question was: "Supposing the Working Committee was let out of jail tomorrow and the Government refuses to give India what they want, would you start civil disobedience?" Gandhi replied:

If the Working Committee came out, they would take stock of the situation and discuss things among themselves and with me. I can tell you this, that I have no intention of offering civil disobedience today. I cannot take the country back to 1942.

[1&2] In the source, the interview appeared as "Second Statement" and followed Gandhiji's version, *vide* the preceding item.

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History can never be repeated. Even without the authority of the Congress, if I wanted to do it, I could start civil disobedience today on the strength of my supposed influence with the masses. But I would be doing so merely to embarrass the British Government. This cannot be my object.

But the Working Committee would not sit still while people are suffering. It is my conviction that we cannot meet fully the situation and alleviate the sufferings of the people, unless power and responsibility are transferred from British into Indian hands. Without such transfer, the attempts of Congressmen and others to alleviate the people's sufferings are most likely to lead to conflict with the Government.

I interrupted and said: "When things are as they are, I cannot believe that they will transfer authority now; that is, Government will not concede the demand for independence while the war is on."

Gandhi replied that there was a difference between what he would ask today and what was asked in 1942. Today he would be satisfied with a national government in full control of civil administration. It was not so in 1942. Such a government would be composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Central Assembly. "This would mean declaration of independence of India, qualified as above, during the war."

I thought it was a great improvement on the 1942 position. I asked him if the military would control railways and the ports, etc.

Gandhi replied that the national government would let the military have all the facilities that it might require. But the control would be that of the national government. Ordinance rule would give place to normal administration by the national government.

"Will the Viceroy be there?", I asked. [Gandhiji replied:]

Yes, but he will be like the King of England guided by responsible Ministers. Popular government will be automatically restored in all the provinces so that both the provincial and the central government will be responsible to the people of India. So far as military operations are concerned, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief will have complete control. But it must be possible for the national government to offer advice and criticisms even in military matters.

Thus the portfolio of Defence would be in the hands of the national government which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country and may render great assistance in the shaping of policies.

The Allied forces would be allowed to carry on their operations on Indian soil; I realize that they cannot defeat Japan without that.

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Gandhi made it clear that the expenses of the Allied operations on the Indian soil should not be borne by India. I asked: "If a national government is formed, would you advise the Congress to participate in it?"

Gandhi replied in the affirmative. I asked: "So it means that if a national government is formed, the Congress will join and help the war effort. What would be your position?" [Gandhiji replied:]

I am a lover of peace through and through. After independence was assured I would probably cease to function as adviser to the Congress and, as an all-war resister, I would have to stand aside; but I shall not offer any resistance against the national government or the Congress. My co-operation will be abstention from interfering with the even tenor of life in India. I shall work with the hope that my influence will always be felt to keep India peace-minded and brotherhood among all without the distinction of race and colour.

I next asked : "Supposing there is a conflict between the civil and military authorities, how would the dispute be settled? If, for example, civil authorities want to use the railway to carry two thousand tons of food, and the military authorities wanted it for carrying munitions, what would you advise?" Gandhi replied :

As I said before, I would not have to advise on such matters. But supposing I had, I can conceive of the necessity of allowing precedence to the military. But supposing the military wanted to blow off places or practice manoeuvres in disregard of the life of the people, I would say: 'Hands off.'

The thing is that with mutual trust such difficulties would not arise and if they did, they would be easily adjusted. If there is no trust, I cannot work. I cannot work for Allied victory without trust. If they trusted, a settlement would be easy to achieve. Freedom for India will bring hope to Asiatics and other exploited nations. Today there is no hope for the Negroes, but Indian freedom will fill them with hope.

Finally I asked: "What about the Hindu-Muslim differences?" Gandhi replied :

If the British meant well, there would be no difficulties.

Gandhi said in conclusion:

Most of us believe that whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, he has not the authority in the political sphere. Mr. Churchill does not want a settlement. He wants to crush me, if he has been correctly reported[1]. He has never denied the

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 348.

report. The beauty of it, for me, and the pity of it, for him, is that no one can crush a satyagrahi; for, he offers his body as a willing sacrifice and thus makes the spirit free.

In the course of his explanatory statement, Mahatma Gandhi said that throughout his talks with the British journalist he had emphasized the fact that he was speaking for himself and in no sense involving the Congress in what he said. He added:

I do not know how far today I represent the views of the members of the Working Committee. And about Hindu-Muslim formula which has nothing to do with these two statements, I have not spoken as a Hindu. I have spoken as an Indian first and an Indian last. My Hinduism is my own—I personally think it embraces all faiths. Therefore I have no authority to speak as a representative of the Hindus. That I respond to mass mind and the masses know me instinctively is a fact which cannot be gainsaid but I have not built my case upon it.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-7-1944

227. LETTER TO RAMANATHAN

PANCHGANI,
July 5, 1944

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I was delighted to have your letter. If any member as such of the A.I.S.A. took part in the movement, it was contrary to the constitution and my direction. The latter was that those who contemplated taking part were to resign.

As to sabotage and the like, I have expressed my opinion against them as also against secrecy.[2]

As to the particulars you mention, I would like you to see me at Sevagram, if I reach there and am declared free from the present illness.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 9258. Also C.W. 3075

[1] *Vide* also "Interview to the Press", pp. 367-8.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Annada Babu Chowdhary", p. 307; also Appendices XIII and XIV.

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228. DRAFT LETTER TO THACKER & CO. AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS[1]

July 5, 1944

It was after much thought that I declared a trust in connection with my writings. I had observed misuse of Tolstoy's writings for want of a trust. By curing the defect, I preserved fully the idea lying behind dislike for copyright, i.e., for personal gain for one's writings. The idea also was to prevent profiteering by publishers or distortion or misrepresentation, wilful or unintentional. I have requested the Navajivan Trust to permit you to publish Shri Prabhu's compilation with the right for you to multiply editions as long as there is demand for it, provided that the price will be reduced to the minimum, leaving to you a profit of not more than five per cent—one half of which shall be paid to Shri Prabhu as honorarium for his labours. One hundred copies of each edition should be given free of cost to the Navajivan Trust. The Navajivan Trust should have the right to publish a cheaper edition (in English or in any Indian languages) for sale in India including Burma and Ceylon. If, per chance, any profit accrues, it will be equally divided among your firm, Shri Prabhu and the Navajivan Trust.

Sansmarano, pp. 164-5

[1] This was an enclosure to the following item.

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229. *LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR*

PANCHGANI,
July 5, 1944

BHAI MAVALANKAR,

I had a talk[1] with Bhai Prabhu. I didn't get the impression that he had done anything through a selfish motive. I went through the papers submitted by him. I don't find copies of our communications to him. I will go through them when they arrive. I don't need them, however, for future use. I am, therefore, sending herewith a draft[2] of the letter to be addressed to both the publishing firms. If you approve of it, I will write accordingly. If you wish to suggest changes, you may do so.

I have been discussing what to say on the blurbs. If you have any suggestions to make in regard to it, please do so. I have also been thinking about the title of the book on *brahmacharya*. You would not probably like to waste time in thinking over a matter like this.

If you have any suggestions or comments to make regarding the arrangements for the Kasturba Memorial Fund, you may do so. Would you like to make any suggestions regarding the names of the ten trustees ?

The air here is quite humid. Its magic will be known by and by.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1719

[1] On June 28; *vide* p. 321.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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230. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

AS AT SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,[1]
July 6, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I was much touched by your letter of 10th May last.

Dissolution of my wife's body has enriched my life. For, I remember only her great merits. Her limitations were reduced to ashes with the body.

As for me, I am making slow but steady progress.

We are all passing through anxious times. Sympathy of friends like you sustains me in my struggle against forces of evil.

Mirabehn has gone to the Himalayas for health's sake.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES[2]
10 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16 N. Y.

From a photostat : C.W. 10965. Courtesy : S.P.K. Gupta. Also from a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

231. LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD

AS AT SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,[3]
July 6, 1944

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

Your letter revives very old and sweet memories. Of course, you could point out many omissions in my writings. I was not writing an autobiography. I wrote[4] about my experiments with

[1&3] Permanent address

[2] 1879-1964; American clergyman; founder-member of American Civil Liberties Union, and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People; Editor of *Unity*; Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Visiting Professor (under the auspices of the Watumull Foundation) at Banaras Hindu University from October 1947 to January 1948; author of *My Gandhi*, and books on religion and social subjects

[4] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX.

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truth. Whatever I deemed necessary for the purpose and re-collected, I reduced to writing.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 4518. Courtesy : Dr. Josiah Oldfield

232. LETTER TO MANU S. MASHRUWALA

PANCHGANI,
[*July 6, 1944*][1]

CHI. MANUDI,

Are you offended with me? How long will you remain so? And is it right for children to feel offended with their parents?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5062. Courtesy : Surendra Mashruwala

233. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
July 6, 1944

CHI. MANUDI,

Your letter is good. The work that you have undertaken is fine but it will come in the way of your study. But never mind that. It will save your eyes from harm. Study as much as you can with due care for your eyesight. God has endowed you with capacity for service and, therefore, you get such work unasked. Overcome your habit of thoughtless spending. Take care of everything and use it as a poor person would.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
To Jaisukhlal later.

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

[1] In the source, the letter appears below the one dated July 6, 1944, from Kishorelal Mashruwala to the addressee.

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234. LETTER TO GIRIRAJ KISHORE[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 6, 1944

Just now be content with only my blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8772

235. LETTER TO R. R. KEITHAHN

PANCHGANI,
July 7, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you will have a successful gathering. Twenty real votaries of Truth and Love are equal to or rather more than a match for a number of indifferent persons raised to NTH power.

Love.

BAPU

REV. R. R. KEITHAHN[2]
156 BANVARGHATTI ROAD
BANGALORE CITY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

236. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

PANCHGANI,
July 7, 1944

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

Indeed we have suffered a great loss in the passing away of your father[3]. He is relieved of the burden. Although I knew

[1] The letter appears below the one from Pyarelal to the addressee.

[2] American missionary and social worker in India; the Mysore Government served an externment order on him on August 8, 1944.

[3] Kanjibhai Jerajani

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very little about him, I had heard a lot about his love of khadi. The straight and noble way to fill the void created by his passing away is to emulate that love of his.

Blessings from
BAPU

KHADI BHANDAR
BOMBAY

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

237. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

PANCHGANI,
July 8, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

I got your opinion.[1] In the circumstances stated by you, it is not desirable to publish it. I will preserve it with me. Your labour will not go in vain; I am already using it for my own purpose. I am enclosing a note for Sarla[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 7676. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

238. LETTER TO GUNOTTAM HUTHEESING

July 8, 1944

CHI. RAJA,

I am simply waiting for the 20th. One need not fear the climate of this place because one can always return to one's own place, if the climate does not suit one. Death strikes a man but once; cowardice hundreds of times. Moreover you had better pay a visit, if only to fulfil a promise. If you are still hesitant in spite of all this persuasion, you should stay put. It is surprising that Krishna[3] cannot take care of herself. She must stay

[1] *Vide* Appendix XVIII.
[2] Addressee's daughter, Sarla Seth
[3] Addressee's wife

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on for the sake of Indira[1], else I would have dragged along both of you. Let me have your final decision.

Blessings from
BAPU

HUTHEESING
BOMBAY

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

239. LETTER TO BHARATI SARABHAI

[After *July 8, 1944*][2]

CHI. BHARATI,

I have forgotten the talk I had with Pyarelal. But I like your book[3]. It certainly has a beautiful theme. I like best the portrayal of your heart, as presented in the book. I cannot be a judge of the language. I have hardly read a few poems and can appreciate little. I found the language affected. Moreover I certainly wish that your poetic faculty blossoms through the medium of Gujarati. Is there any dearth of lovers of English? How many lovers can Gujarati boast of ?

Blessings from
BAPU

B. SARABHAI
AHMEDABAD

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

240. LETTER TO JATINDERNATH

PANCHGANI,
July 9, 1944

DEAR JATINDERNATH,

I have gone through your letter. It makes me sad. Ill as I am, I am powerless to help much. But taking the recital as true, the question is why did not the two men who were so brutally assaulted resist unto death. Non-violent resistance is

[1] Indira Gandhi
[2] In the source, the letter is placed after the letters of July 8, 1944.
[3] *The Well of the People*, published in 1943

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possible without inflicting injury on the injurer. I know this is more easily said than done. But if we are to learn the art of non-violence, we must refuse to be living witnesses of our own degradation. You are at liberty to show this to any friend you like. Mind, I cast no reflection on the living ones. My object is to point the moral.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

241. LETTER TO SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 9, 1944

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (H.D.)
POONA

SIR,

I have received your letter[1] of 7th instant in connection with the ground in H.H. the Aga Khan's Palace where Shri Mahadev Desai's and Smt. Kasturba Gandhi's bodies were cremated. My purpose is served by the present arrangement for which I thank the Government.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 3939

[1] In reply to Gandhiji's letter dated May 6, 1944, *vide* p. 263.

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242. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR H. PAREKH

PANCHGANI,
July 9, 1944

BHAI PRABHASHANKAR,

I have your letter. You are in great distress but you are enduring it with courage. From Champa's[1] letters, I learn that you have been freed [from attending to Dr. Mehta's finances.] For what work am I appointed an arbitrator? I am not even aware of it. My appointment and continuance as an arbitrator depend only upon the goodwill of friends. May I know what kind of guidance you expect from me? I have no idea what I should do. Without going deep into the matter I should only advise you to give Champa whatever she wants. What is there left for you now? Repeat the Lord's name in solitude and render as much service as you can.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI PRABHASHANKAR HARCHANDBHAI PAREKH
DERA SHERI
RAJKOT CITY
KATHIAWAR

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

243. LETTER TO DHUNDIRAJ G. KANITKAR

PANCHGANI,
July 9, 1944

CHI. DHUNDIRAJ,

I have your letter. My recovery is slower than I had expected; so now I would reluctantly ask you not to come over. It keeps raining all day. Besides, I do not have

[1] Addressee's daughter, wife of Ratilal, Dr. Pranjivan Mehta's son

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sufficient accommodation for you. Please ask your father to forgive me.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DHUNDIRAJ GAJANAN KANITKAR
HINDMATA MANDIR
341 SADASHIVPETH
POONA

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 972. Courtesy : Gajanan N. Kanitkar

244. A LETTER

PANCHGANI,
July 10, 1944

As for Bapa's reference[2] of July 6, I see no discrepancy in my opinion regarding Nanjibhai's[3] proposed donation and the previous opinion quoted by Bapa. My point is that no donor should arbitrarily keep part or whole of the donation with himself. He may send recommendation about ear-marking. If it satisfies our conditions, the ear-marking may be allowed. If my opinion is held good, the fourth condition is superfluous.

Thus while I see no discrepancy in my present opinion and the past, my emphasis has changed. In my weakness, I was anxious to make up the total of 75 lacs somehow. Now I am strong enough to resist that temptation. We shall better serve the object of the Memorial by securing what we can by October 2 next, than by letting donors to fritter away the sum by local ear-markings and keeping the bulk with themselves. In the States, generally, we are likely to experience difficulty in spending money in the villages. I prefer the use of the word 'villages' to that of the expression 'rural areas'. There may be rural area of Calcutta but it may not be composed of villages properly so-called. Santa Cruz is a suburban area but not a village. I hope the distinction I have made is capable of being easily understood.

Again our large donors will be townsmen. Their natural wish will be to spend their donation in their own way and in their own place. This may defeat the purpose of this Memorial.

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Gajanan N. Kanitkar", p. 337.

[2] As Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund Trust

[3] Nanji Kalidas; *vide* also Vol. LXXVIII, "Letter to Nanji Kalidas", 20-9-1944.

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I see the prospect of such questions arising frequently. They will be largely of interpretation. I am most anxious to spare Bapa's time and trouble. Let him unhesitatingly interpret rulings to the best of his ability and risk difference of opinion with the chairman. In matters of interpretation, Bapa's shall be final except where he has previously referred any such question to me.

I would like Bapa, if he can, to be satisfied with my Gujarati. I know it is difficult in old age to change confirmed habits. I have strong objection to the use of English when the use of the mother tongue or the national language is possible. But here again let Bapa's wish prevail. He is on the active list. I am on the sick list and have therefore time for indulging in preferences.

This letter should be sent to Bapa wherever he may be. It should also be shown to Sir Purushottamdas. If he differs on the question referred to me by Bapa, I should know.[1]

This opinion was drafted yesterday. It was typed today. Bapa's bombshell came later. I hope it will not explode.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

245. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[July 10, 1944][2]

CHI. AMRIT,[3]

I better conserve my time and energy for the business before me. I have no news to give you. Play I dare not when there is work which calls me. And I have hardly enough energy to cope with the daily post.

Love to all.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4201. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7837

[1] What follows is in Gujarati.

[2] In the source, the letter appears below the one dated July 10, 1944, from Pyarelal to the addressee. Pyarelal said: "By the time this reaches you, you will have seen in the papers the latest bombshell, i.e., Rajaji-Jinnah correspondence which was released yesterday. That ought not to surprise you. Bapu had shown his preparedness for exploring some such formula even as far back as August 4, 1942, when he wrote to C. R. about it. . . . " For the text of C. Rajagopalachari's Formula, drafted in 1943, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

[3] This is in Devanagari.

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246. LETTER TO VANAMALA N. PARIKH

PANCHGANI,
July 10, 1944

CHI. VANAMALA,

So the fat on your body has proved completely deceptive, hasn't it? More deceptive even than mine? You have got what you deserved. If you had given up salt, etc., from the beginning, don't you think you wouldn't have been obliged to give them up now? But never mind. Rest for four months now and make your body quite strong. Maybe, this ordeal will improve your hearing too. Show this to the doctor. He is no doctor who treats a patient only for one symptom. The root cause of all diseases is generally one. But all this is idle philosophizing intended for your amusement while lying in bed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5792. Also C.W. 3015. Courtesy : Vanamala M. Desai

247. LETTER TO ISHVARLAL G. VYAS

PANCHGANI,
July 10, 1944

BHAI ISHWARLAL,

I have read your letter carefully. Most of the women have been provided for by you and Purbai. That is as it ought to be. If I go to Sevagram, and if you find it convenient and think it necessary, both of you may come and see me there. Workers have no time or money to waste. I, therefore, try to stop most of them. But there are some who need reassurance. And these do come. Orissa has been in my thoughts all the time, but I have deliberately refrained from speaking about it. You have an eternal famine there. Its protector is God. Appealing in my name is not going to be of any particular help.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ISHWARLAL G. VYAS
PURBAI ASHRAM, SORO P.O.
BALASORE DISTRICT

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5061

248. TELEGRAM TO ZIAUDDIN CHAUDHARI

PANCHGANI,
[On or after *July 10, 1944*][1]

ZIAUDDIN CHAUDHARI[2]
CARE EMDESSONS
KARACHI

RAJAJI'S OFFER SUPERCEDES PREVIOUS WRITING IF CONTRARY.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

249. LETTER TO MIR MUSHTAQ AHMED

July 11, 1944

DEAR MIR SAHIB,

I am clear that the conditions are derogatory and unacceptable.

Detenus who decline to avail of facilities with humiliating restrictions do well.

But my opinion carries no authority.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MIR MUSHTAQ AHMED SAHEB
34 PREM HOUSE
CONNAUGHT PLACE
NEW DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] In the source, the telegram is placed among the items of 1944; the date is inferred from the reference to "Rajaji's offer" which was published on July 10. *Vide* footnote 2, p. 363.

[2] Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Member, Central Legislative Assembly, Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University

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250. LETTER TO S. ZAHEERUL MUJAHID

PANCHGANI,
July 11, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I feel wholly unable to undertake the task[1] you have entrusted me with.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

251. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

PANCHGANI,
July 11, 1944

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I am glad you are fixed up at last. Of course, I have not forgotten you but I have not written to the people I have not forgotten. I write only when I must.

Love.

BAPU

PROF. P. G. MATHEW
S. H. COLLEGE
THEVARA, *via* ERNAKULAM

From a photostat : G.N. 1544

[1] The addressee had asked for an article on Jinnah from Gandhiji, as he proposed to publish a series of biographies of all prominent Muslim leaders of India.

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252. TELEGRAM TO S. SADANAND[1]

July 12, 1944

YOUR WIRE[2]. THANKS. APOLOGIZE TO NATIONALIST PRESS FOR APPEARANCE ACCOUNT INTERVIEW EXCLUSIVELY ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS[3]. THIS WAS UNAUTHORIZED. I DID GIVE[4] FOR PUBLICATION "NEWS CHRONICLE" SHORT INTERVIEW PART WHEREOF IS PUBLISHED. MY TALK[5] COVERING THREE HOURS DURING THREE DAYS MEANT CHIEFLY FOR GELDER'S INSTRUCTION. THOUGH HIS REPORT FAIRLY ACCURATE REQUIRES CORRECTION. HOPE THROUGH EARLY PRESS INTERVIEW[6] CORRECT INACCURACY. MY VIEWS MERE PERSONAL. WHETHER THEY PROMOTE COUNTRY'S GOOD OR NOT MATTER OF OPINION. SIMULTANEOUS PUBLICATION RAJAJI'S FORMULA[7] ACCIDENTAL. REGARD FORMULA CONSISTENT WITH NATIONAL INTEGRITY AND MY OPINION WITH SPIRIT CONGRESS RESOLUTION. UNDER NON-VIOLENCE NATIONAL UNITS CANNOT BE FORCIBLY HELD TOGETHER. ALL ARE FREE TO INTERPRET SATYAGRAHA. BUT I SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO BE SOLE INTERPRETER OF SATYAGRAHA OF MY CONCEPTION WHICH HAS HELD FIELD SINCE 1908.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-7-1944

[1] Managing Editor, *Free Press Journal*, Bombay

[2] According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. IV, p. 1086, the Viceroy's Private Secretary, E. M. Jenkins, in his letter dated July 13, 1944, to F.F. Turnbull, the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for India, reported that Sadanand had telegraphed Gandhiji "protesting against communication of his views on important matters to Gelder, a representative of British and Anglo-Indian Press, rather than to Nationalist Press, and adding that Gandhi's [? Proposal] to Jinnah, if correctly reported, 'betrayed trust Congress and nation had placed in him' ".

[3] The reference is to *The Times of India*, 11-7-1944, in which Stuart Gelder's cable to *News Chronicle* had appeared; *vide* Appendix XIX.

[4] *Vide* pp. 347-8.

[5] *Vide* pp. 349-52.

[6] *Vide* the following item and "Interview to the Press", pp. 376-8.

[7] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

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253. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

[*July 12, 1944*][1]

I had not authorized publication of the interview or even the substance. I had said that it should not be published, unless I authorized its publication, and in no case had I ever dreamt that the interview would be published, with exclusive rights to any one paper. If it was to be published, it should have been broadcast throughout India.

Therefore I had to offer that apology[2] publicly in order to soothe myself and also to show to the Press my appreciation that they have respected my desire to be left alone, and also not to report anything which I had not authorized.

I know that some things have appeared in the Press without authority but, generally speaking, I must confess the Press has obliged me by refraining from reporting things that are not authorized. My object in seeing the Press people is purely to advance the cause for which I am living, namely, the freedom of India through truth and non-violence.

I do not seek publicity for the sake of it and just now I feel I would serve the cause better by remaining in obscurity, if such things were possible. Therefore I had warned Gelder that he was not to publish anything from me unless I authorized it. He has published[3] what he has, I have no doubt, with the best of intentions, but somehow or other I feel he has not served the cause as well as he might have.

I passed nearly three hours with him distributed over three days in order that he might know the whole of my mind. I believed him, and still believe him, to be a well-wisher of India as he is a lover of his own country, and I accepted his word entirely when he told me that he approached me not as a journalist principally but as one desiring to see that the political deadlock was resolved.

[1] The statement, though released by Gandhiji on this date, along with the notes on his interview to Stuart Gelder, *vide* pp. 347-8 and 349-52, appeared under the date-line "Panchgani, July 13".

[2] In telegram to S. Sadanand, *vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* Appendix XIX.

Whilst I declared my views with absolute freedom, I told him that his first business should be to go to Delhi and, if he could reach the Viceregal throne, he should see the Viceroy[1] and give him what impressions he had gathered. Having myself failed to get an interview with the Viceroy, I felt that Gelder being a reporter of a prominent English daily might be able to serve the cause.

Even in South Africa, where I was working in a hostile atmosphere, I was fortunate enough to get journalists and editors to help me when they became impressed by my earnestness and the justice of my cause. I was handling the disabilities of Indians in South Africa.

The publication, therefore, at this stage, of an abstract [by Gelder] of two interviews seems to me to be misfired. I, therefore, propose to give you two notes prepared after discussion with Gelder, one of which, namely, the shorter one, after his pilgrimage to Delhi he was free to send to his paper, and the other he could discuss privately with anybody who cared to understand me or who, Gelder thought, should know how my mind was working.

You will see after you have read the two notes that he has compressed the two in the report published by him. You will notice also that there are some glaring inaccuracies in the report as published. I want to guard myself against being understood as accusing Gelder of wilful distortion.

But I have found it times without number during my public life, covering a period of over 50 years, that my statements do not admit of being easily abridged or paraphrased. In 1897, I very nearly lost my life when Reuter sent an abridged summary of a pamphlet[2] I had written and distributed in India in 1896. The summary was, I have no doubt, an unconscious distortion of what I had written. Fortunately my life was spared when I was lynched, and I was able to show that the case based against me on the strength of the summary was utterly wrong.

Here the abridgement has no such mischievous consequences. I recall the South African incident in order to emphasize my point. All my life I have handled what seemed to be forlorn causes. I have been also a fairly successful journalist, but I did not embark upon that calling for a living. It was a venture in order to advertise the cause I was handling, and I gave this long preface before handing the two statements to fellow-journalists in the

[1] Who, however, declined to see him

[2] The "Green Pamphlet", *vide* Vol. II.

hope that they would respond to my earnest wish that they would co-operate with me in dealing with the situation which, if properly handled, may yield promising results for mankind.

I was ill-prepared for this ordeal that is in front of me. I am in Panchgani trying to rebuild my broken body. The desire not to see statements published at this stage was also prompted by regard for my health. I want to get well quickly and to be in full working order. Since things are so shaping themselves that I might not be able to carry out that wish; the statement being before the public, I have to watch the reaction and deal with misunderstandings.

I have kept you, gentlemen, away from me and you have been very kind to me. You have waited in the hope that some day I would satisfy your natural inquisitiveness. I am afraid that you will be perhaps oversatisfied because, if your chiefs still keep you here, you will give me daily summary of reactions in the Press. I do not expect that I shall want to deal with them all, but in so far as there are misunderstandings I will have to remove them, if I possibly can.

Throughout this I have emphasized the fact that I was speaking for myself and in no sense involving the Congress in what I said. I do not know how far today I represent the views of the members of the Working Committee.

As regards the Hindu-Muslim Formula[1], which has nothing to do with these two statements, I have not spoken as a Hindu. I have spoken as an Indian first and an Indian last. My Hinduism is my own—I personally think it embraces all faiths. Therefore I have no authority to speak as a representative of the Hindus.

That I respond to mass mind and the masses know me instinctively is a fact which cannot be gainsaid, but I have not built my case upon it. As a representative of satyagraha, as I know it, I feel it my duty to pour out my heart to an Englishman who I thought, and still think, is a sympathetic listener. I claim no further authority for my views. I stand by every word that appeared in the two statements I have given to you, but I speak on behalf of no one else than myself.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-7-1944

[1] The reference is to Rajaji Formula; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

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254. LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER

[*July*][1] *12, 1944*

MY DEAR HORACE,

I have your long letter—long for the time and the way in which it had to be sent, not for the subject matter. Some of what you tell me I had known already after coming out, and some of it is startling. All of it is good as coming from you, even the part that I know to be wrong. But that which is wrong does not diminish the importance of what you have said. The defects of your narrative arise from your good nature. I would rather have the latter than have the defects removed at the sacrifice of it. I need not thus have qualified my appreciation of your letter but for the fear of misleading you into the belief that I accept the whole of your version without any deduction. To discuss the deduction is not germane to what I want to say. You know the other side of the picture. The popular fury was pardonable; the vindictive and inhuman retribution wholly indefensible. But I will not take your time over this.

Your anxiety that I should offer co-operation at least for the alleviation of hunger, I fully understand. My difficulty is that I cannot, for the very valid reason that the alleviation is only apparent. The Viceroy's good intentions in the matter are not to be doubted. His promptness in rushing to Bengal on arrival was worthy of the soldier that he is. The agency through which he had and has to work is not designed to carry out the work of alleviation. You are entitled to put your noble work and experience against what I am saying. That only shows that evil by itself and in itself has no life. It requires the prop of good for its sustenance. Hospitals, roads, railways are probably good in themselves but when they are instruments of evil they are to be shunned. They become snares. You will now realize somewhat my meaning. Sufficient to say that at no time has India been so bound down as now. The remedy is liberty consistent

[1] The source, however, has "June". The inference here is from the reference to Gandhiji's attempts "in vain to see the Viceroy or be permitted to see the Working Committee members"; *vide* p. 317. Also Dr. James Vail, Secretary, Foreign Service Section, American Friends' Service Council, had met Gandhiji in the last week of June.

with the movements of Allied troops. But there is deep mutual distrust. Authority distrusts the Congress and every public body including the Muslim League. Public opinion is flouted at almost every turn. In this state of things voluntary co-operation becomes impossible. I have tried in vain to see the Viceroy or be permitted to see the Working Committee members. Now tell me what to do. I know what not to do. I am praying to God to tell me what to do. You can assist.

I had a pleasant union with James Vail. Love to all who think of me.

Love.

From a photostat : G.N. 1440

255. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

"DILKHUSHA", PANCHGANI,
July 13, 1944

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have your letter of 14th June. Everything I do turns to dust. It must be so, so long as I am 'untrustworthy'. If I could plead guilty, I would at once mend my way. On the contrary, I know, I have done nothing to forfeit the confidence I used at one time to enjoy among the official circles.

You know the attempt I made to see the members of the Working Committee and, failing that permission, to see the Viceroy. Perhaps the chief difficulty is the opinion[1], reported to have been held by Mr. Churchill about me. You know the oft-quoted passages attributed to him. He is said to want to "crush" me "the naked fakir". The body can be crushed, never spirit. But if the report is true—and it has never been denied—it gives the clue to all my so-called failures.

I can give you this assurance that nothing dismays or disappoints me. If I represent the truth and if I do as God bids me, I know that the wall of distortion and suspicion will topple. Only be patient with me. I feel for you and friends like you.[2]

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 348.

[2] In her letter, the addressee had quoted the substance of a cable sent by C. F. Andrews to Gandhiji some ten years earlier. It read: "When two men meet without conditions, a way of peace may be found." She had also said: "Uppermost in my mind is another meeting between the Viceroy and you, the result of which might well be 'a way of peace'. . . . So often during

Recently I had sent to me a letter written by Henry[1] to the Press whilst he was in America. Tell him, if you see him, that it distressed me deeply. I never could have thought that he could believe lies about me without verification from me.

Ere this reaches you, you will have known from the Press about the attempt I made to solve the communal tangle in collaboration with Rajaji who has been with me these few days.[2]

My love to all the friends. I sent a letter to Muriel.

Yours,
BAPU

MISS AGATHA HARRISON
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON S.W. 11

From a photostat : G.N. 1525

256. LETTER TO G. E. B. ABELL

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 13, 1944

DEAR MR. ABELL[3],

I had your undated letter enclosing Miss Agatha Harrison's letter to me for which I thank you.

---

these days my thoughts have turned to you who for fifty years have pioneered in finding a way of settling disputes other than by force. Persistently there comes to my mind a supreme contribution that could be made by you to this sorely tried world. It is this: that in the midst of total war, without bloodshed an honourable way of peace could be found between our two countries. What a disarming thing it would be, a tangible, living proof of the power of non-violence."

[1] H. S. L. Polak (1882-1959); joined Gandhiji at Phœnix Settlement; edited *Indian Opinion*; founded Indian Overseas Association in London in 1919. In *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 34, Pyarelal explains: "In the letter in question, Henry Polak had made certain remarks about Gandhiji's attitude in regard to the war and his role in 'Quit India' struggle at a time when Britain was in distress. . . ." Of the two missions which spoke against the Congress and its political demands in America, H. S. L. Polak, along with S. K. Ratcliffe and T. A. Raman, formed one in late 1943; the second being that of Sir S. Ranganathan, High Commissioner for India in England.

[2] The reference is to Rajaji Formula, *vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

[3] Deputy Private Secretary to the Viceroy

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Could I have the courtesy extended to me of sending the enclosed reply[1] through the Viceroy's air-mail bag?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. E. B. ABELL, ESQ.
THE VICEROY'S CAMP
INDIA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 33

257. LETTER TO S. SADANAND

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 13, 1944

MY DEAR SADANAND,

Your wire. Though this reply is to you as a journalist, and for publication, the manner of my reply will be on the basis of your claim to be my son, a claim which you have often repeated.

You have verbally accepted my amends[2] but in action rejected them. Re-read the opening parts of your telegram and you will understand my meaning. If you do, you will make a public acknowledgement of the offence you have given me even in the act of accepting amends.

As a pleasing contrast to this, I may tell you that the four reporters whom I had the pleasure of meeting[3] yesterday were graceful enough to accept my amends and to understand fully its implication.

I have a categorical reply for every one of the questions you have asked me. But I very much fear that they are not sincere but meant to advertise your bravery, and newspaper propaganda of an unworthy type.

I have read with much pain your writings in your issue of July 12, 1944. They caption a wicked attack upon Rajaji and milder one on esteemed public men. You are doing a great injustice to yourself and shaming your nationalism by attacking Rajaji who, to my knowledge, has no axe to grind, has forsaken

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] R. K. Prabhu explains that *The Free Press Journal*, 12-7-1944, in its reference to the Rajaji Formula, had reported that Gandhiji had been "misled". When "Gandhiji privately remonstrated against this" with the addressee he "offered some sort of apology".

[3] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 368-70.

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everything for love of his country and has risked popularity in pursuing the dictates of his conscience. Let me tell you that Rajaji has not discussed his politics with me. My dissent from his politics, as I understood him in jail, continues.

Now that I have been involuntarily and prematurely drawn into political controversy, I shall certainly discuss them with him as I am doing with respect in spite of wide political divergence.

Courtesy towards opponents and eagerness to understand their view-points is the ABC of non-violence. But you of all persons should know that they are not likely to deflect me from the straight and narrow path I have chosen to tread. They can but strengthen me in my resolve to follow it, never weaken me.

And I should be an utterly unworthy leader or exponent of non-violence, if I could be led astray by eminent leaders or constant companions like Rajaji.

In a way the honest mistake made by Mr. Gelder, as his premature publication[1] of an abridgement of the notes of interviews with him appears to have been, is a blessing in that the country once again has an opportunity of knowing the measure of my compromising nature. I have no reason to be ashamed of it and I have never considered it a sign of weakness in me but strength.

If you will prove a worthy son of mine, you will revise the whole of your policy and use your journalistic gifts so as to serve the country by the way of truth and non-violence.

You have had a fair portion of material goods out of your journalistic venture. Now dare to be poor, if need be, and instead of feeding the public on sensationalism, give them nothing but solid gold. And, if you do not know how to do so, accept a humbler vocation. You will then at least have the credit of ceasing to do mischief.

I hope that you will publish this without alteration.[2]

Yours sincerely,

This Was Bapu, pp. 152-4

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIX.

[2] R. K. Prabhu explains : "Gandhiji's letter . . . was . . .published in . . . *The Free Press Journal*, 19-7-1944, with the following 'in explanation' from . . . Sadanand: 'Gandhiji's letter to me dated July 13, the telegram to Gandhiji dated July 14 and Gandhiji's reply dated July 15 are published in these columns. There could not be an earlier publication, as I returned from Delhi only this (18th) afternoon. Gandhiji has honoured me by recalling my allegiance to him, as a son. I claim to be true to that allegiance even today. It is within Gandhiji's knowledge that, according to my concept, a son may not defend himself against parental chastisement. I see no reason to break the golden rule on this occasion.' "

258. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 13, 1944

Some have said that I have admitted that the August resolution has lapsed. Not only have I never said it, on the contrary, at the Maharashtra Workers' meeting[1], I made it clear to the friends who had gathered around me at Poona that no comma of that resolution could be altered by anybody except those who passed it, namely, the Working Committee and finally the A.I.C.C. What I have said and what I reaffirm is that my authority under the resolution had undoubtedly lapsed according to my view of the working of satyagraha.

The premature publication[2] of the interview to Mr. Gelder has led to some confusion in the minds of Congressmen. Let me make it clear that the lapsing of my authority has nothing to do with the normal activities of the Congress. What no one can do in the name of the Congress is mass civil disobedience which was never started and which, as I have said, I cannot at the present moment, even in my personal capacity, start.

The "Quit India" resolution I hold to be absolutely innocuous. The Gelder interview notes[3] now published are in no way in conflict with the "Quit India" resolution as I have interpreted it and, as the joint author of it, I have every right to interpret it.

The question before me and before the All-India [Congress Committee] is how to implement the resolution at the present time, i.e., nearly two years after the passing of the resolution. The Gelder interview notes show the way how it can be done in a perfectly honourable manner. Those who approve of the stand I have taken up will naturally support it. People having difficulty are free to refer to me but their approval of the stand taken by me must not be interpreted to mean suspension of the normal activities of the Congress and, if the Government interfere with those activities, the inherent right of individual civil disobedience is in no way suspended under the statement referred

[1] *Vide* pp. 338-43.
[2] *Vide* Appendix XIX.
[3] *Vide* pp. 347-8 and 349-52.

to by me. The statements constitute my individual personal effort to end the political deadlock. They are more addressed to the powers that be than to the people. If there is a hearty response, there will be no occasion for civil disobedience, individually or not.

Answering a question put by a reporter whether the Cripps proposals could be compared with his recent statements, Mahatma Gandhi said:

My proposal is wholly different. The Cripps proposals were unacceptable to me for the simple reason that they contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India and would have created an effective barrier against Indian independence. I want to say this without the slightest disrespect to Sir Stafford Cripps.[1] He still remains to me the same friend that he claimed to be when he was here. For me friendships abide in spite of political differences.

One fundamental element in my attitude is that I shall never be a party to the sale of the rights of the people of the States for the sake of freedom of the people of British India. At the same time I am no enemy of the Princes. I consider myself to be their friend and, if anybody cares to understand, I am quite prepared to suggest a solution at once honourable to them and to the people. I live for a cause and, if I perish, it is for the cause.

A reporter suggested that it might be that His Majesty's Government do not, for the duration of the war, entertain any idea for the transference of power, and it was feared that Mr. Jinnah would not be agreeable to accept Mahatma Gandhi's suggestion because a national government might, in his opinion, consolidate the position of the Hindus in the centre. Mahatma Gandhi explained:

If Mr. Jinnah does not accept my suggestion or if the powers that be do not, I would consider it most unfortunate. That would show that neither of them wants India to be really free at this juncture and give India a full share in winning the war for freedom and democracy.

I myself feel firmly that Mr. Jinnah does not block the way, but the British Government do not want a just settlement of the Indian claim for independence which is overdue, and they are using Mr. Jinnah as a cloak for denying freedom to India. I have uttered my warning in the talk I gave to Mr. Stuart Gelder.

Mahatma Gandhi said that it must be the duty of all fair-minded people to break what he called "the diabolical conspiracy to stifle India's aspiration". He declared:

[1] *Vide* also "Answers to Questions", pp. 387-8.

I have the firmest faith that they may win the war in the trial of brute strength, because brute strength when applied to limitless finances will naturally be supreme, but it will be only a physical victory and lead to another world war. This is the outpouring of a lacerated heart.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-7-1944

259. LETTER TO STUART GELDER

PANCHGANI,
July 14, 1944

GELDER,

Many thanks for your wire.

Englishmen do not know how to treat dysentery. One has to be very careful about diet. When Dr. Nayyar told me about the liberty you had taken about your food, I told her you were bound to get ill. You dare not touch Indian sweets. They are too rich and concentrated. How I wish you would take a course at Dr. Mehta's health clinic. You will be radically cured.

I know that your haste was due to your overzeal and with the best of intentions. You could not be conscious of the discrepancies. I wonder if they are now clear to you. I can forgive the premature publication[1] of the interviews, but how can I forgive your giving the exclusive right to *The Times of India*? You were to send the thing, when the time came, to your paper or if you wished to publish the thing here too, you should have shared it with all. You do not know what abuse[2] has been poured on my poor head.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIX.
[2] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 367.

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260. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

PANCHGANI,
July 14, 1944

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

Many thanks for your kind letter[1].

Publication of the interview was premature as I have explained in my public statement[2]. Having given the fullest weight to your advice[3], I could not say to the Viceroy more than I did.

I am not going to put you to the trouble of coming to Panchgani. If Sir Tej comes as he had said he would, I would like you to join him. In any case now I know your mind.[4]

I have the lawyers' opinion[5]. I am not making public use of it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE RT. HON'BLE, DR. M. R. JAYAKAR
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY 8

Gandhi-Jayakar Papers, File No. 826, p. 15. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Dated July 11, 1944

[2] *Vide* pp. 368-70.

[3] The addressee had suggested to Gandhiji to add in his letter to the Viceroy, *vide* p. 317, the words : "Under altered conditions the resolution of 1942 was not capable of being revived" in order to explain what he would advise the Working Committee, if and when he met them.

[4] Jayakar had said : " . . . having now disclosed your view very clearly, I do not think it will be right to rely upon lawyers' opinions in confirmation of it. . . . Mr. Munshi gave me a draft in Poona of a statement to be issued to the Press under the signature of a few lawyers. . . . you are big enough to announce to the world your own conclusions arrived at independently of any adventitious aids. . . . India will accept your conclusions with grace and, as an aid to a future settlement, they have a value of their own, which will not certainly be increased but may be diminished by the support of lawyers."

[5] *Vide* Appendix XVIII.

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261. LETTER TO D. N. SHIKHARE[1]

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 14, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I am herewith sending you a corrected report of your talk with Gandhiji at Poona on the 28th ultimo.

With regard to your request[2] in your letter of the 29th ultimo to Gandhiji that he should remove the ambiguity about his attitude towards the Hindu Mahasabha, Shri Savarkar and Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah respectively, I am to say that Gandhiji does not think the latter portion of the report of his interview that is now being sent to you leaves any room for ambiguity.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI D. N. SHIKHARE
623/26 SADASHIVPETH
DESHMUKHWADI
POONA

From a copy : C.W. 10512

262. MESSAGE TO BENGAL PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' FEDERATION–I[3]

July 14, 1944

Fight and you will win through your work even without a message.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-7-1944

[1] The addressee, a journalist and Editor, *Mahatma Magazine*, wanted to "embody the correct version of the interview in the biography" of Gandhiji, which he published in 1945. The enclosure to this letter is not traceable. However, the addressee had requested Gandhiji "to write in your own handwriting the most inspiring sentences of yours", which he quoted : "I believe freedom is coming to India with an incredible velocity. The present moment is the darkest hour before the dawn. To me, mere prayer, if it is sufficiently deep, can bring about the desired change."

[2] The addressee wanted to know why Gandhiji went after Jinnah, and ignored V. D. Savarkar, President, Hindu Mahasabha, when neither of them was pledged to non-violence.

[3] This is extracted from a statement to the Press by Arun Das Gupta and Ajit Roy, leaders of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, regarding

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263. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM[1],
July 14, 1944

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

I did not expect a wire from you, but had hoped for a letter today. I hope you reached there safely and did not lose any luggage. Did you make a list of the articles? Did you get a good seat?

I hope you have settled down there comfortably. You must have heard from Bhagirathji[2]. Write to me about everything in detail. Devote yourself exclusively to the work for which you have gone. Have faith that it will include everything else. If you try to do more, there will be a danger of your losing everything. Write to me and tell me what you did about Nyamat's[3] daughter. I doubt whether by taking her you have done real service to Nyamat or to the girl. I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 479

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their interview with Mahatma Gandhi. The statement read : "We, together with some other workers of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, toured Assam in June to help Sjt. Bardoloi and other Congress leaders of Assam in raising the anti-Jap morale of the people. With a letter of introduction from Sjt. Bardoloi we came to see Gandhiji and tell him about conditions in Assam and our work. On the 14th July, we met Mahatmaji. He discussed with us the report of our work in Assam. We told him: 'For the last two years we have been working for Congress-League unity. We shall work for it all the harder now. A message from you will be invaluable.' " *Vide* also "Message to Bengal Students' Federation–II", p. 397.

[1] Permanent address

[2] Bhagirathji Kanodia, businessman of Calcutta

[3] An inmate of Sevagram

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264. LETTER TO SURESH

PANCHGANI,
July 14, 1944

BHAI SURESH,

I have your blazing letter. I appreciate your feelings and you had better appreciated mine. I speak and act according to my lights. I have never done anything to appease people. Fortunately for me people are pleased by my words. If you will have patience, you will see that what I have said is quite all right. Rest assured that I am not likely to be misled by anybody's bluff. The one and only one who leads me is God.

Yes, one thing is certain, that all the rich men are not the country's enemies. And my non-violence draws no line between friend and foe. It makes a friend out of a foe.[1]

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

265. ANSWER TO QUESTION[2]

PANCHGANI,
July 14, 1944

I should gladly do so if there is no restraint. I have never, so far as I can recall, been responsible for editing newspapers under restraint or security. If I commit breach of the common law of the land, I am there to be punished as I was in 1922. But I know I cannot expect any such treatment from Government so long as I am distrusted.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-7-1944

[1] *Vide* also p. 346.

[2] The report said that Gandhiji was "replying to a question on the publication of *Harijan*" which was discontinued from August 16, 1942, to February 10, 1946.

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266. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 14, 1944

I have been receiving letters from several provinces complaining of the ill-treatment of detenus. I cannot vouch for their accuracy. I have no means of verifying the accounts. But correspondents who have written are most of them known personally to me and they are not likely to exaggerate.

One instance came to my notice only yesterday. It is from Ajmer. The prisoner was fasting. His wife wrote several letters to me asking me to advise her husband to give up the fast. As it was, the prisoner was willing. I telegraphed[1] to the Superintendent conveying my advice to the prisoner to desist from fasting. He accepted it and gave up his fast. I now learn that the prisoner was being prosecuted under some jail regulations for having committed the crime of fasting.

I know when I was a prisoner in Yeravda that there was some such regulation and I thought that when a prisoner gave up his fast, he would not be prosecuted. I also fasted, and I could also be punished, but I escaped punishment, I suppose, because I was regarded as a celebrity. Assuming that I have been correctly informed, I would plead with the authorities that they should ignore such cases. There would be nothing wrong if they allowed prisoners to fast at will. The most reasonable thing would be to investigate the complaints for which they were fasting and promptly give redress, if the complaints were found justified. These things have been done before. There is no reason why that admirable practice should not be followed now.

I plead for humane treatment to prisoners, more especially when they are in detention on mere suspicion or found guilty of crimes created by special ordinances and not under the ordinary law.

Other cases that have come to my notice are not of fasting but of alleged ill-treatment in order to break the spirit of prisoners. I dealt with such cases when I edited the *Young India* and later the *Harijan*, and in many cases the authorities gave redress.

I happen to know that such cases sometimes do not reach the higher authorities. My purpose in bringing this to public

[1] *Vide* p. 273.

notice is to seek redress. It is well known that in most provinces prisoners are suffering hardships which are perfectly avoidable. All those who are at all ill or are losing weight should at once be discharged. This will surely not prejudice the war-effort or endanger the peace of the country.[1]

I have received bitter criticism of my views[2] expressed in the Gelder interview. Some of my correspondents say that under the influence of Moderates and moneyed men, I have betrayed the cause of the country. If for nothing else, for dealing with such criticism, I am glad of the premature publication[3] of the interview. I do not want to sail under false colours. The country as well as the Government should know me exactly as I am. I have never concealed the fact that I am a friend of everybody, Moderates, moneyed men, Englishmen, Americans or any other, irrespective of caste, colour or persuasion. My belief and practice are directly derived from my non-violence. My non-co-operation is non-co-operation with evil, not with the evil-doer. Underneath my non-co-operation is my earnest desire to wean the evil-doer from the evil or harm he is doing, so that I can give him hearty co-operation. Again if I associate with the so-called Moderates or with moneyed men, I do so to seek their co-operation in the cause I am handling. But I approach them with an open mind, so that I correct myself where I find myself in the wrong. I have known of no cause that I have espoused that has suffered because of such association.

Some critics have suggested that by my present attitude I am lending moral weight to the Allied cause. They forget that my offer, such as it is, is conditioned upon the Allies, in this case the British Government, recognizing full independence, qualified during the pendency of the war. I see, therefore, no conflict between the principles enunciated in August resolution and what I have now suggested. May I suggest to critics that they should wait till the British Government have spoken? The statements made by me were meant in the first instance for the Government. Mr. Gelder sprang a surprise. He has done so with the best of motives. After all, there is a higher Power ruling all the actions of human beings.[4]

The Hindu, 16-7-1944, and *The Bombay Chronicle*, 15-7-1944

[1] What follows appeared independently in *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[2] *Vide* pp. 347-52.

[3] *Vide* Appendix XIX.

[4] The report in *The Bombay Chronicle* concluded: "Criticisms to Gandhiji's proposal still pour in here. Gandhiji has replied to them lying full length on a

267. LETTER TO EDITOR-IN-CHARGE, "FREE PRESS JOURNAL"

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 15, 1944

DEAR EDITOR-IN-CHARGE,

I have your wire[1]. My letter[2] to Shri Sadanand is a public reply to a public question and is meant for publication. The proper thing was to have waited for my reply before publishing the complaint against me. Delay appears to me to be suspicious.

If Shri Sadanand is away, and if direction is considered necessary, in a matter of ordinary course, you have means of taking directions by telephone.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

This Was Bapu, pp. 154-5

268. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

PANCHGANI,
July 15, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

You have no doubt seen the authentic copies, now published in the Indian Press, of the statements[3] given by me to Mr. Gelder of the *News Chronicle*. As I have said to the Press, they were meant primarily to be shown to you. But Mr. Gelder, no doubt with the best of motives, gave the interview premature publicity[4]. I am

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pallet. He was speaking in a feeble voice and those close to him say that he can regulate his voice and he often does so to conserve his energy. Rajaji was a silent listener again today when Gandhiji talked to the Press. At the conclusion of the meeting, Gandhiji humorously said, looking at Rajaji, 'he would pass whatever his "Sub-editor" passed for publication.' "

[1] Dated July 14, 1944, it read: "Your letter. Sadanand now at Delhi. Returning latest Tuesday. Will then attend."

[2] *Vide* pp. 374-5.

[3] *Vide* pp. 347-8 and 349-52.

[4] *Vide* Appendix XIX.

sorry. The publication will nevertheless be a blessing in disguise, if the interview enables you to grant at least one of my requests contained in my letter[1] of 17th June, 1944.[2]

I am,
Yours, etc.
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 19-8-1944. Also C.W. 10506. Courtesy : India Office Library

269. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

PANCHGANI,
July 15, 1944

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You were not present but Sumati[3] and Jehangirji [Patel] witnessed the beast in me.[4] They forgot that beast and understood my love. I am tied to you all by the bonds of love. My unworthiness prevents me from sending for you. But how long can I do without you? I am sure you will wash off Sushila's pain with love.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 844

270. LETTER TO ANANTRAI P. PATTANI

PANCHGANI,
July 15, 1944

BHAI ANANTRAI,

I have your letter. I had already learnt from Mathuradas[5] that the 'Castle'[6] will have accommodation for me. But it is not

[1] *Vide* p. 317.

[2] The Viceroy's reply dated July 22, read: " . . . I do not think, I can usefully comment at present except to repeat what I said in my last letter that if you will submit to me a definite and constructive policy, I shall be glad to consider it."

[3] Addressee's wife

[4] The addressee had been sent by Gandhiji to the dockyard to hand over the gifts and a letter to Manu Gandhi; *vide* p. 303.

[5] Mathuradas Trikumji

[6] Addressee's residence at Panchgani

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my business to run after conveniences. But they pursue me and sometimes I am caught by one of them.

I don't wish to enter into any discussion with you regarding other subjects. Moreover you can always have Nanabhai's help now that he has been released.

I shall not let you compare yourself with Vajalbhai[1] because I was indirectly acquainted with Gagabhai's[2] expertise. I place your father[3] above Gagabhai. Besides, as far as my knowledge goes, since Vajalbhai became the divan only in his old age, there cannot be any comparison. Hence I am going to measure you with the yardstick applied in the case of your father.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAVNAGAR

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

271. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[4]

PANCHGANI,
July 15, 1944

QUESTION: Will you kindly explain the exact difference between the Cripps Plan and your own as revealed in the Gelder interview?

ANSWER: My plan contemplates an immediate recognition of full independence for India as a whole, subject to limitations for the duration of the war to meet the requirements of the Allied operations. The Cripps Plan, as I understood it, dealt more with the future than with the immediate arrangements. Moreover, in my opinion, the Cripps Plan meant dismemberment of India, the Indian States being set up as an all-extensive disintegrating factor. But if my plan is considered by British statesmen to be not very different from the Cripps Plan, it should be all the easier for them to accept it.[5]

What if Mr. Jinnah sticks to a plebiscite of Muslims only in the districts or provinces where the Muslims are in majority?

Neither Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah nor the Muslim League have pronounced their opinion on Rajaji's Formula[6]. I would deprecate

[1&2] Vajalbhai Gaurishanker Oza, and his father, Gaurishanker Udayshanker Oza, divan of Bhavnagar
[3] Prabhashankar Pattani
[4] Sent by the London office of the United Press of India
[5] *Vide* also p. 377.
[6] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

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anticipating them. Rajaji is with me. We have agreed for the sake of conserving my limited energy that he should deal with the questions arising from the Formula. For my part I would appeal to the questioners, foreign or Indian, not to forestall the Muslim League.

How do you propose to fix the ratio of the League and Congress in the national government?

I must not be drawn into details. If the indication of my mind affords any satisfaction to the authorities, they should open the gates of the prison, and let those who can speak with authority pronounce upon my proposal or at least let me confer with them. As it is, I do not know that I have not embarrassed them by my sharing my personal opinion with the public before first sharing it with them. The publication[1] is premature and not of my seeking.

Will you meet Mr. Jinnah personally?

The question arises from ignorance of facts. I am always willing to meet Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

What are your views on the Bombay Plan[2]? Do you think crisis like the one which overtook Bengal could be permanently avoided by acceptance of such a plan?

The Bombay Plan is a post-war plan. Anyway, the question should be addressed to the authors[3].

Gandhi–Jinnah Talks, pp. 81-2

272. LETTER TO NANDU KANUGA

[After *July 15, 1944*][4]

SHRI NANDUBEHN,

. . .[5] The important part was about to be left out. I don't think there was anything wrong in our people approaching the millionaires in connection with Ba's Memorial. How can we

[1] By Stuart Gelder of *News Chronicle*, *vide* Appendix XIX.
[2] A fifteen-year plan for the economic development of India
[3] Purushottamdas Thakurdas, J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla, Ardeshir Dalal, Shriram, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A. D. Shroff and John Mathai
[4] In the source, the letter is placed after the letters of July 15, 1944.
[5] Omission as in the source

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refuse what they offer? Surely we may not hate them. More when we meet.

AHMEDABAD

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

273. LETTER TO NAVIN GANDHI

[After *July 15, 1944*][1]

CHI. NAVIN[2],

Aren't you a lazy fellow? You must be thinking that I am not at all concerned about Manju[3] and hence you don't write to me. However it be, I must have a postcard from you regularly.

Sushilabehn talked to me about medical fees. Sushilabehn has already proceeded to Delhi; so I have to think about it. Have you had a talk with the doctors? If you have, write to me in detail so that I can write to them. I did not even dream that the question of fees would come up. Anyway you need not worry on that account; it is my concern. Let me have your opinion. Who is there with you now?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

274. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

[On or before *July 16, 1944*][4]

I have thought over the matter carefully. I think that Sita[5] should stay on in Sevagram. She will get the good company of Aryanayakam and Ashadevi, and be educated on the lines of the Talimi Sangh. She will get Gomati's protection. Gomati is a saintly woman. Kashi[6] and Durga also are there. And so her Gujarati, Sanskrit, Hindi and English will be taken care of. If

[1] In the source, the letter is placed after the letters of July 15, 1944.
[2]&[3] Son and daughter of Vrajlal A. Gandhi, brother of Jaisukhlal Gandhi
[4] From the postmark
[5] Daughter of the addressee
[6] Kashi Gandhi, wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

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you do not like this, you can put her in the Parsi school here which I visit daily. Beyond this you cannot go.

About you, we shall think later.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4942

275. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 16, 1944

A correspondent asks me what those who, on being discharged, have been served with restriction orders confining them within certain areas or requiring them to report themselves periodically at police *thanas*, should do. I regard all such restrictions as degrading and could not myself submit to them. However I know men who, being unable any longer to bear the jail hardships, have preferred the restricted freedom. I must refuse to judge their conduct. Everyone suffers according to his capacity. But it is a serious question for the Government to consider whether it is a necessary part of war-effort to wound the spirit of young men and women, whose only fault is that they love their country's independence before everything else.

The Hindu, 17-7-1944; *also The Bombay Chronicle*, 16-7-1944

276. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

July 16, 1944

. . . You do not listen to me. You are on a sick-bed. You will leave it earlier if, instead of worrying about me, you pray to God. Even if that does not happen, you will at any rate have peace of mind. . . .I am doing everything after due thought and care.[1] There was a time when a word by me used to be enough for you. You could explain my motives and intentions to others. But that is no longer so. What could be the reason? Think over this. The reason is in you, that is, in your ill health.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 201

[1] The addressee did not like Stuart Gelder publishing the interview; *vide* Appendix XIX.

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277. LETTER TO JAIKRISHNA P. BHANSALI

PANCHGANI,
July 16, 1944

CHI. BHANSALI,

Discipline demands that you should ask me. If you do not observe it, who else will? But what guidance can I give you in this matter? If you have faith in yourself, by all means go and relieve the suffering of the people. I must admit, however, that you have excelled me and I derive comfort from the thought that my teaching has proved fruitful. Isn't he a true teacher who is surpassed by his own pupil? May God increase your strength still further.

I keep on reminding myself daily that I must go there as early as possible in August. The climate here does suit me, of course. Inform everybody. Manilal and Sita are arriving today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8365. Also C.W. 7175. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

278. LETTER TO WINSTON CHURCHILL[1]

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

You are reported to have a desire to crush the simple "naked fakir" as you are said to have described me. I have been long trying to be a fakir and that naked—a more difficult task.

[1] In *Mahatma Gandhi–The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book I, p. 32, Pyarelal explains: "This letter to the Prime Minister miscarried. It was the first instance, in Gandhiji's experience, of an important letter of his failing to reach its destination. A copy was, therefore, sent to Churchill two months later. The only reply it fetched was an acknowledgement with thanks through the Viceroy!" According to *The Hindu*, 19-7-1945, Gandhiji released this along with a statement to the Press on July 18, 1945; *vide* Vol. LXXXI. For Gandhiji's talk with C. Rajagopalachari about this letter, *vide* Appendix XX.

I, therefore, regard the expression as a compliment though unintended. I approach you then as such and ask you to trust and use me for the sake of your people and mine and through them those of the world.

Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10499. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *This Was Bapu*, p. 140

279. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

H. E. THE VICEROY
VICEROY'S CAMP

DEAR FRIEND,

I ventured to write to you yesterday[1] repeating my previous request. I feel that my effort would be incomplete unless I sent the accompanying[2] to the Prime Minister. May I seek your help, if you agree, to send the enclosed in the quickest manner possible ?

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10502. Courtesy : India Office Library. Also *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, p. 11

280. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

MY DEAR AMMAJAN,

Your precious letter. You must not be angry with poor me. Bear with me for a while. Mists will roll away some time.

You are my message. At the Urdu Conference[3] you will be all in all. Therefore do not ask me for a formal message. That

[1] The letter was, however, dated July 15; *vide* pp. 385-6.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] The All-India Urdu Congress to be held at Hyderabad on July 22

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will land me in a sea of troubles. I have refused to send messages. Let me spare every ounce of energy for the task before us.

You should all behave better about the upkeep of the body. Or is that to be reserved for me only?

Love from
SPINNER

SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

281. LETTER TO ASHFAQ HUSSAIN

July 17, 1944

MY DEAR ASHFAQ[1],

I never knew that you were a careless reader. Do you not see that if the thing was to be put on the League Committee without the President sponsoring it, it should be before the public for discussion? The League and others can now pronounce upon it.

Expect to see you at Sevagram.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

282. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

BHAI JINNAH,

There was a time when I was able to persuade you to speak in our mother tongue. Today I venture to write in the same. I had already invited[2] you while I was in jail. After my release I have not written to you so far. But today I am prompted to do so. Let us meet when you wish to. Please do not regard me as an enemy of Islam and the Muslims here. I have always been a friend and servant of yours and of the whole world. Do not dismiss me. I am enclosing a translation of this letter in Urdu.[3]

Your brother,
GANDHI

[1] An associate of Mahomed Ali

[2] *Vide* pp. 75-6.

[3] This sentence is reproduced from *Hitavada*. What follows is in Gandhiji's hand at the bottom of the Urdu translation of the letter.

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[PS.]

Please write in Urdu. Kanu[1] writes Gujarati in a beautiful hand.[2]

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *Hitavada*, 1-8-1944

283. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

CHI. MANUDI,

You must overcome your dislike of milk. You should cheerfully take as much as the vaidya wants you to. After having stayed with me, how can you have likes and dislikes? What one should eat, one must like, and what one must not eat, one must not like.

If Yukti gets well completely, my faith in vaidyas will be deepened. And, if your vision improves as also your malaria and other complaints are cured, then you may send medicine for me.

Your handwriting is improving but it requires a lot of further improvement still.

Sushilabehn has left for Delhi. It will, therefore, be some time before you get her letters again.

I am glad that Devdas paid a visit there.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] To whom Gandhiji, presumably, dictated

[2] The addressee's reply of July 24, *inter alia*, read: "I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return which will probably be about the middle of August. . . . I would like to say nothing more till we meet. I am very pleased to read in the Press that you are making very good progress, and I hope you will soon be all right."

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284. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have your letter. I see no harm in starting a society. However ask Sir Purushottamdas. Consult Mangaldas[1] and Mavalankar also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 7678. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

285. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Read the accompanying letter. If such a man can be accommodated in any capacity, please make use of him. I think he is trustworthy. You need not create a special job for him. The letter may be used only if you think that such a man can be of real use somewhere.

Do you have in mind any shorthand writer? The Hindi speeches may be published and sold by the Maharashtra Committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4802. Courtesy : Shantikumar N. Morarjee

[1] Mangaldas Pakvasa

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286. LETTER TO B. G. KHER

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

BHAI KHER,

Why did you run away without calling on me? Do come when you are free and I will forgive you this lapse. Send me yours and other people's opinion about what I am doing.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BALA SAHEB KHER
EX-MINISTER
KHAR, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2769

287. LETTER TO NAGESH V. GUNAJI

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

BHAI GUNAJI[1],

If you cannot read, Indu[2] will read out this to you. Why should we write to one another in English?

It is good that you have had a change of heart about Indu and Bhai Tendulkar[3]. After Doctor's release, I shall have the marriage solemnized at Sevagram, if you all wish it. Indu knows the conditions attending weddings at Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

BELGAUM

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

[1] Nagesh Vasudev Gunaji
[2&3] Indumati, addressee's daughter, and Dr. A. G. Tendulkar who were married on August 19, 1945.

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288. MESSAGE TO BENGAL PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' FEDERATION–II[1]

Not for publication

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

My blessings you have in abundance for all the good work you may have done. My advice to all the workers is that they should learn to regard all good service as in itself a blessing. What is the use of blessings of any man, however great he may be, if there is no real, sustained work? Blessings often deceive receivers into believing that their work is finished. Let these words be an incentive to greater effort. You should keep me in touch with your activities.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 21-7-1944

289. LETTER TO A. KALESWARA RAO

PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

DEAR KALESWARA RAO,

Your illuminating note I have read with eagerness. May I make use of it in my talks or correspondence with Communists?[2] Some of the things you relate are painful.

You will give me your reaction to my latest exploit.

Your exploitation[3] of selections from the Upanishads lies in

[1] The message was given to Ajit Rai and Arun Das Gupta who stated: "On the 17th, Mahatmaji gave us another interview. We told him that we worked in Assam according to our understanding of the Congress programme. We had called for unity to resist the Japanese, to fight hoarders, to secure food for the people and for relief to Bengal. In response to our request for his blessings, Gandhiji wrote out a message. . . ." *Vide* also p. 380.

[2] Gandhiji did make use of it in his correspondence with P. C. Joshi; *vide* "Letter to P. C. Joshi", pp. 434-7.

[3] In *Reminiscences of Gandhiji*, p. 141, Chandrashanker Shukla explains that the addressee, in his letter, had quoted some passages from the Upanishads corresponding to Gandhiji's teachings of truth and non-violence. The addressee also published *Upanishad Pathamala* during the year.

front of me to be picked when I have a few moments.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI A. KALESWARA RAO

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

290. LETTER TO SUDHIR GHOSH

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

DEAR SUDHIR,

I have seen your letter to Pyarelal and Nargisbehn[1] too. Do come whenever you have the time and wish to see me. Mr. Elmhirst[2] I know. I think I had the pleasure of meeting him once. He visited Sabarmati Ashram when I was not there and then he expressed the opinion that the babul plantation there was the best conceived and most useful. Apart from any other interest I would like to meet him, if he would come and is allowed to come to me.

Panchgani may be too early. I expect to be in Sevagram, *Deo volente*, in the early part of August. You will have the date from the Press.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Nargis Captain

[2] Leonard Elmhirst, an agricultural economist and an educationist, who was a close associate of Rabindranath Tagore, and Agricultural Adviser to the Government of Bengal from 1944. He founded Sriniketan, the Rural Development Institute of Santiniketan. Elmhirst was returning to England after completing an assignment "to work out a development plan for harnessing the water resources of Bengal". In *Gandhi's Emissary*, pp. 49-50, the addressee explains: ". . . I thought it would be a good thing if he had a meeting with Gandhiji and conveyed to his friends in the British Government. . . his impression of the state of Gandhiji's mind and the possibilities of a *rapprochement* between Gandhiji and the British. The two sessions he and I had with Gandhiji did not give much of an indication about the possible course of Gandhiji's next political move. . . ."

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291. LETTER TO ROY WALKER

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

DEAR WALKER,

I was delighted to receive your letter[1]. I had your booklet also. I glanced through it. Nothing jarred on me. I must confess, I did not read it critically; but I am asking Pyarelal and Khurshed Naoroji to read it carefully and to send you their reactions. I shall look forward to reading your second compilation[2].

As to the last paragraph[3]—all I can say is that I am endeavouring to follow God's guidance. I do not believe in a personal deity, but I believe in the Eternal Law of Truth and Love which I have translated as non-violence. This Law is not a dead thing like the law of a king. It is a living thing—the Law and the Law-giver are one. For those who realize this Truth, the Law-giver becomes a personal deity.

ROY WALKER, ESQ.
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
ENDSLEIGH STREET
LONDON W. C. 1

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

292. A LETTER

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

Your wire of 11th instant was received here on 14th, but due to pressure of work on the staff that is here, it was given to me

[1] Dated May 10, 1944, it requested Gandhiji to comment on *The Wisdom of Gandhi in His Own Words*, a selection of Gandhiji's sayings, published by the addressee in 1943.

[2] Presumably, *Sword of Gold*, a biography of Gandhiji, published in 1945

[3] Which read: "It is with a feeling akin to triumph that those of us who are pacifists in a war-torn Europe hear of your return to physical liberty, for spiritual liberty cannot be limited by any action of the India Office. We pray that you may, for many years to come, continue to be one of the greatest forces for good in the world."

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only today. Pressure on my time is answerable for the absence of the promised letter. Evidently I forgot all about the letter I had promised. I am sorry because I know your care and affection for me.

This is the treatment I am having: massage for about an hour all over the body and a hot-water bath, lying in a full-length tub for about 20 minutes. This is all very soothing for me. Often before entering the tub I have hot-and-cold hip-baths for five minutes each.

My food, you know, milk, vegetables, fruit and *gur*. Between three and four, I have an earth bandage—this too, I think, you know. Clean earth is mixed with water and made into a dough. I take a similar bandage before retiring. Horrible medicine I have is *bhilama*. Boiled in water, strained, mixed with milk, I had it for seven days. There has been an interval of more than seven days. I propose to take it from tomorrow again for seven days.

In Poona, I had what is supposed to be a specific against hook-worm. It is called Carbon Tetrachlor Ethylene.

I am on the onward march. Dr. Jivraj Mehta is in Panchgani looking after me. Sushila whom you know was with me even in jail. I have sent her to Delhi.

The medical report is that anaemia is subsiding and probably the two enemies, hook-worm and entamoeba histolytica, are lying low, not gone altogether. I expect to go to Sevagram, *Deo volente*, in the early part of August. I am here at least till the end of the month.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

293. LETTER TO K. B. JOSHI

'DILKHUSHA', PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1944

MY DEAR JOSHI,

I was wondering why you had not written all these days. I was inquiring about you only the other day. Vaikunthbhai[1] gave me all the information in his possession. I quite agree with you that something should be done and that quickly. Fortunately Vaikunthbhai is wide awake, and I am hoping that something will be done. You will please keep in touch with me but you know our ultimate goal. We have to reach a process whereby

[1] Vaikunth L. Mehta, brother of G. L. Mehta

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everyone can manufacture paper in his own house just as everyone can do spinning in his own house. I know that the problem is difficult; but if we are to serve 40 crores of people, we must be able to devise some such method as I have adumbrated. If I have relaxed the original restriction, it is in order to reach that goal.

Yours,
BAPU

SJT. K. B. JOSHI
C/O TULPULE'S BUNGALOW
1195/3 SHIVAJI NAGAR
POONA 4

From a photostat : G.N. 2761

294. LETTER TO DR. K. C. GHARPURE

PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1944

DEAR DR. GHARPURE,

I have been having dismal reports about poor Manju[1]. I would esteem it a favour, if you would kindly let me know her exact condition. Dr. Jivraj Mehta being with me, he will help me to understand your report even if it is technical.

Dr. Sushila Nayyar is just now not here. I have asked her to go to Poona and be there till Manju can be discharged.

She described her talk with you about the surgeon's fees. I had thought that there would [be] no fees in a case like this. Manjula has no means of her own. Her brothers are budding artists. They can pay with difficulty. But I can understand the other side. I would have written to Dr. Peet if I was at all acquainted with him. You can show this to him, if necessary. I can well understand his needs, if he is a poor army surgeon. I have friends to fall back upon. There need be no hesitation about charging the fees. You will please send me the bill in that case.

I hope Manjula's case will end well.[2]

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] Sister of Navin Gandhi, *vide* p. 389.

[2] The addressee in his reply dated July 28, 1944, said: "The operation on Miss Manju has been a complete failure. The facial graft that was introduced has sloughed away and as such Miss Manju is no better or worse after the operation. This sometimes happens in grafts. They either take or don't take. The grafting can, however, be repeated after six months."

295. LETTER TO SWAMI ANAND

July 19, 1944

BHAI SWAMI,

I have your letter and also Vaikunthbhai's. This time I am including my reply to him in your letter. I have to cope with the mail. We are not bent on securing importance, are we? On my part I would suggest that all three of you should continue,[1] which would be better than the best.[2] If, however, Bapa cannot accept you as you are, you should move out of his clutches. You should manage without tendering your resignation, if you can. What I mean is that we would have fulfilled our duty, if we earned a good name for the activity.

Please write to Nanabhai that he should carry on the work. I am corresponding with Bhai Anantrai.[3] His response has been good enough. I expect everything will get along smoothly.

Please send me a copy of the decision given by Bapa so that I can guide you.

You may come over whenever you are confronted with a problem.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

296. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1944

CHI. ANAND,

Got your letter only today. Vidya was a very virtuous woman. She had a golden heart and a keen urge for sacrifice. Her love was as vast as the ocean.

[1] As trustees of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust
[2] Literally: "sweeter than jaggery"
[3] *Vide* pp. 386-7.

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You have to live up to her expectations.
I hope to go to Sevagram in August.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy : National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

297. LETTER TO R. R. DIWAKAR

PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1944

BHAI DIWAKAR,

I have not been able to read the entire material. You already know my views[1].

I would like all to court imprisonment on or before the 9th[2] while doing something or other. But that something should be a normal activity of the Congress, not satyagraha. Do you get the difference ?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am disgusted at our people writing in English.

From a facsimile of the Hindi : *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 336 and 337

298. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[3]

PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1944

I am glad you have put the question exactly as you have seen it in the critical Press. I confess that I am not able to go through all Press criticisms and, therefore, I find myself at a disadvantage. Your question, therefore, is doubly helpful to me.

[1] About secret and underground activities, *vide* pp. 265-8 and 274; also Appendix XIV.

[2] Of August, the second anniversary day of "Quit India" movement

[3] The report said : "A journalist suggested to Gandhiji that it had been said by a large section of the overseas Press that he (Gandhiji) had revised his attitude because of the favourable war situation and also because the Congress suffered 'a heavy defeat' and that his latest stand was considered as 'a climb down'."

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Let me remind critics at the outset that publicity of the interview[1] (to Mr. Stuart Gelder of the *News Chronicle*) was not of my seeking. As I have already remarked[2], it was meant for the powers that be. I ask for a dispassionate examination of my proposals on their merits. I should not mind a climb down, if it resulted in the attainment of Indian independence. I may say that the favourable war situation had nothing to do with my proposal, if only for the simple reason that in the flush of approaching victory, my proposal was not likely even to receive a hearing. But as a lover of peace, not merely in India, but peace among all mankind, I could not but make a proposal for what it is worth. After all, there is such a thing as world opinion, apart from the opinion of authorities.

A united, enlightened, powerful opinion of the world is bound to affect those who are today wielding what appears to be absolute power in waging the war, and experience has taught me that one should not be afraid of being misunderstood or of rejection of one's proposal, if it is sound in itself.

The heavy defeat of the Congress I do not feel at all. I have not a shadow of doubt that this passage through fire and suffering by thousands of Congressmen and Congress sympathizers has raised the status of India and the strength of the people. Throughout all my long public life I have not experienced a sense of defeat, heavy or otherwise. I know many Congressmen are labouring under a sense of frustration. Poor men, they do not know the value of self-suffering. But even that frustration is only momentary. Victory, that is, independence of India as a whole, is a certainty. That it may not come in my lifetime is a matter of indifference to me. I can but work for it till the end of my life. Victory will come when God wills it.

Only today I wrote to a friend who wanted to know the difference between now and August 1942. From it I quote relevant sentences. I have said the difference between now and August 1942 is that at that time I had no knowledge of the response the people, both pro-Congress and anti-Congress, would make. Now I know the kind of response they made. The heroism, suffering and self-sacrifice of those who took part in this struggle are beyond praise, but weighed in the scale of truth and non-violence there are glaring defects in the popular demonstration. And I can only say that India failed to reach her natural goal

[1] *Vide* pp. 347-8 and 349-52.
[2] *Vide* pp. 370 and 377.

at the time because of these defects. Whatever may be true of other nations, I have no doubt that India can come to her own fully by truth and non-violent means. In the face of sabotage and the like, rulers have as usual lost their heads and resorted to reprisals unheard of before. I write this under correction. I have asked[1] for an impartial tribunal for the investigation of charges against the Congress and my counter-charges against the Government. Unless I am convinced to the contrary, I shall continue to believe that the molehill of popular violence has been shown on behalf of Government to have been a mountain and the Himalayan violence of the authorities has been generally defended as no more than necessary for the occasion. I must, therefore, refuse to judge popular action by the footrule of truth and non-violence unless I can apply the same measure for Government action. This is one difference. The second difference is the terrible progressive starvation of the people. Whether it is due to wrath of God or incompetence of the rulers or universal pressure of war, is not relevant to the elucidation of my reply. I hold that these two causes mark decisive differences between now and August 1942. I would be unworthy of my creed, if I failed to make use of all the resources of head and heart that God has vouchsafed to me for discovering a solution of the deadlock. What that solution is, is submitted[2] by me. It is nothing less than the present declaration of freedom of India, limited during the war period by the exigencies of the war. This limitation you know. If the offer is accepted, then I would be criminally guilty if I did not advise the Congress to accept it.

If my proposal reaches full fruition, what is today a war of brute strength would be turned into a war for the liberation of the exploited peoples of the world. Then it would be a war between predominantly moral strength plus the minimum of brute strength matched against pure brute strength which is being used for the exploitation of China and the weaker States of Europe.

Rajaji's offer[3] has seen the light of day only now, but I had personally subscribed to it when I was fasting in prison camp. It is now sixteen months old. For the rest of the offer, I must carry out the contract between Rajaji and myself. He is to bear the brunt of all criticism that might be made about that offer.

Finally I would say to my critics to enter with me into the sufferings not only of the people of India but of those, whether

[1] *Vide* pp. 156 and 204.
[2] *Vide* pp. 350-1 and 384.
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

engaged in the war or not, of the whole world. I cannot look at this butchery going on in the world with indifference. I have an unchangeable faith that it is beneath the dignity of men to resort to mutual slaughter. I have no doubt that there is a way out. I am vain enough to think that my malaria was a god-send, and He used Government as His instrument for discharging me.

I should be never reconciled to myself if, for fear of hostile criticism or wrath of impatient Congressmen or even possible displeasure of members of the Working Committee, I did not express personal opinion, the acceptance of which, I hold, must result in bringing peace to the world, even out of the present turmoil.[1]

The Hindu, 22-7-1944

299. TELEGRAM TO STUART GELDER

Express *July 20, 1944*

GELDER
CARE FRANK MORAES
GREENFIELDS, CHURCHGATE RECLAMATION
BOMBAY

RECEIVED BOTH WIRES. READ YESTERDAY'S PRESS INTERVIEW.[2] WIRE IF FURTHER CLARIFICATION NECESSARY. WILL IMMEDIATELY ATTEND CLIFF'S[3] QUESTIONS WHEN RECEIVED. HOPE YOU WILL SOON BE WELL.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle*, 20-7-1944, reported: "Gandhiji made it clear that those who attributed motives to him did not touch him—it was like water on duck's back. He started the conference by saying: 'I am empty-headed' and ended by saying: 'I hope I have given enough food', and the Press agreed, 'he had'."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] Norman Cliff of the *News Chronicle*, London; *vide* also "Cable to *News Chronicle*", p. 413.

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300. LETTER TO AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

PANCHGANI,
July 20, 1944

DEAR AMIYA,

I was delighted to receive your letter. Death leaves no family without His toll. Why should we not treat His messengers as friends and pay the toll with a willing heart? I had to make His acquaintance when I was quite a youth and I learnt to regard Death as a welcome deliverance whether it is a suckling baby or one in prime of life like your brother or an elderly person. I long ago ceased to regard as affliction or punishment the so-called misfortunes. On my return to India I think it was Kakasaheb who recited a verse and reminded me that I was presenting no new thought when I expounded the view just mentioned. From that time onward we have recited at the morning prayer the following verse[1] :

विपदो नैव विपदः संपदो नैव संपदः ।
विपद् विस्मरणं विष्णोः संम्पन्नारायण स्मृतिः ॥

Hence the puzzle that taxes the philosophers of the West and the East has no worry for me. I know this arises from my ignorance of writings on philosophy. I console myself with the thought that my ignorance is bliss if it promotes my peace of mind.

This is my contribution towards assuaging your grief and my answer to the question propounded by you.

The second question is simple. Of course, there must be organized resistance to organized evil. The difficulty arises when the organizers of satyagraha try to imitate the organizers of evil. I tried and failed hopelessly. The way of organizing forces of good must be opposite to the evil way. What it exactly is I do not yet know fully. I feel that it lies through perfection, as far as may be, of individuals. It then acts as the leaven raising the whole mass. But I am still groping.

I hope I have given you sufficient food for thought for the time being. More when we meet. I hope to be in Sevagram in

[1] Meaning: That which goes by the name of adversity is not such; nor is that prosperity which goes by that name. To forget God is adversity; ever to think of Him is prosperity. *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 390.

the beginning of August. Gurudev was an institution. We must feel the loss.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

301. LETTER TO HARIBHAU JOSHI

PANCHGANI,
July 20, 1944

DEAR JOSHI,

I am very sorry to learn about Acharya Javadekar's indisposition. I hope he will soon recover.

I remember Shripad well. He is brave and will go through the mill cheerfully. Please give him my love when you next meet him.

If you represent Rajaji correctly, the version is only true so far as it goes. But I will forbear and wait till we meet.

Your questions are interesting. I have promised to meet you in Panchgani even if the others cannot join you. Therefore I shall conserve my limited energy till the time of our meeting. But, if you do not mind, I would fix the date of our meeting towards the end of the month. I am not gaining as much as I had expected. Do you mind the delay? I suggest 25th instant at 4 p.m., i.e., if I am here till then. If the place does not finally suit me, I shall have to pass the rest of the month in Poona.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : C.W. 934. Courtesy : Haribhau Joshi

302. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

PANCHGANI,
July 20, 1944

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Today I read your letter and application carefully through. The work you are doing is very good. Keep it up. Regard it a sin to fall ill. Please do not minimize the seriousness of that sin because I too have committed it. Holding a belief is one thing and putting it into practice quite another. Let nobody get

infected by my shortcomings. Let what is good in me infect people freely. *Sadhana* can infect us in this sense.

Why is Kanchan silent? Tell her to write regularly.

The time is drawing nearer for my arrival in Sevagram.

Bhai Patil is a gentleman. I intend to write a note to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8471. Also C.W. 7176. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

303. LETTER TO BHANUSHANKAR

PANCHGANI,
July 20, 1944

BHAI BHANUSHANKAR,

I have both your letters. I have just been able to finish reading the second long one. You could have abridged both the letters and at the same time conveyed more. I do not say this by way of criticism. I see this defect in many writers. I have just pointed it out so that you may try and learn brevity in writing.

What you have written is all right. But it is a half truth. This does not mean that you have anywhere tried to hide the truth. I have no doubt that you have written what you believe to be the whole truth. But I who know the other side see but half truth in your letter. Just think over this: If we give up all those whom you have criticized, who will be left to work in the Congress? You and I? As a matter of fact you alone can work because I sit with those whom you have criticized. What then is my value? I do not write this to criticize you but to show the defect in your argument. We have to work with the best possible people available. Since we are imperfect ourselves we can make progress only by putting up with imperfect co-workers. Though there is some truth in your criticism, the world has seen the strength of the Congress. That proves that on the whole the achievement of the Congress is not bad. I shall write no more just now. Think over this and, if you still do not see your way, write to me. The world is good, if we are good. Let others do nothing or do something wrong. You go on with your own proper work. There is no time to sit idle.

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

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304. LETTER TO R. R. DIWAKAR

PANCHGANI,
July 20, 1944

BHAI DIWAKAR,

I wrote to you yesterday.[1] Pundalik[2] is still here, hence the second letter. This shows how these things occupy my thoughts. I think those who are underground should discover themselves and then do whatever they like. It would be better if no militant step is taken as long as I am out.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi : *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 336 and 337

305. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[3]

PANCHGANI,
July 20, 1944

QUESTION: 1. Do you agree with inferences being drawn in London following the publication of your interview[4] that you favour full entry of free Indian government into war against Japan ?

ANSWER: Yes.

2. Regarding Pakistan there is a tendency here to interpret your last contact with Mr. Jinnah as indicating your acceptance of Pakistan. Is this so ?

[1] *Vide* p. 403.

[2] Pundalik Katagade

[3] The report said that the questions were cabled to Gandhiji from London, on July 18, by *Cavalcade*, a British news magazine, which claimed that it had "consistently supported the cause of Indian freedom, and added that it was advised by Mr. Pulin Seal, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Indian Congressmen in London, to ask if Gandhiji would give for publication his answers to four questions". According to the report, Gandhiji "handed over copies of" the questions and answers to the Press on July 21 when he gave a statement; *vide* the following item.

[4] *Vide* pp. 347-8 and 349-52.

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Mr. Rajagopalachari's Formula[1] indicates my way of meeting the communal difficulty. I am indifferent whether it is called Pakistan or not.

3. In the event of free Indian government taking control of finance, what policy will you advise regarding Anglo-American capital interest in India?

My advice would be to respect Anglo-American capital interest, which, in the absence of agreement, is not considered by an impartial tribunal inconsistent with Indian national interests.

4. Will you outline your conception of the role of a free India in the post-war world with special relationship to the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States of America?

If I have any say in post-war policy, the free national government of India will promote a Commonwealth of all world States naturally including British Commonwealth and America and also, if possible, belligerent States so as to reduce to the minimum the possibility of armed conflict between different States.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-7-1944

306. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 21, 1944

I have answered the question[2] as a confirmed war resister; and if I became a party to the August resolution and I now suggest what I consider to be a perfectly honourable solution, it is because thereby I expect to promote the war-resistance effort. I dream of a world where there will be no strife between nations and nations. It is possible only if Great Britain, America and Russia contemplate such world peace. I deliberately omit China for, unfortunately China is not able like Russia, Britain or America to stand alone, though much bigger than all these three powerful nations and more ancient.

China is still menaced by Japan and needs all the assistance that she can get before she can rise to her full height.

I see no chance for the groaning world, unless the three States now demonstrate to the world that they have one mind, that they are not putting forth the effort they are doing for any selfish

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.
[2] The reference is to the fourth question of the preceding item.

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design, but that they are truly fighting for all democracies on the face of the earth.

My proposal is an acid test, and I have no shadow of doubt that its hearty acceptance by Britain will immediately turn the scales and ensure the defeat of the belligerent powers and fill exploited nations of the earth with hope. You see that I am, therefore, fighting for no small stake.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-7-1944

307. INTERVIEW TO THE UNITED PRESS OF INDIA[2]

PANCHGANI,
July 22, 1944

I am not afraid of the word 'diarchy'.[3] The arrangement proposed seems to me to be as natural as the present is unnatural. If Allied operations have to continue with India as the base, as they must, my proposal is that they are only feasible and consistent with immediate declaration of India's independence. But I heartily agree that there must be mutual trust. If it cannot be established, my proposal is valueless. The winter of mutual distrust among the Boers and Britons was overnight turned into a summer of mutual trust after the sanguinary Boer War. In our case, when the victory becomes a mutual interest, mutual trust follows as a matter of course.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-7-1944

[1] The report concluded : "Gandhiji invited questions and the Pressmen fired out a few questions and when they stumbled and seemed to get stuck up, Gandhiji smiled and said that he would lead them on. He could put even mischievous questions, he said, but thought that was not the proper time for it."

[2] The report said that a special representative of the United Press of India "sought elucidation from Gandhiji on the points raised by the British Press, specially the Delhi correspondent of the London *Times*, on Gandhiji's proposals that military control shall be in the hands of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief".

[3] The *Times* correspondent had remarked : "What is proposed in fact is a kind of diarchy in the military field which would be practicable only on the assumption that there is complete identity of aims and mutual trust, and past events have done nothing to create these."

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308. CABLE TO "NEWS CHRONICLE"[1]

July 23, 1944

THE AUGUST RESOLUTION IS A NOBLE DECLARATION OF WHICH I AM PROUD. I HOPE CONGRESS WILL NEVER SUPERSEDE IT. THE CLAUSE RELATING TO SANCTION HAS CAUSED OFFENCE. I HAVE SAID IT WAS NEVER PUT INTO OPERATION BY ME AND AT THIS STAGE I CANNOT DO SO EVEN IF MY POWER IS REVISED AFTER MY DISCHARGE.

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book I, p. 27

309. LETTER TO S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

PANCHGANI,
July 23, 1944

DEAR MOHAN[2],

Do come with your friend at 4 p.m. on 28th instant. Your friend may take two snap-shots without any notice to me.

I am glad Joshi wants my reply. I have not been idle. I hope to be able to send a reply[3] at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

M. KUMARAMANGALAM SUBBAROYAN
COMMUNIST PARTY
190 B KHETWADI MAIN ROAD
BOMBAY 4

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 3001/H/, p. 123. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

[1] Pyarelal explains that Gandhiji had sent this "in answer to questions addressed to him by *News Chronicle*, London".

[2] Son of Dr. P. Subbaroyan

[3] *Vide* "Letter to P. C. Joshi", pp. 434-7.

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310. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

PANCHGANI,
July 23, 1944

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I have your letters. I no longer have the strength to give orders. I would only advise you to do what you think best. Whenever you wish to come to the Ashram for treatment, you may do so. Serve wherever you like. I do not know what work to take from you. It is my nature to be content with whatever service people give. Those who are content to stay in the Ashram may do so. Those who think they can do better service elsewhere may work outside.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 480

311. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

July 23, 1944

Do not get in the least impatient. Observe with detachment whatever happens. . . . Doctors have examined me. There has been good improvement. The climate has agreed with me. But I do not wish to stay on much longer now. Nor is it necessary to do so. I am pining to return to Sevagram.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 201-2

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312. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 23, 1944

The Sind Home Minister[1], in defending the forcible prevention of a member of the Sind Legislative Assembly from exercising his right of attending the Assembly meeting, is reported to have said: "Our information is that, since the release of Mahatma Gandhi, the subversive movement had been restarted throughout India and that leading personalities behind that movement were again trying to direct it." He referred in this connection to the escape from Karachi jail of three under-trial prisoners concerned in the Marriot Road dacoity case and said, "this is all in pursuance of the policy of reviving the movement."

All the information that I have gathered since my discharge is absolutely contrary to the statement alleged to have been made by the Sind Home Minister. May it be that he is badly served by his informants? Is it not his duty to supply the public with details of the information in his possession? Who are the leading personalities, and what is the subversive movement?

If there is any connection between the escape from Karachi jail of the under-trial prisoners and the supposed revival of the so-called subversive movement, the least that is necessary is to mention these names and show the connection.

I would not have taken notice of the Sind Home Minister's statement but for the fact that it is likely to be used by enemies of India's freedom to frustrate the efforts that I am making for the cause of independence. I am sure the Sind Home Minister is as anxious as I am for India's freedom, attained through peaceful means.

I may add, too, that throughout this anxious period my attempt has been, through the Press and in my talks with Congressmen and others, to show that I am opposed unequivocally to sabotage and the like. I have also stated in explicit terms that I never have had an opportunity of starting civil disobedience and that the authority vested in me by the A. I. C. C. expired on my imprisonment, and could not automatically be revived by my discharge on grounds of ill-health.

[1] Haji Muhammad Hashim Gazdar

Therefore assuming that civil disobedience is described as subversive movement, which I deny, even that cannot be offered by anybody on behalf of Congress.

But I have said at the same time that normal Congress activities of a purely peaceful nature must be carried on even if restrictions are imposed upon them. It is up to the authorities, therefore, if they are at all inclined to respond to my advice, not to interfere with such activities as were permissible, say, before August 1942, such as, for instance, monthly flag demonstration, public meetings and the like.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-7-1944

313. INTRODUCTION TO "DRAFT INSTRUCTION FOR CIVIL RESISTERS"

PANCHGANI,
July 24, 1944

The following is the literal translation of draft instructions[1] for the guidance of civil resisters. The draft was in Hindustani and copies were prepared in both Devanagari and Persian scripts. It was prepared on 7th August, 1942, and was placed before the Working Committee and discussed on the 8th of August. The Working Committee was again to have met on the morning of the 9th August. But that was not to be.

I was to put before the Working Committee my view of the negotiations which I was to carry on with the Government. They were to cover a period of at least three weeks. The instructions were to see the light of day only on failure of the contemplated negotiations.

The object of publishing the draft at present is twofold. It shows how my mind was running at the time. The draft is an additional answer to the adverse suggestions made in the Government indictment about my non-violence. The second and more relevant object is to let Congress workers know how I would have acted at the time.

I have come to know that my name was freely used to justify acts of sabotage and the like. I would like every Congressman and for that matter every Indian to feel that on him and her lies the responsibility of freeing India from the incubus of foreign rule. Non-violent suffering is the only way. Freedom

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 364-7.

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of India means everything for us but it means also much for the world. For, freedom won through non-violence will mean the inauguration of a new order in the world.

There is no hope for mankind in any other way.

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 285-6

314. TELEGRAM TO MANORANJAN CHAUDHARY[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 24, 1944

MANORANJAN CARE NIRMAL BHATTACHARJI
RUSTOM MANSION
ADENWALLA ROAD, MATUNGA
BOMBAY

WELCOME TWENTY-SEVENTH FOUR AFTERNOON.[2]

GANDHI

From a copy : C.W. 10514

315. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

PANCHGANI,
July 24, 1944

CHI. AMRITLAL,

May you live long and render plenty of service. My blessings to both the sisters.

I had read the pamphlets. I shall go through the new ones too.

I will start for Wardha on the 2nd of August.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI AMRITLAL NANAVATI
64 A/B 4TH FLOOR, PANNALAL TERRACE
GRANT ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10803

[1] Of the Bengal Hindu Sabha
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to P. C. Joshi", pp. 434-7.

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316. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

PANCHGANI,
July 24, 1944

CHI. PREMA,

Sushila has left for Delhi. I shall start on the 2nd of August and go direct to Wardha. I do not know whether I will go *via* Bombay or Kalyan. You may come along with me, or come afterwards whenever you wish to. I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10431. Also C.W. 6870. Courtesy : Prema Kantak

317. TELEGRAM TO T. B. SAPRU[1]

[*July 25, 1944*][2]

ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR YOU HERE. LEAVING PANCHGANI FIRST AUGUST. REACHING SEVAGRAM THIRD.

Gandhi-Sapru Papers. Courtesy : National Library

318. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

PANCHGANI,
July 25, 1944

MY DEAR C. R.,

It is early morning. I feel your absence. Questions regarding Pakistan crop up. Papers are being sent to you. But that is not enough. Some questions I must answer myself. It is not

[1&2] The telegram is extracted from Pyarelal's letter dated July 25 to the addressee, which, *inter alia*, read: "Gandhiji has decided to leave for Sevagram. . . .The stay here had done him good and from the point of view of his health a further stay for a fortnight would have been eminently desirable. But his soul yearned for Sevagram and the doctors saw no good in thwarting his innate nature. Gandhiji has just sent you the following wire."

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right that I should answer them without you. I won't drag you to Panchgani. But I do want you to be in Sevagram when I reach there. I hope to be there on 3rd August. Try to reach there that day and come with the intention of settling down there till my fate is decided one way or the other. Every decision of my fate must necessarily be final just for the time being.

It is as wet as when you left. But I am flourishing. And I see that I can like this place if there is a refuge for poor people. It has been built for the rich or the upper middle class.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 2095

319. LETTER TO B. G. KHER

PANCHGANI,
July 25, 1944

BHAI KHER,

Herewith letter from Natarajan. Read it. If his suggestion appeals to you, persuade others to accept it. I myself would have explained but, as you know, I have neither the time nor the energy to do so. If you have fully understood Rajaji's Formula[1], canvass for it earnestly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Pyarelal committed no mistake in that.[2] He deliberately told you about it. The thing is not to be kept secret from persons like you. The truth is that it is to be kept secret only from newspapers. The intention is to avoid embarrassment to Churchill.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2771

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

[2] The reference is to Gandhiji's letter dated July 17 to Winston Churchill; *vide* pp. 391-2.

320. LETTER TO KANAM GANDHI

July 25, 1944

CHI. KANAM,

I got your letter today. I shall not be able to always fulfil your expectation of a reply by return of post. You have spoilt your handwriting so much that now it is difficult to read it. Sita's[1] handwriting is so beautiful that it deserves to be emulated by all of you. No doubt she writes in English but whoever writes a good hand in one script must necessarily write equally well in another.

About the injustice to the residents of Sevagram, ask me when we meet.

I have had enough of watching the cinema[2] all by myself without my compatriots at Sevagram. When I am out and engaged in some good activity I would remember all of you. There was no such thing in the present case. Hence nobody has lost anything by not witnessing the show. On the contrary, I have lost something after having seen the picture. You may ask me what it is.

I hope to reach Sevagram on the 3rd.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

321. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

PANCHGANI,
July 25, 1944

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I am grieved at your father's passing away. I can understand your remorse. How can one be angry with one's father even if he leaves nothing for the one? But let that be. Giving away in charity all that you have come into, will be an adequate penance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1543

[1] Addressee's cousin

[2] Gandhiji saw feature film "Ramarajya" at his residence.

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322. LETTER TO C. M. DOKE

PANCHGANI,
July 26, 1944

MY DEAR CLEMENT[1],

I had your sweet letter whilst I was a prisoner. From there I wrote no letters.

Ba is ever with me though her body has been consigned to the flames. Though I see this truth through the reason and the heart, world-wide sympathy I have prized. It has made me realize the goodness of God as never before.

I was glad to have some account of you from Manilal. He was able to tell me that you had kept up the old tradition. Do tell me all about the whole family—how and what they are doing. As I write this, all the old associations revive and make me glad.

With love to you all,

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 745

323. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
July 26, 1944

CHI. SUSHILA,

I am glad that Manilal and Sita have come. I am still more pleased that you yourself stayed behind. I had thought that that would be beyond your capacity. You have risen higher in my estimation. May God keep you both on a high plane.

I have had quite long talks with Manilal, though not to my heart's content. There wasn't sufficient time for that. We will talk still more after we reach Sevagram or on our way there.

[1] Son of J. J. Doke who was a close associate of Gandhiji in South Africa; a missionary on the staff of South African Baptist Missionary Society, Lambaland, 1914-21; Head of the Department of Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

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Sita is a very good girl. I have not been able to make friends with her as much as I would wish. But I think, I will be able to do so. She is intelligent. The most important thing is to see that she always remains as healthy as she is today. Good health is the most important blessing of life. Do not worry about her. If you worry about Manilal, I would certainly consider you silly.

About myself Manilal will write. There is no cause for worry. I am in God's hands. He will do what He wants.

According to the present plan, I understand that you will arrive after December. The immediate plan is that Manilal and Sita will join me in Sevagram, *via* Akola, provided of course there are no unforeseen developments.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4935

324. LETTER TO MANJULA M. MEHTA

PANCHGANI,
July 26, 1944

CHI. MANJULA[1],

I have your letter. I feel that whatever is due to Ratilal[2] should be paid up. He will use it as he is destined to. How long can we keep a watch over a person who has come of age? I regularly get from Champa letters which are quite sensible.

I intend to start from here on the 1st for Sevagram. Do come and see me there when you can.

I do not remember having received your letter in jail. Very few letters were delivered to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MAGANLAL PRANJIVANDAS MEHTA, BARRISTER
82 GHODBUNDER ROAD
ANDHERI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1029. Courtesy : Manjula M. Mehta

[1] Wife of Maganlal Mehta
[2] Maganlal Mehta's brother

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325. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

PANCHGANI,
July 26, 1944

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

I got your letter and liked it. I like Dinshaw's temperament. His wife also has a loving nature. Though there is no privacy, his place is very peaceful. It has all the facilities. He knows everything about milk diet and also other methods of treatment. If, therefore, you fully make up your mind, you may go and stay for a year in Poona. Perhaps your health may be completely restored. Even if it is not, you will lose nothing. You will in any case be doing some service there. If you are prepared to see everybody who wants to see you, you may even be able to help some. In the Arogyabhavan your presence will itself benefit the inmates. Think over all these points. As I am soon going over there, we shall reach a final decision after I arrive.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 810. Courtesy : Balkrishna Bhave

326. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

July 26, 1944

BAPA,

I have your letter. Why such a decision? May not anyone tender his resignation? But whether you undertake tours or refuse to budge from your Delhi camp, Swami[1] is willing to be relieved this moment. But none from amongst Sir Purushottamdas and others is willing to let you go. Swami wants the matter to be entrusted to an arbitrator who should give his award. But should we take such a dispute to an arbitrator? It is a question of difference of opinion. Some people cannot see eye to eye. Yet both the parties or all of them might be doing good work. Under

[1] Swami Anand; *vide* p. 402.

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the circumstances, they work separately and preserve mutual amity. I am not issuing orders, I am simply comparing notes.

BAPU

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

327. LETTER TO MANJULA GANDHI

July 26, 1944

CHI. MANJU,

I have your letter. Capitalize on your *bhajans* and forget all your worries after putting your full trust in God. There is no rule that because you are young in age you cannot acquire *jnana*. *Jnana*, that is, *atmajnana* is not necessarily associated with age. I have seen many an old and erudite fool. On the other hand an unlettered person like Raichandbhai had come to possess *atma-jnana* even at a tender age. I hope to see you on the 1st evening or the 2nd morning. I very much want you to pay me a visit after you are all right.[1] Even if I am arrested and taken away, you can stay at the Ashram or you may reconsider your plans.

Blessings from
BAPU

MANJU GANDHI

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

328. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 26, 1944

I have read the debate in the Lords' on the Indian question with attention. I confess, I am disappointed. Lord Munster has correctly summarized[2] my proposals. It is the most constructive suggestion that I could conceive. If it is not accepted, even as a basis for a friendly discussion and for permission to be given to see members of the Working Committee, who alone can speak with authority, I must reluctantly come to the conclusion that the British Government do not want a fair solution of what I consider is a deadlock, but what they may not consider as such.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. K. C. Gharpure", p. 401.
[2] For excerpts from Munster's speech, *vide* Appendix XXI.

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However earnest I may be in my efforts to reach a solution, I know I can do nothing, if there is no response from the British Government. How I wish that the bogey of communal differences had not been raised in the debate. I have contended, as I contend even now, that differences there must be so long as there is a ruling third party to exploit them. I have spoken what I feel to be the truth. The occasion is too serious for me to hide it.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-7-1944

329. LETTER TO RADHIKADEVI

[After *July 26, 1944*][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. What else can one do but resort to a fast when one is treated as less than human? I do not dare to interfere. Have faith in God and put up with whatever happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. RADHIKADEVI
VISHWANATH PRASAD CHAUBE
GOPALPUR
BALLIA

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

330. LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

PANCHGANI,
July [*26*/][2] *27, 1944*

DEAR FRIEND,

I must admit my disappointment over your letter[3] of the 22nd instant. But I am used to work in the face of disappointment. Here is my concrete proposal.

I am prepared to advise the Working Committee to declare that in view of the changed conditions, mass civil disobedience envisaged by the resolution of August 1942 cannot be offered and that full co-operation in the war-effort should be given by the

[1] In the source, the letter is placed after the letters of July 26, 1944.
[2] From the reference to "Lord Munster's Speech"; *vide* Appendix XXI.
[3] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 386.

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Congress, if a declaration of immediate Indian independence is made and a national government responsible to the Central Assembly be formed subject to the proviso that, during the pendency of the war, the military operations should continue as at present but without involving any financial burden on India. If there is a desire on the part of the British Government for a settlement, friendly talks should take the place of correspondence. But I am in your hands. I shall continue to knock so long as there is the least hope of an honourable settlement.

After the foregoing was written, I saw Lord Munster's speech in the House of Lords. The summary given by him in the House of Lords fairly represents my proposal. This summary may serve as a basis for mutual friendly discussion.[1]

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 6; also *The Hindu*, 19-8-1944

331. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

PANCHGANI,
July 27, 1944

CHI. MANUDI,

I have your letter. That your weight should go down to 87 lb. is a matter of shame. It is sinful to read up to 2 o'clock at night. If that is the condition for passing, then I will have none of that kind of education. If you are unable to obey the rules, you will have to come to me. I would rather you remained uneducated than get educated in this way. You are irregular about taking medicine too. What does that indicate?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] *Vide* also "Interview to the Press", pp. 424-5. For the Viceroy's reply, *vide* Appendix XXII.

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332. TALK TO PANCHGANI CITIZENS[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 27, 1944

Mahatma Gandhi said that he had been greatly benefited by his stay in Panchgani and his health had considerably improved.

The Nawab of Wai who introduced the citizens to Mahatma Gandhi expressed the hope that he would visit the place annually.

Mahatma Gandhi talked to the gathering quite informally, and replying to the Vice-Principal of a local European school who said, he had seen Mahatma Gandhi in Charlestown while he was a young boy nearly forty years ago in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi said, "Oh yes. I remember Charlestown well. Don't I know Charlestown where I got a good hiding?"[2] and burst into laughter.

Mahatma Gandhi said that he liked Panchgani better than other hill stations he had visited in India, but referred to the lack of accommodation and said that wealthy people should construct quarters so that the poor could also take advantage of the climate for recuperating their health.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-7-1944

333. TELEGRAM TO STUART GELDER

Express *July 28, 1944*

GELDER
CARE FRANK MORAES
GREENFIELDS, CHURCHGATE RECLAMATION
BOMBAY

SORRY YOU STILL ILL. LET MORAES COME TAKE CHANCE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] The report said that "heads of educational institutions, medical practitioners and businessmen" met Gandhiji in the afternoon and "spent nearly half an hour with him".

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, p. 95.

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334. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

PANCHGANI,
July 28, 1944

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I was pained to read your letter. Your duty is to go to Indore. I will issue no order. I do not want any service from you. It would be a different matter if you fell ill and needed some nursing and came to Sevagram. Your duty is to stay outside and do whatever work you know. It is not a question of my being angry. It is a question of my own limitations. You may, therefore, do whatever service you like, but outside Sevagram. Now that your health is all right there is no need at all to go to Sevagram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 481

335. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

PANCHGANI,
July 28, 1944

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter. I hope to reach Sevagram on the 3rd. I will not go to Bombay. I shall catch the train at Kalyan. You may travel by that train. If you do, meet Shantikumar. I myself am keen, of course.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUSUMBEHN DESAI
MEHTA POLE
BARODA

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1851

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336. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

PANCHGANI,
July 28, 1944

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your letter. I will reach Sevagram on the 3rd. Come over there whenever you wish to. I will wait for your letter. Please reply this letter. Tell Nanabhai that I have received his letter. Tell him that he should certainly come to Sevagram. I am not stopping at Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7149. Also C.W. 4641. Courtesy : Vijaya M. Pancholi

337. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 28, 1944

The question most discussed with me by visitors is whether I approve of underground activities. These include sabotage, the publication of unauthorized sheets, etc. It has been suggested to me that without some workers going underground they could have done nothing. Some have contended that destruction of property, including dislocation of communication, provided that safety of human life could be ensured, should surely be counted as non-violence. Examples of other nations as having not hesitated to do all these things and much worse have been cited. My reply is that no nation has, so far as I know, deliberately used truth and non-violence as exclusive means for the attainment of freedom. Judged by that standard, I say unhesitatingly, that underground activities, even though utterly innocent in themselves, should have no place in the technique of non-violence. Sabotage and all it means, including destruction of property, is in itself violence. Though these activities may be shown to have touched the imagination and enthusiasm, I have no doubt that they have harmed the movement as a whole.

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I swear by the Constructive Programme. Let me recount the items of that programme :

1. Communal unity
2. Removal of untouchability
3. Prohibition
4. Khadi
5. Other village industries
6. Village sanitation
7. New or basic education
8. Adult education
9. Uplift of women
10. Service of the so-called aboriginals
11. Education in health and hygiene
12. Propaganda of *rashtra bhasha*
13. Love of one's own language
14. Working for economic equality.

Unfortunately the workers have not developed in that programme the living faith which I have. I can but re-emphasize the importance of that programme. And, if the whole of India could be converted to take to that programme, we should reach our goal in the quickest manner possible.

To the workers who are still underground, I advise:

If you share my conviction that underground activity is not conducive to the growth of the spirit of active non-violence, you will discover yourselves and take the risk of being imprisoned, believing that imprisonment, thus undergone, itself helps the freedom movement.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-7-1944

[1] *Vide* also Appendices XIII and XIV.

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338. LETTER TO SIR EDWARD JENKINS

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
CAMP PANCHGANI,
July 29, 1944

DEAR SIR EDWARD,

I thank you for your letter[1] of 16th July. I am thankful for the enclosure of the letter to Miss Agatha Harrison.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR EDWARD JENKINS
THE VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, p. 35

339. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

PANCHGANI,
July 29, 1944

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your clean letter. I hope to reach Sevagram on the 3rd. When will I see you and Anand? Though eager, I am not impatient. Come only after you are completely all right. I did try but I could not find a homoeopath who could convince me. I can put faith only if I see some cases [of successful treatment]. Just now I don't intend to send for the book you mention. There is no time. But what can your doctor teach me?

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9973. Courtesy : Sharda G. Chokhawala

[1] Which read: "I am dealing with your letter [*vide* pp. 373-4] of 13th July to Mr. Abell who is in Simla. I am sending your letter [*vide* pp. 372-3] to Miss Agatha Harrison through the bag as you wish."

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340. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 29, 1944

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I am worried about Balkrishna. I hope he will get through the present crisis. Will he like to stay at Dr. Mehta's nursing home in Poona ? I don't know whether or no Dr. Mehta will take up his case.[1] Though I am there, I cannot be relied upon.[2]

I am very busy these days. My pen has strayed into Gujarati, so I will let it go on. I haven't read the whole of Munnalal's letter. He seems all right; that is all I can say now. I am happy that Krishnadas[3] and Jajuji have been released. I am hoping to hear from them in detail.

Mitu[4] must be doing well.

What is the matter with Manojna's[5] sister? Ask her to write to me. I have sent Pyarelal to Bombay. He will be back by Saturday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4442

341. LETTER TO GANGADHARRAO DESHPANDE

PANCHGANI,
July 29, 1944

BHAI GANGADHARRAO,

I have heard everything from Bhai Pundalik. I have read your account also. I hope that what I am doing will solve the problem. And if any doubt still remains, write to me. You must keep yourself in good health. You have yet to render a lot of service.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5224

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Balkrishna Bhave", p. 423.
[2] What follows is in Gujarati.
[3] Krishnadas Gandhi
[4] Aryanayakam's daughter
[5] Wife of Krishnadas Gandhi

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342. TALK TO BOMBAY CONGRESS LEADERS[1]

PANCHGANI,
[*July*][2] *29/30, 1944*

Ninth August is a great day and it is the duty of all to observe it. But that part of the resolution which speaks of mass civil disobedience cannot be brought into force because the authority to put it into force was vested solely in me. Today I see no possibility of mass civil disobedience either according to that authority or according to circumstances.

Mass civil disobedience is one thing and the exercise of citizen's right and civil disobedience in pursuance of it is different. The people have been exercising the right of defensive individual civil disobedience since 1920. People in general may not understand the difference between mass civil disobedience and civil disobedience for the defence of individual citizen's rights. But it is necessary to know the differences.

On such occasions as 9th August, people have to understand the difference, and exercise this right of individual civil disobedience for the defence of civil rights. In such places where it is necessary to take the permission of police for meetings, processions and such common civil rights, permission from the police should be asked for. But, if such permission is not granted, people should exercise their civil right in spite of the refusal.[3]

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 3001/HP. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

[1] According to the source, this is a summary

[2] The source has "August", evidently a mistake.

[3] In the source, this was followed by a "copy of the draft letter to be addressed to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, by the leader of the procession on August 9", which appeared as "approved" by Gandhiji "in pursuance of this policy"; *vide* Appendix XXIII.

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343. LETTER TO P. C. JOSHI

As at Sevagram,
Camp Panchgani,
July 30, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I had duly received your letter[1] of 14th June and also your letter of 26th of July sent with Shri Kumaramangalam.

Your answer to my first question provokes further question for your reply. I understand that although the chief actors among the Allied powers are by no means inclined towards real democracy, you think that by the time the war ends, their designs will be confounded and that the people all the world over will suddenly find self-expression and overthrow the present leaders. In the peoples, according to answer, I am entitled to include us, other Asiatics and Negroes, for that matter perhaps, also the proletariat of Japan and Germany. If such is your belief, I must confess that I do not share it but I keep myself open to conviction. Meanwhile I suggest that the title 'people's war' is highly misleading. It enables the Government in India to claim that at least one popular party considers this as people's war. I suggest, too, that Russia's limited alliance with the Allied powers cannot by any stretch of imagination convert what was before an imperialistic war against that Nazi combine, into a people's war.

Holding the view I do, it is superfluous for me now to answer your argument that "this war has split the world into two camps". Between Scylla and Charybdis, if I sail in either direction, I suffer shipwreck. Therefore I have to be in the midst of the storm. I suggested a way out. Naturally it has been rejected because the powers that be do not want to relax their grip on India. As I am composing this letter to you, I have read and re-read your argument. Every paragraph offends; for, to me, it lacks reality. Please believe me that my prejudice against your party has nothing to do with my examination of your answer to the first question.

Q. 2. Your answer, as far as it goes, I hold to be completely satisfactory. I will not ask you for further proof about your finances.

[1] *Vide* Appendix XVI.

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After I have dealt with your answers, I will put my difficulties before you. Your answers to the other questions do not admit of a categorical reply. I understand your answers and appreciate them too. If I was free from prejudices, I would have no hesitation in accepting your answers.[1] But my difficulty is real and I ask for your sympathy. When I make the admission that I have prejudices, it is an appeal to you to have patience with me and to disarm my prejudices in the best manner you can. I can only give you my assurance that I am ready to see anybody you want me to see, to read anything you want me to read and to examine every argument or fact produced by you as dispassionately as I can. I give you this further assurance that I have not acted upon my prejudice, nor shall I do so, unless the prejudices harden into a confirmed belief that your party represents a force of evil and is really an obstacle in the way of the fight for freedom. I am not likely to have that belief easily and, if I have it, you shall have ample notice so as to enable you to wean me from it. I know your worth. You have very able young men and women, as selfless as I would claim to be. You are all hard working and possess great energy and you impose strict discipline on your workers. All this I prize and admire. I would not easily lose such a force because of any preconceived notions of mine.

If I have been inordinately long in dealing with your answers which you sent me so promptly, it was because, as you are aware, I was preoccupied and also because I was examining the evidence that was pouring in upon me unsolicited against your party.[2] I asked them to let me use their names and they have given me the permission. I take the latest first, i.e., Babu Manoranjan Chaudhary. I did not even know that he was coming and when he did ask for an appointment[3], it was in connection with my acceptance of the Rajaji Formula[4]. But really he took the greater

[1] Referring to this, the addressee, in his reply dated September 12, said: "It hurts us more than you can imagine to read that our nation's leader pleads prejudices as standing in the way of examining slander against a young patriotic party."

[2] In his reply, the addressee said: "Mudslinging at political opponents is an old weapon of those who have lost faith in the people and given up all moral values."

[3] Manoranjan Chaudhary was asked (*vide* p. 417) by Gandhiji to meet him on July 27. Dealing with this, Joshi said in his reply that Manoranjan Chaudhary was the agent of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee who was bitterly anti-communist as he had been exposed by the communists.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

part of my time to tell me that the communists had done great injury to the national cause. I am using a milder term than was really used before me. He has left papers which I have not been able to study. And he has also left with me a printed book[1] which I have glanced through personally and it makes bad reading. The printed book can be seen by any deputy you may choose to send. Probably you have seen it yourself.[2]

The other is Sjt. Kaleswara Rao of Bezwada. He also sent me a long letter from which I quote the salient passages[3] (see enclosure[4]). Add to this the numerous letters I have received from correspondents, known and unknown, all impeaching the party. I understand, too, that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is also 'disillusioned'.

You have referred me to Mian Iftikharuddin[5] and Shaukat Ansari, both of whom I know well and for whom I have great regard. Unfortunately Iftikharuddin is in jail. I have never talked about Communism to Shaukat, because I know him and his wife Zohra apart from their politics. But no general assurance from them will obliterate the evidence that has forced itself upon me and of which I have given you a bird's-eye view. I will ask you not to dismiss all this evidence as so much prejudice. I would ask you not to be angry with your critics, however ignorant they may be. You will have legitimate cause for anger, if their criticism is malicious and conceived with a hostile intent. Lastly, I ask you to believe me that I want to impress the services of every one of you for the cause of independence to be fought along the lines that I have chalked out for myself and the whole country. And if I am convinced that I am going astray and that yours is the correct method, I would like to be won over

[1] *War Against the People*, by Kalyani Bhattacharya. Joshi alleged that she was not the author, but Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee got it written and paid for its publication.

[2] Joshi said that he had not read it but glanced through it. Immediately on receiving it, he had asked the Bengal Committee of Communist Party whether he should answer it in *People's War* to which they replied: "Need not bother because it had been withdrawn from circulation as all decent Bengalees who read it felt disgusted over it."

[3] Regarding Kaleswara Rao's accusation, Joshi asked Gandhiji to call Sundarayya, the Andhra Communist leader, and Kaleswara Rao together and judge or to hold a trial in public with C. Rajagopalachari and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as judges.

[4] Not reproduced here

[5] President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee

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by you to your side and I will sincerely and gladly serve as an apprentice wanting to be enlisted as a unit in your ranks.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, pp. 17-22

344. INTERVIEW TO "NEWS CHRONICLE"[1]

[PANCHGANI,
July 30, 1944][2]

Mr. Amery knows better, but it is convenient for him to brush aside my offer[3] by saying that the formula is not even the starting point. Had it not been the starting point, there would not have been all the discussion about my formula that has taken place in the Press.

Asked if he shared the feeling that the British Government is planning to by-pass the political problem by focussing public attention on economic issues, Gandhiji said:

Imagine the economic regeneration of England if she is politically subjected to an extraneous power. I can understand

[1] The report said that this was in answer to the statement made by L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, during a debate in the House of Commons on July 28. According to *The Indian Annual Register, 1944*, Vol. II, p. 308, Amery had said: " . . . So far as India's future constitution is concerned . . . an agreed constitution could only be arrived at if the predominantly Muslim provinces were free to adhere or stand out. . . . Apart from that particular issue . . . one central demand upon which he does not leave any room for ambiguity . . . is the demand for the immediate recognition of India's independence under a provisional government, in which the only powers reserved to the Viceroy are those which deal with the control of active military operations. All reserve powers indispensable to ensure that the various functions of administration are co-ordinate with war effort and also those indispensable to safeguard the constitutional position for minority elements—all those are to disappear. Well, that is, after all, just the demand upon which the negotiations with the Congress broke down two years ago and were bound to break down. I will only invite the House to read Mr. Gandhi's statements side by side with those then issued by Congress leaders, to see that, in this respect at any rate, there has been no real advance. Indeed Mr. Gandhi now adds the further stipulation that India is to bear no part of the cost of her own defence. So long as those are the basis for his proposals, they obviously do not form even the starting point for a profitable discussion either with Lord Wavell or with the interned Congress leaders."

[2] The interview appeared as reported under this date-line.

[3] *Vide* pp. 350-1 and 384.

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the ruthless exploitation of the economic resources of India by a power that has held her in bondage for over 150 years, but that will not be economic prosperity for India. It will spell economic dejection and political degradation. I am amazed that British statesmen who happen to be ruling India today are not satisfied with the mere rejection of a plan conceived in all honesty, but that they should even suggest that the political question should be shelved during the war and that attention should be concentrated on India's economic salvation.[1]

The Hindu, 1-8-1944

345. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 30, 1944

I have noticed this.[2] It has caused me pain as also amazement that the representatives of the British nation, who have a long and distinguished record of heroic fight for political freedom, should divorce the economic development of India from political subjection and give the former preference over the latter. To me it looks like putting the cart before the horse, and I have not yet seen any horse performing the trick of pushing the cart with its nose. It was, therefore, a pleasure to find two noted industrialists, Mr. J. R. D. Tata and Sir Homi Mody, summarily rejecting the idea put forth in the House of Commons and holding out, I suppose, from bitter experience, that the economic development of India was dependent upon the solution of the political deadlock, in other words a proper national government functioning at the Centre. I suppose they had in mind the gigantic concessions that have been made during recent years to British monopolists. They must have had in mind also the strangling of Indian enterprise. What can, therefore, happen without a national government is not the economic development of India, but its exploitation and degradation.

Members of the House of Commons, not knowing the realities in India, may philosophize and talk of the immediate importance of economic development. I wish they can see what is going

[1] *Vide* also the following item.

[2] According to the report, Gandhiji was alluding to "the House of Commons debate with particular reference to the consensus of opinion . . . that the economic development of India was of greater importance than the solution of the political deadlock". *Vide* also the preceding item.

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on today in India. I have no shadow of doubt in my mind that the Bengal famine, as also famines in other parts of India, were man-made and not God-made. I need not impugn the honesty of the rulers who have been sent out to India from Britain.

I hold that in spite of all the honesty that the British rulers can summon to their assistance, it is impossible for them to get behind the Indian skin and know the real disease. The consensus of opinion in the House of Commons, therefore, is for me a terrible pointer. It confirms me in my opinion that the "Quit India" resolution was no hasty cry conceived in anger. To put the same in parliamentary language, it demands that India must be now governed by Indians chosen by her own people—not a coterie but the whole mass of the people without distinction of race, creed or colour. It is unfortunate that the House of Commons has once more missed the opportunity of making the issue between the Allied powers and the Axis powers a real issue of democracy versus autocracy, or the exploitation of classes or nations by a class or a nation armed to the teeth. My offer presented that issue in the clearest possible language that I could command. It was presented on behalf of all the exploited nations and races of the earth. It is a great pity that the Lords and the Commons have turned down my offer. The Allies will have their victory, but the exploited races will not feel the glow of it. They will know that the seeds of another and deadlier war will be sown by that very victory. I ask myself the question: 'Must rivers of blood flow for such an empty victory?'

Asked when he expected to meet Mr. Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi said :

I expect to meet the Qaid-e-Azam as soon as he wants me, of course, health permitting. The publication of the Formula[1] is in pursuit of negotiations for a communal settlement. It is not an idle effort. It is conceived in all sincerity. It is unfortunate that the criticism that has been levelled against it, so far as I can see, has been conceived out of prejudice or careless study of the Formula. Nor is it an offer on the part of any party. It is a contribution from two life-servants of the nation towards the solution of the communal tangle, which has hitherto defied solution. It is an open invitation to all parties to apply their minds to the solution. The Rajaji Formula is intended as a help to all lovers of the country. It is the best we could conceive, but it is open to amendment, as it is open to rejection or acceptance.

Gandhiji told that British Government's rejection of the offer does not affect the Rajaji Formula in anyway whatsoever. As far as he remembered,

[1] Rajaji Formula; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

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Gelder did not know the proposal, and, if he did, he must have got it from Rajaji and not from him.[1]

In a way the rejection of my offer for the resolution of the political deadlock enables all parties to concentrate their attention on communal settlement. Whilst I had said and repeat that the presence of a third party effectively prevents a solution, it was never meant to convey that I would make no attempt at an honourable solution, even while the third party continued to dominate this land of ours. No one will be more pleased than I, if we can pull through a solution which satisfied all parties.

To a reporter who asked if Mahatma Gandhi would advocate Congressmen going back to jail in view of the British Government's rejection of his proposals, Mahatma Gandhi said :

Have you ever known any sane person without any cause going to jail, or after discharge going back to jail? But a person who holds his self-respect or his country's liberty dearer than life itself invites suffering even unto death in defending either and, in that process, if jail comes his way, he welcomes it. The question, therefore, should be addressed to the Government : 'When do you propose to take back to jail those whom you have released ? ' I know that Government are not going to oblige you by answering your question.

The Hindu, 1-8-1944

346. LETTER TO SHWAIB QURESHI

PANCHGANI,
July 31, 1944

MY DEAR SHWAIB,

Your description of the boy brings tears to the eyes. I have a vivid recollection of my struggle with the child. God's peace on him and you, the parents.

So, you see, the Qaid-e-Azam and I are to meet. If the publication of the C. R. Formula was blameworthy, I must share the blame equally with him. Anyway you will work away, I know.

Love to both.

BAPU

SHWAIB SAHEB QURESHI
BHOPAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

[1] This paragraph is reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 31-8-1944.

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347. LETTER TO REKHDE

As at Sevagram, *via* Wardha,[1]
July 31, 1944

MY DEAR REKHDE,

Your letter makes me sad. Yours is not the only case of its kind. And I am quite helpless. Cases such as yours are inevitable in a national struggle. Values have to be changed. We cannot live the old life and still be in the struggle.

I am extremely sorry, I cannot send an encouraging letter to your liking.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

348. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

July 31, 1944

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

If God is kind, I shall arrive there on the 3rd just to see how you are doing. I said "kind" through ignorance. God is always kind. If we do not recognize that kindness, that is our stupidity. We are, however, all subject to His Will, whether willingly or unwillingly. If, therefore, it is His Will, we shall meet on the 3rd. I am glad that Madalasa[2] and Om[3] will be there. I will, of course, miss Savitri[4]. About Kamala[5] I needn't say anything. She is a very busy woman. Now, if I mention more names, I will have to take another slip of paper and, moreover, where is the time.

Blessings from
Bapu

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3033

[1] Permanent address
[2],[3]&[5] Addressee's daughters
[4] Addressee's daughter-in-law, Kamalnayan's wife

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349. LETTER TO A. V. THAKKAR

July 31, 1944

BAPA,

This is just to make you laugh, if I can. When there is a clash of temperaments, father–son, husband–wife, friend–friend, do not break off their relationship but live separately. Compared to you, Swami is as meek as a woman. We have among us men who have more than one wife. You have a right to have many wives like Swami. All these days you put up with him. Pull on for a few more years. Little more of life remains. And I have explained how to carry on.

You are working with all your strength. But how many tasks can you look after? When the volcano has burst, this memorial seems a very trivial matter. I cannot bear to see people like you sacrificing their all for its sake. But I am keeping silent because I think that the women and children in the villages may gain something from it.

BAPU

[PS.]

I hope to reach Sevagram on the 3rd.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 1193

350. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

[*July 31, 1944*][1]

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

What about Amritlal? Do bring Prahlad here if you wish to. How is the new arrangement working? If there is much work in the field, some of us should give to it as many hours as we can spare. The work of weeding and so on is easy. Stock the grass, etc., in the godown.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10614

[1] From the G.N. Register

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351. LETTER TO KASHIBEHN GANDHI

[*July 31, 1944*][1]

CHI. KASHI,

I might say, you have now crossed the threshold of old age. You have, however, to live for many more years, not merely for the sake of living but for rendering service. One who lives merely for the sake of living does not truly live; only he who lives for the sake of service can be said to live [truly]. And he who dies in harness also lives [for ever]. Hence give up all worries, and devote yourself to such service as your mind and body permit.

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

352. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNA SINHA

[*July 31, 1944*][2]

BHAI SHRIKRISHNA SINHA,

Read the enclosed wire. Do as you think right. I do agree that no time should be given to the collection of the Kasturba purse at the cost of any social service. Whatever can be collected without any great effort should be considered valuable [enough]. I have not replied to the wire. You should do it yourself.

Bapa writes and says that you and Anugraha Babu[3] keep indifferent health. Preserve your health. You have yet to render a lot of service.

I leave Panchgani tomorrow. God willing, I shall reach Sevagram on the 3rd.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1&2] In the source, the letters are placed among those of this date.
[3] Anugrah Narayan Sinha

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353. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF ASSAM[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 1944

If the people feel that the present policy of the Government on settlement and immigration is oppressive and anti-national, let them fight it non-violently or violently, if necessary.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-12-1944

[1] The report said that Gopinath Bardoloi, ex-Premier of Assam, had "told the United Press [of India] that in view of the seriousness of the problems as a result of the Assam Government policy on the matter vitally affecting the province, it was referred to Mahatma Gandhi in July last when two Congressmen of Assam were sent to Panchgani". *Vide* also Vol. LXXVIII, "Message to People of Assam", p. 33.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM LORD LINLITHGOW[1]

Personal *January 13, 1943*

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Thank you for your personal letter of December 31 which I have just received. I fully accept its personal character, and I welcome its frankness. And my reply will be, as you would wish it to be, as frank and as entirely personal as your letter itself.

2. I was glad to have your letter, for, to be as open with you as our previous relations justify, I have been profoundly depressed during recent months; first, by the policy that was adopted by the Congress in August, secondly, because while that policy gave rise, as it was obvious it must, throughout the country to violence and crime (I say nothing of the risks to India from outside aggression), no word of condemnation for that violence and crime should have come from you, or from the Working Committee. When you were first at Poona, I knew that you were not receiving newspapers, and I accepted that as explaining your silence. When arrangements were made that you and the Working Committee should have such newspapers as you desired, I felt certain that the details those newspapers contained of what was happening would shock and distress you as much as it has us all, and that you would be anxious to make your condemnation of it categorical and widely known. But that was not the case; and it has been a real disappointment to me, all the more when I think of these murders, the burning alive of police officials, the wrecking of trains, the destruction of property, the misleading of these young students, which has done so much harm to India's good name, and to the Congress party. You may take it from me that the newspaper accounts you mention are well-founded—I only wish they were not, for the story is a bad one. I well know the immense weight of your great authority in the Congress movement and with the party and those who follow its lead, and I wish I could feel, again speaking very frankly, that a heavy responsibility did not rest on you. (And unhappily, while the initial responsibility rests with the leaders, others have to bear the consequences, whether as lawbreakers, with the results that that involves, or as the victims.)

[1] *Vide* pp. 51 and 83.

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3. But if I am right in reading your letter to mean that in the light of what has happened you wish now to retrace your steps and dissociate yourself from the policy of last summer, you have only to let me know and I will at once consider the matter further. And, if I have failed to understand your object, you must not hesitate to let me know without delay in what respect I have done so, and tell me what positive suggestion you wish to put to me. You know me well enough after these many years to believe that I shall be only too concerned to read with the same close attention as ever any message which I receive from you, to give it the fullest weight, and to approach it with the deepest anxiety to understand your feeling and your motives.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, pp. 5-6

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM LORD LINLITHGOW[1]

February 5, 1943

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Many thanks for your letter of 29th January which I have just received. I have read it, as always, with great care and with every anxiety to follow your mind and to do full justice to your argument. But I fear that my view of the responsibility of Congress and of yourself personally for the lamentable disorders of last autumn remains unchanged.

2. In my last letter I said that my knowledge of the facts left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement, and you as its authorized and fully empowered leader at the time of the decision of last August, as responsible for the campaign of violence and crime that subsequently broke out. In reply, you have reiterated your request that I should attempt to convince you that my opinion is correct. I would readily have responded earlier to that request, were it not that your letters gave no indication such as I should have been entitled to expect, that you sought the information with an open mind. In each of them you have expressed profound distrust of the published reports of the recent happenings, although in your last letter, on the basis of the same information, you have not hesitated to lay the whole blame for them on the Government of India. In the same letter, you have stated that I cannot expect you to accept the accuracy of the official reports on which I rely. It is not, therefore, clear to me how you

[1] *Vide* pp. 56, 58 and 84.

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expect or even desire me to convince you of anything. But, in fact, the Government of India have never made any secret of their reasons for holding the Congress and its leaders responsible for the deplorable acts of violence, sabotage and terrorism that have occurred since the Congress resolution of the 8th August declared a "mass struggle" in support of its demands, appointed you as its leader and authorized all Congressmen to act for themselves in the event of interference with the leadership of the movement. A body which passes a resolution in such terms is hardly entitled to disclaim responsibility for any events that followed it. There is evidence that you and your friends expected this policy to lead to violence; and that you were prepared to condone it, and that the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan, conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders. The general nature of the case against the Congress has been publicly stated by the Home Member in his speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 15th September last and, if you need further information, I would refer you to it. I enclose a complete copy in case the Press versions that you must have seen were not sufficient. I need only add that all the mass of evidence that has since come to light has confirmed the conclusions then reached. I have ample information that the campaign of sabotage has been conducted under secret instructions, circulated in the name of the All-India Congress Committee, that well-known Congressmen have organized and freely taken part in acts of violence and murder; and that even now an underground Congress organization exists in which, among others, the wife of a member of the Congress Working Committee plays a prominent part, and which is actively engaged in planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism that have disgusted the whole country. If we do not act on all this information or make it publicly known, it is because the time is not yet ripe; but you may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be met sooner or later and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear yourselves before the world, if you can. And if in the mean while you yourself, by any action such as you now appear to be contemplating, attempt to find an easy way out, the judgment will go against you by default.

3. I have read with some surprise your statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicitly conceded in the Delhi Settlement of the 5th March, 1931, which you refer to as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact". I have again looked at that document. Its basis was that civil disobedience would be "effectively discontinued" and that certain "reciprocal action" would be taken by Government. It was inherent in such a document that it should take notice of the existence of civil disobedience. But I can find nothing in it to suggest that civil disobedience was recognized as being in any circumstances legitimate. And I cannot make it too plain that it is not so regarded by my Government.

4. To accept the point of view which you put forward would be to concede that the authorized Government of the country, on which lies the

responsibility for maintaining peace and good order, should allow subversive and revolutionary movements, described by you yourself as open rebellion, to take place unchallenged; that they should allow preparations for violence, for the interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for the murder of police officers and others to proceed unchecked. My Government and I are open indeed to the charge that we should have taken drastic action at an earlier stage against you and against the Congress leaders. But my anxiety and that of my Government has throughout been to give you, and to give the Congress organization, every possible opportunity to withdraw from the position which you have decided to take up. Your statements of last June and July, the original resolution of the Working Committee of the 14th July and your declaration on the same day that there was no room left for negotiation and that after all it was an open rebellion, are all of them grave and significant, even without your final exhortation to "do or die". But with a patience that was perhaps misplaced, it was decided to wait until the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee made it clear that there could be no further toleration of the Congress attitude, if Government was to discharge its responsibility to the people of India.

5. Let me, in conclusion, say how greatly I regret, having regard to your health and your age, the decision that you tell me that you now have in mind to take. I hope and pray that wiser counsels may yet prevail with you. But the decision whether or not to undertake a fast with its attendant risks is clearly one that must be taken by you alone, and the responsibility for which and for its consequences must rest on you alone. I trust sincerely that in the light of what I have said you may think better of your resolution; and I would welcome a decision on your part to think better of it, not only because of my own natural reluctance to see you wilfully risk your life, but because I regard the use of a fast for political purposes as a form of political blackmail (*himsa*) for which there can be no moral justification and, understood from your own previous writings, that this was also your view.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, pp. 9-11

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APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM HORACE G. ALEXANDER TO SIR ROGER LUMLEY[1]

February 24, 1943

DEAR SIR ROGER LUMLEY,

I am venturing to send you the enclosed note of what Mr. Gandhi said to me yesterday. In view of the message that I received from Col. Bhandari on my return from Bombay on Monday, I did not know quite how it was best to proceed; but, as Mr. Gandhi was expecting me to raise this subject with him, I thought it right to do so, and it was clear that he wished to speak about it. I did not tell him that the proposal had already been put to the Viceroy and, as I understood, rejected. But you will note that he himself was speaking, not in terms of possible calling off of the fast before the end of the 21 days but of possible development later on.

There are two or three further points that I would like to add. First, as to the fast itself, he seems very confident that he will survive it and he even referred playfully to it as a "fraudulent fast", since he is now, under medical advice, taking rather more orange juice. I do not think he is much interested in the movement for his release. It is a 21-day fast and, he would, I rather think, only welcome release, if he thought it meant that the Government is assured that he, as a free man, will be an asset, not a liability.

The second point is this: he is evidently under the most acute stress of mind at the sense that he, who has devoted his life to the promotion of non-violence, is now suspected—or under accusation—by men whom he respects, as being not merely the unwitting and misguided agent but the deliberate instigator of the violence which is admittedly rampant in some parts of the country today. I believe the main reason why he chose to open up in the way he did (and I believe he wanted to say a good deal more, but we naturally had to end the talk so as to avoid tiring him) to me was that he felt he must express this distress of mind to some Englishman who still believes in his good faith.

If, as I rather gathered from the message Col. Bhandari gave me, the Viceroy does not think it appropriate for me to do anything further in this matter, I can only express the hope that someone may be found, as soon

[1] *Vide* p. 66.

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as Mr. Gandhi is a little stronger, who could go into the matter further, as he seems so genuinely anxious to find means of restoring goodwill.

In a few days I ought to return to my work in Bengal. Would you feel able, I wonder, to allow me a few minutes of your time before I leave, when I could perhaps give you a rather fuller report?

This house is not on the telephone; but, on receipt of a telegram or other message, I could come to Bombay at any time.

Yours sincerely,
HORACE G. ALEXANDER

PS.

Although it seemed to me proper to address this to you, I realize that, if you think it sufficiently important, it would naturally be forwarded to the Viceroy.[1]

The Transfer of Power, Vol. III, pp. 733-4

APPENDIX IV

DR. B. C. ROY'S IMPRESSIONS ON GANDHIJI'S FAST[2]

1. AT THE INTERVIEW TO UNITED PRESS, POONA

March 4, 1943

Full control of the mind over the body, and strong determination to live, for which he fought every inch of the ground—this was how Gandhiji could tide over the crisis that threatened his life at one stage of the fast.

Gandhiji helped his doctors so far as elimination is concerned. He tried to take as much water as possible—plain water and water mixed with salts or with sweet lime-juice which also contains salts. In the world of to-day physical organs of body get more and more under the control of mind. Many of the physical functions like hunger and thirst and the different types of secretions and excretions are being brought more and more under the control of higher centres. That is why the modern man is so complex as compared to the village man of older days.

In the case of Gandhiji, partly as a result of the forces operating in all of us and partly as a result of self-discipline by which he has deliberately brought the physical function under the control of his mind, the functions of the different organs of his body are being more and more directed

[1] According to a communication from the Bombay Government, it was considered that Horace Alexander's assistance as intermediary was not required and he was accordingly informed that a further interview with the Viceroy would be unnecessary.

[2] *Vide* p. 71.

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by the central nervous system. Therefore our forecast proved to be erroneous. We could only depend upon the law of averages and could only give our opinion on the basis of what would happen to an average man under similar conditions.

2. At the Calcutta University

March 7, 1943

The whole fast was in the nature of a religious ceremony. If you start from the beginning and go on to the end, you will perceive that the whole thing was conceived by him as part and parcel of a religious ceremony. He started by informing the Government that under certain conditions, he was prepared to undertake a fast which he called a 'capacity fast'. I think the expression has not been properly understood by the people. The expression 'capacity fast' was used in contradiction to another expression which he used in 1932, namely, 'fast unto death'. In this instance he mentioned definitely that it was not his desire to die, but that he would fast for 21 days because that was, in his opinion, the period which he had today before himself as a period of *tapasya*.

The Indian Annual Register, 1943, Vol. I, pp. 338-9

APPENDIX V

CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF "CONGRESS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DISTURBANCES, 1942-43"[1]

Chapter VI : Conclusion

At the risk of some repetition, it is necessary to emphasize again the fact that Mr. Gandhi knew that any mass movement started in India would be a violent movement. He knew this from his bitter experience of the movements he had led ten and twenty years before. In spite of this knowledge, he was prepared to take the risk of outbreaks of rioting and disorder—a risk which in his writings he tried to minimize but in his mind he must have estimated correctly. Consider again this series of statements :

1. Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942).
2. That anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942).
3. This ordered, disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India as a result, I would risk it (*Harijan*, 24-5-1942).

[1] *Vide* p. 140.

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4. I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. . . . The people have not my ahimsa, but mine should help them. I am sure, there is ordered anarchy around and about us. I am sure that the anarchy that may result because of the British withdrawal or their refusal to listen to us, and our decision to defy their authority, will in no way be worse than the present anarchy. After all, those who are unarmed cannot produce a frightful amount of violence or anarchy, and I have a faith that out of that anarchy may arise pure non-violence (*Harijan*, 7-6-1942).

5. I don't want rioting as a direct result. If, in spite of all precautions rioting does take place, it cannot be helped (*Harijan*, 19-7-1942).

Once it is realized, as has been clearly demonstrated, that Mr. Gandhi, the fountain-head of non-violence, knew perfectly well that the Indian masses were incapable of non-violence, a new light is shed on the events of the six months which have elapsed since the August arrests. It follows that every reference to non-violence, in the forecasts of the forms the movement would take, made by Mr. Gandhi and his Congress disciples and in the post-arrest programmes and instructions, is nothing more than a pious hope, or at best a mild warning, which was known to have no practical value. Since such references have been shown to be valueless, they may be ignored and the pre-arrest forecasts and post-arrest instructions may be examined shorn of their "non-violence" mask. Omitting these valueless references, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan* of 19th July, 1942, "It would be a mass movement. . . . It will include all that a mass movement can include"; and again in *Harijan* of 26th July, 1942, "The programme covers every activity included in a mass movement. . . . I would not hesitate to go to the extremest limit, if I find that no impression is produced over the British Government or the Allied powers. . . . (It will be) my biggest movement. . . . (With the arrests of leaders) it should gain strength, if it has any vitality." The Working Committee of Congress in the resolution passed at Bombay on August 4 and endorsed by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8 stated : "The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on the widest possible scale so that the country might utilize all the strength it has gathered during the last 22 years." Again, omitting the lip-service to "non-violence", the 12-point programme called for "non-co-operation on the widest possible scale" in a "titanic clash between the people and the alien Government", a struggle in which "victory or death" is to be the motto of every son and daughter of India, a struggle which would "include all activities that a mass struggle can include", a struggle in which "whatever helps in the attainment of that objective" (of ending foreign rule) "is permissible and legitimate" and in

which "people in the provinces have to devise and adopt all ways of paralysing the administration". As a description of what actually occurred, these instructions present a very accurate picture bearing in mind the limitations imposed by the prompt and firm action taken by the Central and Provincial Governments and the lack of sympathy for the Congress programme in large sections of the population.

In the face of all this evidence—the evidence of the atmosphere produced by Mr. Gandhi's writings in *Harijan*, the evidence of the speeches of the members of the Working Committee before and at Bombay, the evidence of the programmes involving violent action distributed at the time of the arrests, the evidence of the form of the uprising, the evidence of known Congressmen personally proved guilty of violent action, the evidence of the pamphlets broadcast in the name of the Congress—only one answer can be given to the question as to who must bear the responsibility for the mass uprisings and individual crimes which have disgraced and are still disgracing the fair name of India. That answer is—the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi.

The Indian Annual Register, 1942, Vol. II, pp. 199-200

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM[1]

HOME DEPARTMENT,
October 14, 1943

SIR,

I am directed to reply to your letter of the 15th July in which you have attempted to controvert certain passages appearing in the Government publication *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. At the outset I am to remind you that the document in question was published for the information of the public and not for the purpose of convincing you or eliciting your defence. It was supplied to you only at your own request and in forwarding it Government neither invited nor desired your comments upon it. Since, however, you have thought fit to address Government on the subject, I am to say that Government have given due consideration to your letter.

2. Government regret to observe that, although your letter contains lengthy quotations from your own utterances and writings, it contains no fresh or categorical statement of your own attitude in regard to the material issues or any clear repudiation of the disastrous policy to which you

[1] *Vide* pp. 199 and 202.

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and the Congress party committed yourselves in the series of events leading up to the Congress resolution of the 8th August, 1942. The purpose of your letter appears to be to suggest that you have been misrepresented in some way in *Congress Responsibility* but in what substantial respect is not clear. No attempt was made in the book, as you seem to think, to charge you with pro-Japanese sympathies and the sentence[1] at the end of the first chapter, to which you have taken exception in paragraph 18 of your letter, was merely an echo of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's own words[2] quoted on the previous page. He has not, as you wrongly allege, repudiated those words in the published statements to which you refer. It was, however, one of the purposes of the book to find an explanation of your actions in your own defeatist outlook towards the threat from Japan and your fear that, unless the Allied forces withdrew in time, India would become a battle-field in which the Japanese would ultimately win. This feeling was attributed to you by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself in the course of his remarks to which reference has been made above and your own draft of the Allahabad resolution makes it plain that, both in the "Quit India" campaign and the Congress resolution which was intended to enforce it, your object was to be left in a position in which you and the Congress would be free to make terms with Japan. The Government of India note that your letter makes no attempt to meet this imputation which they still regard as true. It is the only explanation which is consistent with your own statement that "the presence of the British in India is an invitation to the Japanese to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait". Nor have you been able to explain, on any theory other than that suggested in the book, the contradiction between this statement and your subsequent avowal of your willingness to permit the retention of Allied troops on Indian soil.

3. The Government of India are not disposed to follow you into the various verbal points that you have raised. They do not deny that owing to your habit of reinterpreting your own statements to suit the purposes of the moment, it is easy for you to quote passages from your utterances or writings which are in apparent contradiction to any view attributed to you. But the fact that you admit the discovery of important gaps in them, or that you have found it necessary from time to time to put glosses on what you have said, is itself evidence of the incredible levity with which, in a moment of grave crisis, you made pronouncements in regard to matters of the most vital importance to India's defence and her internal peace. Government can only interpret your statements in the plain sense of the words as it would appear to any honest or unbiased reader and they are satisfied that the book *Congress Responsibility* contains no material

[1] *Vide* p. 115.

[2] *Vide* footnotes 2 and 3, pp. 114-5.

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misrepresentation of the general trend of your utterances during the relevant period.

4. You have devoted considerable space in your letter[1] to an apparent attempt to disown the phrase attributed to you in the A. P. I. report of a Press conference which you held at Wardha on the 14th July, 1942, where you are reported to have said : "There is no question of one more chance. After all, it is an open rebellion." This Press message was reproduced at the time in newspapers throughout India. You now wish the Government of India to believe that you first became aware of it on the 26th June, 1943. They can only regard it as highly improbable that, if it did not correctly represent what you said, it should not have been brought to your notice at the time or that you should have left it uncontradicted during the following weeks while you were still at liberty.

5. The Government of India also note that you still seek to cast on the Government the responsibility for the disturbances for reasons which they can only regard as trivial and which have already been answered in your published correspondence with His Excellency the Viceroy. The point which is clearly established by the book *Congress Responsibility* is that those disturbances were the natural and predictable consequence of your declaration of an "open rebellion" and the propaganda which preceded it. That you yourself could have foreseen those consequences is clear from the statement[2] which you yourself made in court, in 1922, when you admitted the impossibility of dissociating yourself from the "diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages in Bombay" and went on to say that you knew that you were playing with fire, but you had taken the risk and would do so again. If you now contend that the consequences were unintended and unforeseen, this fact is itself an admission of your own inability to judge the reactions of your followers. You now seek to excuse, if not to defend, the barbarities committed in your own name and that of the Congress rather than to condemn them. It is clear where your sympathies lie. Your letter does not contain one word of explanation of your own message[3] "Do or Die" nor does it throw any light on your message quoted in Appendix X[4] of the book, which, if you

[1] *Vide* pp. 129-33.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXIII, p. 114.

[3] The reference is to Gandhiji's speech at Bombay on August 8, after the A.I.C.C. had passed the "Quit India" resolution; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 392.

[4] Given under the title "Mr. Gandhi's Last Message", it reads : "Every man is free to go to the fullest length under ahimsa by complete deadlock, strikes and all other non-violent means. Satyagrahis should go out to die and not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the nation will survive. '*Karenge Ya Marenge*'. ('We shall do or die')." Reference to the Appendix occurs in Chapter IV of the official publication. Gandhiji had disapproved of it in paragraph 65; *vide* p. 154.

cannot disown it, is sufficient to refute your contention that no movement had been launched by you at the time when the disturbances took place.

6. I am finally to refer to your request for the publication of your letter. In the first place, I am to remind you of your own position, which has already been explained to you, viz., that, so long as the grounds for your detention remain unchanged, Government are not prepared to afford you any facilities for communication with the general public, nor are they prepared themselves to act as agents for your propaganda. In the second place, I am to point out that you had ample opportunities during the months preceding the Congress resolution of the 8th August, 1942, to make your meaning unequivocally clear before you were arrested. The fact that your own followers interpreted your intentions in the same way as Government, leaves no scope for further explanations. I am to inform you, therefore, that Government do not propose to publish your letter unless and until they think fit.[1] This decision is, however, without prejudice to the freedom of Government to use, at any time and in any manner which they think fit, the various admissions contained in the communication which you have voluntarily addressed to them.

7. To the extent that your present letter may be designed to relieve you of responsibility for the Congress rebellion and the connected events that have taken place, Government regret that they cannot accept it as in any way relieving you of that responsibility, or indeed, to their regret, as a serious attempt to justify yourself. They observe again with regret that you have taken no step in your letter to dissociate yourself personally from the Congress resolution of 8th August, 1942; to condemn unequivocally the violent outrages which took place in your name after the passing of that resolution; to declare yourself unequivocally in favour of the use of all the resources of India for the prosecution of the war against the Axis powers and in particular Japan, until victory is won; or to give satisfactory assurances of good conduct in the future. And, in the absence of any sign of any change of mind on your part and of any disclaimer of the policy as the result of which it has been necessary to restrain your movements and those of the Working Committee of the Congress, they are unable to take any further action on your present communication.

I am, etc.,
R. TOTTENHAM

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, pp. 112-4

[1] The Government, however, published it on June 21, 1944.

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APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM OFFICER-IN-CHARGE, AGA KHAN PALACE TO INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, POONA[1]

AGA KHAN PALACE, YERAVDA,
December 15, 1943

THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
POONA

SIR,

With reference to your confidential D.O. No. 6247 dated December 14, 1943, I have the honour to give below the required information.

1. Mr. Gandhi discusses political questions with other inmates, especially with Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Slade; Miss Nayyar is always there. Very rarely with Dr. Gilder. This takes place generally when they are reading newspapers.

2. The daily routine of life of Mr. Gandhi :

He gets up about 6.30 a.m. and, after finishing morning ablution and breakfast, he reads books or newspapers.

From 8.15 to 9.0 a.m. morning walk in the garden with Pyarelal and Misses Slade, Nayyar and Manu. While walking, they talk on political and other subjects.

Doctors Gilder and Nayyar give him massage for about 45 minutes and then bath upto 11.15.

From 11.15 to 12 noon he takes his food, and Miss Slade talks or reads books to him.

From 12 noon to 1.0 p.m. teaching Sanskrit to Miss Nayyar.

1.0 to 2.0 p.m. rest.

From 2.0 to 3.0 p.m. Mr. Pyarelal reads papers to him and discusses on several points arising from the papers, while he is either spinning or filing cuttings from the papers.

From 3.0 to 4.0 p.m. teaching Miss Manu.

From 4.0 to 5.30 p.m. indexing of newspaper cuttings on various subjects. He is assisted in this work by Pyarelal, Drs. Gilder and Nayyar. They remove the selected and marked portions from the papers, paste them on slips of paper and give them to Mr. Gandhi for indexing and filing.

From 5.30 to 6.30 p.m. Miss Slade reads papers to him and discusses on various political and other subjects.

[1] *Vide* p. 211.

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From 6.30 to 7.15 p.m. evening walk with other inmates in the garden.

From 7.30 p.m. to 8.15 p.m. spinning, while Pyarelal reads to him some books.

From 8.15 to 9.0 p.m. prayer.

From 9.0 to 10.0 p.m. reading and talking with Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Nayyar.

He goes to bed at 10 p.m.

He changes his time according to climatic conditions.

3. Mr. Pyarelal does the typing work of Mr. Gandhi.

When the big letter was sent to the Government of India regarding the reply to the *Congress Responsibility*, Dr. Gilder typed the major part of the letter.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed)
OFFICER I/C, AGA KHAN'S PALACE

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 46, Secret, Home Department, Special Branch (6), 1943-44. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

APPENDIX VIII

LETTER FROM AGATHA HARRISON[1]

2 CRANBOURNE COURT,
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD,
LONDON S.W. 11
December 2, 1943

DEAR GANDHIJI,

I am writing this letter in the faith that it will reach you. I asked Mr. Amery if he would expedite its delivery to India, and he very kindly said, he would. At the same time, he reminded me of the restrictions[2] that have been placed on all correspondence.[3] . . .

With all this in memory, I write to you now as ten years later India is faced with famine, not earthquake; and it is set, as in the case of the Bihar disaster, in the midst of political deadlock. This time a world war is added and a stifling atmosphere of distrust and suspicion is abroad.

[1] *Vide* pp. 213-4. Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[2] The source has "strictures".
[3] The addressee then recounted her visit to India in 1934.

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We watch this tragedy. The suffering of India is stirring people here very deeply. (I wish you could see the evidence of this in the letters that accompany money sent to the relief funds.) From the articles you wrote some time ago in *Harijan*, it is clear to see that you foresaw the disaster. Horace Alexander, who is now back amongst us, tells of the brief talk he had with you in February and how the situation was then burdening your mind, and of your wish to help. Those of us who are privileged to call you and your colleagues our friends, realize that there is a reservoir of help and experience, as yet untapped that, if utilized, might change the situation overnight. We press this conviction and cite the precedent of Bihar. But we are met with answers such as these: 'Yes, that happened in 1934; what proof have we that it would happen now? The threat of civil disobedience remains. There is far too much at stake to risk a recurrence of all that happened after August 1942', etc. And the same fears as were expressed at the time of the Bihar disaster (of Congress taking political advantage) are expressed again now.

Reading this, I can hear you say, 'It is for the Government to take the initiative,' and you would refer to the correspondence that passed between Lord Linlithgow and you and what you said about the need for consultation with your colleagues. And so this vicious, hopeless circle goes round. Who will cut it?

I bring this "circle" to you, Gandhiji. In doing so, you will appreciate that this is no one-sided approach. The responsibility for cutting it at this end is ever pressed. But political limits seem to have been reached. When that is the case, then something else has to come in. The close contact I have had with you since the London days, together with the knowledge I gleaned from working with C. F. Andrews of you and your methods, leave me with the belief and conviction that you will find a way to cut the circle. You have done so, many times in the past, for you have an understanding of the limitless possibilities of the forces of the spirit. . . .

As I write this letter, I have on my desk a cartoon by Low that appeared the other day in the *Evening Standard*. The caption reads "Between the unhelpful and the helpless". It depicts an Indian street: the pavements on each side are crowded with dead and starving men, women and children. In the middle of the road is a huge broken-down motor lorry labelled "India-Food Distribution". Two ropes are attached to the front of the lorry, one tightly bound to the straining figure of Lord Wavell. The other rope he is holding out with a beckoning hand to a seated Indian figure in front of him, who is reading a paper entitled "Political Platitudes".

I would have made a very different picture. For, I would have shown *you* coming swiftly to meet Lord Wavell—and with you Mr. Jinnah. One of your hands would be held out for the second rope and the other would be holding a paper with the words "We call a truce on civil disobedience".

My caption for this cartoon would be your own words spoken in Bihar: "This Is No Time for Differences between Government and Congress—Between Hindu and Muslim."

Yours very sincerely,
AGATHA HARRISON

Chief Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 13-I. Courtesy : Government of Maharashtra

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM DR. NAYYAR AND DR. GILDER TO COL. BHANDARI[1]

DETENTION CAMP,
January 31, 1944

DEAR COL. BHANDARI,

As you know, Smt. Kasturba Gandhi has been gradually losing ground. Last night she had very little sleep, and this morning she had a bad collapse. She became very short of breath (respiration 48), the pulse was very feeble in volume and tension and 100 to the minute, and her colour was ashy grey. She recovered after about twenty minutes' treatment. Now—at midday—she is restless, complains of pain in the left chest and back, is cyanotic and dyspnoeic. The pulse rate is 108, the B.P. is 90/50, respiration 40.

Under these circumstances we would like to have the help in consultation of Dr. Jivraj Mehta (Yeravda Central Prison) and Dr. B. C. Roy (Calcutta) who have been here in her former illness and in whom she has faith. We might state that the patient's condition is such that if the help of these doctors is to be of any use it should not be delayed.

We might also point out that, as she has to be watched all night and day, nursing has become difficult and the patient herself has been constantly asking for Kanu Gandhi and Dr. Dinshaw Mehta.

Yours sincerely,
S. NAYYAR
M. D. D. GILDER

PS.

Gandhiji's blood-pressure this morning was 206/110.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 226-7

[1] *Vide* pp. 222, 242 and 253.

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APPENDIX X

LETTER FROM ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA[1]

No. III/43-M.S.,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, H.D.,
NEW DELHI,
March 21, 1944

FROM

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
NEW DELHI

TO

M. K. GANDHI, ESQUIRE

SIR,

In reply to your letter of 4th March regarding Mr. Butler's reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 2nd March, 1944, I am directed to say that the Government of India regret that you should feel that they were unreasonable or obstructive about the calling in of special medical attendants. The Government of India were always ready to allow any extra medical aid or consultation which the Government doctors considered necessary, and they do not think that there was any delay in summoning outside aid when the Government doctors decided that it was needed. It was on January 28 that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, and it was not until January 31 that they were told that Dr. Gilder had asked for consultation with certain other doctors. On February 1, the Bombay Government were explicitly informed that any extra medical aid or consultation might be allowed which the Government doctors considered necessary or useful. If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called in earlier, it was due to the view originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services could not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion. Your letter of January 27, which did not reach the Government of India until February 1, made some reference to your wife's wish to see an Ayurvedic physician, but no name was mentioned and it was

[1] *Vide* pp. 243, 252 and 257.

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not until February 9 that a definite request for the services of Vaidyaraj Sharma was received. The request was then granted within 24 hours and as soon as the Government of India were made aware of the difficulties resulting from his not being accommodated inside the Palace, the necessary permission was given for him to reside there. In the circumstances, the Government of India feel that they did everything possible to ensure that your wife received all the treatment that you wished during her illness.

2. As to the question of release, the Government of India still feel that the course they adopted was the best and kindest. It was reported to them on January 25 that your son, Devadas Gandhi, had asked his mother whether she would like to be released on parole and she had replied that she would not like to leave the Palace without her husband. Government have made no use of this report, since it was the record of a private conversation; but it confirmed them in the view expressed above. The misunderstanding about the statement in America quite wrongly attributed to Sir Girjashanker Bajpai has been cleared up by answers to questions in the Legislative Assembly which you have doubtless seen.

3. The arrangements for the funeral were understood here to be in accordance with your wishes. The Government made enquiries on the point and were informed that you had no special preference between the first two alternatives mentioned in your letter.

4. In these circumstances, the Government of India do not think that Mr. Butler's reply to the parliamentary question was incorrect in substance.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. TOTTENHAM
ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 235-7

APPENDIX XI

LETTER FROM LORD WAVELL[1]

March 28, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have your letter of March 9. You will receive a separate reply from the Home Secretary on your complaint about Mr. Butler's answer to a question in the House of Commons. I can only say that I deeply

[1] *Vide* pp. 250 and 257.

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regret, if you are left with the impression that the Government of India have been unsympathetic in the matter of Mrs. Gandhi's illness. Miss Slade's case will be examined in the light of what you say about her.

I do not think it profitable that we should enter into lengthy argument, and do not propose to answer in detail the points you raise in your letter. But I think it best to give you a clear statement of my views on the future development of India and the reasons for your present detention.

The draft declaration of His Majesty's Government which Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India stated in unmistakable terms the intention of His Majesty's Government to give India self-government under a constitution of her own devising, arrived at by agreement between the principal elements. I need hardly say that I am in entire accord with that aim, and only seek the best means to implement it without delivering India to confusion and turmoil. Much wisdom and a spirit of goodwill and compromise will be required to arrive at the right solution, but with good leadership, I am sure, a solution can be found.

Meanwhile there is much work to be done, particularly in the economic field, in preparing India to take her proper place in the modern world. She must be ready to welcome change and progress in many hitherto unfamiliar directions and to raise the standard of living of her population. Such work is primarily non-political; it may well hasten a political settlement, but cannot await it. It will give rise to many new and absorbing problems demanding the best abilities that India can bring to bear on them. India cannot be expected to tackle these problems in isolation from the rest of the world, or without the aid that Britain can give and the services of an experienced administration. But it is work in which leaders of all parties can co-operate with the certainty that they are helping the country towards the goal of freedom.

I regret that I must view the present policy of the Congress party as hindering and not forwarding Indian progress to self-government and development. During a war in which the success of the United Nations against the Axis powers is vital both to India and to the world, as you yourself have recognized, the Working Committee of Congress declined to co-operate, ordered Congress Ministries to resign, and decided to take no part in the administration of the country or in the war-effort which India was making to assist the United Nations. At the greatest crisis of all for India, at a time when Japanese invasion was possible, the Congress party decided to pass a resolution calling on the British to leave India, which could not fail to have the most serious effect on our ability to defend the frontiers of India against the Japanese. I am quite clear that India's problems cannot be solved by an immediate and complete withdrawal of the British.

I do not accuse you or the Congress party of any wish deliberately to aid the Japanese. But you are much too intelligent a man, Mr. Gandhi, not to have realized that the effect of your resolution must be to hamper the prosecution of the war; and it is clear to me that you had lost confidence in our ability to defend India, and were prepared to take advantage of our supposed military straits to gain political advantage. I do not see how those responsible for the safety of India could have acted otherwise than they did and could have failed to arrest those who sponsored the resolution. As to general Congress responsibility for the disturbances which followed, I was, as you know, Commander-in-Chief at the time; my vital lines of communication to the Burma frontier were cut by Congress supporters, in the name of Congress, often using the Congress flag. I cannot, therefore, hold Congress guiltless of what occurred; and I cannot believe that you, with all your acumen and experience, could have been unaware of what was likely to follow from your policy. I do not believe that the Congress party's action in this matter represented the real feeling of India, nor that the Congress attitude of non-co-operation represents the opinion of anything like a majority of India.

To sum up, I believe that with general co-operation, we can in the immediate future do much to solve India's economic problems, and can make steady and substantial progress towards Indian self-government.

I believe that the greatest contribution that the Congress party can make towards India's welfare is to abandon the policy of non-co-operation and to join whole-heartedly with the other Indian parties and with the British in helping India forward in economic and political progress—not by any dramatic or spectacular stroke, but by hard, steady work towards the end ahead. I think that the greatest service you could do to India would be to advise unequivocally such co-operation.

In the mean time, I regard it as my task, in the interests of India, of which I am a sincere friend, to concentrate all my efforts on bringing this war to a victorious conclusion, and to prepare for India's advancement after the war. In this task, I feel, I can count on very considerable co-operation from the majority of Indians.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, pp. 122-3

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APPENDIX XII

LETTER FROM DR. GILDER TO ADDITIONAL SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA[1]

DETENTION CAMP,
March 31, 1944

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
NEW DELHI

SIR,

Your letter of the 21st March to Mahatma Gandhi contains the statement:

> It was on January 28 that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta. . . . If Dr. Dinshaw was not called in earlier, it was due to the view originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services would not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion.

Surely coupling of my name with that of Col. Bhandari is a mistake! The Government doctors in attendance were Col. Bhandari and Col. Shah. As far as I am concerned, some time in December last, at one of Col. Advani's evening visits (when he was officiating for Col. Bhandari) Smt. Kasturba Gandhi asked him to allow Dr. Dinshaw Mehta to come in and Col. Advani was good enough to ask my opinion on the advisability of Dr. Dinshaw's coming. As I had not talked over the matter with my colleague, Dr. Sushila Nayyar, nor with the patient or her husband, I told Col. Advani, I would give him a reply later. At his visit the next morning, I told him my considered opinion that Dr. Dinshaw's presence would be a great help.

When the whole of January had passed and permission for Dr. Dinshaw had not come, Dr. Nayyar and myself sent a gentle reminder in our letter of 31st January. A copy is hereto appended.

I might state that though in that letter we had asked for a consultation with Dr. B. C. Roy, no notice seems to have been taken of it or of verbal reminders.

[1] *Vide* pp. 253 and 257.

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You will permit me to draw your attention to another inaccuracy, viz., about the employment of trained nurses. No trained nurse ever came inside the camp. Before the arrival of Smt. Jayaprakash Narayan and Shri Kanu Gandhi, when nursing was becoming difficult, we were given the services of a woman who had acted as a *badli ayah*[1] at the mental hospital. She struck work inside of a week and asked the Superintendent for her discharge.

I have, etc.,
M. D. D. GILDER

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, pp. 240-1

APPENDIX XIII

DISCUSSION ON UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES[2]

WOMAN WORKER: You told us, we should be our own leaders after your arrest. In the absence of the Working Committee, everyone of us was to think for himself or herself. We acted according to our light. Your recent utterances make us feel that we have been let down.

GANDHIJI: I have blamed no one. But, when a thing is wrong, I must say so.

W.W. Will it not cause a set-back?

G. No, we learn from our mistakes. By correcting them we advance.

W.W. Some say: 'If this is your narrow interpretation of non-violence, we shall have none of it. Call it violence or by whatever name you like, we cannot dislodge the Government without sabotage.'

G. It cannot succeed though for some time it may seem to or even actually succeed. But I have said that those who do not believe in my way can say so openly, and courageously try their own method and see if they will succeed better.

W.W. We admit that public opinion has veered round to your view. The public has come to feel, whether through enlightenment or fear, that sabotage won't do. But you cannot expect everyone to become a perfect being, which your method implies.

G. I agree. That is why I launched forth with imperfect men. But whether the people develop the required non-violence or not, I cannot play fast and loose with my principles.

W.W. What is the quickest way to reach our goal?

[1] Substitute nurse
[2] *Vide* pp. 268, 274, 352 and 430.

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G. The straightest way, though it may appear to be long.

W.W. Then you do not visualize independence in the near future?

G. I visualize it in the nearest future, if my way is followed.

W.W. You want us to feel indignant and yet sit quiet.

G. No, I want you to feel very indignant with yourself. It is no use feeling angry with a snake, the snake will bite. Follow any way that commends itself to you if mine does not, but do not sit still.

W.W. We have not the courage, we can't get on if we oppose you.

G. You must develop that courage. . . .[1] It is because of this courage to stand alone that I am supposed to represent India's urge for freedom. . . .[2] Swaraj is not for the weak. If you say, you follow me, when you really do not, you are weak.

The women worker was nonplussed. Gandhiji noticed her dilemma. Reassuringly he proceeded:

"However, you can say, 'We do not follow your reasoning, but we yield to your experience.' You can tell your co-workers, 'We went there. We were not convinced. But we could not convince him either. Therefore, we will follow him as disciplined soldiers.' But if this course does not appeal to them, it is equally open to them to say, 'The Mahatma has told us to follow our own reason, if we have no faith in his way.' That will be equally honourable—perhaps more. I shall then defend them."

Appa Pant, the Rajkumar of Aundh, had been advising and guiding underground workers. He put before Gandhiji his dilemma: "With me truth and non-violence are not a policy but my creed. I know of underground workers who would not willingly hurt a fly. They are patriots to the core. I have to shelter them when they come to me and seek my advice. I want to wean them from secret methods. But, in doing so, I have myself to resort to secrecy. I feel puzzled and perplexed." Gandhiji replied :

"Your attitude is unexceptionable. You cannot jump out of a running train, as it were. No outside agency can give you effective guidance. It must come from within. If you dive within yourself and search prayerfully for an answer, a stage will come when suddenly your eyes will be opened and you will conceive such a disgust for untruth and secrecy that you will go to the underground workers and tell them that they will find you useless as a guide if they want to go their way. They will then see it in your face and understand, and very likely it will be the beginning of a new chapter in their lives."

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book One, pp. 39-40

[1]&[2] Omissions as in the source

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APPENDIX XIV

DISCUSSION WITH UNDERGROUND WORKERS[1]

As the onslaught of Governmental repression gathered volume and intensity, more and more workers went underground. . . . Some of these friends wanted to meet Gandhiji soon after his release. He sent them word that they could come at their risk. Several of them accordingly came and saw him at Juhu and later at Panchgani. They included R. R. Diwakar . . . Annada Chowdhury . . . Achyut Patwardhan and Aruna Asaf Ali . . .

Gandhiji's advice to them was emphatic. He held all secrecy to be sin. "To the extent to which secrecy has crept in, it has hurt our cause. We have not to think in terms of one or two, we have to think in terms of forty crores. Today they feel lifeless. We cannot revive them by resorting to secret methods. Only by adhering to Truth and Non-violence can we bring back lustre to their lustreless eyes."

Looking at their immediate surroundings, he said to them, they might feel that if some of them had not gone underground, the movement would have suffered. But this was only apparently so.

When you come to bigger issues, "you will find that it is only by eschewing all secrecy and working openly that you can advance. . .. Today you may be two, tomorrow you will be twenty, if you come out in open, and so the struggle will go on gathering momentum from day to day."

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book One, pp. 34-5

APPENDIX XV

LETTER FROM V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[2]

SVAGATAM, MYLAPORE,
MADRAS,
June 2, 1944

MY DEAR BROTHER,

This letter I mean only for you and your trusted friends. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, now on his way to Srinagar, will deliver it in person.

[1] *Vide* pp. 274, 343, 352, 403 and 430. Only excerpts are reproduced here.

[2] *Vide* p. 309.

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I must first thank you for your 'sympathy in abundance'. My philosophy is not so stoical but it needs the human touch. You know, as only a very few do, how in simple words to get to a man's heart. It takes a big heart to do so.

Don't fear a long political screed from me. I do not see Government arresting you as soon as you are well for another term in jail. You say in your letter to Jayakar, they will do so. If you have reasons to think so, I don't know them.

Listen to my story. It shall be brief. You can fill in the outline.

The greatest event to happen in the remaining days of your life will be the World Conference of Peace. You must attend it. If they won't let you go as the representative of India, you must go still. To the good and true men at the Peace table your name will be sufficient credential.

Don't waste your energy on details. Experts will handle them. Concentrate on the sovereign issues.

I. Disarmament of *all* nations. I would allow the International Authority to have some armed forces. But you won't. Go ahead. You will have valiant support all over the world. What if you fail? You will have given your evangel to a stricken and listening world.

II. Equality of economic as well as political opportunities for all peoples. Of this principle the implications are too many and too intricate for a single human brain. The comprehending proposition is all you can safeguard.

III. Elimination of the colour bar in the British Commonwealth and in the world at large. To fail under this head is to leave a wide door for future wars. Whether India is within or without the Commonwealth, this issue is supreme. At the Peace table one is a citizen of the world.

No doubt it would be a giant's strength to be armed with the Government of India's authority. Whether they made you the delegation's leader or not, you would be looked up to as leader. A necessary condition is the end of Section 93 rule and the restoration of popular government. To this end I have been for nearly two years now pleading that :

(i) political prisoners and detenus should be released;

(ii) general elections should be held, and the Central and local legislatures be put back in power; and

(iii) a national government be formed at the Centre of which the personnel should be drawn from elected leaders. I wouldn't make a fetish of parliamentary legislation during the war or complete control of the country's defence.

Tall order, you say. A keen eye will also see in the sketch gaping defects and crudities. There are wise and strong men among us to look after all that.

The Hindu-Muslim rift is there to puzzle, dishearten and paralyse. I despair at the very thought. You see farther and more clearly than most

others. I shall, for my part, abide by your decision—always short of Pakistan, mind you.

I am too feeble for active propaganda.

The means suggested to these mighty ends may be tested only by the standards of Truth and Non-violence. Smaller standards are utterly, utterly out of place—prestige, consistency, or party prospects.

Don't miss the wood for the trees.

Always and at the very core,

Your loving brother,
V. S. SRINIVASAN

Letters of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, pp. 359-60

APPENDIX XVI

LETTER FROM P. C. JOSHI[1]

BOMBAY,
June 14, 1944

DEAR GANDHIJI,

Your small chit came as a pleasant surprise that you were so eager to know more about us. . . .

I am answering your points in a very brief manner. . . .

1. People in people's war means all peoples the world over without exception. It, of course, includes India's millions and also the Negroes wherever they be. . . . This war has split the world into two camps. On the one side . . . Fascists are fighting the war for the imperialist domination of the world. . . . On the other side are the freedom-loving peoples of the world . . . the camp of freedom and democracy . . . fighting Fascism is the only path of national liberation from imperialist domination for us today. . . . The more we unite our patriotic parties, the weaker and more isolated becomes the alien Government and the more irresistible our national and other demands, the greater our capacity to save and serve our people. The more our patriotic parties engage themselves in those tasks which any war-time government should successfully lead, but an alien Government cannot, the more speedily we get the united intervention of all the peoples of the world behind our national demand for national government in the common interest of fighting the common enemy.

2. If you desire to examine the accounts personally, they will present themselves with all the registers where and when you desire. If you decide to appoint a representative, he should be such whom we also know

[1] *Vide* pp. 310 and 434. Only excerpts are reproduced here.

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to be an honest man and not already prejudiced against us. You will not find our accounts as well kept as by a commercial firm but I am sure you will give us a pass. . . . You will find some anonymous donors, but I believe that you also accept anonymous donors. But to dispel any suspicion that "anonymous" may be code for Government cash, I am prepared to give you (not your representative) the names. . . .

If you have yet any doubts left and in any case, I give you some references. . . . Iftikharuddin and his Begum, Shaukat Ansari and Zohra, N. M. Joshi. You can ask Dr. and Mrs. Subbaroyan as to what they think is going to happen to their property when Mohan and Parvati (their children and our comrades) get it, and in fact what they know happens to the property of the whole-time workers of the party. . . .

3. I know it is easy enough to make such a vile charge but very difficult to prove it. . . . Firstly, I believe, if you find that we are not paid by the Government, you will easily believe that we are not likely to hand over labour leaders to the police.

Secondly, our party, except in Ahmedabad and Jamshedpur, is as much the unquestioned leader of the working class as the great Congress is of the Indian people as a whole. . . . We gave up our strike policy because we considered it anti-national in the conditions of today, aiding the Jap aggressors on the one hand and intensifying the economic crisis for our own people on the other. That we successfully prevented the Indian working class from resorting to strikes even in a period of their worsening material conditions is the measure not only of our influence over it but its capacity to *understand* national interests as its own.

4. There is no question of our "adopting the policy of infiltrating the Congress organization". We have been in the Congress ever since we were born as a party. . . . Whether our intent is hostile or not, it is for our fellow-Congressmen to judge and for us to prove otherwise through our practice. . . . We are inside the Congress on our right, as patriotic sons and daughters of the people who join the common national organization, so that we may be able to fight our hardest and best in realization of the common goal of national emancipation and no slanders can ever provoke us to give up this stand and forgo the glorious privilege.

5. The Communist Party decides its own policy as it understands the interests of its own people and of the peoples of the world. As long as the Communist International was there, we were dubbed as 'Moscow Agents'. It is rather surprising to come across the same insinuation even after its dissolution. . . . The Communist Party is one great revolutionary brotherhood. It exists in every country of the world. All have the same ideology and are moved by the common aims of fighting for the liberation of their own and all peoples. I can send you the journals and documents of the Communist Parties of Britain, U.S.A., South Africa, Australia, which have nailed down

Amery & Co. as slanderers and provocateurs after August 9 and which have unfalteringly demanded the release of the Congress leaders and settlement with India on the basis of a real national government. . . .

P. C. JOSHI

Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, pp. 3-16

APPENDIX XVII

PASSAGES FROM "THE QUINTESSENCE OF GANDHISM"[1]

Thou shalt fight for the protection of good men and the destruction of wrong-doers and for the establishment of righteousness.

The side you take up and the weapons you wield are indeed important but the obligation to fight is perfectly absolute and independent of every other consideration, and the emphasis is all upon this obligation. It may be that you take the wrong side in the conflict. But if you are on the wrong side today, you may turn to the right side tomorrow. But those who sit upon the fence have already qualified for admission into Dante's Inferno. . . .

II

Thou shalt fight for the right, for . . . 'Truth alone prevails, not untruth.' . . .

You may not take the wrong side or employ questionable means to attain even a perfectly legitimate end, and still hope to succeed. . . .

III

When you are ready to fight for the right, Gandhiji arms you with the all-conquering and never-failing weapon, namely . . . suffering *cum* forgiveness. . . .

. . . Mankind must have recourse to love and non-violence, if they will escape from the vicious circle of hatred and violence. Two wrongs can never make one right. Violence in response to violence only provokes more violence and so on *ad infinitum*.

For a true theist, the Gandhian is the only position he can take up consistently with his theism. If God is there ever present—present in a more real sense than you or I—as Judge and Defender of the right, the theist, imperfect as he is in knowledge as well as in strength, will think it no business of his to judge his adversary or to punish him for what he thinks to be the adversary's wrong-doing. . . .

Young India, 22-1-1925

[1] *Vide* p. 325.

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APPENDIX XVIII

OPINION ON GANDHIJI'S RESPONSIBILITY[1]

February[2] *6, 1944*

We are asked to examine the question whether the authority conferred upon Mahatma Gandhi by the resolution of the A.I.C.C. dated the 8th of August, 1942, to "start a mass struggle on non-violent lines" is still subsisting, apart from the legality or otherwise of the purpose for which the authority was given.

The authority conferred by the said resolution must be construed with reference to the circumstances under which and the purposes for which it was given. It appears from the resolution as a whole that the steps to be taken under such authority were conceived by the framers of the resolution to meet the situation which had then arisen.

In our opinion, the recitals and the purpose of the said resolution and the circumstances under which the same was passed limit the authority so as to confine it to the immediate circumstances and the purpose which the A. I. C. C. had then in view. The said authority was intended to be exercised for and in the then immediate situation. Before Gandhiji could exercise such authority, he was arrested on the 9th of August, 1942, and was prevented from acting on the resolution by reason of his ceasing to be a free agent. By his being so prevented, the exercise of the authority was rendered impossible and it came to an end.

The authority conferred upon him was neither permanent nor recurring and there can be no question of its revival by the recent release of Gandhiji in the present situation.

BHULABHAI J. DESAI
V. F. TARAPOREWALA
K. M. MUNSHI

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 433-4

[1] *Vide* pp. 338, 358 and 379.

[2] This seems to be an error; according to the source (p. 91), Gandhiji consulted the lawyers after his release which was on May 6.

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APPENDIX XIX

STUART GELDER'S CABLE TO "NEWS CHRONICLE"[1]

Mr. Gandhi is prepared to accept and to advise the Congress to participate in a war-time national government in full control of the civil administration, leaving the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief in full control of the British and Indian armies. It would be expected that the establishment of such a government would be accompanied now by a guarantee of Indian independence after the war.

Mr. Gandhi has also approved the proposals submitted to Mr. Jinnah by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, which agree to a solution of the Hindu-Pakistan dispute by a plebiscite and demarcation of the districts where Muslims are in a majority, if the Muslim League will endorse the demand for independence and co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.

Despite the fact that he is still far from well and wishes to be relieved as far as possible from being burdened by dealing with political problems in detail for the time being, I talked with Mr. Gandhi for more than three hours in Panchgani this week. If the Muslim League accepts Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposals and the Government will now discuss the situation with Mr. Gandhi, the deadlock can be solved and a new page opened in Indian history. Mr. Gandhi pointed out that he had no authority to speak in the name of the Congress without consulting the Working Committee, but there is no doubt whatever that his views and the Hindu-Muslim proposals as endorsed by him would be accepted by them without hesitation.

I asked Mr. Gandhi whether he would start civil disobedience, if the Working Committee were released from jail and the Government felt unable to give India what they wanted. He replied:

"I have no intention of offering civil disobedience today. I cannot take the country back to 1942. History can never be repeated. Even without the authority of the Congress, if I wanted to do it, I could start civil disobedience today on the strength of my supposed influence with the masses, but I would be doing so merely to embarrass the British Government. This cannot be my object."

But Mr. Gandhi pointed out, the Working Committee could not sit still while the people were suffering. It is his conviction that the food

[1] *Vide* pp. 367, 368, 375, 376, 378, 384, 385, 388 and 390.

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situation cannot be improved and suffering ameliorated, unless power and responsibility for civil administration are transferred from British to Indian hands.

I told Mr. Gandhi that, with things as they are, I could not believe that the Government would transfer authority now or concede independence during the war. He replied that there was a difference between what he would ask today and what was asked in 1942. Today India would be satisfied with a national government in full control of the civil administration. This was not the position in 1942.

Such a government would be formed of people chosen by the elected members of the Central Assembly. This would involve a declaration now of Indian independence after the war.

Such a national government would give the military all railway, port and other communication facilities they required, although these would be under the national government's control. The ordinance rule would give way to a normal civil administration by the government. The Viceroy would remain and have complete control with the Commander-in-Chief of the British and Indian armies. In other affairs he would be like the King of England guided by responsible Ministers. Popular government would be automatically restored in all provinces, so that both the Provincial and Central governments would be responsible to the people of India.

The national government would be in the position of offering advice and criticism on military affairs, and the portfolio of Defence would be in the hands of the national government which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country and would be in the position of being able to give valuable help in shaping policies. Mr. Gandhi realizes that the Allies cannot defeat Japan without carrying on operations on the Indian soil and, therefore, they would continue to do so, but the expenses of these operations should not be borne by India.

When I asked Mr. Gandhi, if he would advise the Congress to participate in such a government formed under such conditions and with such stipulations, he replied "Yes". In view of Mr. Gandhi's uncompromising pacifism, readers will ask what his position would be under such a government. After independence had been assured by the formation of a provisional government and the declaration of Indian independence after the war, he would probably cease to function as adviser to the Congress.

As a teacher and exponent of non-violence, he would have to stand aside, but he would certainly not offer any resistance to the government or to the Congress party participating in such a government. His co-operation would take the form of abstention from interfering with the even tenor of life in India. He would continue to work in the hope that his influence would always be felt to keep India peace-minded and to affect world policy in the direction of real peace and brotherhood among all without distinction of race or colour.

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I am not in a position at present to write an account of all the details of my conversation with Mr. Gandhi. Last week I visited Delhi to give the Viceroy a complete account of my talk with him in Poona. I am now laying before him a complete report of my recent conversation with Mr. Gandhi.

This week, after Lord Wavell had declined to see him in the immediate future, I asked Mr. Gandhi what he would say to the Viceroy if he met him. He replied :

"I would tell him that I sought the interview with a view to helping, and not to hindering, the Allied effort. But I can do nothing without seeing the members of the Working Committee, for I believe that my authority under the August resolution ended with my imprisonment. It was not revived by my release."

I pointed out that, before the Viceroy would permit a meeting with the Working Committee, he would want to know how Mr. Gandhi would influence the members. To this, Mr. Gandhi replied that history did not repeat itself. "The whole situation has to be reviewed anew," he said. "The point, therefore, for me to discuss with the Working Committee is to know how they react to the knowledge I have gained since my release. I have to take up the thread that was broken by the Government in 1942. I was first to negotiate and, on failure, to offer civil resistance, if I thought it necessary. I want to plead with the Viceroy. I can only do so when I know the Working Committee's mind.

"But I tell you that the common talk among us is that, whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, he has no authority in the political sphere. Mr. Churchill does not want a settlement. He wants to crush me, if he has been correctly reported—he has never denied the report. The beauty of it for me, the pity of it for him, is that no one can crush a satyagrahi, for he offers his body as a willing sacrifice, thus making the spirit free."

There was deep disappointment, but no bitterness, in Mr. Gandhi's voice when he expressed this fear.

Mr. Gandhi feels that, if the British Government has good intentions, there would be no difficulty about an agreement. But there is an uneasy feeling among Indians of both extreme and moderate views that whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, Mr. Churchill does not wish a settlement now. It may be ill-founded, but it is of vital importance that Indian opinion should be officially reassured on this point.

It was expressed to me in friendly conversation with Mr. Rajagopalachari which was not intended to be an interview. His view that the Congress should have accepted the Cripps offer and co-operated in the war is well-known, and he has been a sincere and outspoken critic of the policy of the Congress and of Mr. Gandhi, while remaining a firm advocate of independence. It seemed to me, therefore, that his appeal and warning was of such importance

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and significance that I asked his permission to quote it for publication in the *News Chronicle*, and he gave his consent.

He said : "It seems that the British Government is not now interested in a settlement. They have come to feel that power is the only real thing. Ideals have been put aside and so they are content to drift. They are not planning for the future. They do not know what shape things will take after the war, and so they are not thinking of Indo-British relationship. But, if the war ends on this note, relations between India and Britain will be permanently embittered. It would be a miserable ending for the war, so far as Asia is concerned."

It is quite possible for the British Government to make a friend of Gandhiji. Those who know him intimately would confirm this opinion of mine. It may not be necessary for the British war effort to go out of the way to befriend him; but for the future of Indo-British relationship, which is not unimportant, such befriending is necessary and the present is the psychological moment for it. A victorious Britain would lose nothing by such a gesture, but gain a great deal of permanent value. His mind today leans towards seeing a national government installed in India before the end of the war and advantage should be taken of this.

With Mr. Gandhi's consent, I have discussed my talks with him with some people influential in Indian affairs. They have included staunch supporters of the Congress, some strong critics of its policy and a member of the Viceroy's Council. Despite their difference in political outlook, they all expressed the hope that a meeting between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi would be arranged. One of them said to me : "There is no doubt that he is not only ready but anxious to be friendly and they would do well to take his hand now. We are all suffering from a sense of frustration. If a national government is formed and the Muslims will come in under the proposals for a settlement of differences, it will make a tremendous difference to the Indian war effort."

I do not wish to place myself in the position of a political commentator but only a journalist who has discussed the situation fully and intimately with Mr. Gandhi and for what it is worth. I would record my impression that the Government now has a better opportunity than at any time since Sir Stafford Cripps landed in India to put an end to the deadlock and create an India which, instead of being half-hearted or sullenly indifferent, is enthusiastically on the side of Britain. It will not depend entirely on the British Government. The Congress is faced with a great responsibility to make a provisional government work.

At least it cannot now be argued that there are no new grounds for a resumption of relations.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-7-1944

APPENDIX XX

TALK WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[1]

RAJAJI: I am afraid, your letter will be misunderstood; it is a naughty letter.

GANDHIJI: I don't think so. I meant it seriously.

R. You have touched him on the raw by rubbing in a past utterance of his, of which he is probably not very proud.

G. I have taken out the sting by appropriating his remark as an unintended compliment.

R. I hope you are right.

G. I am sorry, but I think you are wrong!

Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. I, Book One, pp. 31-2

APPENDIX XXI

LORD MUNSTER'S SPEECH[2]

July 25, 1944

Mr. Gandhi had advanced the following views : Firstly, Mr. Gandhi said, he would never use the weapon of civil disobedience during the war unless for a very grave reason, such as the thwarting of India's right to freedom. Secondly, he would be satisfied with a national government during the war with full control of the civil administration, composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. Thirdly, the Viceroy would be, like the King of England, guided by responsible Ministers. Fourthly, popular government would be automatically restored in all provinces, that is, provinces at the moment under Section 93. Fifthly, while under national government, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would have complete control of military operations, there would be a portfolio of Defence in the hands of the national government, which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country and may render great assistance in the shaping of policies. Sixthly, the Allied forces would be allowed to carry on operations on Indian soil, but the expense of such operations would not be borne by Indians. Seventhly, Mr. Gandhi would advise Congress participation in the national government, if formed.

[1] *Vide* p. 391.

[2] *Vide* pp. 424 and 425. Only excerpts are reproduced here.

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The procedure followed is a little complicated and a little difficult to understand. A few days after Mr. Gandhi published these seven suggestions through the intermediary of the Press, he gave further explanations to Press correspondents, in which he emphasized that his statements constituted his personal effort to end the deadlock, but that if his suggestions are not acceptable to Mr. Jinnah or the powers that be, he would consider it a most unfortunate incident. In clarification—if indeed it be clarification—of his offer to Mr. Jinnah, he stated that his proposals were wholly different from the Cripps offer which, he insisted, contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India. Frankly, it is difficult to understand if these statements by Mr. Gandhi have, in point of fact, definitely improved the chances of an inter-communal settlement.

The main point, so far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, is that he (Mr. Gandhi) is still clinging to precisely that claim which wrecked the Cripps Mission and put an end to negotiations in April 1942, for he is no more prepared today than he was then, to accept the formation of an interim government with the Viceroy maintaining his existing reserve powers. He demands a so-called 'interim' government in full control of the civil administration, with the Viceroy occupying the position of a constitutional monarch as we understand it in this country. Let it not be forgotten that, if an agreement is set up under the present existing constitution, there are still a number of very important questions, not the least of which is the protection of the minorities, to be resolved. All these matters must be settled before the final constitution can be evolved. In this, it will seem that Government have not departed one iota from the pledge they gave some time ago, and which I will repeat now, that the proposals which were taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps still stand in their entirety.

Referring, in conclusion, to the question by Lord Strabolgi, who asked whether the Viceroy was prepared to allow Mr. Gandhi to see the members of the Working Committee, Lord Munster said: "I would refer Lord Strabolgi to the letter which the Viceroy sent to Mr. Gandhi on June 22 last. He said that another meeting between himself and Mr. Gandhi could only raise false hopes. He said that Mr. Gandhi had publicly stated that he adhered to the 'Quit India' resolution which he (Mr. Gandhi) regarded as innocuous. The Viceroy did say that as soon as Mr. Gandhi had any definite or constructive policy to put up, he would be very glad to consider it at that time."

The Indian Annual Register, 1944, Vol. II, pp. 293-4

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APPENDIX XXII

LETTER FROM LORD WAVELL[1]

NEW DELHI,
August 15, 1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Thank you for your letter of 27th July. Your proposals are:

1. That you should undertake to advise the Working Committee :

(a) that, in view of changed conditions, mass civil disobedience envisaged by the resolution of August 1942 cannot be offered, and

(b) that full co-operation in the war effort should be given by Congress, provided that His Majesty's Government (a) declare immediate Indian independence, and (b) form a 'national government' responsible to the Central Assembly, 'subject to the proviso that, during the pendency of the war, the military operations should continue as at present but without involving any financial burden on India.'

2. His Majesty's Government remain most anxious that a settlement of the Indian problem should be reached. But proposals such as those put forward by you are quite unacceptable to His Majesty's Government as a basis for discussion, and you must realize this, if you have read Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on July 28 last. They are indeed very similar to the proposals made by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to Sir Stafford

[1] *Vide* p. 426. According to *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. IV, pp. 1138 and 1191, this reply from the Viceroy was an outcome of hectic correspondence between Delhi and London, and led almost to a direct collision between Churchill and Wavell. The draft reply proposed by the Viceroy contained, among other conciliatory sentiments, the following sentence : "You and Mr. Jinnah have my good wishes for your approaching discussion." The War Cabinet pruned the original draft and, after considerable give and take, Wavell dispatched the final draft. At one stage, during this heated debate, Churchill telegraphed to the War Cabinet : "I hope the Cabinet will stand firm and not be disturbed by the attitude of the Viceroy. He thinks that because Gandhi wrote a letter to him, he is entitled to reply in terms which do not commend themselves to the War Cabinet. As a matter of fact, he has no right to negotiate with Gandhi at all, considering he was responsible for passing to us the medical opinion on which we were told that he would never be able to take part in politics again. The root of the matter is that, after what Wavell said about Gandhi's state of health, he has no right to enter upon correspondence with him which cannot fail to wear the aspect of a great parley between the Viceroy and newly released invalid." *Vide* also p. 262.

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Cripps in April 1942, and His Majesty's Government's reasons for rejecting them are the same as they were then.

3. Without recapitulating all these reasons in detail, I should remind you that His Majesty's Government at that time made it clear :

(a) that their offer of unqualified freedom after the cessation of hostilities was made conditional upon the framing of a constitution agreed by the main elements of India's national life and the negotiation of the necessary treaty arrangements with His Majesty's Government;

(b) that it is impossible during the period of hostilities to bring about any change in the constitution, by which means alone a "national government", such as you suggest, could be made responsible to the Central Assembly.

The object of these conditions was to ensure the fulfilment of their duty to safeguard the interests of the racial and religious minorities and of the Depressed Classes, and their treaty obligations to the Indian States.

4. It was upon the above conditions that His Majesty's Government invited Indian leaders to take part in an interim government which would operate under the existing constitution. I must make it quite clear that until the war is over, responsibility for defence and military operations cannot be divided from the other responsibilities of Government, and that until hostilities cease and the new constitution is in operation, His Majesty's Government and the Governor-General must retain their responsibility over the entire field. So far as the question of India's share of the cost of the war is concerned, this is essentially a matter for settlement between His Majesty's Government on the one hand and the Government of India on the other, and existing financial arrangements can only be re-opened at the instance of one or the other.

5. It is clear, in these circumstances, that no purpose would be served by discussion on the basis which you suggest. If, however, the leaders of the Hindus, the Muslims and the important minorities were willing to co-operate in a transitional government established and working within the present constitution, I believe good progress might be made. For such a transitional government to succeed, there must, before it is formed, be agreement in principle between Hindus and Muslims and all important elements as to the method by which the new constitution should be framed. This agreement is a matter for Indians themselves. Until Indian leaders have come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you too that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance.

6. The period, after the termination of hostilities, for which the transitional government would last, would depend on the speed with which the new constitution could be framed. I see no reason why preliminary work on that constitution should not begin as soon as the Indian leaders are prepared to co-operate to that end. If they can arrive at a genuine agreement as to the method of framing the constitution, no unnecessary time need be spent after the

war in reaching final conclusions and in agreeing on treaty arrangements with His Majesty's Government. There again, the primary responsibility rests on the Indian leaders.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

The Hindu, 19-8-1944

APPENDIX XXIII

DRAFT LETTER TO THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY[1]

For many of us 9th of August, 1942, is a Red Letter Day. Of the resolution of the 8th August we are proud. It is a declaration of India's hope. Though roughly national, it is international in outlook. Thus it has sanction clause which too the Congress has nothing to be ashamed of. It replaces for its sanction armed force by normal force of self-suffering in the shape of mass civil disobedience. If some Congressmen and others went astray during the days following the 8th of August, 1942, they did so contrary to the resolution. Mahatma Gandhi, the authority appointed by the A. I. C. C. to enforce the sanction, never got the chance of enforcing it. He says, the authority lapsed with his imprisonment and was not revived by his release. He says further that, even if it has not lapsed, he thinks that under the altered circumstances it would be improper to revive the sanction clause. I confess that none of us has a knowledge of the technique of mass civil disobedience. Therefore there is no question of enforcing the sanction. Hence any act my fellow-workers may wish to do on the 9th of August next must not be confused with the sanction clause. This letter would be unnecessary but for the extraordinary powers given to you. Under the ordinance rule, no procession or public meeting can be held without your previous permission. This is an encroachment upon an ordinary civil right. Now on the 9th, as a symbol and token, I propose to organize five parties of five persons each with tricolour flags. They will march, in order to avoid crowds gathering, without notice towards Chowpatty Sands, reach the Lokamanya statue at 5.30 a.m. and stand for five minutes in silent prayer, then recite the resolution in Hindustani and sing the *jhandavandan*[2] song and disperse. I sincerely hope that you have no objection to this simple ceremony. I shall thank you to let me have your permission.

NOTE : Gandhi is expected to issue a detailed circular of instructions to all Congressmen by the 5th. On the 9th, 25 persons are starting in procession, in batches of five from different quarters of Bombay, and converging at 5.30 a.m. (time dictated by Gandhi) at Chowpatty Sands and carry out the day's programme.

Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay, File No. 3001/H. Courtesy: Government of Maharashtra

[1] *Vide* p. 433.
[2] Flag salutation

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CHRONOLOGY

(*December 18, 1942—July 31, 1944*)

1942

December 18 : In Aga Khan Palace, Poona, Gandhiji who was in detention from August 9, 1942, completed revision of his book, *Key to Health*, originally written in Gujarati.

December 31 : In letter to Lord Linlithgow, conveyed New Year greetings and said : "Convince me of my error or errors and I shall make amends."

1943

January 12 : Jaikrishna P. Bhansali gave up fast following agreement with the Central Provinces Government.

January 26 : On the occasion of Independence Day, Gandhiji repledged himself.

January 29 : In letter to Lord Linlithgow, conveyed his intention to go on "fast according to capacity after the early morning breakfast on February 9".

February 7 : In letter to Sir John Gilbert Laithwaite, suggested that his entire correspondence with Government, beginning with his letter dated August 14, should be published.

February 8 : In letter to Viceroy, declined Government's offer to release him for the duration of his proposed fast.

February 10 : Began his 21-day fast.

February 21 : Interview to S. A. Brelvi.

February 23 : Discussion with Horace G. Alexander.

March 3 : Gandhiji broke the fast at 9.34 a.m.

May 4 : In letter to M. A. Jinnah, thanked him for his reported invitation to write to him and suggested "meeting face to face rather than talking through correspondence".

May 27 : In letter to Sir Richard Tottenham, expressed regret over Government's refusal to forward his letter to M. A. Jinnah.

July 15 : Handed to Superintendent, Detention Camp, detailed reply to Government publication, *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*.

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July 16 : In letter to Sir Richard Tottenham, refuted rumours that he had written to Viceroy withdrawing A. I. C. C. resolution of August 8, 1942.

September 27 : In letter to Lord Linlithgow, said : "Of all the high functionaries I have had the honour of knowing, none had been the cause of such deep sorrow to me as you have been."

October 26 : In letter to Sir Richard Tottenham, said that a tribunal should go into the charges against Congress.

November 18 : Talk with Mirabehn about dangerous animals, snakes, etc.

December 7 : Talk with Nirmala and Devdas Gandhi.

December 9 : Talk with Devdas Gandhi, Manorama Mashruwala, Ramabehn Parekh and Madhavdas Kapadia.

December 29 : In letter to Agatha Harrison, Gandhiji said : ". . . I am the same man as you have known me. . . . Truth and non-violence remain my sheet-anchor as never before."

1944

After *January 14 :* In message to Vijayalakshmi Pandit, asked her "to remember that henceforth Mr. Pandit would live in her actions".

January 24 : In letter to Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay, exercised his "right to make representation" against detention order served on him.

January 26: Talk with Devdas Gandhi regarding Ayurvedic treatment for Kasturba Gandhi.

Chhaganlal Gandhi, Jaisukhlal Gandhi and Ramdas Gandhi with his daughter met Gandhiji.

January 27 : In letter to Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, Gandhiji asked for Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's treatment and Kanu Gandhi's nursing for Kasturba Gandhi.

January 28 : Talk with Ramdas Gandhi.

February 11 : In a note to Inspector-General of Prisons, Gandhiji absolved the Government from responsibility for any untoward result following the change over to Ayurvedic treatment for Kasturba Gandhi.

February 14 : In letter to Inspector-General of Prisons, sought permission for Vaidyaraj Shiv Sharma's stay in Aga Khan Palace.

February 16 : In letter to Inspector-General of Prisons, proposed three alternatives : (i) to permit Vaidyaraj Shiv Sharma to

stay in the Palace, (ii) to release Kasturba Gandhi on parole, (iii) if neither was accepted, to transfer him elsewhere.

February 21 : In cable to Shirinbai Jalbhoy Rustomjee, Durban, informed that Kasturba was "slowly going" and that Manilal and Sushila should "continue their work".

February 22 : Kasturba Gandhi passed away at 7.35 p.m.

Gandhiji dictated instructions to Inspector-General of Prisons for Kasturba Gandhi's funeral at 8.07 p.m.

March 4 : In letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, wanted to "be removed to any regular prison" in order to save expenses which came from . . . taxes collected from the dumb millions of India".

In letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, refuted Butler's statement in the House of Commons about facilities afforded for Kasturba Gandhi's treatment and her funeral rites.

March 9 : In letter to Lord Wavell, criticized his speech to Legislature on February 17.

March 16 : In letter to Ardeshir E. Kateli, refused to avail himself of the restricted facility to reply to condolence messages.

April 1 : In letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, disproved Government's claim that "they did everything possible" for Kasturba Gandhi.

April 2 : In letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, rebutted Home Secretary's statement in the Council of State that request for Vaidyaraj Shiv Sharma's services was made on February 9.

April 9 : In letter to Lord Wavell, appealed for Government's co-operation "with the people of India through their elected representatives".

May 3 : In letter to Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, said, he would deny himself the pleasure of meeting people "so long as the Government restrict the permission only to relatives".

May 6 : Prior to his release from detention, asked Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay, to acquire the plot where Mahadev Desai and Kasturba Gandhi were cremated.

Was discharged from detention at 8 a.m.

As the car drove to Parnakuti, thought of Kasturba Gandhi and Mahadev Desai : "She had been so eager to get out of

prison, yet I know she could not have had a better death. Both she and Mahadev Desai . . . have become immortal."

Commenced evening prayer meetings where collections were accepted for Harijan Welfare Fund.

May 10 : Accepted Presidentship of Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust.

May 11 : In Juhu, at Jehangir Patel's shack, attended prayer meeting.

Adhered to restrictions on interviews, meetings, etc., on medical advice.

May 14 : Commenced fortnight's silence.

Before *May 15 :* In telegram, informed Inayatullah Khan, readiness for talks with Jinnah.

May 17 : Listened to Manohar Barve's music.

May 19 : Visited dock area which was damaged by explosion. Called on Mangaldas Pakvasa, who was ill.

May 20 : In letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, offered condolence on death of V. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

In letter to M. R. Jayakar, said : "The country expects much from me. . . . I cannot withdraw the August resolution. . . ."

May 23 : Called on G. L. Mehta's daughter who was ill.

May 25 : Gave message to China through a group of Chinese.

May 26 : In the afternoon, listened to Bade Gulam Ali Khan's rendering of *bhajans.*

May 28 : Gave message in writing to Christians who offered prayers at his place.

May 29 : Broke silence at 3 p.m.

May 30 : Observed partial silence; called on Yusuf Meherally.

June 8 : In Juhu, appealed to people who had gate-crashed into the compound to disperse quietly.

June 9 : In letter to T. B. Sapru, assured him that he would not make any hasty statement.

In letter, advised Aruna Asaf Ali to come out and surrender herself and not to die underground.

In letter to Annada Babu Chowdhary, said: "Secrecy is a sin and symptom of violence . . . all underground activity is taboo."

Discussion with H. P. Mody.

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June 10 : Gandhiji distributed to friends copies of his correspondence with Government, as also his reply to *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*.

June 11 : Discussion with H. P. Mody.

June 12 : Gandhiji gave message in writing to Bombay Keraleeya Samaj, whose members offered prayers at his place and presented him with a purse of Rs. 501.

Silent interview to journalists.

June 15 : After observing silence for a couple of hours, Gandhiji left for Juhu at 7.55 a.m.; boarded Poona Express at a level crossing between Kurla and Sion, accompanied by Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Dr. Gajjar, Dr. Gilder and Mayor Nagindas T. Master. In Poona, put up at Dr. Mehta's nature-cure clinic.

June 17 : In letter to Viceroy, renewed request for permission to meet Working Committee members; also expressed willingness to meet the addressee anywhere at his convenience.

June 20 : Interview to Stuart Gelder of *News Chronicle*.

June 22 : Viceroy turned down Gandhiji's request; consented for publication of correspondence between them.

June 29 : Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani to Maharashtra Congress representatives.

June 30 : With Gandhiji's approval, C. Rajagopalachari telegraphically informed Jinnah of the decision to publish his Formula and the latter's rejection of it. He, however, appealed to Jinnah to reconsider the decision.

July 4-6 : Gandhiji gave interview to Stuart Gelder.

July 12 : In telegram to Sadanand, apologized for publication of unauthorized report of interview to Gelder.

Issued statement on interview to Gelder along with two notes giving details about discussions.

July 13 : In interview to the Press, declared that he had never said that August resolution had lapsed.

July 14 : In answer to a question, expressed willingness to resume publication of *Harijan* without any restraint.

In interview to the Press, appealed for fair treatment to detenus who were released; answered criticisms of some Congressmen.

July 15 : In letter to Editor, *Free Press Journal*, protested against publication of complaint against him without consulting him.

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In interview to the Press, explained difference between Cripps Plan and his own.

July 16 : In statement to the Press, declared that restrictions on detenus were "degrading".

July 17 : In letter to Jinnah, asked for time for their meeting.

In letter to Winston Churchill, said : "I . . . ask you to trust and use me for the sake of your people and mine and through them those of the world."

July 19 : In interview to the Press, expressed confidence that independence was a certainty.

July 20 : In interview to the Press, answered questions of *Cavalcade*.

July 22 : In interview to United Press of India, elucidated his view that military control may remain in the hands of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief.

Pacified a few excited Hindus of the Hindu Rashtra Dal who staged black-flag demonstration at prayer meeting.

July 23 : In interview to the Press, denied Sind Home Minister's allegation that "subversive movement had been restarted throughout India".

July 24 : Jinnah invited Gandhiji for talks at his residence in Bombay in mid-August.

July 26 : Gandhiji gave interview to the Press on Lord Munster's speech in the House of Commons.

July 27 : In letter to Lord Wavell, said that Lord Munster's speech "may serve as a basis for mutual friendly discussion".

Discussion with Panchagani citizens.

July 28 : In statement to the Press, Gandhiji explained views against sabotage and secrecy.

In the House of Commons, Amery said that Gandhiji's proposals "do not form even the starting point for a profitable discussion".

July 29/30 : Gandhiji had discussion with Bombay Congress leaders about August 9 celebrations.

July 30 : In letter to P. C. Joshi, asked for further clarifications.

Interview to *News Chronicle* on Amery's statement.

Interview to the Press on debate in the House of Commons.

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