

1. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 18, 1941

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have hurriedly gone through your draft. It reads all right. You may circulate it. But I shall study it carefully before you meet.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10157

2. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 18, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This thing about the post is vexing. But what is one to do with a village P[ost] O[ffice]?

The second vexing thing is your indifferent condition. Why should you not feel first class? Could it have anything to do with your having taxed yourself too much over Jammalal? He is in raptures over the kindness shown to him by you all— meaning you and your. . .¹ The thought has just occurred to me and I have passed it on to you. Anyway it is time you got well.

We had a glorious day here. We had prayers at which Gurudev's songs were sung, the morning "*Jivana jakhan*"² by Sushila and the "*Anand lok[e]*"³ in the evening by Prabhakar who is proving a fine singer. We had a pice collection from every adult and more from those who could pay more. The Ashramites not having any money of their own spun for one hour and got one pice for their labour at market price. Maganlal gave Rs. 2,500, Janakibehn Rs. 110, Sushila Rs. 500 in 10 instalments, i.e., Rs. 50 out of her salary. Therefore, we have a goodly sum in Sevagram. Ashadevi went out for collection and prayer in Wardha. I have not yet had the report. But it was good there too.

Vallabhbai's condition is bad. You must have seen the report. Let us see what happens. It is a big load on the mind.

Mridula leaves today for Bombay. She has come to solve her little difficulties.

¹ Omission as in the source

² These words are in the Devanagari script.

³ *ibid*

I must not give you more time today. What about khadi sales there this time?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4056. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7365

3. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You were to leave one of your pens here. I do not find it here. If it is with you, it is all right. I do not want a new pen.

There is a postcard from Nagpur today addressed to you. It is a reply to your letter : “The prisoner is not legally allowed to meet anyone. And he does not wish to meet anyone in particular.” So even if the telephone had been answered, you would have got the same reply.

I hope you did not have much trouble and could catch the train easily. If you remember, write to me how many minutes before time you reached.

Do not fix appointments anywhere. I do not wish to place any burden on you. It would hurt me taking even a moment from your studies.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

4. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

August 18, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Consider that we are all sailing in the same boat as you. The difference is only one of degree. You should fix your mealtime and also the quantity of food. If this is done for a period, everything will be all right. Do not worry about the result, once you have made the efforts.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4400

5. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 19, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note.

How strange my letter crossed yours. You have used the same or a synonymous term. You must get rid of your illnesses now. If Shummy and others relieve you and think that you might flourish under humble surroundings I shall gladly nurse you to health. If I am solely responsible, I shall not be nervous.

No more today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W 4057. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7366

6. LETTER TO TARACHAND

August 19, 1941

DEAR DR. TARACHAND,

Many thanks for your cheque which I am passing to the Deenabandhu Memorial Fund. If you do not like the disposal I can easily alter it.

I have purposely not moved in the Hindi matter because of the extraordinary riots in Dacca and elsewhere. The matter has to be settled but the values have changed. As I read the signs of the times the matter does not admit of piecemeal treatment. I drafted my statement. Sunderlalji did not like it much. Meanwhile the disturbances affected me deeply and I stayed immediate action, my views remaining the same.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers, Courtesy; Pyarelal

7. LETTER TO INDRAVADAN N. DIVYENDRA

August 19, 1941

BHAI INDRAVADAN,

Searching for the envelope sent by you would take some time, and, moreover, you have no reason to complain since you are getting one pice worth more than what you spent. If we exclusively look after the cow, the buffalo will not perish, but if we exclusively look after the latter both the cow and the buffalo will perish. If we try to look after both, then also both would perish. All the world over people use mostly cow's milk. From the medical point of view, too, cow's milk is more beneficial.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

BHAI INDRAVADAN N. DIVYENDRA
GOODS OFFICE
SABARMATI, B.B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 121

8. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You will have received mine. You reached well in time. Kunvarji is fine.

The conversation with Natwar is enlightening.

I understand about the house. I shall of course make the arrangements. It is good you wrote.

Enclosed is Balkrishna's letter. Write to him if you wish.

Today Khurshedbehn and Shankerlal are here; also Gulzarilal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

9. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

August 20, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What you say in your letter is perfectly correct. When I get up at the sound of the bell, I look at the watch and when twenty minutes pass I start the prayers.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8486. Also C.W. 7152. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

10. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

August 20, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I read your letter addressed to Mahadev. He has been held up in Bombay.

I think you should not have published a report like that without verifying it. And even if you published it, to have made unfounded comments on it was certainly wrong. [I]¹ cannot save you. And, moreover, you have given the name of the Chief Justice. I am afraid you will be found guilty. You had better consult a lawyer and publish, before attending the court, an apology saying that your correspondent was unable to prove the truth of his report. I think this would be a graceful step. Or you may apologize in the court without defending yourself. I am suggesting this from the moral and legal point of view. But ultimately do as Sir Tej Bahadur and Munshi advise. I am sending a copy of this letter, together with your letter, to Mahadev. You have signed in full, but I can decipher neither "Devdas" nor "Gandhi". The civilized rule is that the letters even in a signature should be as neat as pearls.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2142

¹One word is illegible in the source.

11. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Sankaran says that one more stethoscope is required because the doctor has to use one. If you also feel that one more stethoscope is needed, you may purchase one and send it here. Kanu is coming tomorrow. But he may come any time. I am not worried. There are many people coming here.

I can see that I shall not be able to eat more. I feel somewhat heavy in the stomach. I am trying hard to follow your instructions, but I realize that that is possible only when you are present here.

Maganlal and Kanchan are free from fever. So also is Appa Saheb.

You will be getting along well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

12. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[On or before August 21, 1941]¹

JAMNALALI
SIVALAYA, DEHRA DUN
GLAD. STAY AT WILL.²

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 242

¹ According to the source the telegram was received by the addressee on August

² The addressee had sought permission to prolong his stay at Anandmayi Devi's Ashram; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 21-8-1941

13. LETTER TO UTIMCHAND GANGARAM

SEVAGRAM,
August 21, 1941

DEAR UTIMCHAND,

I have Government papers containing Rs. 500. I am handing the 3_ p.c. ones (Rs. 200) to Harijan Sevak Sangh and the other Rs. 300 to the Deenabandhu Memorial, since Gurudev would have donated the amount to the Memorial which, as you know, is to be wholly used for Santiniketan.

My interest in Geometry never gets stale and I shall be your first 'school-boy'. Whether I shall succeed in cutting off the two triangles or not I do not know.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

14. LETTER TO JAKATDAR

August 21, 1941

DEAR JAKATDAR,

You have done so well at your time of life that you need not re-offer C.D. If the Government choose to take you off for any of your activities, it is a different matter.

I would like you to spread the gospel of non-violence by doing the constructive work of the Congress in your district.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

15. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

August 21, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

You should feel satisfied with this letter. I hope you reached there safely. Take care about your food and get well. Arrange about your studies. Write to me regularly.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have written regarding the *Autobiography*.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8273. Also C.W. 7154. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

16. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 21, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I was indeed afraid that you would be released. What else could they do? Now you must get completely well before resuming work. There is, of course, a lot to be done, I will not be easy in my mind till the operation is over. Keep me regularly informed. Did they give you my letters?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 250

17. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 21, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I got your letter. For the present I will not trouble you. You have given me enough details in your report. If there is anything more still, write to me. I take it that you will stamp every page in the account books. It will be enough if you merely initial the corrections.

I suppose all the vouchers are duly numbered. Please return the account books, etc., to the Navajivan office now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10124

18. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your postcard. Kanchan went to Valod yesterday. I have of course given her all the instructions. You may write to her if you wish. Her address is : C/o Maganlal Kalidas, Valod, *via* Madhi, Tapti V. Rly.

It is your duty to go when people are sick and want you. It is your trade; how can you get out of it ? I consulted Dr. Das about Madalasa. He said : "I get the point. I have respect for Dr. Sushila's treatment. But I would not like to give her any medicine." Since she is doing very well, I am not insisting. Mahadev's case is completely in the hands of Dr. Das. I would not dare do anything else in your absence. In other cases, I am of course doing what I can.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

19. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your three letters together.

Sardar has been released. I learn from Mahadev's telephonic talk that you are going there today to examine his polypus. You may go and visit him if he so desires. Kanchan and Maganbhai are free from fever. Neither of them had to be given quinine. Just for trial I had given to Maganlal betel and calotropis leaf. I cannot say whether these helped or the fever went down on its own. Appa is doing well. He had been put on vegetable soup and fruit juice. He was also given a little butter. From today he is being given *roti*. He is feeling better. He does not seem to have any complaint about his throat either. Annapurna gets temperature up to 99°. Sankaran says that he has swelling of the throat. He will apply

something. I am feeling much improved after reducing the food quota yesterday. I had good motion. Eating more may result in a relapse after initial improvement. This is my third attempt after your insistence on my increasing the intake of milk, etc. I have also reduced walking. The work is stopped by 8.30 p.m. It is possible to stop talking altogether about important matters while walking. In the evening I keep my eyes closed both when going out and returning. That does not interfere with the night's sleep.

You must have got over the anaesthesia trouble. Is not Jivraj Mehta in any way concerned with it ?

Are you taking proper food ? I have written this with your pen.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

20. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 21, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

There is no letter from you today. I hope this is not due to illness.

Jamnallalji liked Anandamayi Devi's Ashram. He could get peace there. He sent me a telegram to permit him to stay there for some more time. I have said yes.¹ He had a long talk with Jawaharlal and had fruit with him. He also met Indu.

Here everything is all right. Sardar was released, and I had a talk with him on the phone. I hope you did not find it difficult to decipher this letter. Do you mind its being in Hindi?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7883. Also C.W. 4251. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

¹ *Vide* "Letter to amrit Kaur", 17-8-1941

21. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHAUDHARY

August 21, 1941

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

Your letter is of course good; but do not overstep the limit. If a passing impulse is not the reason behind it, your sacrifice will endure.¹ Otherwise it would only cause more pain. A habit of long standing is not broken without firm determination. May God give you strength!

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, p. 144

22. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHAGANJ,

August 22, 1941

JAMNALALJI

SIVALAYA

RAIPUR, DEHRA DUN

MAHESH² WELL BUT REQUIRES OBSERVATION. GIVES
MADALASA GOOD COMPANY. ALLOW STAY UNLESS YOU
NEED BADLY.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 242

23. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

August 23, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters for you.

I see how you are struggling against your fever and cough.

¹ The addressee had decided to curtail the expenses of his family as regards food, clothing, etc. He felt that they were a burden on the Ashram.

² Maheshdutta Mishra

Victory to you.

You will write to Dharm Yash Dev that he has first to purge himself to be true to himself.

Sushila stopped for two days on her way to Bombay. She is on duty leave. She has been sent to Bombay to gain more experience in anaesthesia. Her last experience enabled them to work an expensive instrument that was lying unused.

Kanchan has gone to her mother for a few months.

I am first finishing the Deenabandhu Memorial which becomes also partly Tagore Memorial too. I shall take from you the highest amount possible in its time. You see I have taken Rs. 500 from Sushila. Of course in instalments.¹

Yes, you may send the spray. I now see it is expensive but not very if it is effective against these fellow-creatures of ours. I have also told you, you could send apples twice a month.

Now I must stop. Oh, I forget. Sardar's has proved a hoax.² Seven doctors miss the polypus. So there is no anxiety.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Polypus is one '1'. The mistake was mine.³

From the original: C.W. 4058. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7367

24. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

August 23, 1941

MY DEAR R[AMACHANDRAN],

I have just read your letter [to] Rameshwari Nehru. She wants to know what to say in reply. The need of the Sangh⁴ at Delhi is indeed very great. But the need for you and Sundaram to busy yourselves in Travancore is greater. I have no doubt whatsoever that you will serve the Harijan cause better by serving it in Travancore. Therefore I need not discuss the other questions arising from your letter.

Love to you both.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8000. Also C.W. 3098. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Krishnachandra", 18-8-1941

² *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 16-8-1941

³ *ibid*

⁴ Harijan Sevak Sangh

25. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today, Taribehn's temperature has again started rising above 99°. Her case is beyond my capacity. But what can I do ? Besides, she is far away.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
C/O ASST. DEAN
K.E.M.H.
PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

26. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

August 23, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter today. Enclosed is a copy of the reply I sent to Ramachandran. I am glad you are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8000. Also C.W. 3097. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

27. FOREWORD TO "A DISCIPLINE FOR NON-VIOLENCE"¹

SEVAGRAM,
August 24, 1941

A Discipline for Non-violence is a pamphlet written by Mr. Richard B. Gregg for the guidance of those Westerners who endeavour to follow the law of satyagraha. I use the word advisedly instead of 'pacifism'. For what passes under the name of pacifism is not the same as satyagraha. Mr. Gregg is a most diligent and methodical worker. He [has] had first-hand knowledge of satyagraha, having lived in India and that too for nearly a year in the Sabarmati Ashram. His pamphlet is

¹ To its first Indian edition published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad

seasonable and cannot fail to help the satyagrahis of India. For though the pamphlet is written in a manner attractive for the West, the substance is the same for both the Western and the Eastern satyagrahi. A cheap edition of the pamphlet is therefore being printed locally for the benefit of Indian readers in the hope that many will make use of it and profit by it. A special responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Indian satyagrahis, for Mr. Gregg has based the pamphlet on his observation of the working of satyagraha in India. However admirable this guide of Mr. Gregg's may appear as a well-arranged code, it must fail in its purpose if the Indian experiment fails.

M. K. GANDHI

A Discipline for Non-violence

28. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDRA,
August 24, 1941

Being vitally connected with immigration problems and having been in South Africa for twenty years, I am naturally interested in the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement. It has caused me deep pain. I have collected as much literature as I could on the subject. I have studied as much of it as was necessary to enable me to form an opinion and as was possible during the very limited time at my disposal.

My study has led me to the conclusion that it is an unhappy agreement.

It is panicky and penal. In the papers I find no reason to warrant any panic nor do I find any warrant for the severe punishment meted out to the Indians resident in Burma.

The burden of proving the right to remain in Burma has in every case been thrown on the Indian resident. One would have thought that the least that should have been done was to have automatically recognized as fully domiciled every Indian found in Burma on the date of promulgation of the Agreement.

I am acquainted with the immigration laws of South Africa and other countries. In every case the restrictions have been imposed by legislation and, after fairly full opportunity being given for the expression of public opinion, legislation has been preceded by considerable lapse of time for the ventilation of views on the mere proposal for legislation.

In this case secrecy and mystery have surrounded the Agreement which has been sprung upon an unsuspecting public.

The whole thing appears still more hideous when we recall the fact that only a few years ago Burma was an integral part of India.

Does the partition make India a leper country the presence of whose inhabitants must carry heavy penalties including the tickets of leave such as criminals carry? They do not cease to be less offensive because they bear the inoffensive name of passports and permits. I should be prepared to understand the validity of the permit and passport system when the necessity is clearly established. I must refuse to believe that this Agreement is in response to a vital cry from the great Burmese nation with which the people of India never had any quarrel and with which India had enjoyed cultural contact long before the advent of the foreigner from the West.

We can never be in Burma or the Burmans in India foreigners in the same sense as people from the West. There has been free commerce and emigration to Burma for hundreds of years.

This drastic Agreement is an undeserved slur both on India and Burma.

This Agreement is a brutal reminder that both India and Burma are under the British heel and that the Government of India Act and the Government of Burma Act gave no real freedom to the respective peoples. They give no scope for full growth to us. I fear that this statement of mine will not please the Premier of Burma who may think that the Agreement is a popular Act. He will soon discover the error, if he has not already, that he has not served his people but that he has played himself into the hands of those who would want to exploit Burma to the exclusion of any rivals. I must admit that Indians have been partners with the Westerners in the exploitation of Burma, but with this fundamental difference, that the Westerner went to Burma with his gun, while the Indian went on sufferance as he has always done in every part of the world.

We cannot exist in Burma for one single day without Burmese goodwill.

I would plead with the Burmese Ministers and the Burmese people that they should wait for the regulation of immigration till both of us are free and independent for such regulation. I flatter myself with the belief that when that happy day arrives, as it must, such matters will regulate themselves, for we shall never want to impose our nationals on one another.

But I have strayed. My purpose just now is to show that this Agreement must be undone inasmuch as it breaks every canon of

international propriety. It becomes less defensible in that an Indian¹ instead of an Englishman was sent to negotiate the Agreement. It is an old and familiar trick, that of putting up an Indian to perform a disagreeable task. Nor is it relevant that the Agreement had the approval of local Indian opinion. For the Agreement is an insult to the whole nation, not merely to the particular individuals whose material interests lie in Burma. But even if it was relevant, there should be evidence to show the volume and character of that opinion.

When I come to examine the Baxter Report², which became the prelude to the Agreement, it contains nothing to justify the Agreement. This was the reference made to Mr. Baxter:

The enquiry will be directed to ascertaining:

1. the volume of Indian immigration;
2. to what extent it is seasonal and temporary and to what extent permanent;
3. in what occupations Indians are mainly employed and the extent to which they are unemployed or underemployed;
4. whether in such employment Indians either have displaced Burmans or could be replaced by Burmans, due regard being paid to both the previous history of such occupations and their economic requirements; and
5. whether in the light of the statistics obtained and other relevant factors any system of equating the supply of Indian unskilled labour to Burmans' requirements is needed.

Thus it was purely a fact-finding commission. Here is the fact found by the Commission:

There is no evidence of any kind to suggest that Indians have displaced Burmans from employment which they had previously obtained. . . . Indian labour in the past has been supplementary rather than alternative to Burmese labour.

That surely does not justify the restrictions imposed by the Agreement on the movement of Indians in Burma. The recommendations made in the Report appear to me to be in excess of the reference and therefore of no effect. Add to this the fact that the opinion of the assessors finds no mention in the Report. It may not have weighed with the Commissioner but surely it should have found mention in the Report.

¹ Girija Shankar Bajpai; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 27-7-1941

² James Baxter, Financial Adviser, with two assessors, U Tin-Tut and Ratilal Desai, was appointed by the Government of Burma to examine the question of Indian immigration into Burma. The report was submitted to the Government of Burma in October 1940.

Now let me for a moment examine the pertinent sections of the Act. Here they are:

Section 44(3) of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, says:

The provisions of Sub-section (2) of this Section shall apply in relation to British subjects domiciled in India and subjects of any Indian State as they apply in relation to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, but with the substitution in the provision to the said Sub-section for references to the United Kingdom or references to British India, or as the case may be, that Indian State:

Provided that nothing in this Sub-section shall affect any restriction lawfully imposed on the right of entry into Burma of persons who are British subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any Indian State, or any restriction lawfully imposed as a condition of allowing any such persons to enter Burma.

Section 138 of the same Act:

His Majesty may by Order-in-Council direct that, during such period as may be specified in the Order, immigration into Burma from India shall be subject to such restrictions as may be specified in the Order (being such restrictions as may have been mutually agreed before the commencement of this Act between the Governor of Burma-in-Council and the Governor-General of India-in-Council and approved by the Secretary of State, or in default of agreement as may have been prescribed by the Secretary of State), and no other restrictions:

Provided that any such Order may be varied by a subsequent Order-in-Council in such manner as appears to His Majesty necessary to give effect to any agreement in that behalf made after the commencement of this Act by the Governor with the Governor-General of India or the Governor-General of India-in-Council.

The first read as a whole does not appear to contemplate any interference with the present Indian population. The second is decisive.

According to this Section restriction by agreement cannot be imposed on the present Indian settlers.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Secretary of State for India should not pass the Order-in-Council and should withhold his assent to the Agreement. Any restriction should be a matter for legislation by the Burmese Assembly in consultation with and with the co-operation of the Government of India.

It is pertinent to the examination of the Agreement to know what declarations were made by His Majesty's Ministers when the Act was passed. Here is the assurance of Sir Thomas Inskip, the then Minister for Co-ordination and Defence, on the subject:

Nobody wants to discriminate between British subjects domiciled in India

or Indian States' subjects when they go to Burma, any more than one wants to discriminate between the British when they go to British India.

Mr. Butler (then Under-Secretary of State for India) also stated in the House of Commons:

In connection with unskilled Indian labour, the Governor of Burma is asked to confer with the Governor-General with a view to ,regulating the immigration of unskilled labour into Burma. The reason we cannot make a simple rule is that we have to make this differentiation in regard to unskilled labour, while at the same time we do not want to stop the free entry of Indians in general.

Such declarations may have no validity in the interpretation of the Act in a court of law. But politically considered they have or should have the effect of promissory notes.

The Agreement is a clear breach of the declarations quoted by me. I am glad that responsible Indian public opinion is being expressed in unmistakable terms in condemnation of the Agreement.

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-8-1941

29. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

August 24, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter written from Junagadh. If you had any imagination you would have given a description of the town, what you saw there, what you learnt, and so on. Does not Nanabhai ask you whether you lost in Sevagram all the intelligence you had cultivated? My health is fine, as also Ba's. Did I write to you that Prabhavati and Kusum are here at present? Rajkumari is still in Simla and as she is having fever and cough she is not coming here in the immediate future.

Blessings to both or to three of you(?) from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7140. Also C.W. 4632. Courtesy: Vijaya M. Pancholi

30. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

August 24, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letter. You have argued well. Yes, one must take risks. But the point is that even in doing so one must exercise discretion and restraint. Even the additional information you have given does not justify your involving the Chief Justice. You were free to agitate the matter strongly without doing that. You could have taken that magistrate to task for describing it as “voluntary”. And you could have written at length about what the man from the Punjab did. I would endorse your going to the utmost length in taking risks. But here I find your case weak. However, if the lawyers permit you, you may follow their advice. I certainly do not wish to dampen your enthusiasm.

Mahadev also will write to you from Bombay.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2143

31. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 24, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have replied to your wire, and have now received a reply to that, too. The worry about Mahesh is not over. The disease which goes back to many years is not active, but it cannot be said to have been completely cured. He is on a special diet, etc. Perhaps he will feel tired soon. In this condition he should not be asked to go out unless there is urgent work. Do you need any help? If so, of what sort?

I see no point in sending Shanta¹ there. If it is for her good, she can be sent independently after you have had sufficient experience there. If you want her services, I think you will derive the full benefit from your stay there only if you check your desire. This is my personal view. But I will carry out your wishes. I have still not asked Shanta.

Vallabhbhai has been released. He is not suffering from polypus, and, therefore, there is no cause for anxiety.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3022

¹ Shanta Ruia

32. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

August 24, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I do know, of course, that the happiness and security to be found in living together are not to be found in staying alone. That is why it is said that even the overcrowding of the dear ones is to be welcomed. For Anand's diarrhoea, add one teaspoonful of lime-water or dill-water or the two together to the milk. You can make lime-water even at home. If you add water to pieces of limestone, there will be effervescence and you will get clean, sky-blue water at the top. Decant and store it in a bottle. Add a teaspoonful from this to the milk. Boil one teaspoonful of dill seeds in eight ounces of water, strain the water and add one teaspoonful from this to the milk. Thus mix lime water and dill-water with the milk by turns. He is bound to benefit. Do not give him any *rotli* for a day or two.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10036. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

33. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,

August 24, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I had your letter. The figs arrived today. They seem to be good. I shall give you the corrected draft when you come. It is a matter of saving time. Mummy I hope is well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11215. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

34. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your two letters today. It would be honourable and proper for you to be present wherever you are needed.

The cancer patient will have been attended to.

You have not given me Pyarelal's address. Annapurna is being given rest. But she continues to have fever.

I have benefited from the change I have made in my diet. My weight has gone up by 1/2 lb. today. I am taking 5 *tolas* of butter and 4 oz. of *roti*. I take 8 oz. of milk only once in the morning. I shall gradually make the change you have suggested. I shall try to take more fruit. There are new faces around. Ram Saran Das and his daughter-in-law are here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

35. LETTER TO ADVAITAKUMAR GOSWAMI

August 24, 1941

BHAI ADVAITAKUMAR,

I have your letter. It is difficult to advise you. Not being acquainted with you, what can I say? Still this much is clear, that if you are to gain self-confidence you must leave everything for a time and find some occupation which will enable you to meet all your expenses. Even the man who shoulders his own burden and does not worry others does in a way serve the country.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 149. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

36. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHA,

August 25, 1941

SETH JAMNALALJI

SIVALAYA

RAIPUR, DEHRA DUN

SHANTA HAS NO DESIRE. WILLING DO AS YOU DESIRE.
MY OPINION SHE HAD BETTER BE SENT THERE LATER.

DO YOU NEED ANY SERVICE. WROTE¹ FULLY YESTERDAY.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 243

37. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 25, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Nothing from you today. So you see the irregularity is not one-sided. And it is a regular irregularity! But we must be thankful that there is not greater irregularity or that there is postal service at all. Fifty years ago, the postal system was not what it is today. Between Rajkot and Porbunder we had to send special messengers. So I am satisfied when I get a letter at all. Renunciation of rights brings special happiness.

Annapurna is lying in bed with slow fever unaccountable. I hope she will be free in a few days.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4059. Courtesy Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7368

38. LETTER TO CHANDEL

August 25, 1941

BHAI CHANDEL,

The description of your work is very attractive. The results of work which has no selfishness are always good. Do not take any notice of those who are opposing it, but feel pity for them and whenever you get a chance to serve, do whatever you can to help them, e.g., if they are sick, try to make them well. This is the one way to conquer hatred by love and anger by patience. We should always reply to unkind words by keeping silent.

Blessings from

BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, pp. 195-6

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Jammalal Bajaj", 24-8-1941

39. LETTER TO V. RAGHAVIAH

August 25, 1941

DEAR RAGHAVIAH¹,

You are right. Your preoccupation need not be any reason for exemption, you having once taken the plunge. I could still give you the exemption, if you insisted. But for one like you, it is better to withdraw from the satyagraha list at least for the time being. There would be no slur on you. But I would leave the choice to you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SRI V. RAGHAVIAH, B.A., B.L.
NELLORE

From a copy: C.W. 10447. Courtesy: K. Linga Raju

40. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

August 25, 1941

DEAR SIR R[ADHAKRISHNAN],

You do make yourself irresistible. You may book me provisionally for 21st January next². I am not certain myself as to what will happen between now and 21st January. Please defer advertisement as long as you can.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

41. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 25, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Herewith a note from Shanta. The writing is likely to get faint by the time you get the note. Please do not trouble yourself if you cannot read it. I have given its substance in today's wire. She is neither willing

¹A Congressman and tribal welfare worker, popularly known as Yenadi Raghaviah

² For the silver jubilee of the Benares Hindu University

nor unwilling. She feels one with you. Your wish, therefore will be her wish, and that is as it should be. The question, therefore, is what is for her good. If you are going to stay there for a sufficiently long time, she may perhaps benefit a little by going there. I think she should stay there when you are not there. It may not even be necessary for her to stay there. She does have the spirit of devotion in her. What we have to consider is whether or no the atmosphere there will make her work. In this life she will not look upon anybody else as her guru. You are her guru and, therefore, you have but to command her. Your stay there will be over by the time this correspondence comes to an end. If you are getting complete peace of mind there and also getting all other facilities which you need, do not leave the place. If you decide to stay on, or even if you don't, send a wire if you want Shanta there. I will send her immediately. I have exchanged wires with you merely because your wire left scope for further thinking. It was necessary to think about both Mahesh and Shanta. I have understood that you are sending for both for their own sakes and not because you want their services. If your motive is to get their services, we will have to think in a different way.

There is no special news regarding Sardar today. You must have got my letter of yesterday. Madalasa is fine.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3023

42. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

August 25, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

I have your letter. It will be very good indeed if you recover by the end of August. Do not be in the least impatient. You will be able to work in peace if you recover completely.

Do go to Allahabad, but before doing so have a discussion with me.

Amritlal has told me nothing. Is there any man who never 'bungles'? What else is Churchill doing? And what am I doing? I still remember that Deshbandhu Das had flung at me this very word. We should rectify our mistake as soon as we discover it, and go ahead. If we again commit a mistake we should set it right again. And, moreover, Raihana is with you now and she will cheer you up. Yes, one thing is certain. I will not burden you with any fresh responsibility.

We cannot by an unnatural effort break off the connection with

the Sammelan¹. It will break on its own when the time comes. Our effort should be to see that it does not break. I think Shriman will have to go to Allahabad.

Do go to Prayag. You will be able to attend to several things there without much trouble. But go only after you have fully recovered.

Tell Raihana that I got both her letters. Both call for a reply, but I am going to keep quiet. Instead of giving her a slap through a letter, I will do so personally when she comes here. And I will give one to Saroj, too.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10950

43. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 25, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

Now you should not send me any further material. The report you send should be the final one. If either party desire to tell me more, they may do so in writing and send it to me. After I receive your report, I shall consider you free from responsibility.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10125

44. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Tari was agitated today. Her temperature rose and Dr. Das was called. I had been to see her yesterday. She was very upset. She was fed up with Varoda. I had always had the fear that she would not be able to stay in Varoda. She needs company. She is scared at night. She asked for a male companion. I sent somebody to sleep there. Her fever shot up at night and she was scared. If her fever continues to rise

¹ Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

like this, I cannot look after her unless I bring her here. She too cannot stay there.

Now Dr. Das is asking for her case history. Hence, you should put down in English whatever you know of it and send it to me. She is my responsibility till you can take charge of her. I shall get Dr. Das to help, but finally what I wish will be done. Tari is a difficult patient. I cannot say if she will allow my decision to be carried out. This matter is strangely complicated. You should not be burdened with it for the present. I shall try to lighten it as much as I can. Right now send me only her case history. I myself do not have a very clear idea of her trouble. You mentioned some gland. But where is the gland ? Today she told the doctor that she felt pain in the lower abdomen when it was pressed.

This was written before 11 o'clock. I may write more after your letter arrives. Now the bell too has gone.

There is nothing from you today. I am increasing my food intake. I prefer to have more butter than milk.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

45. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

August 25, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter of the 16th. Today your wire has come. Why a wire? How can I reply by wire? My meaning was clear. We and ours cannot hope to derive anything out of what we have gifted away. Draupadi's argument has no place here. You are right when you say that the result of your hard work should not be such as to prevent its fruit being used except in one particular way. Why such fear? Why such lack of trust? Remain absorbed in your work and all will be well. We shall certainly have Dr. Sushila's assistance. This is a difficult year for her. She is preparing for her M.D.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, p. 303. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

46. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

August 26, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

The Rigveda should be here tomorrow.

You don't say anything about your illness. How did the medicine act? Here is *isabgol*¹. If you have not taken the cascara take half a spoonful of the seed as it is. Drink water after to swallow it.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6488. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9883

47. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your letter today. Dr. Das was not hurt at all. He only replied to what I had asked him.

Tari is contemplating going to the Mahilashram. She does not want to come here. She has no faith in my treatment. She is willing to be with you. She would not like to be at Sevagram. If she goes to the Mahilashram, Kaka Saheb's permission will have to be obtained for a room.

What happened in the case of Sardar was all right.

The anaesthesia problem was bound to be overcome. I shall stop now as Gosibehn is sitting here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ A Unani medicine

48. TELEGRAM TO SHRINARAYAN JAINARAYAN¹

August 27, 1941

NO OBJECTION IF PROVINCIAL PRESIDENT AGREEABLE.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

49. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA (C.P.),

August 27, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note.

Of course I have not lost hope of seeing swaraj in my life-time.

When you return I shall see to your chest being kept out of harm's way.

I am glad you met Prakash and invited her. She is not married. The one who was married is Satya. Prakash is in Bettiah.

Kusum is leaving today.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Gosibehn is here for A.I.V.I.A. Herewith Keskar's² letter. You know Narendra Dev³. Write to M. or anyone you like and see what can be done.

From the original: C.W. 4060. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7369

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated August 25, requesting Gandhiji to allow the Chairman of the Chikhli Municipality to withdraw his resignation temporarily as there was work pending.

² B. V. Keskar

³ A leader of the Congress Socialist Party. He was then seriously ill in the prison.

50. LETTER TO S. N. CHATTERJEE

August 27, 1941

MY DEAR SAILEN,

You are beyond improvement. “Encloser” is wrong; it should be enclosures. Newspaper is one word, not “news paper”. Not “Hope you must have decided”, but ‘Hope you have decided’. Nothing has been decided. Am trying. You should stop the diary. It is a waste of time. Send me a paraphrase of the book you are reading. Keep the dictionary by you.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Dhiren has done well in his Parichay examination¹. You too should make up your Hindi.

SHRI SAILENDRANATH CHATTERJI
PREMIER STORES SUPPLY CO.
SITABULDI
NAGPUR

From a photostat: C.W. 10321. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

51. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

August 27, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

I had your note. You are right. City people will not take interest in things of permanent value. It is vexing this delay in Mary’s coming.

Love

BAPU

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 196

¹ Conducted by the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha

52. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

August 27, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

I have received a serious complaint against you. I am told that you have been saying everywhere that this fight must stop now and that we should take back the reins of administration in our hands, etc. If this is true, should I not be told? If you do hold such views there is no harm at all in declaring them. And if you hold them, how can you continue as President of the B. P. C. C.¹ unless, of course, the majority of the B. P. C. C. also hold similar views? But in that case I should be informed. Write to me frankly whatever the truth is. If we honestly hold a view, there is no need at all to keep it back.

From the Gujarati original: Bhulabhai Desai Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

53. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You have not made a mistake at all. I suggested to you the general rule. It was only proper that you went. I only replied to the question you asked me. You must also go and see the girl. You must go wherever Mahadev desires.

I see from your letter to Sankaran that you are absolutely against my stopping milk. I have kept Annapurna completely on fruit juice and soup of leafy vegetables. That also seems to have done her some good. Explain this to me.

I follow your point about butter. You know I do not like it. I shall gradually increase the milk quota. Butter seems to have had some good effect on the bowel movement. The weight is increasing. I shall of course maintain good health till you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Prakash is at Simla. She has met Rajkumari. She was invited for lunch.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Bombay Provincial Congress Committee

54. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

August 27, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Remember that if your penance is pure, you will return here.¹ Wherever you may be study of Urdu must not be given up, and you should improve your Hindi letters. Learn more and more of the science of farming and cow-breeding.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 289

55. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 28, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I see that I can keep you going even there. I passed on to you yesterday N[arendra] Dev's case. Read the enclosed cutting². See if you can do anything about it. Perhaps you are the best medium. Sarup³ is doing something. The Press reports are so hopelessly one-sided that it becomes difficult to know the truth.

I wonder if my statement on the wretched Indo-Burman Agreement⁴ is published in the papers you get. If you see Bajpai tell him I was deeply grieved to see him involved in the national dishonour. I would like to know his defence if he has any. I have said the least about his part in the affair.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

This was before the arrival of the post. There is no hurry about the apples. I have given the permission, acquired no right. Here is Shah's letter.

¹ At Gandhiji's instance the addressee had decided to leave Sevagram Ashram as he couldn't control his temper. Finally, however, he did not leave the Ashram.

² This is not available.

³ Vijayalakshmi Pandit

⁴ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 24-8-1941

You will do what you like. Perhaps it is better to let them fight out their own battle.

Prabhakar had fever yesterday. Annapurna has been having slow fever.

Of course you are better in spelling as in many other things. You must be better in health, too.

Love.

BAPU

[PPS.]

I just discovered that Ramdas had already ordered the virus and the exterminator. So if you have not ordered, stop.

From the original: C.W. 4061. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7370

56. LETTER TO S.N. CHATTERJEE

August 28, 1941

DEAR SAILEN,

You have to come away.¹ You should therefore return as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10322. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

57. LETTER TO G. L. KHANOLKAR

SEVAGRAM,

August 28, 1941

DEAR KHANOLKAR,

I had your wire as also your letter. I am in correspondence with Vijayalakshimibehn as also others and am doing all that is possible for me. How did you come to know of the treatment? Or are you relying upon the newspaper reports? Keep me posted with all the information you can get. What are you doing in Cawnpore?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ At Gandhiji's instance the addressee had gone to Nagpur for training in accountancy.

58. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 28, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I was surprised by your letter of the 25th. From an auditor you have become a plaintiff. Even if I have received complaints against you, surely I am not going to entertain them. So far as I am concerned, you are free, having submitted your report. Actually you have done us a favour by auditing the accounts. Why should you feel unhappy? You can make any marks you like on the papers with you. If you think fit you may hand them over to Bachhraj Co. Or if you wish they will deposit them with some lawyer. The Navajivan office will need the account books every now and then. I will certainly inquire into the charge you have levelled against them, but I must say that I have not agreed to inquire into their affairs, nor do I entertain any suspicion against them. I cannot readily believe that they have all conspired with Chandrashankar. Some of your remarks have appeared strange to me. But I do not blame you for them. You have stated what you honestly felt. I have now to sift the truth.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10126

59. LETTER TO HARSHADA D. DIWANJI

August 28, 1941

CHI. HARSHADA,

I have your letter and the ten-rupee note. The manner in which you are observing the rules is excellent. There is not only no need to send the yarn to me, but you need not send it to Kakubhai either. You can certainly buy it. It will, therefore, suffice if you send the amount which you think the yarn is worth.

Chi. Abhimanyu's skein is excellent. The yarn seems to be fine and even.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9955

60. LETTER TO SHIVANAND

August 28, 1941

CHI. SHIVANAND,

You have written in good detail. Tell Fulchand¹ not to lose heart. Those on the death-bed have risen whereas others, [full of life] like a juicy berry, have passed away in the space of a yawn. We dance as the Master makes us dance and so, if in spite of our reasonable precautions we have to depart, we should do so with a smile on our face.

Fulchand has great work to his credit. As I was writing this sentence, some visitors arrived.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2872. Courtesy: Sharda F. Shah

61. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

August 28, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. I think the letter you wrote was not proper. And, moreover, where was the need to send it to the Trustees? You also were certainly at fault. Students should have nothing to do with the servants. What does it matter if they do not supply aniseed? And if you do, not get tea you should put up with that. Is this [habit of] quarrelling over trifles also what you learnt here? Anyway Mahadev has had to apologize on your behalf.

And it is not proper, either, that you should lose heart about your studies. There is no slavery there. You are a slave only of your habit and your anger. You should get over these shortcomings. If you cannot do that, I can see that it will be difficult for you to continue there. You should regard yourself forbidden to have tea in Irani restaurants, for is it not the rule that you will get tea only once a day? Go to Mahadevbhai himself, understand from him what your dharma is and follow it.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9382. Also C.W. 6657. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

¹Fulchand Kasturchand Shah

62. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

August 28, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

Does your postcard mean that your going there has meant too much expense and that you need not have gone? If so, you need not at all assume that you must stay there. You can even return or go to Sabarmati or somewhere else. Write to me in detail. Eat some leafy vegetable like amaranth. And I hope you take fruit. You must get clear stools. Have you had good rains?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8272. Also C.W. 7155. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

63. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Taribehn would not listen to anyone. She would listen to you or your namesake Sushila. And Sushila also listens to you. Hence, ultimately Tari will be cured only by you. She will not go to Bombay. She will remain here somehow. You alone should give her the injections. If you insist, I shall arrange that she takes them now. You are coming here on the 13th, are you not ? There is information that Pyarelal will be released on Saturday. Kanu will be going to receive him. A. S. went for the second time because she had to go to Nagpur. Otherwise, what you say is correct.

You will be getting along very well.

I have sent Anasuya's letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

64. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

August 29, 1941

DEAR PROFULLA,

I am late replying to your letter.

Sardar is free from the danger that was suspected. Of course he is

considerably reduced and has to be under observation.

Kishorelal is living at the Ashram. He is as well as can be expected.

Khan Saheb had all his teeth extracted. He was better for the extraction.

Rajen Babu is still far from well. He is expected here in September.

Yes, I did hear of the death of Dr. A. Das. I sent a note of condolence¹. He was truly a great and good national servant. Such tragedies will occur, we have to bear them. There is little malaria in the Ashram. But an indefinite and unclassified fever attacks the inmates now and then. Careful nursing brings it down.

I hope all of you are keeping well.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3782

65. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM,
August 29, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

May you live long and render much service. I shall send Jajuji there. As you know, he is a holy man. He is the soul of the Spinners' Association. He was a great lawyer, but today he lives like a fakir.

He will let you have one week. See if you can manage with less. Write to me and let me know the date and other details.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8591. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

66. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

August 29, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL

Kanaiyo is coming to take you. He will tell you everything. I have also written to Mohammed. Sushila has gone to Bombay to acquire

¹*Vide* "Letter to Ratanmoni Chatterji", 3-8-1941

more knowledge. The rest when we meet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

67. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Kanaiyo is going to receive Pyarelal. Prabhakar is having high fever today. He has been given quinine injections. I am fine. Do not worry.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

C/O ASST. DEAN

K. E. M. HOSPITAL

PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

68. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 29, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I had a meeting of the A.I.V.I.A. just finished, almost 4.30 p.m. Hope you are much better.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

MANORVILLE

SIMILA

From the original: C.W. 4062. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7371

69. GURUDEV

Sarvodaya is for the *udaya*—rise—of *sarva*—all. Gurudev also longed to serve the world through India and breathed his last while

doing so. He is gone but his experiment is unfinished. His mortal remains are no more but his soul is immortal like ours. Taken in this sense none perishes or dies; none is born. But Gurudev lives on in a special sense. His activities were universal, mostly altruistic and through these he will be immortal. Santiniketan, Sriniketan and Visvabharati—all these are manifestations of one movement. They were his soul and for them Deenabandhu left this world followed by Gurudev. Our true homage should be to maintain these institutions which he is watching wherever he may be.

SEVAGRAM, August 30, 1941

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, September 1941

70. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHAGANJ,
August 30, 1941

SETH JAMNALALJI
CARE HARNANDRAY SURAJMAL
KANKHAL

ALL WELCOME MATAJI.¹

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 247

71. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

August 30, 1941

MY DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

You are in a hurry. You will earn the prize when you have finished your century without the b.p. rising beyond its limit corresponding to the then age.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10158

¹ The source has: "All well. Come Mataji." In his letter dated August 26, 1941, the addressee had suggested that Anandamayi Devi be invited to Wardha to meet Gandhiji.

72. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

August 30, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. Your letter to Tilottama is good. I hope everything is all right now. See that you do not make such a mistake again. You must always remember that you are staying there as a free boarder. When you feel your self-respect hurt, your reaction should be not to insult the other in return but to leave the institution. But that does not happen there. It cannot happen in a philanthropic institution. It is we indeed who humiliate ourselves.

If you have calmed down, do not be in a hurry to come here. Take what help you need, master your subjects and acquire proficiency in them.

Pyarelal has been released and is here now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9383. Also C.W. 6658. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

73. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Pyarelal has arrived. I gave him your letter to read. He seems to be in a cheerful mood. We have not talked. Most probably he will come there and also go to Delhi.

Annapura's fever is not going. Manu is giving her the medicine that was given to Rajkumari. Prabhakar is well. I had thought your suggestion about the diet was to be continued only up to the 13th, when you would be arriving. I shall carry on with what I am taking now and after your arrival on the 13th, shall make whatever changes you suggest. So far, 2 oz. of butter is having good effect. I am gradually increasing the milk quota. The bowel movement has considerably improved. The enclosed cartoons have been brought by Pyarelal. You will like them.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

74. FOREWORD TO “PRACTICAL NON-VIOLENCE”

It is simply a coincidence that these essays on “Practical Non-violence” are being published in pamphlet form almost simultaneously with Richard Gregg’s *A Discipline for Non-violence*¹. The votary of non-violence should read the two together. Kishorelal Mashruwala is like R. Gregg a deep student of non-violence. Though he has been brought up in that faith, he never takes anything for granted. He believes only what he has tested. Thus he has come to accept non-violence by hard thinking. He has in his own life and practice proved its efficacy in a variety of conditions—political, economic, social and domestic. His essays have, therefore, a value all their own. They should help the believer in non-violence in sustaining his faith and the honest unbeliever in resolving his doubts.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, August 31, 1941

Practical Non-violence

75. A DIFFICULT PROBLEM

A person who is scientifically inclined does not take the truth of anything for granted; he tries to prove it himself. In this way he develops his own intellect and also obtains knowledge of the potentialities of things. Why does an apple fall off the tree, why does it not fly up? It is said that this question arose in Newton’s mind and he discovered the law of gravitation. Is the earth flat like a plate? Is it stationary? Such questions arose in Galileo’s mind and he discovered that the earth is spherical like an orange and revolves on its axis. Such discoveries have produced great results.

A khadi worker should adopt a similar scientific attitude. Newton or Galileo did not ponder over the problem of *Daridran-arayana* and of serving *Daridranarayana*. They followed an intellectual quest. The khadi worker has however to find a solution to the problem of feeding the hungry masses. That is why their attitude should be all the more scientific.

Why khadi? Why not mill cloth? Also, why not foreign cloth? Why cotton cloth? Why not silk? Why not jute or woollen textiles? Why the charkha? Why not the *takli*? I can go on filling pages with questions

¹ For Gandhiji’s foreword to this pamphlet, *vide* “Forward to “A Discipline For Non-Violence”, 24-8-1941

like these but I do not propose to exhaust all the possible questions.

I want to touch upon only one question here. Suppose for a moment that for one reason or the other India does not have or cannot run textile mills, also suppose that no cloth can be imported from abroad, can we then provide sufficient khadi to all the Indians? We should not be satisfied with meeting the demand somehow. The East India Company did this and to some extent this was done even earlier. In those days people were forced to spin and to weave on minimum wages. This custom was called *begar*. We have to confess with regret that *begar* is an ancient custom. It was not introduced by the British. We may perhaps be able to produce enough khadi through *begar*. But khadi workers cannot be trained to undertake such inhuman work. Our intention is to help the spinners earn such wages as would ensure, after eight hours' hard labour, wholesome and nutritious food, necessary clothing, comfortable houses and other amenities necessary for a happy home. If it is proved that khadi cannot succeed under these terms and conditions, we should modestly accept the limitations of khadi and also restrict our activity.

Let me state my view here. I have adopted khadi in the belief that khadi has all the above-mentioned capacity. I cannot adduce irrefutable evidence in support of my view. Many of my activities are undertaken in good faith or intuitively. But they are not conducted on the basis of inspiration alone; I have tried to place my convictions on a sound scientific foundation while propagating them. I have made and am still making all possible experiments based on reason and I encourage my co-workers to do so. We have not found a solution to the problem posed above; we may perhaps never get it and I know it is a difficult problem, a complex problem. It does involve a lot of statistics as also knowledge of economics, psychology, particularly of the Indian mind, and also of ethics. A mere statistical solution will not do, nor will a mere economic solution, because we cannot ignore our most fundamental and vital principles. We do not want to spread khadi through coercion. We want to do our work by changing people's sense of values and habits. Hence our researches should proceed from all angles.

Khadi workers should intensify their efforts to solve this difficult problem.

This is enough for the day.

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, August 1941

76. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 31, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

I think I have told you that I do not worry about your health. I know you are getting on. I have resigned myself to your return being indefinitely delayed. And just now I am glad you are not here. The heat is severe and damp. You know what it is after the rains. This heat is needed by the crops but not by you at any rate.

I had your apple today. It was very good.

P. will be going to Bombay and thence to Delhi. He would return here to offer C[ivil] D[isobedience]. He has visibly increased his knowledge of the Koran. Are you keeping up your practice of Urdu writing? You should, if you are not.

A[mtul] S[alaam] is keeping quite well and working in the kitchen, etc., etc. Annapurna has not yet got rid of her slow fever.

I have not thought over the League resolutions.¹

But I agree with your criticism. Yes, Satyamurti had acted most unwisely.²

Love.

BAPU

From the original C.W. 4063. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7372

¹ The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, which concluded its session on August 26, 1941, passed resolutions on the question of inclusion of Muslims in the expanded Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council, the political and communal situation in the country, the Indo-Burma Agreement and the Bihar-Sharif riots. The Committee called upon Sir Sultan Ahmed, member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Nawab of Chhatari and Begum Shah Nawaz, members of the National Defence Council, to resign from their respective bodies within ten days.

² At a public meeting in Madras on August 27, S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, had expressed the opinion that the Congress should resume office in the provinces.

77. LETTER TO FARID ANSARI

SEVAGRAM,
August 31, 1941

DEAR FARID,

I have your letter with Brijkrishna's footnote.

I have written to Satyawati inviting her to come to Sevagram. No reply.

Jamnalalji went to Rajkumari's home for health. He is now in Anandamayi Devi's Ashram near Dehra [Dun]. He will be returning about 21st September. He is well.

Radhabehn has passed, is well and gaining experience as a pathologist.

Sardar is out of immediate danger but not out of the wood. No cause for anxiety.

The rest you know.

My regards to all.

Love.

BAPU
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

78. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 31, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. I do not expect any letter from you at present. If you can politely get yourself released from the doctors and come here, I should like it. I believe that your intestines can be soothed by remedies like mud-packs and changes in diet. I have not much faith in ayurveda. The vaidas do not master their subject. Some of the remedies are effective, but I have not observed what the vaidas know, how they work and so on. This is only my guess-work. Do what satisfies you. I have only expressed my personal view. Anyhow you must get well. I would not let you spend a whole hour in the lavatory.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 251

79. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

August 31, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I deliberately refrained from writing to you. I do not wish to send you to jail just now. I will certainly send you when the time arrives. Even being outside you are doing useful work. The time to send you will certainly come. For the present go on doing service without any other thoughts and improve your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 131

80. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 31, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. It was just as well that you did not come. I had in any case planned to send Pyarelal. Your studies are of the utmost importance to me. It is also good that Satya is there.

Tari has gone to stay near the Mahilashram. She can never be comfortable without her friend. She may accompany you to Delhi. She wants to live only in the Harijan Ashram. That will be too far for you. Now it will be difficult to get the car. We shall see about it when you come.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

81. LETTER TO INDIRA NEHRU

August 31, 1941

CHI. INDU,

I am very glad to have your letter. I have been getting news of your health. It is good that you have not suffered on account of this climate. On the contrary it did some good, didn't it?

I am also trying for Lucknow Jail. Let us wait for the result. Tell me what is done about Papu¹. How many times do you meet? My blessings to Raja² and Krishna³. I hope their children are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9803. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

82. TELEGRAM TO SHIVANAND

September 1, 1941

SHIVANAND
WADHWAN

MY CONDOLENCES. IN FULCHAND'S DEATH WE LOSE
ONE OF OUR BRAVEST AND BEST WORKERS. THOUGH
SO YOUNG HE HAS DIED WELL. SHARDA⁴ AND
YOU WHO WERE NEAR HAVE TO CARRY ON FUL-
CHAND'S WORK.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10344. Courtesy: Shivanand

83. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 1, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your well-written Hindi letter to hand.

Why not have your women's meeting in Simla? Those who will

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru

² Gunottam Hutheesing and his wife, sister of Jawaharlal Nehru

³ *ibid*

⁴ Fulchand Kasturchand Shah's widow

attend are most of them well-to-do, are they not? But if it is not important it is better that it takes place in your absence. It will be a tax on your energy, if it is in your presence.

Here is a copy of my letter to Satyamurti. Please destroy after perusal.

I do not want you to write to Mudie. It is enough what you have done. Sarup and Kripalani have seen Sloan¹. They have got some satisfaction.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Rathi's² letter is good. I did right in not taking you. You should seek an opportunity of going there now to help. But of that later.

From the original: C.W. 4064. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N 7373

84. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

September 1, 1941

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have gone through your letter from the beginning to the end. It has produced no effect on me. You have seen nothing with your own eyes. It is all hearsay. One should not suspect a co-worker on the basis of such stories. If L. bhai had been devoid of character, the fact would have become known long ago. He would not have been able to retain [the goodwill] of so many people. Such a man cannot go on working ceaselessly. I have of course talked to L. bhai. He denies everything. I would advise you to have trust till you get first-hand evidence. One can write to me whatever one wishes. You are certainly of a suspicious nature. You are not able to weigh evidence. All the same I am sending your letter to Narahari, who will do what is necessary.³ And finally the path of ahimsa requires that we should trust to the last, and have faith that sin cannot be hidden for ever.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 394. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

¹ Tennant Sloan, Adviser to the Governor, U.P.

² Rathindranath Tagore son of Rabindranath Tagore

³ *Vide* the following item.

85. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 1, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

Read the accompanying papers when you are free and see if it is necessary to do anything. Return Bhagwanji's letter to him after reading it. If you think it necessary, meet any of the people whose names he has mentioned.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9124

86. LETTER TO DR. NATHUBHAI PATEL

September 1, 1941

BHAI NATHUBHAI,

Why do you feel ashamed about your Gujarati? We are all sailing in the same boat. However badly we write it, our mother tongue must be dear to us.

You have given me good information and also explained the matter well. I am hopeful that I shall be able to convince Sardar on your behalf. Bring him out of bed first. With so many of you doctors there, why should he have to spend one hour in the lavatory? That is as good as inviting death.

I suppose you know that Durga has not fully recovered. She gets belching and has pain in her leg. She is still in Ahmedabad. This is for your information if you do not know it.

Mahadev will of course get well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1057. Courtesy: Dr. Nathubhai Patel

87. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,

September 1, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your postcard and letter. Is it Mahadev who is blessed in having you as secretary or is it you who are blessed in being Mahadev's

secretary ? Who can answer ? Since you have not come I keep postponing revising your writing and attend to other things. You should not fall ill now. Why should I worry about Mahadevbhai ? Good doctors and you, too, are there. Now do not let him work so much.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11216. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

88. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal is not going today. Some work remains to be done. And he has promised to be present when Kolaya comes to consult Dr. Das. He is his jail companion. He will definitely start tomorrow (Tuesday). The telegram has been sent today.

You must be knowing about Mahadev's illness. If you do not you would do well to pay a visit there. Mary Barr¹ has arrived. She is also there.

My weight was up by two lb. yesterday. It is now $102\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. This is mainly the result of taking more butter. I am eating two oz. [of it]. The cream formed when milk is boiled is also butter, is it not ? Does it contain anything else? It is difficult to remove butter after churning buttermilk. There is no difficulty in taking out cream by boiling milk on slow fire.

Prabhakar is free from fever. Akbar is fine. Annapurna's ailment is not yet under control. I have given her very mild doses of megasulpha and sodasulpha. Her tongue is bad; she has no appeme. Her face does not look right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ F. Mary Barr, who had gone to South Africa

89. *LETTER TO F. MARY BARR*

September 2, 1941

CHI. MARY,¹

At last you have come. And now that you have arrived it seems you had never left India. I shall patiently await your arrival at Sevagram. I hope you have derived much physical benefit from your visit to S[outh] A[frica].

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Please tell Kamala that I forgot to tell her that her standpoint about Red Cross, etc., was correct. You are right about her health. Fault is wholly hers. She can easily procure the food she needs.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6082. Also C.W. 3412. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

90. *LETTER TO K. B. MENON*

SEVAGRAM,
September 2, 1941

DEAR MENON,

I have your two letters. I shall try to send you something. Seeing that Thakkar Bapa is there to guide you, I am not taxing myself about Jainarayanji.²

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹The superscription is in the Devanagari script.

²*Vide* "Letter to K. B. Menon", 7-5-1941

91. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

September 2, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

You are having good experience. Let it result in your rendering truly great service of the people.

SHRI VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

BIRLA HOUSE

P.O. UTTARKASHI

DISTT. TEHRI GARHWAL

From Gujarati: C.W. 2915. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

92. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 2, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I got your letter. Let Chi. Sarala¹ come over.

You have made a good tour. I have not read everything, but have formed some impression. For years conditions in Bengal have been what you describe them to be.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7666. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

93. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have not received your letters for two days. Hence, what can I write? Besides, I am sending Pyarelal. What more? Kaka Saheb is sitting before me talking. And so, this much is enough for today. I am counting the days for your arrival. Annapurna is causing anxiety. The rest is all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ The addressee's eldest daughter Sarala Sheth who was a solicitor of the High Court of Bombay

94. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The earliest I can hear from you will be the day after tomorrow. It is another matter if you have written on the way. Taribehn is still running a slight temperature. She is still at Sevagram. She may go to Varoda in a couple of days. I have left it entirely to her. You must have resumed your work properly.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

95. LETTER TO UMADEVI AGRAWAL

September 2, 1941

CHI. OM,

At last you have taken the trouble of writing a letter. Kakaji¹ would soon return now. And with what great and vivid experience! The description of your place is such that I wish I could send all my patients to you, not only Janakidevi and Madalasa. What do you say?

Blessings to both from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 344 5

96. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 2, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You can imagine my condition twenty-five years ago. Now I stay in bed and accept service. At that time mostly I used to do physical work and took part in all activities. There was this difference,

¹ Jamnalal Bajaj, addressee's father

that when I worked almost everyone used to come and join me.¹

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4401

97. LETTER TO POKHRAJ

September 2, 1941

BHAI POKHRAJI,

I have read the letter Dr. Hasan sent you. In my view there is now no reason why the document should not be got from the Commissioner. If the Council's permission is considered necessary it should be obtained.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

98. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE BIRLA

SEVAGRAM,

September 2, 1941

BHAI JUGALKISHOREJI,

I have your sweet letter, although I think something still remains to be done. There is no particular need for you to come. Come when you have the leisure. My blessings are to be taken for granted for all noble work.

Blessings from

BAPU

SETH JUGALKISHORE BIRLA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

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

99. LETTER TO JAINARAYAN VYAS

September 2, 1941

BHAI JAINARAYAN,

I have your letter. We should not make it a rule that a policy adopted in respect of British India should be [applied]² also in the

¹The rest of the letter is not available.

²Blank space in the source

States. My personal opinion remains that those who wish to follow the policy of non-violence should keep clear of the various current entanglements.¹

Blessings from

BAPU

JAINARAYAN VYAS

BRAHMAPURI

JODHPUR, MEWAR

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

100. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 2/3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have now begun to send you business. You know that Ratlam has passed unconscionable sentences on certain members of the Praja Parishad. The men are important people. Do you know anybody there? If you want any literature, it can be supplied. If you do not know, you need not worry.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your note in Hindi. The apples received from [you] were not each wrapped in paper. Should they not have been?

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4065. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7374

101. LETTER TO SHARDA F. SHAH

September 3, 1941

CHI. SHARDA,

I have sent a wire². I cannot forget Fulchand. I feel that his soul is present by my side. What are your plans now? You must not waste even one minute in mourning. Your only thought should be how to carry on the work Fulchand has left behind. And please remember that you can come here without any hesitation whenever you wish to

¹ The addressee had asked whether he could join the Air-Raid Precaution Consultative Committee appointed by the Government of Jodhpur.

² *Vide* "Telegram to Shivanand", 1-9-1941

and always keep me fully informed.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2873. Courtesy: Sharda F. Shah

102. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEVAGRAM,

September 3, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I have your letter. You have done well in giving me all the details. I sent yesterday Jassawala's¹ letter. I strongly urge your starting treatment as advised by him. Once the health badly deteriorates, all remedies are likely to fail. I do think you must have a discussion with Dr. Nathubhai.

Keep me fully informed.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 131

103. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

It is surprising that there is no letter from you for three days. Pyarelal will have arrived. He does not eat well. See to it there. There is a book called *Princes and Chiefs and Notable Persons in Kathiawad*. Barrister Chudgar writes that he had sent the book. If Pyarelal remembers, let him write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

C/O ASST. DEAN

K. E. M. H.

PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹A naturopath of Bombay

104. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 4, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Mian If[tikhar-ud-din] is here, so is Sarala, Munshiji's daughter, and others. I send you this merely to acknowledge yours and say all is well. More tomorrow.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4066. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7375

105. LETTER TO SACHIDANAND KARKAL

September 4, 1941

DEAR SACHIDANAND,

Surely you and the other students . . .¹ guidance from me. You can flatly refuse to submit to coercion and take the consequence whatever it may be. You ought to resent insult to the Congress by asking for an apology . . .² enter the teacher's class till he offers an apology. But remember every criticism is not an insult. A loyalist can legitimately say that though the Congress resists the Br[itish] caravan moves on.

Yours sincerely,

M. K GANDHI

SHRI SACHIDANAND KARKAL

HOUSE NO. 5020, CHRISTIAN COLONY

SETTLEMENT

HUBLI

From a photostat: G.N. 8807

106. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

September 4, 1941

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I got your second letter. I do not wish to hush up the matter. Don't you know that I have not hushed up the misdeeds of my own

¹ One line is illegible here.

² *ibid*

son? Why, then, should I do L.'s? But just as I disbelieved the evidence against Manilal produced by Devdas, so also I will not readily believe the evidence against L. Devdas had not seen anything with his own eyes, nor did you. It was, ultimately, my unbounded trust which melted Manilal and he confessed everything. Why may not the same thing happen in L.'s case? L. has not concealed the facts about his past life, why then should he conceal anything about his present life, and what would he gain by doing so? Still I believe nothing is impossible and, therefore, am ready to hear you. But you will have to learn to weigh evidence.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 395. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

107. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

September 4, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

Bhagwanji has sent extracts from your diary casting aspersions on Dada. He has made very serious allegations, or has allowed himself to be used as a tool in making them. Let me know what you know and believe concerning this. You can show this letter to Bhai Bhagwanji.

Both of you must be keeping well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9183

108. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

September 4, 1941

CHI. AMRITLAL,

You are a fortunate man. Father's falling into sleep eternal without having to be nursed by anybody is no occasion for mourning. I vividly see his face before me. He was a very holy man. Console Mother and return soon after finishing your work there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10802

109. LETTER TO PYARELAL AND SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 4, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your two separate letters today. I sent Annapurna to the hospital for a check-up today. The report has not yet been received.

There are a lot of people here today. Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, Manu Subedar, Amala, Munshi and Dadachanaji. Hence, I can write this only with great difficulty.

The Kutchi Meman affair is interesting.

Let Pyarelal start only after settling everything properly.

Sushila does not have to go to Panchgani or anywhere else. She cannot afford to spare even a single day in Bombay.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

110. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 5, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

Chi. Sarala arrived safe yesterday. I intended to write to you yesterday, but so many visitors arrived all at once that I had no time. Sarala possesses the virtues which her name connotes. She has become friendly with all. I hope she will stay up to Wednesday at any rate. None of you should worry about her in any way.

A letter from Satish Kalelkar is enclosed.¹ I have taken out extracts concerning you from his previous letter. The original has been sent to Mahadev and others according to the normal routine. Thinking that you should see his letter, I asked for his permission and the accompanying letter is in reply to that. Since the whole of it concerns you, I am sending the letter itself. If you wish to write tome anything after reading it, please do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Satish Kalelkar had complained about the addressee's speech at Banaras. *Vide* letter to the addressee dated September 11, 1941.

[PS.]

I will send the extract from Satish's letter tomorrow, as Kanaiyo, in whose keeping it is, has gone to Wardha and I do not wish to hold back this letter.

From Gujarati: C.W. 7667. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

111. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 5, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letters have been very irregular of late. Mahadev was down with pneumonia after all. Pyarelal must be having his treatment. Everything should be all right.

Blessings to both of you from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

C/O ASST. DEAN

K. E. M. H.

PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

112. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 5, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It was no doubt a mistake to have allowed Nirmal Singh to go. But such mistakes will happen. It is enough that you are anxious to correct them.

Parnerkar can have Sailen. He has to be fully trained.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4402

113. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Unrevised

September 5, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I write this during the silent hour, i.e., before dinner and before the post.

I have not heard from Agatha nor from Henry¹. But I saw H.'s article in a magazine which contained the attack. I thought I should correct him. If you want to see the article I can send it to you. And as I did not know H.'s address I wrote to Agatha.

Of course you were right in refusing the Hyd. invitation as you would be in refusing every other. I sent it to you so that you may know it and send a reply. You were bound to refuse. Before you take up anything you must be thoroughly restored. Even as it is, you are giving a good account of yourself.

You remember the pamphlet containing the Lahore resolution² on Pakistan! Two copies have been traced in the library.

I never anticipate evil. So the answer to your question stands deferred till the evil overtakes us but which shall not. Is that satisfactory answer, if it is any? Do you remember your question?

For the time being you need do nothing about Narendra Dev. I shall inquire. I do not know anything about the Dehra Dun offer.

Prabhavati wrote for the transfer of Jayaprakash on the ground of ill health, which is patent. Her application is summarily rejected. They can't do anything because it is right. They yield only to pressure bordering on violence. We are on that portion of *Ramayana* which relates Narad's confusion because he had to be corrected. Truly does God confound the wisdom of those whom He seeks to destroy. Here is a telegram about Ratlam. I have already written to you about the case.³

Love.

BAPU

¹ Henry Solomon Leon Polak; assistant editor of *The Transvaal Critic*, joined *Indian Opinion* staff, became its editor in 1906 during Gandhiji's absence in England. He lived with Gandhiji at Phoenix, and was an ardent supporter of the Indian cause in South Africa. *Vide* also "Letter to Mirza Ismail", 5-10-1941.

² Passed by the All-India Muslim League on March 23, 1940; *vide* "Resolution Passed by All-India Muslim League", 23-3-1940

³ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 2/3-9-1941

[PS.]

I send you too a copy of a letter from Andhra, not necessarily for action but for information to be used on due occasion.

From the original; C.W. 3677. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6486

114. INTERVIEW TO H. V. KAMATH¹

SEVAGRAM,
September 5, 1941

Q. Has the entry of Russia into the war altered its complexion and India's attitude thereto?

A. The entry of Russia into the war has not materially altered the complexion of the war. Expression of oral sympathy with Russia as a victim of aggression is not wrong but no purpose will be served by so doing so long as we cannot translate it into action. Russia is not wholly free from blame inasmuch as she has allied herself with imperialist power though it may be for the purpose of self-existence only. Had Jawaharlalji, who is a close student of international politics, not been behind the bars and thus free to express his views, his opinion in the matter would have weighed with me.

Q. Can you, Mahatmaji, envisage the emergence of a non-violent new world order in the Atlantic Charter?

A. No. I am not able to envisage in the Atlantic Charter the emergence of a non-violent new world order of my conception.

Q. What is your attitude towards the acceptance of office in the Viceroy's Executive Council by Congressmen such as Sjt. Aney² and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sircar³?

A. I do not approve of the acceptance of office by Congressmen such as Sri Aney and Nalini Babu. Such action on their part has undoubtedly given a handle to the British Government for carrying on propaganda in America to the effect that India should now be satisfied in that even well-known ex-Congressmen have joined the Viceroy's Council.

Q. Is the satyagraha movement proceeding to your satisfaction? In what way is it

¹ H. V. Kamath, Organizing Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, submitted this report for Gandhiji's approval who revised it in places, though not very materially.

² Madhav Srihari Aney who joined as member-in-charge, Overseas Indians

³ Who joined as member-in-charge, Education, Health and Lands

different from the 1930 movement¹? Has the policy of non-embarrassment any political value or significance? What will be your attitude in case the Government conceded the right of freedom of speech? Is there any likelihood of intensification of the struggle in the near future?

A. The satyagraha movement is proceeding to my entire satisfaction. Pressure on a scale comparable to that of the 1930 movement is not being put on the Government, it is true, but that movement was different in character from the present one. But the main fact that the struggle is going on constitutes sufficient moral pressure, so much so that the British Government's position in America does not appear to be quite comfortable. The policy of non-embarrassment is a logical consequence of non-violence and in that way a political necessity, but I do not expect the British Government to reciprocate my chivalrous stand. There is no possibility of the Government conceding the right of freedom of speech, but if they did so honestly, I am bound to call off the movement. *Bona-fide* recognition of free non-violent speech would mean a large step towards independence. Intensification of the struggle is not likely during the pendency of the war. Intensification will come at the close of the war if it became necessary.

Q What is your attitude to the local *kisan* and *mazdoor* struggles?

A. I extend my sympathy to all local *kisan* and *mazdoor* struggles for their legitimate demands and such struggles cannot amount to embarrassment of the Government. My attitude cannot be otherwise, considering that I myself have been the author of such struggles in the past.

Q. In view of the fact that the word 'non-violence' does not appear in the Congress Constitution, what is the duty of Congressmen as regards non-violent conduct?

A. Though the word 'non-violence' does not appear in the Congress Constitution, it does in resolutions. Though there be no resolution of a plenary session of the Congress on the subject of non-violence, I expect Congressmen to abide by the A.I.C.C. resolution so long as it is not modified or altered by a plenary session.

Q. Acharya Kripalani recently, in reply to Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, said that the Forward Bloc is not a part of the Congress organization. The statement on Kripalani's part has created not a little confusion and misunderstanding among several Congressmen. I personally hold that the position of the Forward Bloc in the Congress is quite similar to that of the Congress Socialist Party. Could you kindly

¹ Dandi March and Salt Satyagraha

enlighten me with your opinion on the subject?

A. Though the Congress Constitution does not recognize separate groups within the Congress organization, Congressmen who owe allegiance to such groups have every right to remain in the Congress in their individual capacity if the groups are not inconsistent with the Congress resolution and policy. I never insisted that Congressmen who do not subscribe to my interpretation of non-violence should leave the Congress. The Congress Socialist Party is just as much not a part of the Congress organization as the Forward Bloc. The Congress Constitution makes no mention of either as being component parts of the Congress organization. The Forward Bloc and the Congress Socialist Party are on a par with each other so far as their being part of the Congress organization is concerned.

Q. Have you, Mahatmaji, full faith in a Divine Power moulding our destiny?

A. Yes, I have full faith in a Divine Power guiding the destinies of India and of the world. It is this living faith that sustains me in the present crisis.

The Hindu, 5-11-1941

115. LETTER TO SARANGADHAR DAS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 6, 1941

DEAR SARANGADHAR DAS,

Rajkumari is resting in Simla. She won't be back before October. Your letter to her gives a piteous tale.

This is my advice. The men whose statements you have translated had no notion of the working of ahimsa. If they had the courage of non-violence they could not have come away alive except by converting their assailants miscalled Police without retaliation. That would mean ahimsa of the highest order. This does not come except by long previous training. It is rarely seen. But if one cannot exhibit such courage, one must not be a coward. One has not only the right but it is a duty to retaliate in a vigorous manner. This again requires great courage. I have, seen it exhibited successfully. It should not matter how heavy the odds are. Resistance may mean death. It must be faced in preference to a cowardly resignatio to brutal and indecent treatment. Iti this self-defence which is not taboo to a Congressman. It is the inherent right and the bounden duty of a man to defend honour non-violently if he knows how, otherwise violently. There is no other way. Such a man will soon

be able to learn the virtue of non-violence. But that is only by the way. My advice is clear and emphatic. There is too much of this assaulting in Orissa, assuming the truth of statements that have been sent to me from time to time. If you have assimilated my advice you will act in a methodical and deliberate manner. You will be at liberty to publish this letter with a carefully thought out programme as to how to go about it. You may send me the draft manifesto for approval or you may come when you like for a discussion before acting. The matter is too important to be ignored.

From a copy: C.W. 10443. Courtesy: Government of Orissa

116. LETTER TO S. M. MASURKAR

September 6, 1941

DEAR MASURKAR,

If I get the papers referred to by you in your letter of 26th ultimo I shall try to study them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

117. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You had to be satisfied yesterday with Prabha's letter. But she more than compensates for the absence of my very brief letters. And she writes well.

Here is Bablo's¹ letter.

No more heat again here. It has been raining off and on. The sky remains overcast.

Mira is happy in her new cottage. She is putting in artistic decorations on the wall—all sacred things.

Mahadev is restored but weak. He has to be in Ahmedabad.

Jajuji is to go to Narandas. Bul is not so easily led as you. I would have loved to send her. But her heart is in the Frontier work. If she gets the freedom she has asked for, she might be induced to take up work like what you suggest.

¹Narayan, son of Mahadev Desai

I must send you *Sarvodaya*¹.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Here is the bell going for 11.

After receipt of post:

Your letter. This week I have lost one lb. You will have done well if you overtake me—hard task?

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4067. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7376

118. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

September 7, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA,

This² for your amusement if nobody else has already passed it on to you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2185

119. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

September 7, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

You may come over whenever you wish. Tell Vasumatibehn that I got her letter. Let her by all means complete her programme.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I got your letter. I am glad.

PURATAN BUCH

HARIJAN ASHRAM

SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9184

¹ A Hindi monthly, published under the auspices of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, edited by Kaka Kalelkar and Dada Darmadhikari

² The enclosure is not available.

120. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

September 7, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I have written to Sushilabehn. Dr. Mehta had sent me a message and now I have your letter. Yes, we have to be careful and if we are, nothing will happen. Dinner parties and banquets on festival days should be avoided. Live in the open air and avoid over-exertion, and eat enough of fruit and greens.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUNVARJI KHETSI
ZANDU PHARMACY
DADAR
BOMBAY 14

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9750. Also C.W. 729. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

121. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

[September 7, 1941]¹

CHI. KANCHAN,

I do not know what truth there is in the accompanying. Mu[nnalal] claims that it is the plain unvarnished truth. Even if it is not so, there is an agreement between us that you should take no offence.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Will you let yourself be medically examined by Manjulabehn?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8271. Also C.W. 7156. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ From the postmark

122. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 7, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

Received your letter. It is frank. I am satisfied. I don't attach importance to the other things I have heard. More about that when I have time.

You have not written about Bhulabhai's health. I hope he is in good spirits.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

123. LETTER TO PYARELAL

September 7, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have both your letters. I do hope to be able to meet you in Bombay. If Mathuradas wishes, you must give him a night. The same goes for Mother. Now that so many days have already gone by, a day or two more may as well be spent. Is it not also your duty to satisfy your mother to some extent ? Also, try to find out whether she wants to come here.

See about your spectacles, etc. You need not go leaving things half way.

Enclosed is a letter from Rajkumari.

I shall find out about Chudgar's book. I do not remember to have seen it among the books you had left outside.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

124. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Would it not be right to say that I have your letter after many days ? I have had two letters from Pyarelal.

You wrote *amrita*¹ in the letter to K.C. In Urdu guava is called *amrud*. There were other mistakes, too, but I do not remember them.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9432

317. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter and the cheque through Prithvi Singh. Why is the cheque of the Travancore bank ? Does it give [a higher] interest or provide more facilities ? Where can that cheque be encashed ? It must be charging a handsome commission. I shall of course make inquiries.

Can you accommodate both the sisters ? How is it your studies get constantly interrupted ? I shall not let you sit for the examination if you are not fully prepared. There should be no question which you cannot answer. If you cannot be so well prepared by April, then you may sit for the examination later. I am not in a hurry. The knowledge you have gained is not going to be wasted, and so, if it takes some more time, so be it. Because, I also do not wish that you should spoil your eyes and health by continuously reading night and day in order to pass. Passing in this way is no better than failing. You have to appear for the examination not for name but for service.

How much khadi did you sell and where did you sell it ?

The Ashram is now becoming very crowded. Vijaya and Vasumati have come. Pannalal has come. Some others will be arriving. More people are eager to come. How can I accommodate them ? Just think of the size of the kitchen and of the verandah, which is the dining place. Construction work is of course going on. There is nosaying when it will end. Nor can I fix a time for it. Let God do as He wills.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Literally, 'nectar'

received.

Your cough is taking a long time going. Are you talking too much? Can you take a few days' complete silence? It will work a miracle. The Ratlam papers make heavy reading. I won't inflict them on you unless I find it absolutely necessary.

The apples were not damaged. They might have kept fresher if they had been wrapped in paper. Don't you worry about them.

The rest from Prabha. I occupy the Hospital room.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4068. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7377

127. LETTER TO DR. B. C. LAGU

September 8, 1941

DEAR LAGU,

Thanks for your letter. Lakshmibai will be welcome with Premabai. She won't mind being crowded. I am trying the scorpion-sting medicine. It seems to have answered in the one case tried.

Yours,

BAPU

DR. B. C. LAGU
RAMA NIVAS
LAKSHMI RD., NARAYAN PETH
POONA 2

From a photostat: G.N. 1375

128. LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

September 8, 1941

MY DEAR RATHI,

As I sent you wire¹ in reply to yours, I have taken my time to acknowledge yours of 1st instant. If you and the others want me to be President of Visvabharati, I must discuss the project with you. My whole soul is with you all in wishing to keep the triple institution² fully

¹ This is not available.

² Visvabharati, Santiniketan and Sriniketan.

worthy of Gurudev. Just now I am seriously thinking of touring the country to make up the five lacs if my appeal¹ fails to bring the sum. Please send me a list of what has been sent directly to Santiniketan. Love.

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RATHINDRANATH TAGORE
SANTINIKETAN
BENGAL

From a photostat: G.N. 8752

129. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

September 8, 1941

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. I got Puratan's also. He is displeased that you sent his five-year-old note without his consent. It is his opinion now, i.e., after five years' experience, that Dada is a spotless and simple-hearted man. Bhai Puratan believes that the allegation against Dada is the result of a conspiracy by some Harijans. I share his belief. These people have suffered so much that they have lost their humanity. This is of course not true of all of them. We must bear with all this. But while doing so we should not be misled into entertaining suspicions against anybody.

I understand Narahari's criticism. It is a fact that you are collecting evidence. In doing so you cannot but start whisperings among the people. This would foul the atmosphere. And, moreover, you are forgetting your sphere of work. This is bound to interfere with your work. Why do you make yourself a watchman of anyone in the Ashram? It will be enough if others, you and I, all become our own watchmen. Supervision is Narahari's job. If anybody wants to complain let him do so to him. You should plug your ears. I have a beautiful figure of three monkeys, which I always keep in front of me. They are three representations of the same monkey. His ears, mouth and eyes are closed. The lesson the figure teaches is that one should not listen to criticism of or see or speak of anybody's defects. The original of this figure is found on a tall pillar in Japan, and was carved thousands of years ago. We should engrave this lesson in our hearts.

I will hear what you have to say when you come here. I am not inclined at present to send for anybody else. I would send for others

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 12-5-1941

only if I myself am shaken even a little in my mind. But if Narahari is positive in his view, I would not disregard him and make any inquiry. You may, with Narahari's consent, stay for 15 days or more. But you need not come or stay specially for the sake of Nimu. She will get somebody to accompany her.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 396. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

130. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

September 8, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter of the 1st. I have already suggested Jajuji's name for *Rentia Baras* programme. You must have received that letter long ago.¹ Jajuji's other programmes have been suspended in view of that visit. He will be ready to give you eight to ten days. I should now get from you the programme drawn up for him.

Chhaganlal² was here for a day. He has assured me that he will complete [the figure]. If necessary he will go as far as Rangoon. The papers report that you have had some rain there. Did you have enough?

It is Prabhashankar³ about whom I am not sure, but would not Champa⁴ also be included? Poor thing, she would do what he asks her to do. And that is natural. I had even gone to the extent of arranging that he should come here while Maganbhai⁵ was here. M. is in Delhi now, and will come again in October. After spending a few days here, he intends to go to Rangoon around the 20th. I got your letter afterwards. Information about Jajuji is enclosed. It is better that my message should be conveyed by Jajuji himself. It is too early just yet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8543. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 29-8-1941

² Son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

³ Champa's father

⁴ Wife of Ratilal Mehta, Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta's son

⁵ Maganlal, youngest son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

131. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Again there is no letter from you today. But, considering your circumstances, I should not expect a letter from you daily.

I have left it entirely to you to decide where Pyarelal has to be operated upon for his gland. You alone can say where it would be best to have it. Your convenience will no doubt be a factor to consider. You will get this on Tuesday. You must free yourself from there on Friday. I should not worry if you are required there for two or three days. But it is possible that the operation may not be over by that time and you may not be able to free yourself from there in time. The earliest it can be done in Delhi would be on the 16th. Pyarelal can reach there on the 11th at the earliest. He will have to spend five days there. If it is necessary, he may as well spend those days with Mother. Now think about it yourself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

132. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SEVAGRAM,

September 8, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have received your letter. I do not think it advisable for you to have the operation in Wardha. If facilities are easily available in Bombay or Delhi, I see no need to have it done in Wardha. I would go by Sushila's decision in this matter. If she decides in favour of Bombay, it does not matter if she has to waste two or three days. But she would probably prefer Delhi. She can give more personal attention there. In my opinion Sushila should reach Delhi by the 15th. I would consider unavoidable the time spent in undergoing the operation. One may take into consideration the effect it may have on others. But I would treat it as of very little importance. The main thing is the effect it may have on me and on you. I do not think it will make any difference in this regard. I would not like to detain you with me. I would also not like it if you stayed on there or in Delhi without any

valid reason. But so far, not a single day has passed like that. Hence, I am not anxious.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

133. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 8, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

If evil thoughts come to mind it means that the mind is empty and Nature abhors a vacuum. So when the mind is not reciting Ramanama or doing His work, then the Devil takes possession of it. So when evil thoughts invade the mind, the only way to check their attack is to recite Ramanama and to do Rama's work. It can never fail. Go on increasing the recitation of Ramanama till you succeed. There is no other remedy.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4403

134. NOTE TO RAMNARAYAN CHAUDHARY

September 8, 1941

CHI. RAMNARAYAN,

I have listened to Anjana¹. I am pained,² but there is nothing to worry about. I shall break my silence soon after the prayer meeting today. We three can then sit together and discuss the matter. It will not be proper to talk while out walking.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, p. 167

¹ Addressee's wife.

² The addressee's health had suddenly deteriorated.

135. NOTE TO RAMNARAYAN CHAUDHARY¹

[September 8, 1941]

Morning:

Milk 12 ounces

Mosambi 1

11 a.m.

Banana 1

Ghee _ ounce

Vegetables as much as can be contained in an 8-ounce bowl. They could be seasoned with lemon juice, and not more than 10 grains of salt.

2 p.m.

Twelve ounces of butter-milk, 20 grains of soda bicarb and one *mosambi* if you feel hungry.

5.20 p.m.

Milk 12 ounces

Vegetables as much as can be contained in an 8-ounce bowl.

Cucumber raw 2 ounces, whenever available.

Mosambi 1

At night if you feel very hungry then take one banana. Mash it and chew it properly. This is the maximum quantity. If your bowels do not move for three days, take an enema. Give me details every day so that, if I have to make a change, I may do so. Send them in writing.

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, pp. 167-8

136. LETTER TO M. G. BHAVE

SEVAGRAM,

September 9, 1941

DEAR BHAVEJI²,

Your letter³. I retain the same opinion⁴ as before. I am utterly opposed to communalism in everything but much more so in sport.

¹ It was decided that before shifting to Nalwadi the addressee should try, at Sevagram, Gandhiji's prescription received along with the note of this date; *vide* the preceding item.

² Secretary, Maharashtra Cricket Association

³ Dated August 26, 1941, seeking Gandhiji's opinion regarding communal cricket and participation of Hindus therein

⁴ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 7-12-1940

You may make what use you like of this opinion. Please do not ask me to do anything more. I have no time.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

137. LETTER TO R. KRISHNAMURTHY

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),

September 10, 1941

DEAR KRISHNAMURTHY¹,

I like your suggestion that leaders should meet and deliver their considered judgement.² You put words into the mouths of the masses. Are they not dumb? As to your suggestion, I can do nothing mechanically. God's will be done.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Kalki*, 26-10-1975

138. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter in perfect Hindi.

Sarojini³ went yesterday—as chirpy as ever. She was interesting without being instructive. What new things could she tell?

Sarup is still here. She leaves tomorrow for Allahabad. She tells me J⁴ & R⁵ are both keeping well. She herself is pulled down but is otherwise fit.

Annapura is better. Rajen Babu came in today with his wife. I have not met him yet. He is resting in Wardha. He is well though weak.

¹ Founder-Editor of *Kalki*, a Tamil weekly of Madras

² The addressee had sent Gandhiji an English translation of an editorial voicing public disappointment at Gandhiji's decision to keep aloof from the freedom movement till the War was over. It exhorted national leaders to request Gandhiji to revive the struggle.

³ Sarojini Naidu

⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru

⁵ Ranjit Pandit

Mahadev won't be here till he has finished Ahmedabad.

They want me to send you to Alwar on 1st October. I have sent a flat refusal. If you were well I would certainly have sent you, but there is no knowing when you will be quite fit. When you return it might be well to bring someone with you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4069. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7378

139. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

September 10, 1941

DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

This is Jhaverbhai's suggestion. Do you think it is feasible and necessary? Confer with Jh.

The analysis of मलाई¹ sent by you seems to be faulty. I am inquiring.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10159

140. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

September 10, 1941

CHI. LILI,

Man can shape himself only by making his way through the difficulties you have mentioned. Supposing you had all the facilities—a special teacher for each subject coming to the house to teach, a motor-car to take you to college and such royal privileges as no one could ensure you—what would be the worth of your passing the examination? I had never thought you would become a coward. The help you have been having so far should not go waste. Difficulties vanish when we suffer them. If you have patience, you can reform your superintendent and make your path smooth. Consult Mahadev.

¹ Cream

In spite of all this, if you cannot carry on, I am helpless. Discontinue the studies. But remember that your discontent will only increase.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

141. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

This is my last letter at the Bombay address. I have not let a single day pass without writing to you. No, I forget. One day did go without it. I just could not write.

Annapurna is doing very well. She is taking rest. She is eating and drinking. I am sending her to David tomorrow.

Rajendra Babu has arrived today. I have not been able to meet him. He is at the bungalow. Sarup is here. She will be leaving tomorrow.

There can be no answer to the reproach you have to face. But you can correct the misconception without getting angry. The misconception will be strengthened if you get angry. But it can be corrected if you do it good-humouredly. In case you do not know, let me tell you that lately I had a letter from Nilla¹ in which she has expressed her longing to come back to me. Because, she says, she found truth only with me. Of course for the one who deliberately makes a mistake, there is no question of correcting the mistake. My loss of one lb. in weight should be treated as only as accidental. My health is good.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am sure Pyarelal will have reached there and you will have come to a decision about the operation.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Nilla Cramcook

142. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA¹

September 10, 1941

I am doing whatever I can and whatever is possible while remaining in the background.

BAPU

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

143. LETTER TO T. S. CHOCKALINGAM

September 11, 1941

DEAR CHOCKALIGAM²,

I would not trouble you to come here as Dr. Subbaroyan will be coming himself.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI T. S. CHOCKALINGAM

“DINAMANI”

100 MOUNT ROAD

MADRAS .

From the original; C.W. 2976. Courtesy: T. S. Chockalingam

144. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

So you are not yet out of the wood. What is this rheumatism of the mouth? Why should you have it at all? There must be deeper cause. How I wish you allowed yourself to be overhauled in Delhi in Hardinge College Hospital. But I suppose Shummy won't listen to it. I would suggest Bombay as an alternative. Sardar is now under a homoeopath and is better. The chief thing is to get well.

Here are two letters from your pupils.

¹ This is written on the addressee's letter dated September 7 in which he had reported the hardships in prison.

² Editor of *Dinamani*, a Tamil daily of Madras

Did I tell you Sailen had returned? I have put him on Hindi and charkha. He has not wasted his time in Nagpur. He has become more amenable to discipline.

I must inquire about the apples.

Annapurna has gone to Nagpur to be examined by Dr. David.

Rajendra Babu has not yet come to Sevagram.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4070. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7379

145. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRA RAO

September 11, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Atheism is a denial of self. No one has succeeded in its propagation. Such success as you have attained is due to your sincere work among the people round you.¹ I am sorry I cannot invite you to come here. I have no time to spare for talks.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

An Atheist with Gandhi, p. 26

146. LETTER TO ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI

September 11, 1941

DEAR ATULANANDA,

I fear you are ploughing a lonely furrow. You may be sure that I would have formed an organization if that had served the purpose. An attempt was made but it had to be given up. However let me not

¹ The addressee had written: "For one year I have tackled the problem of untouchability with the atheistic outlook. . . . The atheistic approach mainly consists in the non-recognition of sectarian labels like Hindus, Muslims and Christians. . . . Our programme of work so far has been confined to systematic and periodical cosmopolitan dinners. . . . In the village atmosphere where caste restrictions continue to be rigid, open cosmopolitan dinners are not easy to accomplish. Yet we succeed, because we find that the atheistic attitude brings definite cosmopolitan outlook in its wake. . . ."

shake your faith. You must persevere.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI ATULANANDA CHAKRABARTI
P. 148 JANAK ROAD
P. 6 RASHBEHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the original: C.W. 1483. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

147. LETTER TO NALINI RANJAN SIRCAR

September 11, 1941

DEAR NALINI BABU,

I must confess that I was taken aback when I heard of your acceptance of office. I can only hope that your expectations will be realized. MY advice whenever you want it will always be at your disposal. I understand from your letter that though the ban is lifted you have not rejoined the Congress.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

148. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 11, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have read your long letter. I can understand your agony. But it will take you forward. If at first you had my support, you are not without it now. Is this not what many people believe?

I want to drive out from your mind the idea that we absolutely cannot do without foreign help.¹ The examples of China, Russia and England cannot apply to us. China, after attaining freedom, seeks outside help in order to fight Japan. Russia and England are already free. We may also seek help from a thousand quarters after we have become free, but only if we have gained our freedom with force of

¹ The addressee had written: "And I see no disgrace in accepting help from a foreign power in order to protect India's nationalism and unity— that power may be Britain today, and who knows which other power after the War! What is China doing? Is not Russia taking foreign help? Is not England doing it?"

arms. Freedom won through non-violent means will need no help, or it will need the entire world's. All this is so clear that you should have no difficulty in understanding it. But if you do have any, please find some time to come over here at least to get your doubt resolved. This is a very important issue. In the context in which you made your statement¹, it does not at all seem proper. The fight about Pakistan is a fight between two brothers. One can get reconciled to one brother being- defeated at the hands of the other; but the one who wins with the help of a third party will himself become a slave and also make the other a slave. Whom are the British helping today? Where does Pakistan exist in the present situation? Akhanda Hindustan², on the other hand, does exist as a dream at any rate. He who seeks to realize that dream may be no more than a dust particle floating in the sky but after all it is floating. Its dream lifts it above; it does not cast it down. Its exercise of individual freedom makes it shine brightly in the sky. Whose help can it require? And if all the particles get together, that is, recognize their individuality, then they themselves will be the sky. Can you conceive a sky without particles? You, therefore, who are out to fight for an Akhanda Hindustan can never entertain the idea of seeking external help. It does you no credit. It ill becomes the maturity of your thinking. If I go on further I would be only wasting time. But what need to argue at length with the wise?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Chi. Sarala is upset because she has not received any reply from her partners. Are you speaking on their behalf or on behalf of you two? If you were not speaking on behalf of the partners, please consult them if possible and convey their consent. If they are hard-pressed and cannot give it, Sarala will immediately return.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7668. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

¹ The reference is to the addressee's speech at Benares, wherein he said: "Men will come from all parts of the country to resist the vivisection of the country. If need be, we shall seek the help of a friendly power. If necessary we shall stand at the bar of the world and ask it to help us to avoid a catastrophe which would destroy the life of the 400 millions of men."

² Undivided India. The addressee had initiated a movement known as "Akhanda Hindustan Front". He had written: "I am a mere particle floating in the sky, while you are the sun of the solar system."

149. LETTER TO SARASWATI GANDHI

September 11, 1941

CHI. SURU¹,

I have your letter. May you live long, and be a pure worker. These are Ba's blessings and mine to you. There is always some trouble with the body, that has to be borne. We shall meet some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SURU
[C/O] SHRI KANTI GANDHI
DEVRAJ MOHALLA
MYSORE²

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6181. Also C.W. 3455. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

150. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

WARDHAGANJ,
September 11, 1941

I interviewed Gandhiji today and asked him a few questions on Mr. Churchill's reference to India in his latest speech³ in the Commons. Gandhiji declined to answer any question. Then I asked him; "I see you are disinclined to answer the most important and relevant questions that I put to you. Do you think that this silence of yours is helpful for the cause of Indian independence for which the Congress is fighting?" Gandhiji replied:

If I did not believe so I would have come out with a statement without any prompting from you. But I sincerely believe that my silence is much more eloquent than any words that I may utter. After

¹ Wife of Kantilal Gandhi, Harilal Gandhi's son.

² The address is from the C.W. copy.

³ On September 9, 1941, wherein he declared: "The Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of British Empire. We have pledged by the declaration of August 1940 to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Races subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests."

all it is not words that matter. Action is all in all. My action is before all India and, if you like, the whole world.

The Hindu, 12-9-1941. Also C.W. 4075. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

151. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 12, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your left-handed letter! What a tragedy that you cannot use your right hand! I repeat my suggestion of yesterday. Go to Delhi or even come here for the cure. If you are not cured here you can be sent to Bombay. I am quite clear that Simla is not the place for you just now.

In whatever you do, Shummy's willing co-operation must be there. The cottage has become usable. The walls are being filled in. But it is quite habitable.

M[ahadev] will be still away for some time.

You will wire what you are doing.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4071. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7380

152. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 12, 1941

I suppose you don't need A written reply now, do you? If you want, I am ready to give one.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8643

153. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

September 12, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I had omitted to reply to one of your questions. Suddenly this morning I remembered it.

The movement¹ started on 18th October. Jawaharlal was arrested on 31st October. I have no interest in celebrating days. Only a very significant day should be celebrated, so that it will have its impact. It has become cheap nowadays to celebrate various days. People's response is also lukewarm. In this condition I don't venture to call for celebrations. If you suggest a programme which may touch the hearts of crores of people, I will surely consent to it. Satyagraha day is different from the day of Jawaharlal's arrest. Think for yourself and guide me. Discuss it with Mahadev and, if possible, with Sardar.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

154. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 12, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I got Hanumanprasadji's letter through 'M' day before yesterday.

The incident is sad. I am clear in my mind that Raghavadas could be free of his weakness only by admitting fully the mistakes committed. Without such purification he is likely to do only harm. He is a good man; so without such admission the harm would be greater. One sign of goodness is owning a mistake openly. For a satyagrahi there is no other course. So the first thing to do is to find out some nice reliable person who would talk to him. I got the cutting you sent.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8047. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

155. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 12, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

We should tolerate other people's shortcomings, just as they do ours. This should not be interpreted to mean that we may let anyone intentionally break the rules. Mark the difference between the two!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4404

¹ Individual civil disobedience movement

156. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 13, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note of good news to hand. Nevertheless you should move out of Simla. That is my feeling. Sushila agrees that for rheumatics Simla and the like are bad places. She does not think much of Bombay either.

You were right as usual. The previous apples were wrapped in paper. Prabha had seen them well-packed. Some busybody removed the wrappers. Next time you should send me the number of apples sent.

Bul has received a reply saying the Government would leave her free, if she gives an undertaking not to enter F[rontier] P[rovince] and tribal territory. She is giving notice that she will not give any undertaking.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4072. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7381

157. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 13, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

It is good you have gone to Delhi. I would leave the matter of the operation to Dr. Joshi. If he says that considering everything it is advisable to perform the operation, get it done. I would not insist if he does not think it necessary. Get your teeth thoroughly examined. If you do not wish to have it done there, have it done by Bareto. On your return you can stay at Nagpur for a day and have your teeth checked.

As for the books, etc., you may do whatever you wish.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

158. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 14, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Sushila came yesterday and gone today. Prabha has [been] to her mother for two or three days just to feed her superstition. Her brother had a child born and she has to attend some ceremony. She returns on 23rd. Annapurna has gone with Sushila for treatment. There was suspicion of tuberculosis. Dr. David however says there is no trace. But she had slow fever and has grown weak.

I have two deputations—Alla Bux¹ and Sidhwa² and the other from Burma.

Munshi's daughter Sarala who is here for a few days has taken Prabha's place. She is a very fine girl. She is one of the three Indian women solicitors in all India. But she is exceedingly simple in her tastes and has made friends with everybody. She has come to pass a few days with me.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your letter. Mr. Hancock, 27th September, 4 p.m.³ Glad you are better.

From the original: C.W. 4073. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7382

159. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 14, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

I got your note after Raihana had left. I see no harm in publishing Kannada *Navanit* on behalf of the Bharatiya Bhasha Sangh. Get the consent of the other members. Wouldn't you like to give Hindi versions of Kannada articles in *Navanit*?

Draft the resolution which you think should be placed before

¹ Premier of Sind

² R. K. Sidhwa, leader of the Sind Congress Assembly Party

³ *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur," 25-9-1941.

the Sammelan. Meet Rajen Babu. Ask whatever help you require from me. I am returning the book.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10951

160. LETTER TO MANU SUBEDAR

SEVAGRAM,

September 14, 1941

BHAI SUBEDAR¹,

I have your letter. I think you have again fallen into a trap. The Quaid-e-Azam has made no definite proposal. He only wants to prove the two-nation theory and partition the country. We need not pay attention to him, as we would not to anybody who wanted to separate two brothers.

The charges against the Congress have been disproved, but if they have not they can be referred to an impartial tribunal.

As long as the policy of keeping at a distance from both the Government and the Congress and using concessions by either side for extracting more from the other remains, no understanding seems possible. A party following such a policy will never be satisfied with what it gets.

I am convinced that the riots in Sind, Dacca and Ahmedabad were intended to intimidate the Congress. But I am ready to ignore this. That is, all the points may be referred to an impartial tribunal. I don't think anything else is possible.

And please also remember that ultimately the people themselves will decide these questions and bypass us all. I would, therefore, advise you to extricate yourself from this business, or to proceed on the basis of certain fundamental principles. It will be enough if you cling to even one. As long as he does not decide about coming to an agreement among ourselves, no discussion is possible.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 252-3

¹ An economist from Bombay

161. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

September 14, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. I am sending you a copy of my reply to Subedar.¹ I think he will come round. Is it not our policy to secure the utmost possible co-operation from men of all temperaments and abilities?

Do not worry about anything just now. Your health must mend completely. If homoeopathy helps you, I will begin to have some faith in it. I have never been able to put any faith in it. I entrusted a case to a homoeopath but there was no result. It was Tari's². But this is only by the way. I do wish homeopathy benefits you. I have heard much about it. Das³ believed in it, and so did Motilalji and Gurudev. Does not our Lakshmidas also believe in it? But finally everybody takes refuge in allopathy. All this is beside the point, but let it be. We are concerned only with the result.

Blessings from

BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 251-2

162. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I hope you found a comfortable seat and reached there without trouble. Remain engrossed in your studies. Annapurna should not be a burden on you.

I was happy that you came at least for a day.

Pyarelal's letter must have been found. He must have contacted the doctor. The glasses and the teeth must be attended to.

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Tara Mashruwala

³ C. R. Das

The proposal about Mother coming here must not be dismissed. If she is here when you come, you will be free from worry and so will be Mataji. Are children, once they are married, ever of any use to parents ?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

163. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

[SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA, (C.P.)]¹

*September 14, 1941*²

CHI. RAMDAS,

I got your postcard. I understand what you say. I hope you will get this. You have not given your address. What you have written to Nimu is right. I hope your food arrangement is satisfactory.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

164. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 15, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have yours. I am more and more confirmed in my opinion that you should leave Simla and if you have confidence and if Shummy agrees whole-heartedly, you should come here before being sent elsewhere. I flatter myself with the belief that probably my company itself will put you right. Just think this over and if your mind agrees, discuss the proposal dispassionately with S. and decide. If you decide, do so quickly. If you come, you will bring someone with you. Wire your health and your decision.

Let not K's book sit on you like a load. Never mind if it takes a little time.

I have Munshi's daughter still here. She is a very good girl, a

¹ As on the letterhead

² Addressee's daughter, Sumitra, had undergone an eye operation

lover of children and hard work.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4074. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7383

165. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

September 15, 1941

DEAR PRAFULLA,

Sardar is now under homoeopathic treatment. He feels better. But he has to take care of himself. He has intestinal spasms. Rajen Babu is here. He is better though still weak. He is free from fever.

I am sorry about Suresh. I do hope he will get quite well. He must take care of himself.

Give my love to all.

Love.

BAPU

(M. K. GANDHI)

From a photostat: G.N. 3783

166. LETTER TO IQBAL KRISHAN KAPOOR

SEVAGRAM,

September 15, 1941

DEAR KAPOOR,

I think your case is clear. The order is humiliating.¹ You will disregard it not as a satyagrahi under the struggle but as an individual who values his self-respect above so-called freedom. Therefore, no general instruction is necessary.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. II, p. 275

¹ On his release after two months' detention, the addressee was served with a notice "restricting his movements within the limits of the Kotwali police station, requiring him to attend in person the Kotwali police station once a week to report his presence and requiring him to refrain from the Congress activities in connection with the satyagraha movement".

167. LETTER TO SHAUKAT USMANI

September 15, 1941

DEAR SHAUKAT USMANI¹,

I am glad you are being drawn to non-violence. Non-violence precludes us from hating anyone however bad he is.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

168. LETTER TO HARILAL M. RANGOONWALA

September 15, 1941

BHAI HARILAL,

I had your letter written from jail. I have already replied to it. I have now the letter written after your release. I am glad that you are not worrying about the boycott in Rangoon. Let it go on for the present. You may go to jail again when the Bombay office invites you to do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 143

169. LETTER TO VISHNU NARAYAN

September 15, 1941

BHAI VISHNU NARAYAN,

I got your letter. You have not been forbidden [to use] khadi. They have only expressed their opinion. You have not been ordered to use drill cloth, but are given freedom to use it. I would, therefore, advise you to buy khadi costing the same as drill cloth and get uniforms made out of it. See that you get strong khadi. If you can win over the peons, there will be no difficulty. Do not force them. Do not inflict khadi on them as a compulsory duty, but create love of khadi in them. If they spin, khadi may even be cheaper. Even if you are put to some expense, bear it and induce the peons to wear khadi uniforms

¹ Secretary, Prisoners' Camp, Baroda

willingly.

As long as the Bank values your service, you are likely to come to no harm.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

We are trying to get paper for *Sarvodaya*.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19327

170. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Right now at 3.30 p.m. you must be busy at your hospital.

Yesterday Ram Saran Das had all of his teeth extracted and today he has no fever at all. Yesterday Bareto took out his teeth in spite of his fever. He was of the opinion that infection of the gums alone was the cause of his fever and his teeth had to be extracted to cure his fever. Nirmal Singh is quite well. His fever is not wholly gone. He has been kept in a separate room. Otherwise he is all right. Ram Narayan has to go to Nagpur tomorrow to have one tooth extracted and the rest of the teeth cleaned. He has put on weight. My weight was 101½ lb. yesterday. Do not worry about me.

I am not writing a separate letter to Pyarelal. In case the operation has not taken place, he may have even gone away from there. If he is there let him come after he has had his teeth attended to. It is another thing if he wants this done at Nagpur.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Annapurna must be fine; also Anasuya?

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

171. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

September 15, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Read your letter and the account of your tour. You gained good experience. I know our faith in ahimsa is rather slender. Had it been

strong today we would have risen fairly high. I do not believe that much work can be done by speeches. You will not know the power of nectar by a description of its qualities. You can know it only by drinking it yourself or by observing its effect on someone drinking it. This does not mean that there should be no speeches.

I like your decision to enroll only the best students.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5650. Also C.W. 2961. Courtesy Prithvi Singh

172. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

September 16, 1941

I expect a wire on Thursday to my letter of yesterday.

This is being written before the incoming post.

Can you throw any light on the enclosed¹? Jajuji has gone to Rajkot for the Charkha Week.

An ex-jail-bird (satyagrahi) from U.P. came last night suffering from tuberculosis to see me! Poor Chimanlal could not turn him out, so gave him a bed in his verandah. His is a pathetic case. It is difficult to treat him. These unexpected visitors make the running of the Institution most difficult. Fortunately the workers rise to the occasion at such critical times and make it possible for me to face difficulties of this nature.

I have to see Alla Bux and Sidhwa today.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Devdas is fighting *his* case manfully.² Your letter has arrived. Of course what S. says must be followed.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4076. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7357

¹ This is not available.

² *Vide* "Letter to Dedas Gandhi", 20-8-1941 and "Letter to Devdas Gandhi", 24-8-1941

173. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

September 16, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I am positive that the Indians living in Burma should protest strongly against the Agreement signed by the two Governments. They should have no fear in this matter. We can have no quarrel with the people of Burma. We may live among them only with their goodwill. But who is to ascertain their view? And also who is to decide how it should be ascertained?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4736. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

174. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA

September 16, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I have your letter. It is a regrettable thing. Please do not expect any money from me.¹ I do what I can within my limits and in my own way. At present I do whatever I can while remaining in the background. Those who pursue satyagraha must put up with suffering. Therein too lies the way to alleviate suffering.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

175. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 17, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is very bad paper. You can't use both the sides.

Your letter. Your submission to the simple drugs is worthy of your submissive nature! Do refuse all appointments there too.

I had your apple today. This variety is not so good as the previous

¹ The addressee wanted money to engage lawyers to defend the satyagrahis in custody.

one. Ba told me that one had gone bad and very soft. This is no criticism of the buyer. I simply pass on the information.

Our room is being rebuilt. The verandah porch is being transferred to the gate through which the monsoon rains pour in. And there will be an extended verandah where we used to sleep. It seems building operations will never cease. And yet the crowding grows. How to limit the crowd is a serious question.

There is going to be much charkha work done in the village.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4077. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7386

176. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

September 17, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter. Lotus seed and cardamom are well-known tonics. If they solve your problem, so much the better. The chief thing is attention to diet. There is no illness here worth mentioning. Everything is all right. There is considerable crowding. Nobody here is now afraid of typhoid, since good nursing has saved all cases. You are having good experience there. Mix with all as sugar mixes in milk. Prabhavati has left. She will return on the 23rd.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10037. Courtesy: Sharda G. Chokhawala

177. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

September 17, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your wire. Your case is going well. I have been following the proceedings. Shivji also keeps me informed. The judges also are behaving strangely. But if you can produce the evidence which you have, everything will be well. Only our people are so weak that you never know when they will let you down. However, since your case is perfectly just I am sure that God will protect you. Ba is worrying. I have explained to her that going to jail is nothing unusual for us. Jail, therefore, should hold no terrors for us. Looking at the matter from

another point of view, I believe you will get some rest in jail. But now there seems to be no possibility of your getting imprisonment. Yes, it might be a different matter if your witnesses turn out to be men of straw.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I got your letter just after this was completed. You should struggle hard.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2139

178. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I just could not write yesterday. It was a full court to the very end. There should have been a letter from you today but it has not come. There is no letter from your brother either ! I am getting on well. Ram Saran Das is in good shape. Nirmal Singh continues to have fever. His swelling has subsided.

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

179. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

September 17, 1941

CHI. LAKSHMI,

Hope you at any rate are not afraid. What is going to happen will of course happen. You married a tempestuous man, so how can you escape storm?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2139

180. LETTER TO SURENDRANATH SARKEL

[After September 17, 1941]¹

BHAI SURENDRA,

I have your letter. This is my only advice: tell the court nothing but the truth

Blessings from

BAPU

M. K. GANDHI

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

181. WORK FOR EVERYONE

I have sent a message for women and children to this effect:² Enough khadi can be produced if children up to the age of twelve and women gave a few hours of their spare time to spinning and other processes of khadi production. I had asked Krishnadas Gandhi to work out some figures to prove the above contention. I give below an abstract of the findings.

India's population was estimated at about 35 crores in the 1931 census. Children in the age-group of eight to twelve numbered about 4_ crores and women and girls above the age of 12 numbered about 11 crores. If the children devoted four hours to cleaning, carding and spinning and if the women devoted four hours to cleaning, carding, spinning and weaving daily, enough khadi can be produced. It can be shown by calculation that the children can produce every day yarn of ten to twelve counts that can be woven into 90 lac square yards of khadi, whereas the women can produce every day two crore square yards of twenty counts in addition to weaving the ninety lac square yards of khadi out of the yarn spun by the children. It has been calculated that the entire process from the cleaning of cotton to weaving a 20 counts square yard of cloth involves 18 hours of labour on the part of one person. Out of this half an hour will go to the cleaning of cotton, two hours for carding, 12 hours for spinning, one hour for

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter forwarded by the jail authorities on September 17, 1941.

² *Vide* "Message to People of Ahmedabad", 8-9-1941

unwinding the yarn, one hour for making and fixing the warp and sizing and one and a half hours for actual weaving. This is the breakdown of the total of 18 hours. It is based on the average skill of an average person. An efficient worker may complete this process in just 15 hours. On a rough estimate the women and children can, with such skill as they have, produce about 30 square yards of khadi for every person in this country by working four hours a day for 300 days in a year.

My object in publishing this abstract is to encourage an institution to undertake an experiment to corroborate it. Any family can easily produce all the cloth that it requires by introducing a charkha and a loom in their home. Suppose there are 35 individuals in an institution including four children in the age-group of 8 to 12 and 11 women above the age of 13. All men, of course, will be busy with other activities. Ten out of the eleven women and all the four children can devote three to four hours every day to cleaning, carding, spinning and weaving according to their convenience. One of the ten women will help the four children and will also weave the yarn produced by the children. The remaining nine women will undertake all the work from cleaning to weaving. According to the calculations given above, the four children together with one woman will produce at least three fourths of a square yard of 10 to 12 counts khadi every day and the 9 women will easily produce two square yards of 20 counts khadi every day. If we calculate for 300 days in a year, all of them will together produce 225 square yards of coarse khadi and 600 square yards of fine khadi. Thus a total of 825 square yards of cloth will be available for the 35 persons or, in other words, everyone will get 23_ square yards of cloth. As the efficiency grows every individual will be able to get 27_ square yards of cloth.

It should be remembered that so much cloth can be produced even in less time by using the now improved charkhas and carding-bows. If every home has a charkha and a loom we can produce the cloth we need with very little effort. It will create a great contentment in the home. We can only imagine what an impact this can have on our lives and how it can inspire all the people. But for oneself one can instantly discover this bliss.

Sevagram, *Charkha Dwadashi*, September 18, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

182. BLANKETS FOR SOLDIERS

It is a good augury that votaries of non-violence often raise fine questions of principle. Man advances through such spirit of inquiry, but there is a prerequisite condition to it. The inquiry should not be like that of a person who strains at a gnat and swallows a camel. Raising such questions profit only him who is ever vigilant in major matters and whose practice keeps pace with the progress of the principle.

Let me illustrate what I mean. A certain khadi bhandar received an order for woollen blankets from the military. The bhandar authorities asked me whether they could accept it replied that they could. The question of principle raised was whether it did not amount to helping the war.

As a matter of abstract principle, it will have to be conceded that the acceptance was a breach. But in that case, we must leave India and every country engaged in the war. Because we help war in purchasing the very food we eat. We do the same when we travel by train or buy postage stamps. Our use of the currency itself is an aid to war. In fact we are hardly able to do any act which is free from the taint.

The truth is that no one is able to act upon a great principle, like that of non-violence, in its entirety. Like the geometrical line, it can only be imagined, but never drawn. In practice, we have to be content with drawing only such fine lines as we can with our instruments. There is no wall which can be called 'straight' according to Euclid. And yet, walls have stood the test of time for thousands of years. It is the same with ahimsa. We must put it into practice as best as we can.

It would have been easy for me to forbid the sale of the blankets. It was a question of only a few thousand rupees, a small amount for an establishment whose turnover is in lakhs. But the prohibition would have been a matter of shame for me. I could have done so only by concealing my real view of the matter. Where should I draw the line from which such prohibition should commence? If I were a grain merchant, should I decline to sell it to soldiers? Or, if I were a chemist, should I refuse to sell quinine and other drugs to them? If I should, what could be the reason for my doing so? Does my ahimsa prevent me from entertaining such customers? In other words, does it require of me to look into the occupations of my customers? The

clear reply is that provided I deal in goods which conduce to the welfare of society, I may not look into the occupations of my customers. This means that I may sell my innocuous articles even to soldiers.

SEVAGRAM, September 18, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

183. UNCERTIFIED KHADI

One who purchases uncertified khadi is ignorant of the purpose of khadi, which was conceived as a simple means to remove the poverty of *Daridranarayana*, which alone can improve India's economic condition and ultimately win freedom. Therein lies the importance of khadi and if khadi has to play its role in removing the poverty of the millions it must be under the control of some organization or State authority. Crores of spinners would be willing to spin for eight hours for a paltry pice for they must fill their bellies. Khadi made from yarn spun by them may be called hand-spun but by its use we certainly will not be serving *Daridranarayana*. The Charkha Sangh has therefore at once increased the spinners' wages and attempts are being made to improve the economic condition of other artisans.

Those who sell uncertified khadi are guilty of theft from khadi-artisans. To purchase such khadi is to acquire stolen property. This is atrocious. The Charkha Sangh therefore appeals to business people to take up some other trade instead of selling [uncertified] khadi. The public should purchase khadi from khadi bhandars of the Charkha Sangh or its certified depots only.

I hope all khadi-lovers will agree that khadi, be it dear or cheap, should be purchased only through the Charkha Sangh and such khadi alone should be recognized as khadi.

Sevagram, September 18, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

184. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 18, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

This only to say how you are in my mind. I have said my say, you know best how to get well. I am sending the book to Mahmud Khan.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4078. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7387

185. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 18, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I had Lilavati's letter and yours. Today I have the wire. Chi. Sarala wrote to you the day before yesterday. You must have received the letter now.

There is no need for you just now to resign. I had a discussion with both Rajendra Babu and Kripalani. Both are of the view that there is no need at all just now. I will leave no room for the slightest criticism. The idea had not crossed my mind at all. All the same, you did well in writing to me.

I have been having short talks with Sarala. I cannot spare any time specially for her, but generally during morning walks we go a little ahead of others and talk. She has become very friendly with all. She takes interest in the prayers, too. She also helps me. She will tell you all this when she meets you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7669. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

186. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
September 18, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. It seems best now to go through the homoeopathic treatment. Don't mind if that means some loss of time.

You must keep patient till you are sure whether or no it is benefiting you.

I am glad you met. . .¹ He does not at all seem clear in his mind. About Valji also it is difficult to judge. He has got very much prejudiced. I think he also will come round.

I understand about Lilavati. When you have taken her case in hand, why need I worry about her? I did not wish to worry you with her problem, though. She is hard working and smart. I hope she will pass. But she has got a little tired. I hope Bhanumati² is all right. So it now seems certain that the girl³ will not survive.

Has Bhulabhai been released? He seems to be quite ill.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 253-4

187. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

September 18, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your letter. Grow strong and healthy there. I knew you would get friendly with all. You are of course not likely to allow yourself to become a burden on anybody. I know you would do nothing but serve others there. I am sure the climate there will suit you. Write to Vedchhi from time to time. In any case you will write to me regularly. Read something. Learn Hindi. Learn Urdu also.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9428

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

² Dahyabhai Patel's second wife and daughter

³ *ibid.*

188. LETTER TO PYARELAL

September 18, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

What a letter from you ! A *tonga* will be arranged if you let me know when you are coming.

You are right about the teeth. Only Bareto should do it.

How will it be a burden to me if Mother comes here ? Ba gets along well with her. She cannot be a burden to anyone here. She can stay on freely if her health remains satisfactory. If she suffers in health, we shall see. It would be a matter of satisfaction to her that if she was here she could see you oftener.

Your dejection must go. It should be remembered that there is no reason for it at all.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

Mira could have gone with Devdas for a day.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

189. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I had to keep you without a letter for one day. Pyarelal may or may not be there, and so I am writing to you.

Just as you have been giving good news about the patients there, I can do the same about the patients here. Both are well. Nirmal Singh's ganglion has all but subsided. His fever has come down today. He has not been given anything except lime and soda and since yesterday glucose. He asked for tamarind water which I gave.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

190. ADDRESS AT GANDHI JAYANTI MEETING

SEVAGRAM,
September [18]³, 1941

I want Sevagram to be self-sufficient in its clothing by producing khadi and the villagers to produce their necessities of life.

Learning and service should go hand in hand and I am glad that here in the Khadi Vidyalaya you are having both, which is different from university training.

He exhorted the villagers to devote themselves more and more to bring about full cleanliness and sanitation. He also appealed for more constructive work specially in regard to khadi which, he reminded them, was the saviour of the poor.¹

The Hindu, 22-9-1941

191. LETTER TO PRAN KRISHNA PADHIARY

[Before September 19, 1941]²

You have not given me discouraging information.³ All do not live who are born. I rejoice that some at least will remain true. That is enough encouragement to me. If the sea-deserters form a Ministry, we need not worry. We shall be stronger for the weak ones falling away. Dube⁴ need not resign⁵ for he has given valid reasons for not offering civil disobedience.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-9-1941

192. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 19, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. You are having regular ups and downs. We may not always have an even surface to walk on. Some day you will be entirely

¹ Gandhiji participated in the sacrificial congregational spinning held on the occasion.

² The report appeared under the date-line "Cuttack, September 19, 1941".

³ The addressee, President, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, had informed Gandhiji about the move for the formation of a coalition Ministry in the province.

⁴ Bodhrum Dube, ex-Minister

⁵ From the Provincial Congress Committee and the A.I.C.C.

free.

Apples this time are an inferior type. To look at they are extraordinarily good. But some parts are bad. Do not take anybody to task. Next time the variety should be changed. And send them only once a month. Presently there will be *santras*¹ when apples will no longer be required.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

The Sind Premier is still here. Prema goes to jail again in three days' time.

From the original: C.W. 3678. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6487

193. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 19, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have your letter. It seems perfectly all right to me. Tell Bhai Bhagwanji that I got his letter too. He should get relieved from there and come here. I will see how to fix him up. He will certainly be of use, if he stays here. Show this to Bhai Bhagwanji and send him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9125

194. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,

September 19, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I had long and frank talks with Khan Bahadur (Alla Bux). He is now going to Karachi. From there he will go to see Maulana. I am firmly of the view that the Congress should leave the Assembly. Khan Bahadur also, if he is on the Congress side, should do the same. The Congress in Sind helping the war effort while not doing so elsewhere would produce—is producing—a bad impression. Keeping up this arrangement will not benefit the country in any way, neither Sind nor

¹ Oranges

the Hindus nor the Muslims. Can a wrong step benefit anybody? Even if there were no war, I would be in favour of the Congress leaving the Assembly in Sind. But that is a side issue just now. I will discuss it with you if you wish. Here, I have explained how my mind is working, so that you may be able to understand Khan Bahadur correctly. He says he is convinced by my reasoning.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 254

195. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. It is very good that Annapurna has made herself at home there. She is the type who will adjust anywhere she goes.

I am trying to keep myself in good health even for your sake. Free yourself from worry and go on increasing your knowledge. Everything will be all right.

I have brought Ram Saran Das in Annapurna's place. He is wholly free from fever. He is being given sufficient milk. Following the extraction of his teeth, his face has changed. The bad breath too has largely gone. He himself feels as though he had got a new life. The moment the teeth were taken out, his temperature started going down.

Nirmal Singh too has been improving since yesterday. The ganglion is dissolved. He has not been given milk as yet. He was given barely water today. He himself asked for it. So, there is no patient here. As for Chakrayya, I myself give him food in measured quantities. He is keeping well. I shall not write to Annapurna today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

196. LETTER TO PYARELAL

September 19, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter. I had my doubts about Dr. Joshi. But even such experiences are useful to us. Your reply was of course proper.

Why did the car have to go to Lucknow ? Whatever happens, do not leave anything unfinished there. It does not matter if a couple of days more have to be spent.

Think over what I wrote about Mother yesterday.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

197. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 20, 1941

CHL. AMRIT,

I dare not give you more than this today. For the first time after his arrival I was able to give some time to [Rajendra] Babu. The patients here are getting on. The Ashram is still filling.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4079. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7388

198. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I cannot write at length today. There is a pile of letters. The visitors are of course there. The widow of our late colleague Fulchandbhai has come. There are others too. Rajen Babu has also come. The patients are well.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

199. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

September 20, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Your letter is good and so is your question. For the dearth of khadi I do not blame anyone. Everyone works according to his capacity. The problem of khadi is difficult. Even those who were not habitual khadi-wearers buy some. The highest consumption of khadi is in Bombay. Is not khadi our dharma? Dharma as such is difficult to follow. Having said so much, I who am its pioneer cannot be credited with perfect *tapascharya*. I am not sorry for it. I have done my best. But the non-stop plying of the wheel that you suggest is no small matter. There are such devotees, aren't there? Some day khadi is bound to become universal.

Now about Russia. We can do nothing. I do not find much difference between the three. It is true that much has been done in Russia for the people. The slaughter that is going on does not raise my hair. The civil war mentioned in the *Bhagawata* may be imaginary, but in real life it is true. When violence increases in the world internecine wars are bound to take place. Out of this will non-violence be born if there are some truly non-violent people. I believe we are such people. I cannot say how ahimsa will be born. This power is beyond description. It can be seen only in its impact. God alone regulates it. My peace and my firmness are based on this faith: See what Russia has done. Once it took help from Germany and now from England. Who can say what Russia will do if she loses? From the point of view of ahimsa today we can be no more but [mute] witnesses of this slaughter. Yes, but when an occasion arises we should be ready for sacrifice.

Kishorelalbhai will write something on non-violent exercise.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5651. Also C.W. 2962. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

200. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 21, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your glorious letter in Hindi—glorious because of your sustained Hindi.

Here are two letters.

J[annalal] came in yesterday much reduced. He had fever when he descended from Nainital.

Yes, your report is not bad. But I am not going to be satisfied till you are fit enough to come down. Everybody is asking when you are returning and what is the matter with you. You are right in continuing the treatment which is doing so much good.

Of course you are not to go anywhere else.

I forget to tell you that I have given your pen to Mira. She was in need of a pen that would never fail. Her work is all delicate. Her room has become a temple of God. All the four Vedas decorate her table which is set against a wall on which is painted *Om* over two “ $\Sigma\phi\zeta$ ”¹ also painted by her. To Allah Bux I said he should give up the Ministry if he had to live on Congress support. But that he should do if he could convince Maulana of the truth of the position. He said he had seen my viewpoint. Let us see.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4080. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7389

201. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

September 21, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You are very greedy. You yourself write only a couple of lines and ask for an “immediate” reply. Is not this one immediate enough? I got your postcard only just now. I had your reply in which you had given a full description. I remember to have replied to it also. I hope you will come over soon.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7141. Also C.W. 4633. Courtesy: Vijaya M. Pancholi

¹ Lotuses

202. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

September 21, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your chits. Do drop at least a postcard to Vedchhi from time to time. You must come back fully restored. Since you have normal appetite, you will be all right soon. We are plying here a spinning-wheel round the clock which will continue till October 2. Jamnalalji has arrived today. He seems to have gone a little thinner. Fulchandbhai's widow, Shardabehn, and Shivanand have arrived.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 4929

203. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

September 21, 1941

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

Miss Moore will deliver this letter to you. She had once stayed in the Ashram. She had so adjusted herself that she had become a member of the family. She wants to meet as many persons as possible in her quest for truth. Put her up and let her see all the activities.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI
SEVASHRAM
MIRZAPUR
AHMEDABAD

From the Gujarati original : S. N. 32780

204. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, (C.P.)

[On or about *September 21, 1941*]¹

CHI. KANTI,

This lady Miss Moore was in the Ashram for a considerable time. She had become friendly with everyone. She travels everywhere. She has particularly asked me to give a letter for you. Hence this one.

¹ From the contents; *vide* the preceding item.

Meet her with affection and show her whatever she wishes to see.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 11661. Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers.
Courtesy : Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad

205. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,

September 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Pyarelal writes that you have a slight temperature because of a throat infection. How can you have a bad throat ? Surely you remember the English saying : Physician, heal thyself ! So, both you and Annapurna should get well quick.

Is there any doubt you will be with me for the coming [*rentia*] *baras* ?

Your letter of the 15th was received after a delay of two days. It must have just remained in the letter-box of the post office.

I am getting on quite well. Today my weight was a little over 103 lbs. It means an increase of at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. In other ways too, I am quite well. I am more or less sticking to the time of going to bed. I am not able wholly to avoid talking while walking.

All patients are well. Prabhakar is having something like eczema on his hands and legs. Hence, I have kept him on leafy vegetables and fruit. That has done him a lot of good.

What has been decided about Mother ?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

206. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 21, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. Do not leave the place till you are completely restored.

It is perfectly all right that you interpreted my letter as referring to you. I however know from my own experience as well as from

others' that one stands to gain a lot by accepting one's mistakes. This is pure practical wisdom. In account books we proceed after correcting a mistake, if any; the same applies to our moral accounts.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8048. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

207. LETTER TO SATYAWATI

SEVAGRAM,

September 21, 1941

CHI. SATYAWATI,

You say you want to come but the fact is you do not. What a difference there is between Russia and Poland. And under what circumstances should one write about Russia? Russia is not a small power. Not that I do not recognize the worth of what Russia has done. But I do not understand what is now going on. And how can I speak about what I do not understand? If we are successful in achieving our object we shall be able to help Russia and all others. Let us all work to see such a time.

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

208. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 22, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. I have not missed a day so far as I know. Why the delivery is irregular is more than I can say. You should simply believe that I have written. Then when you get two letters the same day, your belief is confirmed.

J[amnalalji] is full of the tales of your hospitality and kindness. He delights in describing your 30 servants to five or six inmates, Tofa¹ counting as one.

M[ahadev] is due here on 27th with Durga and Bablo.

He has to be in Alwar on 1st October.

Love.

BAPU

¹ Addressee's dog

[PS.]

I have neither seen Ajanta nor Ellora. Tell Sir Akbar¹ he never invited me. And what is the use my going now?

From the original: C.W. 4081. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7390

209. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

September 22, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am glad you are free from fever. I hope you will remain so. I hope too that your wife and son will also be entirely free.

So far as Vidyashram is concerned, I am in correspondence with Annada. I know Dharendra's worth. He won't do anything in opposition to the A.I.S.A. Of course he is free to come whenever he wishes.

As to Abha I am prepared to have her whenever she comes. If she comes, I shall prepare her for her marriage if she proves her worthiness. I won't draw a line between her and Kanu. If she comes, I can find an escort for her.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10323. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

210. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),

September 22, 1941

DEAR SWEET SINGER,

May God be with you in your travail w[hich] is but your anvil to test the gold that is you.

Yours,

SPINNER

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

¹ Sir Akbar Hydari, President, Executive Council, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937-41; later Member, Information and Broadcasting, Viceroy's Executive Council

211. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

September 22, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You are still not on the rails again. If you cannot judge definitely in fifteen days, I should like you to come here. If you are well enough to travel, I think it might even be desirable that you should come and spend a few days here. Do what suits you. Rajendra Babu is daily improving. He comes every day now.

Mahadev's letter is enclosed. From there you may send [it] whenever you like.

Prema Kantak must have seen you. Her work is going on well. what is the position about Allah Bux? I am convinced that the Congress must withdraw. Rajendra Babu suspects something.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 255

212. LETTER TO MOOLSHANKAR

September 22, 1941

BHAI MOOLSHANKAR,

I have very hurriedly gone through your English summary. It is good. It could have been shorter. I would not speak as in para 31. I may say that 'Hundreds and thousands of Gandhis will emerge'; but I should [not] be made to say 'I will create'.

Principles can have no exception. Two plus two can only be four. If I have made a mistake, it must be called a mistake. Can there be a different duty under stress? A mistake committed under stress may be pardonable. The moment Yudhishthira uttered a small falsehood, his chariot-wheel came down to earth.¹ When I say that those who are not able to practise ahimsa should prefer violence to cowardice, I am not providing any exception to the principle.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Because Yudhishthira was a perfectly righteous person, his chariot was believed to move just above the ground

213. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA

September 22, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I go through all your letters carefully. Who is your lawyer? Isn't there any lawyer who is prepared to work in a spirit of service? The appeal I suppose will be filed in Ratlam? In which court will it lie? Do you hope you will get justice? We should have a key with which to overcome all this injustice.

M. K. GANDHI

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

214. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 23, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. You may give your name. No more today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4083. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7392

215. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 23, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

What you write is certainly worth thinking over. I thought over it but finally came to the conclusion that Jammalalji's ability could fully develop only in *goseva*¹ work. Though we have a Goseva Sangh, the work remains neglected. We have been able to get neither experts nor money. We have only been able to prepare the ground. The work can be done, however, only if an experienced man dedicates himself to it.

Harijan work has got going and is getting on the rails. What is being done is necessary. Ultimately it is the awakening among Harijans themselves that will solve the problem.

Work is being done among sanatanists also, though it is true that no publicity is being given to it. Being a dedicated Harijan worker,

¹ Service of the cow

J[amnalalji] will be able to win over many sanatanists while engaged in *goseva*. Finally, when you read the accompanying letter¹, the position will be clearer to you. Return the letter. There is one special reason also. J[amnalalji] wants to cultivate greater purity. He craves for purity of mind. Service of the cow might satisfy his craving, for the cow is more mute than even the Harijans. If we do not look after her, she will not rebel, but die. Harijans, on the other hand, are being taught by us to rebel. If we don't teach them, others are eager to do so. In the Bharatiya Parishad², I think Abdul Haq Saheb had proposed a resolution to the effect that Hindi-Urdu should be adopted in place of Hindi-Hindustani. What was the resolution, if not this?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10952

216. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

September 23, 1941

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I had meant to write to you when I saw your English letter to Jajuji, but I could not manage it. I have now your Gujarati letter.

Why did you write in English? We can never pour out our hearts in English. A man like Jawaharlal may be able to do that for he has studied English since his childhood, and he learnt it in England. But let that be.

There is some error in your reasoning. If we wish to open small stores everywhere, we shall necessarily have to entrust each store to one man only. We cannot employ another man to help him. You do not seem to have any experience of village stores. Poor village store-keepers, how can they afford assistants? If the man leaves his store, he will shut the door and lock it up, and then go out. If he has a son, he might perhaps leave it in his charge. In South Africa thousands of stores are run by our people and by Jews, and they are, each of them, in charge of one person only. It would not be paying to have more than one person. And in most cases the person lives just behind the store itself. If he has to leave the store for any reason, he will shut the door and go out. The store has stocks hardly worth Rs. 500. How can the man, then, afford an assistant? *Moreover, we are*

¹ This is not available.

² Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad

dreaming of ushering in a new age, the age of ahimsa. We should keep our stores open only for reasonable periods, not from six in the morning till twelve at night. In England the stores are closed at fixed hours by law. We should follow that practice voluntarily. The English in India do so. But irrespective of their practice, we should arrange our affairs on the basis of the law of ahimsa. We should, therefore, plan the whole thing from that point of view.

I believe that we should give thought to the question of location, too.

I agree with your view that the science of sales is different from that of production. And as the science of khadi production is different from the science of production of other goods, so also is the science of khadi sales different from the science of selling of other goods. We have always postponed thinking about this matter. The little thought we have occasionally given to the matter is not enough. Morning is when we wake up. I have now been making the khadi world think about this matter.

Our work is not being controlled by one man, but we have still not been fully organized as an institution either. The reason is that we have not trained the requisite number of workers. We started no school for them. Now we have started one¹. Let us see how it fares.

The implication of your English letter was that the question should be considered by the Council. I think that the time for that has not yet come. First, Jajuji, you and I should think about it. Finally, of course, the Council will have to consider the matter. The objection you took in your English letter to Jajuji expressing his views seemed altogether improper to me. If a secretary does his duty conscientiously, he must guide the others. That you did not approve of his suggestions was a different matter. But so long as we accept a man as secretary, he is bound to guide us.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 9801

¹ Khadi Vidyalaya at Sevagram

217. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal did not come.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

218. *LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI*

[After September 23, 1941]¹

CHI. PANNALAL,

How could anyone have imagined that Nanibehn would leave us so suddenly ? I cannot forget her ever-smiling face, yet I must. The soul that dwelt in her body is of course immortal. Our concern was with that soul. That remains. Let us emulate her good qualities and character.

There is no need to preach anything to you. Gangabehn too is competent.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 33

219. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

September 24, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I sent you a hurried note yesterday. I am giving myself time before the arrival of the post.

There is a complaint again that Narendra Dev is steadily going down. If you think it worth while, you may write again. I am writing to

¹ The period is inferred from the contents. Nanibehn, the addressee's wife, passed away on September 23, 1941.

Sarup too to do what she can.

Since writing this news of his release was received.¹

Herewith receipt for Rs. 100 which will go to the A[ndrews] Memorial.

It will be good if you are declared entirely free.

Submissiveness is both a virtue and a vice. Circumstances determine the quality each time. Are you satisfied?

I told J[amnalal he] was not looking well. He does not feel it either. The Nainital visit took it out of him.

You did write to me about your Conference taking a village. It might be possible to find someone. We shall discuss when you return.

The cottage is undergoing extensions.

Khadi Jagat is in the press. The Maharajah's order can be reported only next month which will be done.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Pyarelal is returning today or the day after. Prabha has returned. Vijaya will be coming in for a few days, so will Vasumati. Ramdas has been transferred to Nagpur. So Nimu and children will also come for a few days. And so the Ashram remains full. There are one or two new arrivals.

There is a clean bill of health.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4082. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7391

220. LETTER TO SARANGADHAR DAS

WARDHA, SEVAGRAM,
September 24, 1941

DEAR SARANGADHAR DAS,

Take your time before publishing my letter². It is he who is to be backed by considered plan.

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 10444. Courtesy: Government of Orissa

¹ Narendra Dev was released unconditionally on September 23.

² *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Sarangadhar Das", 6-9-1941

221. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

September 24, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

Do not lose heart. What does it matter if the fever has not left you completely? It is bound to leave you some day. The real cause has not been diagnosed, and hence this delay. You will certainly improve in the climate there. And also resolve in your mind that you will not allow yourself to become a burden on others.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9430

222. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

September 24, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What you write is worth thinking over. Put up the suggestion to me.

Lakshmibai has given me a description of Surgaon. Whatever we do, we shall do after careful thinking.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8484. Also C.W. 7157. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

223. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

September 24, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

Chi. Sarala is leaving today. I feel sad sending her back and she also does not feel happy to leave. she has become deeply attached to all—including the children. Sarala will sever her relationship with Chandravadan. She will do that only to please you and me, though she will do it honestly. She has not been convinced—is not likely to be easily convinced—that it is her moral duty to sever that relationship independently of other considerations. I wish to call Chandravadan, but only if you two are agreeable. Sarala and I talked about many

other things, too. She has permitted me to report to you everything. I will do that when either or both of you come here. Encourage her to come here whenever she feels inclined to do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7670. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

224. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 21, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI

Chimanlal told me about your blood-pressure. It is a warning to you. You need rest. If you go and hide yourself somewhere, you will be on your feet once again. Don't ignore the warning.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am not writing anything for Mahadev, for he will have left the place.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9126

225. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

September 24, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

Personally I feel the same way as you do, but I cannot be positive. I may have to change my mind after hearing the other party. You also should keep an open mind. We will do what we think necessary at that time. You should not be scared of what Saksena writes. By all means press everybody to come on the 4th. But it will be better if you consult in advance all those whose presence you consider necessary. It suppose Jamnalalji and Rajendra Babu will be the two such persons. I see no need to invite Satyanarayana¹ specially to attend.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10953

¹ M. Satyanarayana

226. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is a letter from you today. I am not happy about your studies getting interrupted for one reason or another. But neither you nor anyone else can do anything about it. It must be as God wills.

Annapura has also been a burden to some extent. I had thought that she would not get any fever there. She will no doubt recover with your treatment. But I shall be anxious until that happens.

I shall discuss Mother with Pyarelal. Difficulties will certainly arise if things do not turn out the way you write. Mother herself is so considerate that she will not be a burden to me. However, we shall do as you wish. I shall not insist in any way. I shall be fully prepared. I am absolutely fine. All the patients are well. Chakrayya had a fit of epilepsy again.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

227. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

September 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Bananas have to be brought for Doctor and the others. It would not be right to discontinue lemons. You will have to give rice or *khichri*¹. The amount of milk may be reduced. Jaggery only in porridge. Doctor and the others will have to be given this. The rest should be clearly thought out before acting. Some bananas have to be procured.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Ask Gajanan about the palm gur.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4405

¹ Rice and dal cooked together

228. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
September 24, 1941

I understand that uncertified dealers are issuing *hundies* for the Charkha Week. This is wholly unauthorized and harmful to khadi. I request the public to beware of unauthorized dealers in khadi.

The Hindu, 25-9-1941

229. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

September 25, 1941

BIRLA
AMRITNIWAS
MUSSOORIE
FEEL INADVISABLE INVITE SIRCAR.¹

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7864. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

230. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 25, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I wonder if I wrote to you about Mr. Hancock.² He may come in October as written by you. I hope he won't run up on 27th. I have cancelled that appointment and filled the day with others.

I am sorry to hear about Raja Saheb. You will be quite right in putting a check upon the loot. I know how difficult it all is. His death would certainly be a deliverance for him and to you all who are helpless witnesses to the tortures he is suffering.

Though the post leaves here daily at the appointed time evidently you receive two at a time.

I am keeping extraordinarily well.

I am thinking of going out for the Andrews Memorial about the

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to G. D. Birla", 25-9-1941

² *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 14-9-1941

middle of October. Nothing is fixed yet. But the idea is taking shape.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4084. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7393

231. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,

September 25, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Nanibehn Jhaveri has passed away. This seems incredible, but it is one of those acts of God which nobody can comprehend.

I understand about Allah Bux. I have of course told him that we will accept Maulana's decision. But I have also told him at the same time that, if he is convinced of the necessity of leaving, he should convince Maulana also and, resigning his office, go into the wilderness with the Congress. There is no breach of promise or anything like that in this. But let us leave it alone. When you come, we shall have a brief discussion about the pros and cons of the suggestion. My view regarding Sind is not new. But the old view has grown stronger and I hold it to be applicable to all provinces. I am in no hurry. The suggestion can be acted upon only if most of us accept it. "Most" includes Maulana also.

Do give, within reasonable limits, the time required by homoeopathy to cure you. I have heard much about the water at Hajira, but do not know about Deolali. Hajira may possibly agree with you. Everything else failing, you can try nature cure. But we should first meet and have a brief discussion.

The little girl's illness is getting prolonged. It seems from Manibehn's letter that she may even survive.

Rajendra Babu is all right. Jamnalaji's problem cannot still be said to have been solved.

I hope Bhulabhai will get well.

I am not writing separately to Mani.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I see that I will have to undertake a tour to collect contributions

for the Deenabandhu Memorial Fund. I intend to start it in the middle of October.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2. Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 255-6

232. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal did not come yesterday. I presume he will be coming today.

I might say I am doing very well. The patients are all fine. The right treatment for Chakrayya still eludes us. Prabhakar's case is peculiar. He is not having fever. He does not suffer from itch because he is not being given food. However, he continues to be troubled by sexual craving, and has discharges frequently. If you can think of a cause for this, let me know.

You must have adjusted your routine for studying.

After visiting Bombay it somehow seems that this time I met no-one of importance there.

How is the climate there ?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I may tour in connection with Deenabandhu Memorial Fund in October.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

233. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 25, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I clean forgot the matter concerning Sircar. Today I have sent a telegram¹; it would have reached in time. I believe he as well as we shall stand to lose if we invite him. If his love is true it would endure. The public will not be able to understand his acceptance of office in Government. Therefore from every point of view it would be better if he

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to G. D. Birla", 25-9-1941

did not receive public acclamation, but continued to lend prestige to their administration in the eyes of the public. It is true that we accept help from everyone but there is always a limit.

I hope your health is improving.``

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I will have to tour for the Deenabandhu Memorial [Fund] I intend to set out in the middle of October, Should I start from Delhi—Pilani?

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8049. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

234. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI JAKATDAR

September 25, 1941

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

To Jakatdarji I write in English but to you I shall write in Hindi. I was pained to hear of Father's condition. I congratulate you on your bravery.

You may make what use you think proper of the money you have collected. Whether any money can be spared from here we shall discuss when you come. I hope your work will prosper and you will be able to bring order to the work in the office.

Blessings from

BAPU

SAU. PRABHAVATIBAI JAKATDAR

CHAIRMAN, LOCAL BOARD

BHANDARA

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

235. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

[September 26, 1941]¹

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters. You should accept the proffered nomination on the Education Board.

I hope the Raja affair is being smoothed.

M[ahadev] is definitely coming tomorrow only to leave for Alwar on 29th. There is a rush to the Ashram. I simply can not stop it.

I never told you that Surendra was arrested and being tried in Wardha.

All well.

Hope you will be able to report yourself here by 15th October. Like you to be here in my absence.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

P[yarelal] came in yesterday.

From the original: C.W. 4085. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

236. *LETTER TO GHULAM RASOOL QURESHI*

September 26, 1941

CHI. QURESHI,

I have your letter. I am much delighted to know that spinning at your end is being conducted vigorously How is Kanjibhai² getting on with his betel-leaf-chewing?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10771. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

¹ The source has "24-9-41" written in someone else's hand which is evidently a slip since the postmark carries the date "26-9-41" and this is substantiated by the reference to Mahadev Desai's expected arrival the next day; *vide* "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 22-9-1941

² Kanaiyalal Desai

237. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
September 26, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. You already know my mind from what I wrote to you yesterday. It is not so hot here as you think. The nights are indeed pleasant. Of course, there are mosquitoes at the Bungalow¹. There will be no mosquitoes if you stay at Sevagram and sleep under the sky. And all other facilities are also available. It will be better, therefore, if you spend two or three days here. The idea about Deolali does not appeal to me. Hajira, of course, is well known.

Satyamurti writes and suggests that they should be permitted to attend the Assembly. I don't like the idea at all. Let me have your opinion.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 257

238. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

September 26, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I had sent a copy of my statement² to the Chief Minister of Burma and conveyed my views to him. He has sent me a cordial reply, accompanied by copies of his two statements before the Indian Delegation. You have presumably seen these letters. I think we can get something done if we have people working there too.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4737. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

¹ Jamnalal Bajaj's residence at Wardha

² On the Indo-Burman Agreement; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 24-8-1941

239. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I received your letter sent through Pyarelal.

Only when your routine of study is settled shall I feel sure that you are studying well.

I am discussing Mother. How can she be a burden to me ?

As for Annapurna, I suggest that you should keep her on a light diet. If T.B. is not suspected then her fever may come down by a diet of milk, fruit and leafy vegetables. But this is the suggestion of a quack. Do whatever you feel is right. I do not worry in the least about the patient who is left in your charge.

The enclosed letter is about Punjab.

Mahadev is coming tomorrow. He will leave here on the 29th and reach there on his way to Alwar.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

240. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 26, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. I am in agreement with your scheme. If there are six such organizations, they are bound to do some good. I also feel that for the present we cannot dispense with the matriculation examination. At the same time my opinion is that our curriculum should be such that the boys who reach the high school stage should have gained adequate knowledge which would enable them to find occupations or jobs when they leave school. The main point is that I like the thing and it can be given practical shape.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

About your health. Take as much exercise as your body can stand without discomfort.

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8050. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

241. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[September 27, 1941]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. How can you get into panic like that ? Annapurna's parents scared her. In this way, if they just arrive there, they will be sorry. When you spare no effort from your side, what more can one expect ? You should write to her father. He is a very good man.

Keep Anasuya with you only if you can bear the burden.

Durgabehn and Bablo have arrived. Durgabehn's pain in the thigh has become chronic.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

My weight went down by 1 lb. this time. Less intake of butter may be the reason. I am taking butter with some hesitation. Pressure of work could also be a reason.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

242. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR²

SEVAGRAM,

September 27, 1941

Today I have no time. I am sending you one letter. I am returning Mrs. Cousins's³ letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 4252. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7884

¹ From the reference to the arrival of Mahadev Desai in the preceding item and of Durga Desai and Bablo in this; *vide* also "Letter to Amrit Lal Chatterjee", 22-9-1941

² This is in the form of a postscript to Prabhavati's letter to the addressee dated September 27, 1941.

³ Margaret Cousins

243. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 28, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your little note. I have answered all your three questions. You should join the Women's Tagore Memorial Committee and Education Board. For Hancock let it be 4 p.m. on 11th October. I did not give the exact date. I am glad you are definitely on the mend.

The apples have come. Have not tasted them. Let it be once a month.

You will be pleased with this performance.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4086. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7395

244. LETTER TO SIR ROBERT E. HOLLAND

September 28, 1941

DEAR ROBERT,

Many thanks for your departing note. Of course I shall look forward to your note and your letters from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SIR R. E. HOLLAND
1180 DRUMMOND
CANADA

From a photostat: G.N. 5667

245. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

September 28, 1941

DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

You seem to have written something to Shankerlal. Whatever the cause his health has taken a sudden turn for the worse. Therefore please cease all correspondence with him.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10156

246. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

September 28, 1941

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I learnt, by chance, only the day before yesterday about your having failed. You have not failed only in one subject. This indicates that you lack aptitude for law. This is true of many people. There have been great men who were deficient in certain capacities. Everybody cannot be a mathematician. One should follow the path indicated by one's gifts. I would, therefore, urge you to give up your ambition of passing the examination and to devote yourself exclusively to your business. Whatever little knowledge of law you have acquired will remain with you. I do wish, of course, that you should improve your English. But if you are disinclined to that labour, I will not insist on that either. I should also like you to be tested thoroughly by an able professor and you should then agree to learn whatever subject he finds you have an aptitude for. I wish, too, that you should come here as early as possible and take the children to Rangoon. Urmi is pining for Rangoon all the time. She has now got tired of Sevagram. Appa has not been happy here from the very beginning. In these circumstances, the children will not progress. From every point of view, therefore, I suggest that you come over here, have a discussion and then go to Rangoon.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1019. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

247. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I am not going to worry at all about Annapurna.

Ultimately, it is I who will have to think about Mother. Pyarelal is vacillating. If there is a difference of view, he is more in favour of having her here.

If Mother does come, I would like to shift to the old hut and the portion of the hospital which I am using. I would return to the hospital where Mother can stay. Sankaran will no doubt serve her well. Mother can separately cook for herself whatever she wants. Pyarelal

thinks that Mother can help in the hospital. What do you think about all this ? Consult Mother also.

The *ghee* turned out to be expensive. How can I bear the thought that it was made at home from 64 lbs. of milk ?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

248. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

September 28, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your postcard. I have more information from M. Now you must concentrate on your studies. I do not forbid you to come here. But you are not going to study while here. And it is necessary to study. I would prefer that you made up your mind to come only after passing your examination. I can arrange for your independent stay during the holidays. Prabhavati has arrived. Rajkumari has not come yet. We are all well.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI LILAVATI UDESHI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
65 MINT ROAD
BOMBAY FORT

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

249. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

September 28, 1941

CHI. PANNALAL,

You will have received my letter. If you are not already on your way here, both you and Gangabehn should be right away. You must lighten your heart.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 33

250. LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

September 29, 1941

MY DEAR RATHI,

I had your letter of 14th instant.

I am glad Dr. Abanindra Babu has been elected¹. Please give him my congratulations. I would only have accepted the responsibility if I could not have escaped it. At my time of life the natural desire is to lessen the burdens, not to add to them.

I can give myself no rest till the five lacs are collected. I shall avoid travelling so far as I can but I dare not, if the full amount is not forthcoming. It is a debt I owe both to Gurudev's and Deenabandhu's memory.

I shall be glad when you are free to come here.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2292

251. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 29, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. We can easily accept the Kapurthala terms. If a good local man can be obtained you can open a bhandar there. Why should [not]² the State produce its own khadi? I suppose there is not enough atmosphere for it.

J[amnalalji] is getting on. His mind is still weak. He has shouldered a big burden in the shape of a Cow Service Sangh. A preliminary meeting is going on today. I have to attend tomorrow. Will you care to join? It is again specially woman's work. She spins, she milks, she bears, she keeps the house. Daughter दुहिता—milk-maid.

I have redirected two packets. Bul's letter I have destroyed. She has written another letter. I think the thing will end favourably.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3679. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6488

¹ President of the Visvabharati

² From *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*

252. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, HINDU MAHASABHA,
SHIMOGA*

September 29, 1941

THE SECRETARY
HINDU MAHASABHA
SHIMOGA, MYSORE STATE

DEAR SECRETARY,

Your signature is indecipherable.

I have known In the national flag used in Ganapati processions. It is wrong to use the national flag on temples.

The Congress is a national organization in that it is open to all without distinction of race or creed. The Congress has as much or as little to do with Hindu festivals as with any other.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6839

253. *LETTER TO JIVARAJ*

September 29, 1941

So far as I am personally concerned, the feeling grows upon me that the possession of land and property is a nuisance and a burden. Those who wish to travel should have as little luggage as possible and I want to get rid of my superfluous baggage.

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

254. *LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 29, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I daily read about you. The Chief Justice has given you good publicity. Sir Tej has deservedly praised you. Some of your replies are wonderfully effective. Shivnathbhai keeps me informed about you. You have cast a spell on him. Ba hears everything about you. Munnalal reads the reports to her with great interest. She is no more afraid of [your] imprisonment.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DEVDAS GANDHI
HINDUSTAN TIMES BUILDING
NEW DELHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2141

255. *LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA*

September 29, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

It is very good indeed that you are regaining confidence. I want you to be fully restored. Go on learning new things while there. I am sure you are lightening Grandmother's burden. Do not be in a hurry to resume work. Everything is going on quite well here. We remember you all the time.

Nanibehn Jhaveri died all of a sudden of heart failure. She was a dedicated worker.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9431

256. *LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI*

September 29, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

I have received your letter. Ask Father not even to think of writing to me. When his health is restored, he may come here instead

of writing to me. Meanwhile it is enough that I go on writing to him.

You had mentioned about your resignation from the presidency. I had omitted to reply. I too consider your resignation proper. Consult Father, and also Sardar, about your successor. Send me the name suggested by the two of them.

Have you received a complaint against one Sharma? I too have received its copy. Let me know all about it and do the needful.

Blessings from

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

257. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. If I have to tour, I would prefer to have you with me. In all likelihood the touring will be put off. Let us see what happens. Even if I have to go, I shall of course be careful.

Annapurna appears to have turned the corner. A great hurdle will have been overcome if her fever goes. Chakrayya has been invited by Lakshmi pati. He will keep him at his own mansion. I am sending him there tomorrow.

I understand about Prabhakar. I am myself looking after him. Your advice will help.

Enclosed is a cutting for Annapurna.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

258. GUARD AGAINST CREDIT

In this business of khadi, as in any other, I know that we sell on credit to increase the sales but ultimately suffer losses. While I was practising law in South Africa I used to examine the accounts of hundreds of businessmen who were my clients. They used to provide 25 per cent for bad debts. As a result they would charge a very high rate of profit. Some of them would go bankrupt. My experience of conducting *Indian Opinion*, *Navajivan*, *Young India* and *Harijan* has shown me that we escaped losses because we never sold on credit. Nor

did this policy adversely affect the number of our subscribers. One direct benefit of this policy was that only those subscribed to these periodicals who cared for them. There can however be no comparison between khadi and other kinds of business. Khadi is an altruistic affair. It is conceived as service to the starving millions. Then why should we sell khadi on credit?

My personal conviction therefore is that under no circumstances and to no person should we sell khadi on credit. If we firmly followed this policy we shall spare ourselves much unnecessary expenditure and can even bring down the price of khadi. And simultaneously we shall be able to give our customers satisfaction.

It is a general rule of the Charkha Sangh that no bhandar under its jurisdiction shall release goods on credit. I am afraid everyone has not been able to observe this rule hundred per cent. I submit that mere enunciation of a rule whose importance we cannot appreciate is not much good. I hope, therefore, that all khadi workers will clearly understand the policy of not giving credit and then follow it unfailingly.

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, September 1941

259. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I have also read the letter to Pyarelal. This letter will be going with the late fee. Today there was a Goseva meeting in Nalwadi which took three hours. I returned from there at 5.30 p.m. After that I had my meal. I am writing this after prayer.

Pyarelal will be offering satyagraha tomorrow. Today he has worked like mad. I did not think it was proper to postpone it after his arrival here. His work will always be there. So, I decided on tomorrow. Now I shall prepare the statement¹ for him.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Krishnachandra", 12-5-1941

260. LETTER TO VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 30, 1941

CHI. SARUP,

I have your letter. I understand about the Vice- Chancellorship. Whatever people may say about the Lucknow Jail, what happened was for the best. People will always complain. We must put up with it.

I haven't seen the papers concerning the Chunar Jail. Perhaps you forgot to send them. Be that as it may, my opinion about that Jail is the same as about other jails. Hunger-strikes are permissible only when self-respect is at stake. This can be minimized by keeping the movement pure. We must understand the limitations of hunger-strike. After a few other prisoners are released I shall certainly send for them.

Mahadev may go to Dehra Dun on the 5th.

Now I have answered all your questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

261. A NOTE

September 30, 1941

I have given my yarn to Bibi Sultana. She will sell it and the money it fetches will go to the Deenabandhu Memorial.

M. K. GANDHI

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

262. SPEECH AT GOSEVA SANGH MEETING

NALWADI,
September 30, 1941

You should adopt a simple and brief constitution without provision for so many categories of members. All the members should be of one category and there should be no patrons at all. Those who contribute will do so not for the sake of name. Some of them may contribute anonymously and may not even like to disclose their names.

You don't stand to gain by having various categories of membership. The members are not going to have any privileges. Our purpose is to render service, not to enjoy privileges. Even ten or twenty members capable of rendering concrete service would suffice. Every member must be bound by the condition to use only cow's milk, ghee, etc., and leather made from dead cattle. In this no laxity should be permitted. A small committee to carry on the work of the society may be formed.

I formed the opinion, even while in South Africa, that we would have to give up the lure of buffalo's milk and ghee. Cow-protection helps protection of the buffalo also. It cannot be that everybody would give up buffalo's milk but there is real danger of people giving up cow's milk. If, therefore, we do not protect the cow, both the buffalo and the cow are sure to be doomed.

Our fault is—this is a fault found in all men, but more particularly among Indians—that we grab what is easily available and we let go what is difficult to obtain. People find khadi, village industries organization and the like inexpensive and convenient. They prefer buffalo milk because it is sweet and cheap.

Since the times of the Vedas we have been glorifying the cow—not the buffalo. Had the cow not been so glorified, it would have perished and along with it the buffalo. I have studied the comparative figures of the cows and buffaloes in India. Both are in plenty but neither of them is making any progress. So long as it pays him, the milkman keeps the cow or the buffalo after which he sells them to the butcher. The butcher utilizes the proceeds for purchasing more cattle. The cow-protectionwallahs purchase these cows or buffaloes in order to save them from the butcher's knife. A couple of cows are saved in this manner but it spells disaster for the cow in general. The correct remedy, therefore, lies in forgetting the cow already sold and in investing funds for improving the breed, raising its value and in teaching cattle-keepers their dharma.

Let no one fear that the buffalo will become extinct if all give up its milk and ghee. As I have already told you this will hardly happen and even if it did there would be no harm. The buffalo will return to the jungle. What we must protect is the cow and, because the milk of both is useful, the buffalo will also be saved along with the cow. But if instead of following the scientific method everybody, in the name of cow-protection, sets about acting according to his own fancy, both the cow and the buffalo are sure to be doomed. It was mainly owing to our ignorance that so many other things in our country similarly met their doom. We can realize our duty towards the

animal world and discharge it by wisely pursuing our dharma of service to the cow. At the root of cow-protection is the realization of our dharma towards the sub-human species. But our service to the cow is service only in name and all of us are therefore tending to forget our dharma.

Statistically speaking, India has one-fourth of the world's cattle population. But the plight of our cattle is worse than that of the human population, bad as it is.

One who serves the cow must take cow's milk only and not goat's milk. I take goat's milk out of my helplessness. But the members of the Cow-protection Society must take only cow's milk and ghee and use only leather made from dead cows and buffaloes. Where even cows and buffaloes are being slaughtered, how can one get leather made from dead goats? Mankind has till this day taken it for granted that the goat is born only to be butchered. Today being Dussehra, in Calcutta thousands of goats must have been sacrificed to Goddess Kali.

Ghee should not present any problem for the rich. Just as they carry with them some lavender, Eau de Cologne and a toothbrush, similarly they should also have cow's ghee or else they should not think of cow-protection. The problem of milk is not as simple as that of ghee. In Almora cow's milk is not available at any cost. The same condition prevails in Orissa. We can make milk by dissolving *mava*¹ in water. We use Horlicks powder because it is a good thing and easily digestible. But why should we not make a similar powder here? We should acquire the scientific knowledge and make it locally so that powder milk could be available even at the top of the Himalayas.

Jamnalal's health is not so good that he can be allowed to go to jail again. If he falls ill after going there I shall not be able to bear it. This struggle is going to be a prolonged one. When the time comes I shall myself ask him to leave everything and go to jail. But today it is my duty not to send him to jail. What should be his field of activity then? He placed before me a few suggestions such as Harijan [work], khadi, cow-protection, etc. Of them I liked cow-protection. He was associated with this work from its inception and whatever work has so far been done has not been wasted. It was by and large being conducted according to my own understanding and advice. Now it will be run under Jamnalalji's guidance.

Cow-protection is service to the dumb creation. Today Harijans are weak but tomorrow they can become strong and make progress on

¹ Milk boiled to solid form

their own, for they possess all the human faculties. If tomorrow Harijans rise and take possession of temples, I shall dance [for joy]. But the cow has no such strength. She can be strong and healthy only if we feed her. She will always be a docile animal. You may hit or even kill her, but she cannot revolt against you. Who is then going to protect her? Jannalal's spiritual craving will be satisfied by serving the cow. I have, therefore, entrusted this work entirely to him and he will run it with his business instinct as well as his altruistic disposition.

Cow-protection is a stupendous task. We will have to study this science in a dispassionate manner. We must bring together all those who have studied this subject from the modern scientific angle. We should have a band of efficient *gosevaks* who can go where demanded. If Swami Ananda wishes to come he may, though he can carry on the work in Thana itself. He should decide about the area of his activity and concentrate his energy there. In this way, let us take the map of India and divide it into ten or hundred divisions. The person in charge of each division will send in his report. There are a number of goshalas in India which should be inspected and run on proper lines. If an expert is required anywhere we should be in a position to send one.

It requires a man of purity to become a servant of the cow. A person of ability alone will not do. I see no need of touring at present for this work. It should be possible to do a lot of work while stationed at one place. To begin with, from now on we can supply cow's milk in Wardha itself to those who are prepared to use it.

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, December 1941

263. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

September 30, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This will go with late fee. Your long letter. I have not missed the two days you mention. But the post here is a curious thing. These are the drawbacks of village life. I revel in them.

You are quite right in not paying anything to the Sammelan as you have never appreciated their activity. My No has been sent already for reasons of my own.

I shall [see]¹ what can be done about Suman². Let him write to

¹ From *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*

² Ramnath 'Suman', a Hindi poet

Jajuji.

If I go out I would like you to look after Sevagram. But that can be only if you are quite fit. But if you are not, you can certainly stay on there till after my return. I would [leave]¹ it entirely to you. If I go, I hardly think I can finish the tour under twenty days or even a month. Much will depend upon my health and invitations.

I have not given away your pen for good.² I told Mira that it was yours and that you had specially put it in my rack for use by me only. But for the moment I had no other. So on your return we shall fix up something for her and get back what I have given her. Just now I am using Lilavati's and the one Mira has returned.

I had a meeting of new Goseva Sangh at Nalwadi.³ It was good and business-like because of Jamnalalji. It was begun punctually and finished in time.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4087. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7357

*264. CABLE TO HAJEE E. M. PARUK, NATAL INDIAN
CONGRESS*⁴

September 1941

E. M. PARUK
NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS
37 ALBERT STREET
DURBAN

WISH SUCCESS. HOPE INTERNAL DISSENSIONS COMPOSED.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ From *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*

² *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 21-9-1941

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

⁴ The addressee, a sugar-mill owner, became President of the Natal Indian Congress in 1940 when a group led by A. I. Kajeer revived the NIC, refusing to recognize the amalgamation of the NIC and the Colonial-born and Indian Settlers Association in 1939 to form the Natal Indian Association.

265. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 1, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I sent you a long letter posted this morning with late fee. It was written last night.

Your brief note today. So you got three letters at a time. They answer all your questions, I have sent an appointment for 11th for Hancock. He has now sent a long wire for a wire to be sent to his paper. How can I cope with such work? I am trying.

Herewith a letter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4088. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7397

266. A LETTER¹

[October 1, 1941]²

DEAR SISTER,

Your son telegraphs to me about your illness. I am glad you are not insisting on his release. May God give you peace and restore you. His will be done, not ours.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10332. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

267. LETTER TO DODDAMATHI

October 1, 1941

DEAR DODDAMATHI,

I had your wire. I am glad about your decision. I have written to your mother. May God bless her.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10331. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

¹ This and the following item were displayed at the Mysore Pavilion, Gandhi Darshan, New Delhi, 1969-70.

² *Vide* the following item.

268. LETTER TO TAYYEBULLA

October 1, 1941

DEAR TAYYEBULLA,

I was glad to have your and Sarma's letters. Someone will be going [to] Assam. My regards to you both and the others who may be with you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 62

269. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Pyarelal courted arrest today. It was a beautiful sight. All of us went up to the outskirts of Sevagram. Even after that we continued to walk in procession. The village people washed his feet at every step, did *arati* and thus the procession went on to Barbadi.

Most probably an account of the proceedings will go along with this.

He worked the whole night. Then he slept by my side for a little while and then went with a smiling face.

I am sending herewith his letter and other enclosures.

BAPU

[P.S.]

You must have received my letter of yesterday sent with late fee.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

270. MESSAGE TO STATES' PEOPLE

October 1, 1941

I hold strong and decided views on the relationship between the Princes and the people. I am convinced that, in the new world order, which is bound to follow the insensate butchery, dignified by the name of war, the Princes will have place only if they become true servants of

the people, deriving their power not from the sword but from the love and consent of the people.

Such being my fixed view, I advise the people of the States to cultivate patience and prepare themselves for the responsibilities that will devolve on them, willy-nilly, by assiduously doing mute constructive work.

This does not mean submission to active and acute tyranny, of which I have so many accounts coming to me. This the victims must resist in the best manner they can. The only best manner I know is the way of non-violence, otherwise called conscious and deliberate self-suffering. But cases of individual torture and degradation have come under my notice. If they are true and if the tortured persons do not know the way of non-violence, they will resist the tortures with all the violence they can summon from within and die in the attempt to resist the torture and the degradation. That violent resistance will almost count as non-violence, even as the resistance of a mouse to a ferocious cat will count. I have in mind an unarmed man under torture by an armed company of torturers. No man, however weak in body, if he has the will to resist and the capacity to die bravely, need feel helpless against odds, however heavy.

I would like the Princes to accept my claims to be their true friend. As such, I would like to tell them that the way to read the signs of the times is to realize the utter helplessness of the sword. The Biblical saying is going to prove true sooner than we had expected: "For all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

The Hindu, 3-10-1941

271. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI¹

October 2, 1941²

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

HOMI VILLA

PANCHGANI

JAMNALALJI LEAVING TOMORROW. SEE YOU SUNDAY.
GOD'S WILL OUR LAW. WIRE CONDITION.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 248

¹ The addressee was critically ill; *vide* the following item.

² From *Bapuni Prasadi*

272. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

October 2, 1941

According to me you have escaped death. I was afraid that you might not survive. Don't you think, therefore, that you have really escaped. Don't worry about anything. Let Bombay sink into the Back Bay if it will.¹ If Janaka² did not feel the least concerned while Janakapuri was burning, why should we prove ourselves weaker than Janaka? Shouldn't we do better than he? How we can do that, only God knows. But Janaka himself has shown us how we can be like him.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 181

273. LETTER TO TARAMATI M. TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,

October 2, 1941

Great is your burden. Jamnalalji is going there. He will stay there for one or two days. Tell Mathuradas that I think of him the whole day. Ask him to have patience and mediate on God. He should not lose courage. And you, especially, should not at all get frightened. Life and death are in God's hands. But as long as one is alive one must serve and should repeat God's name.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 181

274. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 2, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You must now be preparing to come here. Mathuradas is seriously ill. You had better send someone to him. I have already written to Radha. I am thinking of sending Jamnalalji. I hope you are getting along all right.

¹ The addressee was Mayor of Bombay.

² Sita's father, a king known for his perfect non-attachment

³ Wife of Mathuradas Trikumji

A *goseva* sangh has been recently formed. It is a new field of service for Jamnalalji.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Jamnalal will start tomorrow. From there he will go to Mathuradas. I have your letter. Mahadev will have to be forced to travel second class. What is the progress concerning Andrews [Memorial Fund]?

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 257

275. LETTER TO MADALASA

October 2, 1941

CHI. MADALASA,

I trust you are in good health. If you have any problem, let me know. It has now become impossible for Dr. Das to go there and be of service. I hope, however, that nothing much remains to be done. Take proper care of your diet. Do not eat dal, spices and things cooked in ghee. You may satisfy your palate later. Just now observe self-control for the sake of the baby.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 321

276. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

October 2, 1941

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I am afraid you will not get the letter sent with Marybehn. It is with the censor. Perhaps you may get it belatedly.

At present everything has become irregular. Things will be more irregular still. The surprising thing is that even this much order has been kept. Our little troubles don't count at all when thousands are being massacred every day.

Both of us keep good health.

Ramdas has become our neighbour now. At present he appears to be calm. His health also has improved a little.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4922

277. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Today the Ashram is teeming with people. They just keep coming. The spinning-wheels are plying. I too gave an hour to it.

I have understood about Mother. Now it is for you and me to decide. Even if this building is handed over for the hospital, Mother can still stay in your room. What does she herself desire ? Is she willing to come ? Is she enthusiastic ? Discuss it with her and write to me. In whatever is done, we have to think of what will be convenient to you and Mother. What inconvenience can it cause me ? If I think of all these people at the Ashram as an inconvenience, then Mother too would be an inconvenience. Ultimately, she has to come here. Hence, while taking a decision do not assume that she may be a burden to me.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

278. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

October 2, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Your letter. Ahimsa was born along with man. Hitler too does not kill his own people. This is ahimsa though in a very limited measure. As ahimsa is the very nature of the *atman*, either man comes to it out of weariness or accepts it willingly, as we are trying to do. Know that our endeavour in comparison with the achievement of a

*siddha*¹ is like a drop in the ocean. But the drop also has the essence of the ocean, so it is no small thing. The rest when you come here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5652. Also C.W. 2963. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

279. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA²

October 2, 1941

CHI. BRIJKRISHNAJI,

I am wearing the dhoti sent by you. Remain cheerful.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2484

280. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

October 2, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your letter. I think it would be good if Feroze³ went along with you. If he himself wants to stay on I have no objection. We shall be able to talk more when you come over tomorrow.

I hope Madalasa is well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3024

281. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

October 2, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. Jamnalal leaves everything to you. He thinks that I should be taken to other places too. I do not want to go to

¹ One who has attained perfection

² This is a postscript to Prabhavati's letter to the addressee.

³ Feroze Gandhi who was expected to come the next day

Ahmedabad. I may go if I am invited. I should be taken only to places from where we hope to collect funds. Jannalal thinks that this is the season when rich people stay in their homes. I do not insist that I should begin [my tour] in the middle of this month either from Delhi or Pilani. Do what is right. You will meet Mahadev and decide in consultation with him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8051. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

282. *SPEECH AT GANDHI JAYANTI MEETING*

October 2, 1941

However mean or insignificant the work may be, God values it more, provided it is done for service and without any hope of return. Thus sweepers' work is more valuable if it is done selflessly and with the motive of serving.

Gandhiji appealed to the audience to help in cow-protection work, in preserving the cow which was now perishing due to neglect. The evil, if not checked, would, he said, result in serious deterioration of the agricultural wealth of the country.

In conclusion, he appealed to them to develop charkha and spinning. I do not value my Jayanti Day, but I call it 'Charkha Jayanti'.

Gandhiji told the villagers that he would come every night amongst them for prayer, provided they liked it, as this would establish increased contact with them, but they must be punctual and regular.¹

The Hindu, 3-10-1941

283. *TELEGRAM TO RAGHUNANDAN SARAN*²

[On or after *October 2, 1941*]³

MAY HOSPITAL SERVE POOR.

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Gandhiji distributed prizes for the best cows exhibited by the villagers.

² This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated October 2, 1941, seeking Gandhiji's blessings on the occasion of the opening of a charitable Ayurvedic hospital by the Lok Sevak Sangh.

³ To the Education Board; *vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 26-9-1941

284. STATEMENT IN COURT ¹

SEVAGRAM,
October 3, 1941

It is no pleasure for me to appear before this court for the third time except the natural pleasure one derives from the performance of one's duty. But for the peremptory call of duty I should not have reappeared before this court.

Deep meditation for which jail life provides an ample opportunity has convinced me more than ever of the correctness of the Congress resolution to offer civil disobedience in vindication of the right of free speech to the extent of inviting those who listen to oppose the war in every shape or form.

The rivers of blood that are daily flowing in this war which is without parallel in barbarity and ferocity should convince even the confirmed sceptic of the utter immorality of the war. Except for hypnotism which hardens even the sense of perception, there should not be any difficulty in preceiving the crime against humanity which the present war means.

It is difficult to strike the balance between the right and the wrong. The right can only belong to the party that washes its hands clean of blood-guiltiness and dares the aggressor by accepting the law of self-suffering through non-violent action to do his worst.

Though seemingly the Congress fight is in defence of the right to preach against association with all wars or at least this war, it is none the less an effort to convince the world of the immeasurable superiority of non-violent action over the violent resistance even in a cause considered just.

Let no one attribute ineffectiveness to the studied mildness of the Congress action. Actions appearing insignificant have led before now to astounding results. Those of us who are privileged to take part in the struggle have a living faith that our civil disobedience will lead to a result fraught with the greatest benefit to mankind.

The Hindustan Times, 4-10-1941

¹ Drafted by Gandhiji for Pyarelal who filed this after the charge was framed against him for offering individual satyagraha. He was awarded 12 months' simple imprisonment; *vide* also "Letter to Rammanohar Lohia", 11-5-1941

285. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

October 3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. I repeat that you should accept the nomination.

I have already told you, my touring is uncertain. I agree that if you are not completely restored or otherwise, too, if you feel the benefits of Simla climate, you should stay away during my absence. Indeed if you feel the benefit, you should prolong your stay till you are completely restored.

P.'s trial was finished this morning. Judgment will be pronounced this afternoon. Madalasa gave birth to a son. All are happy.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4089. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7398

286. *LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL*

October 3, 1941¹

CHI. AMBUJAM,²

I am using your cheque for Deenabandhu Memorial. I am glad to have good news about Kichi and his wife. I never expected anything but great courage from Mother. The weather in Sevagram has been good. I am inquiring about the box you left with me. I sent it to Bombay there and then, and forgot all about it. I am glad you reminded me.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI AMBUJAM AMMAL

96 MOWBRAY'S ROAD

ALWARPET³

MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 9617. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

¹ These are in Devanagari script.

² *ibid*

³ In Tamil script

287. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

October 3, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

You will be at the bend tomorrow Saturday at 5 p.m. when a tonga will be waiting for you to take you to Madalasa.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Better come here at 5 p.m. and you will go with Rajen Babu.

From the original: C.W. 6489. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9884

288. *LETTER TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, C.P.,

October 3, 1941

DEAR KAMALADEVI,

I got your letter only yesterday. It was received earlier but I don't succeed in reaching the post the day it is received. I am glad you have returned home after a long absence. You can come on Sunday or Tuesday next. You will be more comfortable at the Bungalow but you could come directly to the Ashram if you will prefer. We shall talk at 4.00 p.m. on either date.

I hope you are quite well.

Love.

BAPU

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

289. *NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

[October 3, 1941]¹

You have to learn the art of not feeling pained at anything. That means absence of feeling of pleasure. The more you cultivate that equimindedness, the better instrument you will be of service.

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

¹ As noted by the addressee

290. LETTER TO MADALASA

October 3, 1941

CHI. MADALASA,

I received your letter after I had written to you yesterday. Now there is no need to reply to your letter. You have gone through a great ordeal.¹ The doctor is going to visit you. Won't you forgive me? You have to come over here to let me have your *darshan*. Be cheerful. Take great care of your diet. The doctor who goes there will tell me everything.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 321

291. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,

October 3, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. You have written in a very small hand. Did you have to send it by air mail ?

Sardar is definitely coming. Then I shall discuss your questions. There is no reason to be scared. You and I want to do away with bitterness through sweetness. We want to combat ill-will with love, anger with poise.

The Shanti Sangh affair should be organized. I shall think about it. Come whenever you wish.

Mahadev will not be reaching here before the 7th. He may be delayed further.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11219. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

¹ The addressee had a safe first delivery after some initial fears.

292. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Pyarelal has written from prison. I am sending you the letter.

I understand about Annapurna. There is no need now to write to Rajkumari because she has now almost recovered. And she has written that her brother would not let her go anywhere. He insists that she should regain her health only at Simla.

I am enclosing a copy of Pyarelal's statement. The rest later. The trial was in the morning. The judgement will be given at 3 o'clock. If I have any news, I shall include it in this letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

There is nothing certain about Lakshmi pati. Let us see when he builds the house. If he does build one he plans to do it near the hill.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

293. TELEGRAM TO PROPRIETOR,
HITIASHI AUSHADHALAYA

[On or after *October 3, 1941*]¹

THANKS. BLESSINGS.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

294. LETTER TO D. D. SATHYE

October 4, 1941

DEAR DR. SATHYE,

Many thanks for your letter.

I have in mind your suggestions. I am considering what is possible. I can only take what people give.

Chhotubhai's suggestion cannot be worked. We need no groups as suggested. Everyone has to satisfy the lowest test. Nor is Diwakar's practicable. Some districts will give more some less. This is a voluntary

¹ The addressee's telegram under reply was dated October 3, 1941.

effort. I should be wholly satisfied, if only true men and women went, no matter how few they are.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

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

295. LETTER TO R. ACHYUTHAN

October 4, 1941

DEAR ACHYUTHAN,

I was glad to receive your frank letter. Much misunderstanding arises from ignorance pure and simple. Give my regard to all.

Yours,

BAPU

(M. K. GANDHI)

SHRI R. ACHYUTHAN
STUDENT DETENU, CENTRAL JAIL
RAJAHMUNDRY
ANDHRA

From a photostat: G.N. 10851

296. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

October 4, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours.

Again the pain. I suppose it will come and go till at last it is itself exhausted in the effort, if we do not feed it. That is nature's way. And you are following it, I am sure. No fried chips or anything of the sort.

You did not tell me about this exposition of the Bible. But having met ma[n]y Seventh-day Adventists, I can understand his zeal.

We shall discuss the propriety of your joining the Goseva Sangh.

Of course you can resign from the Ed[ucation] Board if it became necessary.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4090. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7399

297. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 4, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

We shall meet soon now. However, I wish to write about one thing. Manibehn writes and tells me that . . .¹ will appear for mill-owners in a case against workers. I cannot believe this. But how can Mani make such a mistake? At first, therefore, I thought of writing to . . .² On second thoughts, however, I feel that there was no need for me to write while you were there. You yourself can solve the problem. If Mani is right, send for . . .³ and tell him that, if at all, he should appear on behalf of the workers. He cannot appear on behalf of the mill-owners under any circumstances. The other point is that, so far as I understand, . . .⁴ was not to resume practice. He has dedicated himself to national service. He may accept a brief in special circumstances. But if he starts practice like any other lawyer, his conduct would deserve the severest condemnation. I am quite clear in my mind that he was not to resume practice. He has left the Congress in order to clarify his position from a moral point of view. But in all other respects he is a Congressman. I had thought that by leaving the Congress he had, like me, become more of a Congressman. He seemed frank and straightforward to me, is capable of responding to an appeal to the heart and of self-sacrifice, and is a man ready to correct his error. If you share this impression, send for him and explain this to him. We should treat him as a Congressman for all practical purposes.

I suppose you know that Maulana wants . . . to leave the Assembly. I see no such need. Rajendra Babu does not see any, nor does the Professor. I think you also do not see any. Am I right? Or do I stand corrected?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Do you know Madalasa has given birth to a son? She is fine.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 258-9

¹ The names are omitted in the source.

² *ibid*

³ J. B. Kripalani

⁴ The names are omitted in the source.

298. NOTE TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 4, 1941

I like this short and succinet draft¹. But secure the approval of all.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

299. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 4, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I had the previous one, too. The constitution drafted by you seems all tight. It is enclosed. I have signed my approval on the draft itself.²

The programme there succeeded very well indeed. Dhiru proved to be of great help. By the 2nd, you will perhaps have reached the figure of one lakh. The Iord's will prevails. Kanaiyo left yesterday for Calcutta to complete his training in photography. Abha might come with him. Everything is left to her father.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8593. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

300. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 4, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Herewith another letter from Pyarelal. Send back the letter I forwarded to you yesterday, or a copy of it or the portion with which I have to deal. I thought I would remember everything. But now I see that I have forgotten something.

Everything went off well this time. Jamnalalji also sat with him for an hour in the court and talked. Ba also sat there and talked. He

¹ Of the constitution of the Kathiawar Khadi Board

² *Vide* the preceding item.

will most probably be taken to Nagpur today. The patients Nirmal Singh and Ram Saran Das have recovered and left for Punjab yesterday.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

301. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 5, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. Whatever happens, you belong to Sevagram. And you will serve whether you are bodily in Sevagram or elsewhere. Therefore no worry please. You must shed the nervousness too about being ill in Sevagram. I have decided not to worry or to worry as little as I do, say, about Ba or, say, Ramsarandas.

All well here.

The weather began to be chilly from yesterday.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4091. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7400

302. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

October 5, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA,

I have your letter of 28th ultimo. I had your previous letter too. I thank you for both.

The copy of Polak's letter is important. He has developed of late a strange attitude on Indian affairs. It is not less unfortunate because it is sincerely held. What he considers unreal is altogether real for us. Pakistan may be unreal. I hold it to be dangerous. But it is too real to be dismissed with contempt. C[ivil] D[isobedience] may be unreal. But I should resent anybody calling it unreal. Sir Tej Bahadur's wrath is not unreal. It is symptomatic of the Indian temper. I know nobody who considers this war to be India's war. The utter disregard of the sentiment of politically-minded India is a dangerous reality.

I can heartily share Polak's hope that you may be used by God

for bringing peace between the two communities. Polak has forgotten what he knew before as well as I do, that the Princes are not free agents. They have no will but the British will, they have no status but what the British may give them from moment to moment. To say that we must produce an agreement to which the Princes are party is as much as to say that the British should be party.

You may send this to Polak, if you think it will serve any useful purpose. I have simply given you my reaction to Polak's, if only in appreciation of your considerateness in sending me the copy.

I hope you have no difficulty in deciphering my writing.

With regards to you and the family.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2186

303. LETTER TO L. KRISHNASWAMI BHARATI

October 5, 1941

DEAR KRISHNASWAMI,

I was glad to have your full letter.¹

In the circumstances mentioned by you, the wisest course is to withdraw your name from the list of satyagrahis. It would mean not the slightest reflection on you. In this long struggle every true man or woman will have an ample chance. And I shall be more than satisfied if you work the constructive programme with a scientist's zeal. Without the backing of that programme, C.D. means nothing in terms of the nation.

Yours,

BAPU

SHRI L. KRISHNASWAMI BHARATI, M.L.A.

ADVOCATE

MADURA, SOUTH INDIA

From the original: C.W. 9268. Courtesy: L. Krishnaswami Bharati

¹ In his letter dated September 27, 1941, the addressee who had been just released had expressed inability to reoffer himself for arrest in the near future in view of his family circumstances.

304. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1941

MY DEAR ANNADA,

There is no point in your seeking satisfaction, for he has covered the loan.¹ My satisfaction was relevant because if he had been wrong, he would have been guilty of prevarication and I could not be quite the same to him as before. If you do not see this point, pursue it further. I do not want to shut you off without giving you satisfaction.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

305. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

October 5, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

I have your clean letter. May your self-confidence bear fruit and may you pass the examination.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1020. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

306. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 5, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have both your letters. All right, go to Nasik for a while and then come over here. All I want is that you should get well. Fortune may smile on a man any time if he but remains alive. It will be a great thing if Mathuradas survives. Madalasa and her baby are fine. I have

¹ The addressee, in his letter dated September 28, had requested Gandhiji to go into the accounts of Khadi Pratishthan with particular reference to the use of A.I.S.A. money by Satis Chandra Das Gupta.

not gone to inquire after them. You must have received my letter of yesterday.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 259

307. LETTER TO POPATLAL CHUDGAR

October 5, 1941

BHAI POPATLAL,

I chanced upon your letter as I was going through all the files. There is no sign on it indicating my having acknowledged it. I have a faint impression that I had asked Bhai Kishorelal to send you an acknowledgement. If he has not done so, please do not think, therefore, that your letter was ignored. I have read it. The suggestions made in it do not seem to me practical at present.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI POPATLAL CHUDGAR

BARRISTER

RAJKOT, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10118

308. LETTER TO KHWAJA KHURSHED ALAM

October 5, 1941

BHAI KHWAJA SAHEB,

I have your letter. Salesmen in khadi stores work on very meagre wages. There are very few Muslims of this class willing to work for so little. It is something that cannot be helped. Muslims are also there where they are available. I do not like your threat. You could have asked this question through the Press. The question is pertinent. The answer is clear.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

309. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 6, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note has reached me in time. Why you should get three letters at a time I do not understand. But let us not forget that this is but a small village.

You have to work out your karma and that cheerfully. It is likely that winter will set in early this year. So many additions are being made to the cottage that you will hardly recognize it when you return.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

M[ahadev] does not reach here before 19th. He is at present in Mussoorie.

[PPS.]

I am glad Raja Saheb is better.

B.

From the original: C.W. 4092. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7401

310. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

October 6, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

Kanubhai is in Calcutta. You can send Abha with him if you like and if she likes. I have already written to you about the matter.¹ Hope you are all well.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10324. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 22-9-1941

311. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

October 6, 1941

CHI. KAMALA,

You have done well in giving me your long letter which I am sending to Mary. I had no doubt about your passing with distinction.¹ May you finish your course equally well. Of course you will write when you like.²

BAPU

Bapu— Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p.197

312. LETTER TO CHANDAN S. KALELKAR

October 6, 1941

CHI. CHANDAN,

I have your letter. May your union bring good to the country as well as to you both.³

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6266

¹ The addressee had topped the list of successful candidates for the first examination in midwifery.

² According to F. Mary Barr the addressee had asked if it would not be better if she wrote her diary only when there was something worth while to write about.

³ The addressee was married to Satish *alias* Shanker Kalelkar.

313. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 6, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is nothing from you today. There is nothing in particular to write from here. I am doing very well.

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

314. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

October 6, 1941

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

It is sad that you had an attack of giddiness. I think it was due to the weight on your mind. So it is good that you wrote everything. But there is no reason to be sorry about it.

The complaint about partiality is correct. None else is at fault except Ba and myself. Ba has not been able to give up [the feeling of] 'mine' and 'thine', and I cannot leave Ba. Hence the progress of the Ashram has stopped. But there are many good qualities in Ba, which I cannot forget. It is difficult to free oneself from 'mine' and 'thine'. But the change that has taken place in Ba's life is no small thing. From where did Ba attain such purity? Her simplicity, patience, etc., are qualities of a high order. Hence Ba's partiality deserves to be tolerated. There is no venom in her partiality.

You have been unfair to Krishnachandra and Shakaribehn. Krishnachandra does nothing for his own sake. He gave up his home, his studies, and he labours in the Ashram. If he tried to save five annas, it was not for himself. He will not be partial to anyone. It is a different matter if he is frightened and is exploited by someone. So it is with Shakaribehn. If I relieve her from work, she would stay away, and also like it. She is like that. You should understand that all of us in the Ashram are imperfect; even then we try to be good. Your duty is to look at your own faults and be tolerant of others'. This rule is for us all. You

have seen the figure of three monkeys on my desk, haven't you? One monkey has closed his ears, another his eyes and the third one his mouth. The suggestion is, hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil. I hope you would be satisfied with this. Read this letter again and again. Get well soon.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9112. Also C.W. 9180. Courtesy: Chakrayya

315. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

October 7, 1941

MY DEAR C.R.,

Prakasam's wire tells me you, he and Gopal Reddy are freed.¹ I wrote to your brother² only yesterday. Before this reaches you, you will have gone to him. For him it can truly be said misfortunes have [not] come single. I hope he has your philosophy to say that fortune and misfortune are one and the same thing.

BAPU

SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BAZULULLAH RD.
THYAGARAJANAGAR, MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 10900. Courtesy: C. R. Narasimhan. Also G.N. 2081

316. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

October 7, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your letter. Do not get impatient. Even from your sick-bed you can do plenty of service, in fact you are doing some. Now you have a friend like Anasuya with you. Write to Vedchhi and other places only cheering letters. Be resolved that you will leave the place fully restored.

Vijayabehn, Vasumatibehn, Pannalalbai, have all arrived today. More are expected. This is how things are going on here.

¹ The addressee was released on October 6, 1941.

² Whose two sons had just then died

You wrote *amrita*¹ in the letter to K.C. In Urdu guava is called *amrud*. There were other mistakes, too, but I do not remember them.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9432

317. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter and the cheque through Prithvi Singh. Why is the cheque of the Travancore bank ? Does it give [a higher] interest or provide more facilities ? Where can that cheque be encashed ? It must be charging a handsome commission. I shall of course make inquiries.

Can you accommodate both the sisters ? How is it your studies get constantly interrupted ? I shall not let you sit for the examination if you are not fully prepared. There should be no question which you cannot answer. If you cannot be so well prepared by April, then you may sit for the examination later. I am not in a hurry. The knowledge you have gained is not going to be wasted, and so, if it takes some more time, so be it. Because, I also do not wish that you should spoil your eyes and health by continuously reading night and day in order to pass. Passing in this way is no better than failing. You have to appear for the examination not for name but for service.

How much khadi did you sell and where did you sell it ?

The Ashram is now becoming very crowded. Vijaya and Vasumati have come. Pannalal has come. Some others will be arriving. More people are eager to come. How can I accommodate them ? Just think of the size of the kitchen and of the verandah, which is the dining place. Construction work is of course going on. There is nosaying when it will end. Nor can I fix a time for it. Let God do as He wills.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Literally, 'nectar'

318. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI ¹

October 7, 1941

CHI. MATHURADAS,

In my opinion you have been saved from the jaws of death. I had been haunted by the fear. So now you have definitely been saved, have you not ? Do not worry at all. Let Bombay be sunk in the back bay. When Mithila was burning, King Janaka was not perturbed in the least. Why should we lag behind Janaka ? Why should we not outdo him ? How that can be done, God alone knows. But he has shown us that we should be like him.

Taramati must be happy. There is a telegram from Harkisan. But I am not writing to him separately. He has done creditable work as your nephew. Because you gave me detailed information at once, I also caused a stir.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayar and Dr. Sushila Nayar

319. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Today I have to attend A.I.S.A. meeting² and therefore this is before the post.

I do hope you are better. Stokes³ has sent a boxful of good apples. They are quite good, though some were damaged in transit. Vijaya, Vasumati and Pannalal came in today. others coming and many are applying. The Ashram is growing smaller and smaller. Can you grow smaller? Anyway the Ashram is.

Sardar does not come before 19th.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya coming on Thursday.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4093. C:ourtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7402

¹ An extract from the letter appears in "Letter to Mathurdas Trikumji", 2-10-1941

² *Vide* the following item.

³ Samuel Stokes

320. SPEECH AT A. I. S. A. MEETING

WARDHA,

October 7, 1941

Today I must speak on one or two fundamental questions. You must all have read Pandit Jawaharlal's letter in *Khadi Jagat*. Jawaharlal's language generally tends to be strong. But I feel that this is a good letter. We must pay attention to its purport. He is discontented. He asks why we have not been able to do more work. He feels we have not given enough consideration to the matter. I would not entirely agree. We have been giving consideration to the matter from time to time and even today we are seized of it. But I must admit our *sadhana*, our *tapasya*, has not been adequate. This is the point made by Jawaharlal. His very name evokes thoughts of awakening and inspiration. Jawaharlal has always recognized the importance of khadi but after he went to jail he has come to feel more acutely on the subject. We must give due thought to his letter.

The news coming in from all sides shows that the demand for khadi has sharply increased. It has risen so much that we are not in a position to meet it. The demand for charkhas too is so great that we can never cope with it! What can we do? In many places, the money value of the work, which was a few hundred rupees, is now a few thousand rupees. You may have heard that in Ranchi, Bihar, while the sale of khadi at the last Jayanti was of the order of Rs. 600, it has now risen to Rs. 10,000. What I say is that we must go on producing as much khadi as we can. We should not let ourselves be deterred by the fear that it might not be sold. We must never allow ourselves to think for a moment that khadi cannot be sold. Yes, we may not have enough capital to substantially increase the production of khadi. In that case we should try to find the capital.

We must carefully consider what should be our technique of work. Someone has written saying that a lot of yarn has piled up with him and asked how he is to get it woven. We must have the resources to have such yarn woven or exchanged for khadi. We must be able to accept all the yarn that comes and supply in exchange such khadi in such quantities as we can.

We must also so improve the quality of our yarn that even the least efficient weavers may be able to weave it. It is said that we cannot spin any yarn of the strength of mill yarn. This is to some extent true. But this does not satisfy me. May be we cannot compete with mills in the quality of the yarn. Even so the difference should not be too great

and it should gradually diminish. Today our yarn leaves much room for improvement. We have not made the progress that is desired in this field. There is much work that we have to do. We must discover and show to the people ways of producing good and strong yarn. A lot of research into the subject is needed. We have not paid sufficient attention to the matter. We have been slack.

We must decentralize our work. *Yarn should be woven where it is spun.* We have been able to do so much since middle-class people took to spinning. Now if they will also take up weaving we can rally the weavers round us and take them forward. We should make efforts in this direction also.

The demand for charkhas is on the increase everywhere. This too shows that more and more people are taking to spinning. For myself I have decided that we cannot send charkhas to every place from outside. They should be manufactured locally. I am beginning to think that *dhanush takli* alone can solve the problem. It can be made everywhere. The Yeravda charkha has its place and it will remain. But it cannot be made everywhere. It would be well if we could provide *taklis* to the millions. But the plying of the *takli* calls for devoting special time, labour and attention. It is also possible we may not be able to produce yarn in sufficient quantities on the *takli*. It is not that with the *dhanush takli* as much yarn can be produced as with any other charkha. It is easy to ply and easy to make. It can be made even without the aid of a carpenter. The making of the spindle for it may present some difficulty but not much. For even if a spindle is a little crooked, it can serve in a *dhanush takli*. We can make millions of *dhanush taklis* in a day. I admit I will have a little difficulty in the beginning in making people interested in it even as I had in making them interested in khadi but it will soon be overcome. We have to put a spur to the work of attaining self-reliance in khadi. This can be done only through the *dhanush takli*.

I cannot agree with the suggestion that charkhas should be manufactured in a few factories and then sent out to every place from there. If we thus centralize the charkha it will be finished. Everything connected with the charkha should be made where the spinning is done. That is why I have suggested that every home should have a *dhanush takli* in it. Till we have fully gone into the thing we should not indulge in a mere intellectual discussion of the problem. Only he has a right to participate in any discussion on the matter who has plied a *dhanush takli* for nine hours every day for a month. He will have a right to express a view. I therefore suggest that you should give thought to the *dhanush takli*. But not merely because I am advocating it. If your experience refutes my point you should not go merely by

what I say. I had spoken of giving spinners a daily wage of eight annas but so far we have not been able to go beyond three annas. Supposing we were to have the same experience here? This is a matter for research and experiment.

In the same way we have to think about the yarn. We should think of developing the capacity to weave whatever yarn may come to us. We must in any case accept the self-sufficient yarn. The people who bring the yarn should accept the price we can give for it. Whether it is in the form of money or khadi we must not refuse to pay. If we cannot arrange for yarn thus received to be woven, then we may say in Jawaharlal's words that our creative faculties have become atrophied—we have lost our ability to think. This would be a defeatist attitude. We do not want to accept defeat.

If we cannot take the weavers in our fold nothing will get done. But we cannot go by mere faith. Today they are using mill yarn. We have to change this situation. We have to give them handspun yarn. My feeling is that the War is not going to end soon. No import of cloth will be possible. Prices of textiles will also rise. Only Indian mills will be manufacturing cloth for use in India. A time may come when they will not be able to supply all our requirement. Cloth in India will then become scarce. In China too such a situation had arisen. But the Chinese are a hard-working people. They started the charkha in every home and in their own way quickly solved the problem. Our method will be a little different but the effort required will be as much or more. A day may come when people will ask us for cloth. It would be a disgrace to tell them that we could not supply it.

We shall also have to think about cotton. It is my firm conviction that if we produce cotton in the manner it should be from the point of view of khadi we shall soon be free of the need for imports. If we produce cotton to feed the mills this will not be possible. I feel that the principle of producing cotton for mills is opposed to the principle of producing it for khadi. The convenience of the mills requires that cotton should be intensively grown in a few areas. Their aim will be to see that if cotton-growing is too scattered it should be brought together and concentrated in one place. But khadi requires that cotton should be grown in every village. No village should have to depend on another village for its cotton requirement. Khadi cannot afford transport of cotton from one village to another. We must immediately pay attention to the question how we can make cotton row in every village.

Another matter has been placed before me for my consideration. Many of our khadi bhandars are very small. The question is

whether in the interest of economy it will not be better that each such bhandar should be looked after by no more than one person. What we will have to consider in this connection is whether these bhandars are to remain open for a fixed time or as long as possible.

If we want to make our lives khadi-based we shall have to devise certain rules as regards khadi bhandars. The rules will be different for towns and villages. For the towns I think we should follow the practice of English shopkeepers. They open shops according to their convenience. They keep them closed on Sundays. They don't care about the customers. Gradually the customers become used to it. We also want to establish new habits. We should also make certain rules and fix a time for the opening of shops. The same consideration should apply to shops in rural areas. In South Africa there is one shop for an area of thousands of *bighas*. People come in mule-carts to make their purchases. Sometimes the shopkeeper is not there, since there only one person to look after the shop. But people are used to it. Similarly, it is not necessary for us to keep our bhandars open all the time. But the matter needs to be considered.

Thus we shall have to give systematic thought to all these matters. We want to make of khadi an integrated way of life. We have to deal with artisans, spinners and weavers. In the sphere of production our aim is to pay equal wages to all. So far we have extorted forced labour from the spinners. This doctrine of paying the lowest wage and taking maximum work for it has been taken from the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. We must change this doctrine for a new one. We shall give the same wage to spinners as we give to weavers. Those who produce cotton should also prosper. And yet we want that the burden on the buyer should be light. Thus we wish to create a socialist society. The socialism that India can digest will be of this kind. It will be the socialism of the poor, but of the well-to-do poor. The ideal of khadi is thus the promotion of a wholly socialistic way of life.

In brief, we have to give thought to all the processes of khadi—from the growing of cotton to the selling of cloth. When we have thus succeeded in bringing about a self-sufficient socialist polity we shall no more be at the mercy of foreign markets. Our society will be like a self-sufficient agriculturist. To an agriculturist his land is his capital. He eats what the land yields. If some year there is a failure of crops he starves. He does not beg and he does not plunder.

That is all I had to say. We must pay special attention to

weaving. I have always said that just as we insisted that we should be good carders we should also insist that we should become good weavers.

[From Hind]

Khadi Jagat, October 1941

321. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,
October 8, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I understand your letter. It is very necessary to see . . .¹. I am certainly going to pursue the matter. I do not wish to involve you in the problem of Bhulabhai. I will do what I can about him.

Raja is not in a position to come at present. Two well educated sons of his brother died only recently. There are two or three sick-beds in his own family. He will, therefore, go first to Bangalore. He will spend a few days there. He must have informed you, too. I also do not wish that you should have to come here twice. You may, therefore, come over when Raja and others are coming. Satyamurti of course is coming on the 10th. Kamaladevi is arriving tomorrow. Prakasam² is certain to come. Asaf Ali is coming after meeting Jawaharlal and Maulana, and so we shall be having a good crowd. I shall be able to manage.

Your duty is to get well.

The Ashram is being practically raided these days. We continue to receive pressing requests from people. I refuse most of them. Where is the space? New buildings are continually coming up, but even then the Ashram is always crowded.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 260

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

² T. Prakasam

322. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal's statement has appeared in the newspapers in these parts. What about there ? Right now the meeting of the Charkha Sangh is in progress.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

323. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

October 9, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Again I follow the new rule of writing during the silence hour.

So your cough is persistent. Poor Shummy. I am almost sure that the cough is due to some error in diet. Some grease, more starch, sour fruit, sloppy food, too much protein, both animal and vegetable, dal, spices ever so little, general indigestion. These are the causes according to my belief. Menkel's manipulations are local. They can never bring permanent cure unless your digestive apparatus is in order.

There is no moving out for me during this month. Almost all dates are booked. If Rajaji comes about 20th, it means four or five days' conversations.

Additions to the cottage are substantial and expensive.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Kamaladevi has arrived. Satyamurti comes tomorrow. Amraoti riot was disgraceful. Biyani¹ who is discharged comes to see me

¹ Brijlal Biyani, President of the Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee

tomorrow.

Mira wants as much of your worn-out clothing as you can spare. You know what for. I have been forgetting all these days. If your coming is indefinitely prolonged, you can send it through somebody coming.

From the original: C.W. 4094. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7403

324. LETTER TO P.P.M.T. PONNUSAMY NADAR

October 9, 1941

DEAR PONNUSAMY,

I was delighted to hear from you. Chakrayya wrote to me all about your great care of him.¹ May God bless you. It was His grace that you and your companion happened to be his escort.

Yours,

BAPU

P.P.M.T. PONNUSAMY

C/O SHRI P.P.M. THANGAIAH NADAR, MERCHANTS

TUTICORIN, S. INDIA

From a photostat: C.W. 10961. Courtesy: T.P. Sivanandam

325. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You are filled with anxiety about your studies. Content yourself with as much as you can do. Your aim is not to pass an examination but to enhance your knowledge. Of course you have to appear for the examination but that should be when you feel fully confident. Do not worry about the delay. Let it take as long as it may.

Pyarelal had spoken to me about the idea of your staying in Lahore. I had told him that I would keep myself ready to make the arrangements later. I forgot to write to you about the matter. I can make arrangements quickly if you will allow me to do so.

Kanu having left, A.S. is doing the massage. Dhiren has his class at 8, so A. S. has to do it. You should take it that all talk about my taking service from you has now ceased. Of course, I want you to

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Chakrayya", 6-10-1941

rise above all such talk. Why should it affect us whether somebody praises us or blames us ?

My teaching was only with regard to the duty of a satyagrahi. A satyagrahi will not court imprisonment to forget his pain or to escape from it. He will do so in the faith that to offer satyagraha is his duty.

As for A. S., I would only say that one should forget about her. One should accept whatever services she offers, but not expect anything from her.

It seems Pyarelal's statement has been well received. It is brief but to the point.

Do not worry about my weight. Increasing it only gradually may be the best thing. I have again increased the quota of butter.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

Rajkumari has again fallen ill. She is coughing more. She writes in her letter today that it is reduced. Thus, it is sometimes better, at other times, worse.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

326. LETTER TO SIR SHAFAT AHMED KHAN ¹

SEVAGRAM,
October 9, 1941

DEAR SIR SHAFAT,

I am delighted to have your letter just received. I was glad to learn of your appointment as High Commissioner. Nothing less than what you have so nobly said in your letter could be expected of you. I know that you have before you a most difficult task. May God be your help. I appreciate your desire to see me before you sail. I shall be delighted to meet you and place at your disposal all I know about the problem and our people in the Union.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ This was in reply to a letter from the addressee dated October 7, 1941, informing Gandhiji that he had been appointed High Commissioner of India in the Union of South Africa. He wished to pay his respects to Gandhiji before his departure from India, and discuss the problem of Indians in South Africa.

327. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is according to the new rule. Your note is cheery. May the improvement be steady and continuous. Everybody is wondering whether you are at all coming. I continue to say you are though an uncertainty has crept into my heart.¹

Kamaladevi is leaving just today. She will meet her mother and come over for a few days' stay. Dr. Das will leave for Calcutta in two or three days; he is going for a few days only. Satyamurti has come today and is putting up at the Bungalow.

The weather here is generally good, though it warms up a little in the afternoon. The rest is O.K.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4253. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7885

328. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

Unrevised

October 10, 1941

DEAR MAHMUD,

I have read your letter to Rajendra Babu.

What you say about unity I can heartily endorse. But fancy misunderstanding the blankets. Did you read my note²? If I was a grain merchant, should I refuse Government order for wheat for the army, or quinine, if I was a chemist? Supposing I refused and somebody else bought from me and sold it to the Government, how do I get out of the responsibility? War effort is made of sterner stuff. If you do not understand this elementary proposition, you will when an attempt is made to impress my personal service or to impress my labour to manufacture ammunition. You will then realize the fundamental distinction, if I have the courage to refuse obedience. You must think hard and try to understand or not rest till I convert you or you, me. About Sind, you must see the Maulana and reason with him. I am wholly with you there. Are you well?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5075

¹ The rest of the letter is in Hindi.

² *Vide* "Blankets for Soldiers"

329. *LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

October 10, 1941

CHI. ANAND,¹

Your imagination is your enemy. You gave me no cause for displeasure. Then what right had you to think that I was displeased? At least refrain from taking things for granted. I was on the spot to be asked and I would have made you laugh. Now “don’t do it again”. Giving the portrait of your sister would look vulgar. But if it would please Father then you may even be vulgar.

You send him my opinion.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI ANAND HINGORANI
C/O THE POST MASTER
ALLAHABAD, U.P.

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

330. *LETTER TO RAGHUBIR SAHAI*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),

October 10, 1941

DEAR RAGHUBIR SAHAI,

I thank [you for] your very full and instructive letter. What I knew from various correspondents, you confirm in your full letter. I am watching. Hope you are well.

Yours,

BAPU

MR. RAGHUBIR SAHAI
BADAUN, U.P.

From a photostat: G.N. 10206

¹ This is in the Devanagari script.

331. LETTER TO HARIKRISHNA BHANJI

October 10, 1941

BHAI H.B.,

Received your letter. Do come and meet me in December. Meanwhile you should start taking interest in constructive work. You should acquire skill in spinning and weaving and other processes of the yarn. You should serve the Harijans. You should serve the Muslims, Christians, Parsis. If you do all these things, then only will you become a true worker and then only will you become fit for civil disobedience. In fact you need not come to me to learn all this.

Vandemataram from

M. K. GANDHI

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

332. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,

October 10, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Read the enclosed letter and let me have your guidance.

Satyamurti has come today. He will state his case tomorrow.

I hope you are doing well.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Biyani was here. There had been a reign of terror in Amraoti.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 261

333. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Congratulations about Annapurna. There is a letter from Sankaran. He continues to take enema. He will therefore send everything except the syringe. Shall I send another syringe ?

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

334. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

October 10, 1941

CHI. TARAMATI,

I have received your letter. Mathuradas is a pious man. God will do good in every way. Patients with much worse sickness have recovered. Mathuradas has taken a lot of physical strain. Hence, he may take longer to recover. But there will be nothing to worry about once his health takes a turn for the better. I shall be happy even if he has to spend the winter at Wardha. But all that depends on the will of God. Let us be content to live in God's keeping.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

335. *LETTER TO DILIP MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

October 10, 1941

CHI. DILIP,

I like what you have written. I also like your handwriting. It can be further improved. It is good that you are keeping up courage. Yes, I keep getting Hakubhai's letters. They are very helpful.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

336. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

Unrevised

October 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Ramsarandas is an old devotee of Ludhiana. He has been regularly sending money and khadi. He has a doctor son in England, another in India but married to [a] Scotch girl. She wrote asking for permission for herself and Father-in-law to come and pass a few days at Sevagram. He became ill and was nursed back to health. His teeth were all extracted. They were the seat of disease. Bessie is a fine steady girl, extremely devoted to her father-in-law, nearly as old as I am. He insisted on doing C[ivil] D[isobedience]. He proposes to go again. He says he does not mind dying there.

My tour¹ is off for the time being. For G.² says he must try. If he fails, I might be allowed. Of course he won't fail. I have told you about my anxiety.³ It won't be any more for you than for any other patient. But the point is not your anxiety or mine. It is that you should not become ill. You should find out the art of keeping well. You live on the border line. That is bad.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Lilavati came in today. She has a month's leave.

From the original: C.W. 4095. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7404

¹ To raise funds for the Deenabandhu Memorial; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 12-8-1941 and "Letter to Rabindranath Tagore", 8-9-1941.

² Presumably G. D. Birla; *vide* "Letter to G. D. Birla", 2-10-1941.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 5-10-1941.

337. LETTER TO JAMNADAS

SEVAGRAM,
October 11, 1941

BHAI JAMNADAS,

Who can approach a person dwelling in a dreamland? I do not remember the circumstances you have mentioned in your letter. Possibly I was engrossed in work and I was unable to talk to you at length. The fact is I try to be true to myself and give equal respect to all. But when misunderstandings crop up in a person's mind, he imagines that I have changed.

Received your poem. I have glanced through it. You know I have no knowledge of poetry or of prosody. I am returning it to you. Show it to some well-known poet. Publish it only if he passes it.

Blessings to both of you from

BAPU

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

338. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA

October 11, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

Your letter. Are lawyers from outside given permission to appear in Ratlam without let or hindrance? When will the appeal be heard? How many days is it likely to last? If the High Court exists only in name, what can we hope for by an appeal?

The matter about Gwalior is regrettable.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

339. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 12, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I can ill afford even to send a postcard. The apples have come. Hancock came yesterday. Can't say whether there was any change in K. The heat for the last two days has been scorching and I felt glad that you were not here to go through the experience.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 4096. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7405

340. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

October 12, 1941

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN¹,

I have your two letters for which many thanks.

Having yielded to you I cannot interfere with your announcement². Please do what you think best. Do however spare me the degree. These honours must be reserved for those who really deserve them. How can a law-breaker be a doctor of laws? But you may treat the occasion for donations either to the University or Harijan Sevak Sangh or A.I.S.A.

I am glad I wrote to you about young Jasani's conversation. I could not believe it. He is a good man but the foreign medium as often resulted in ludicrous misunderstandings.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SRI. S. RADHAKRISHNAN
30 EDWARD ELLIOTS' ROAD
MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, between pp. 48 and 49. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

² Gandhiji had agreed to attend the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the University; *vide* "Letter to S. Radhakrishnan", 25-8-1941.

341. LETTER TO A. AZIZ

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

There is nothing offensive in your letter. It is well argued. But you seem to me to have missed my point. I would ask you to reread my argument if you have got it in full.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SH. A. AZIZ

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

342. LETTER TO SHAVAKSHA

October 12, 1941

BHAI SHAVAKSHA,

I envy you. Where is 84 years and where 72? And you run the mill in full steam and a young man like me remains idle ! Let God's will be done and let us be thankful to Him. Received both your books. The beautifully printed one must indeed be costly. I will make full use of it. Because while you may run one or two mills I ply thousands of mills and plan to ply millions.

If a junior may bless a senior here are

Blessings from

BAPU

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

343. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Yesterday I could not write at all. Today only this much. I am doing well. Kanu has gone to do photography. He will take two weeks. Dr. Das is leaving tomorrow-for a month at the most. Lilavati

came yesterday. She brought fever along. She is better today. Mirabehn has a drumming sound in her ears. What could that be?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

344. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1941

CHI. NIMU,

Why has Usha fallen ill? If you avoid giving milk or soup while the fever is rising, it comes down quicker. Here, this is how the treatment of all fever starts. It applies to everybody, young and old. Fever causes no fear. Giving enema does become necessary. The patient must be given as much water as possible. Hot water would be better. Salt and soda can be added to it. Lime juice can also be added. If Kanu really wants to come, send him. Or, bring him at Diwali time if he can make it. I think Ramdas too will be having holidays !

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Sansmarano, PP. 202-3

345. LETTER TO CHANDRAGUPTA VARSHNEYA

October 12, 1941

BHAI CHANDRAGUPTA,

It would do to say that there is no truth in the statement made by the person who has not given his address and whom you do not know. Why inquire into it? I sent the letter because I thought he was one of your acquaintances.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHANDRAGUPTA VARSHNEYS, B.SC.
AJMER

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

346. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

October 12, 1941

CHI. PRABHU DAYAL,

I have gone through the articles about which you have written. Lately I have not written on this subject for any newspaper nor are these my writings. And there is nothing to indicate the source from which they have been reproduced.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 11695

347. LETTER TO MAITHILISHARAN GUPTA

October 12, 1941

BHAI MAITHILISHARAN,

Your letter. You have done quite well. I have written to Dhirendra¹. You must not incur expenditure in sending the yarn to me. It may as well be kept there. It will certainly be woven if it comes. I will of course use the khadi made out of the yarn sent by you. A shawl is being made out of it. After using it for a while I shall give it to Kakasaheb² for sending it to Kashi. I have gone through your poem. Please convey my blessings to all and say that the more heart they put into spinning the nearer swaraj is bound to be. Never without it.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

348. SPEECH AT SEVAGRAM

October 12, 1941

I did not know that such a big crowd would collect here. It is good that it has. It is an auspicious augury that two crore eighty thousand yards of yarn and Rs. 12,000 have been collected from the

¹ Dhirendra Majumdar, who was the addressee's fellow-prisoner in Agra Jail

² D. B. Kalelkar

three divisions¹ of Central Provinces.

I have received two letters from Agra Jail also. The prisoners there have spun a good deal of yarn. They did not have all the facilities for spinning. But after Dharendra Majumdar had reached the Jail, how could he rest content without making everyone spin? He is one of the pillars of the Charkha Sangh. He was not expected to go to jail. But the Government sometimes becomes over-generous. It picks up some people without any ostensible reason.

Shri Maithilisharanji is also there. He too was arrested without any good reason. He is a famous poet and he has sent me a poem also. But today poetry does not flow from his pen; it flows from the yarn that he spins. I have sent him today a short reply². In that letter, too, I have said that with every round of yarn he and his co-prisoners have spun, they have brought swaraj so much the nearer.

What I wrote to the poet is not mere rhetoric. I mean what I say. According to my definition, there cannot be true swaraj as long as there is exploitation. Mere change from British to Indian rule does not mean swaraj. As long as one class dominates over another, as long as the poor remain poor or become poorer, there will be no swaraj. In my swaraj the millions will live happily. They will get good food, decent house and enough clothing. By good food I do not mean that they will eat sweets. But everyone must get pure milk, pure ghee and sufficient fruit and vegetables. I know I am talking tall because the poor today do not even know what fruit is. During the mango season, they get a few mangoes and during the guava season they have a few guavas. They do not get any other fruit except these and a few other. They do not get even clean and nutritious foodgrain. They have to live on rotten rice, coarse grain and dirty salt. I wish everyone gets what they call a balanced diet as also a clean and comfortable house. This according to me is real freedom. I have written those words to Maithilisharanji with this kind of freedom in view.

We have never produced as much yarn as we have produced this year. The reports that I get from the prisons make me dance for joy. Maithilisharanji writes to me that in the Agra Jail his Communist companions also join in spinning although they have no respect for my views. No one compelled them. They started spinning on their own. This is the way of ahimsa.

¹ Nagpur, Berar and Mahakoshal

² *Vide* the preceding item.

I have also received reports from the Gujrat (Punjab) jail. I am not suggesting that everyone spins. I have the names of those too who are not spinning. But those who spin are in a majority. I become more hopeful when I see these facts. I am an irrepressible optimist. But even I did not entertain such high hopes. The Congress Constitution does include the rule about khadi but till now the Congress Committee insisted on khadi only to conform to the rule. On this occasion, I believe, the work has been done with an element of faith.

While I say all this, I am not so foolish as to believe that khadi is now on its feet. Whatever has been achieved is sufficient to strengthen my hope and my faith. But that is not enough for the growth of khadi. These are good omens. But they are not sufficient for the removal of poverty and unemployment. These problems cannot be solved as long as crores of people do not wear khadi. I have a dream that people will wear home-spun khadi just as they eat home-made food.

I am talking of these things because people continue to ask me one question. Even today I have received a letter. They all ask, 'What will be the outcome of this struggle? It is very slow and has no effect on the Government. The Government does not seem to care. A large number of satyagrahis are wandering in the streets. They are not even arrested. How can such a struggle be effective?'

They may say what they like, but my feeling is that my fight is going on according to my plan. I am satisfied with its momentum. At present I do not want to increase it further. This does not mean that it will never gain momentum. When the occasion demands it will be accelerated. But this is not the occasion for it. Everything is good or bad in a particular context. There are occasions when mere bread is very useful. But when it is inopportune even *jalebi*¹ is harmful. So when an opportune time comes, our fight will be intensified.

Some people expect a miracle this very day. In ahimsa there is no scope for such sudden miracles. Ahimsa does not admit of sudden spurts. But those who will can always see the miracles of ahimsa. We watch the sky every day but we see no miracles there. But those who have an eye for it are spellbound by the spectacle. They see new miracles every moment. And the sky is only a small fragment of Divine Power. That Divine Power is also the source of ahimsa which

¹ A sweetmeat

works according to the Divine Law. That Law is so mysterious that even its miraculous effects do not appear to be such. They look like a natural course of events. Our non-violent struggle will also evolve according to the same Law. When independence comes through non-violence it will blossom forth so naturally that we may never notice the miracle having taken place.

Some people say that this is the opportunity to pressurize the Government. From this point of view, they say, my present struggle of ahimsa is entirely lifeless. I want to point out to them that the contents of the Bombay Resolution¹ are not mere prattle nor were they intended to bluff the world. The Congress is a responsible trustworthy organization. Its resolutions are serious, sincere and without exaggeration. The Bombay Resolution pins its faith on the policy of non-violence. It has a passage² which should keep Congressmen always alert and watchful.

When the policy of non-violence has been so clearly stated in the Bombay Resolution, how can we say that England's difficulty is our greatest opportunity? How can the Congress say that we should give her one more blow when England is herself collapsing? And who knows whether England is actually collapsing? Outwardly of course it looks like that. But I do not believe it. Appearances are not always real. During the Boer War also there was an occasion when it appeared that England was almost defeated but the situation took a sudden turn and she came out victorious.

Today also we do not know who is going to win. We do not want any one party to be defeated. We wish that all the warring parties should come to terms and live like brothers. How can you expect me to say that either Germany or Russia or Britain and America should be defeated? I would pray that no one is defeated and they all live like brothers.

Ahimsa dictates : 'Consider no one your enemy. Love even him who considers you his enemy.' How can we then think of taking advantage of England's predicament?

You may say, 'Then we are sure to be destroyed. We will suffer defeat at the hands of the British.' This betrays lack of faith. A

¹ *Vide* "To Satyagrahis", 2-10-1940.

² Which reads : "They can have no ill will against them (the Britishers), and the spirit of satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrass them."

follower of non-violence suffers defeat at no one's hands. I may repeat once again that 'defeat' has no place in the dictionary of ahimsa. Victory and defeat are the results of violent war. In ahimsa there is only victory and nothing else. At the moment I cannot tell you how our ahimsa is ultimately going to succeed.

Not to embarrass Britain does not mean that we should help them. They are resorting to violent methods. We have to stand firm on our principle of ahimsa. This will no doubt create some difficulty for them. But we cannot help it. How can we give up a principle which is bound to lead to the welfare of the world including that of Britain? But if we violate our principle, we shall be guilty of violence. I wish you to keep this in mind.

People ask me, 'What will be the outcome of this satyagraha? All types of people, good, bad and indifferent, have joined it. Even cheats and rogues are courting arrest in the name of satyagraha.' I know there is not a single province where undesirable men have not courted arrest. But I also know that there is not a single province where people who measure up to my standards have not gone to jail. That is why I have not launched a mass movement. If I launch a mass movement, people may perhaps jump into it. What will the British do in that case? They will enact another Jallianwala Bagh. I am not afraid of it, but I do not want to give them an opportunity to do so. If we remain strictly non-violent and then they force a Jallianwala upon us, I could not care less.

But I say once again that it will be a good omen for India if even a handful of men whom we know to be true remain steadfast to their pledge. That will pave the way for an all-out non-violent struggle.

All this needs an element of honesty. It is a primary condition. Those Congressmen who have to faith in khadi, who decry untouchability in public but observe it in their homes, who, being Hindus, hate the Muslims, or who, being Muslims, hate the non-Muslims, do not deserve to be satyagrahis. Such persons cannot help our cause even by going to jail. They are like thieves and dacoits who also go to jail. They are not satyagrahis but only law-breakers. They cannot produce any wholesome results. Why should they go to jail disrupting their homes and forgoing their income? We wish that only a handful of satyagrahis should go to jail; but their conduct should be such as to produce a moral effect.

Civil disobedience is a powerful weapon. But for employing it, we must fulfil the thirteen-point constructive programme¹ which I have outlined. Till then this weapon cannot be effective. I know that the crores of people in India cannot court arrest. Nor is that necessary. But it is essential that crores of people should have faith in the constructive programme. Khadi is the pivot of the constructive programme. It is essential that crores of people should wear khadi; they should not wear foreign or mill-made cloth and they should not observe any untouchability. If they are not prepared to do even this, how can freedom be won through ahimsa? What right do they have to desire freedom, who are not prepared to take even a little trouble?

If we wish to win swaraj through ahimsa, this is the only way. If, however, we wish to use force, then Hitler would point the way. There are only two courses open—either Hitler's, that is, the way of violence, or mine, that is, the way of non-violence. Hitlerism and Churchillism are in fact the same thing. The difference of only one of degree.

By presenting this yarn and this money to me, you are telling me that you do not want to tread the path of violence. It is my belief that a time will come when everyone in India will realize that the only correct course is to follow ahimsa. The day is soon arriving for khadi when the entire country will be convinced that any cloth other than khadi must be discarded. I shall utilize all the money I have received on the occasion of Khadi Jayanti for encouraging khadi. People ask me, 'Why do you not utilize this money for Congress work?' In a way khadi work is also Congress work. But it is only the parliamentary programme or the movement against the Government that people regard as Congress work. This is a wrong notion. This amount will be utilized only for khadi work.

It is to be considered how this money received from the three divisions of the Central Provinces is to be utilized for the purposes of khadi. These three divisions may jointly or separately send schemes for their areas. Jajuji² will welcome and give them due consideration. If we do not accept these schemes, we shall give reasons for rejecting them.

Many people send yarn to me by post. I do not understand why they do so. The amount spent on postage is more than the value of the

¹ *Vide* "Implications of Constructive Program", 13-8-1940

² Shrikrishnadas Jaju

yarn. I wish people would send me ready-made khadi. Even from the jail they should send khadi woven out of yarn spun by them. Today people ply the charkha. But I wish that they learn operating the handloom. They should send me woven khadi. I do not need khadi for myself. I have enough khadi for my personal use. Hence it would be all right if people weave khadi and send it to the Charkha Sangh of their own Province, though, from one point of view, it is better to send it to me so that I may know how the work is progressing from year to year both in quantity as well as in quality. As years pass the quality of our yarn should improve. But they should not pay railway freight in sending the yarn to me. Only khadi should reach me. It would be enough if just a specimen is sent to me.

All of us should devote greater energy and talent to khadi work. This can be done even in jail.

Those who have been to prison once have to go there again and again. There is no question of going back. It does not mean that we shall do so indiscriminately. We shall have to use our discretion. How can we send to prison again a person whose health has been shattered during imprisonment in spite of the best efforts? It will be a kind of violence.

Some people ask me : ‘Why should the same persons go to jail again and again? Why not select new men so that the satyagraha continues without causing much strain?’ I have already said that a non-violent war has its own strategy. We cannot follow Hitlerian tactics. A barbaric war is being fought in Europe with large-scale massacres. Young, old, even invalids, are being annihilated. Even barbaric war demands sacrifices. In a non-violent war there is no scope for sacrifices on such a gigantic scale. Here we seek to employ moral pressure. This will entail sacrifices on the part of a select few. We have not been called upon to make any great sacrifices till now. What are our sacrifices worth if we are not prepared to face even the hardship of prison life time and again?

There is one other question. Should we carry on the struggle within the four walls of the prison? Many problems arise there also. The matter of A, B and C classes creates much bitterness. What should we do there? These classes are a creation of Congressmen themselves. I am convinced that these classes will ultimately be abolished. In the mean time, there is much scope for improvement in the diet of C class prisoners. I have already said that doctors can bring about the much-

needed improvement in this matter if they so desire. But granting that the doctors cannot do anything, even then this struggle will have to continue. The satyagrahis will repeatedly go to prison. Prison life will be full of hardships. It will mean starvation and even if it causes death in some cases I shall be prepared to face that eventuality. We should all be ready for it.

We have simply no other course open to us. Our war demands sacrifices, hardships and suffering. That is how the war of ahimsa is waged.

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, November 1941

349. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

*October 13, [1941]*¹

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yesterday was another hectic day. So I had to satisfy myself by sending you a card only.

I think I told you I had your amendments of the Constitution which was placed before the meeting. A small committee was appointed to go into all the suggestions. Rajen Babu is its head.

The heat wave seems to have passed.

Lilavati is free from her fever. Maganlal² has returned from Delhi after having sat for his examination. He is plucky. This was his third failure. And he is not sure that it will be a walk-over this time.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4097. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7406

¹ The source has "1934", which appears to be a slip, since the contents of the letter indicate that it was written in 1941. The addressee has also placed it among the letters of 1941.

² Son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

350. LETTER TO CHOITHRAM GIDWANI

October 13, 1941

MY DEAR CHOITHRAM,

Though I have said, if my analysis is accepted by you do as Jairamdas¹ says, I gladly withdraw my condition. Do as Jairamdas advises, even to the extent of resigning. My faith in his wisdom is a constant factor.

Yours,

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 9259. Courtesy : Jairamdas Doulatram

351. LETTER TO DR. MOOKERJI

SEVAGRAM,

October 13, 1941

DEAR DR. MOOKERJI,

I thank you for your letter.

Supposing Christians as such wanted to get rid of some social abuse and established an association for dealing with it, I should think they would restrict admission to fellow-Christians only. If you admit this, you will appreciate the restriction in Harijan Sevak Sangh. Hindus have sinned and they must purge themselves. The others can extend their sympathy but cannot do repentance. Of course, there is untouchability among Christians and Muslims, thanks to the highly infectious disease in the Hindu body. Hindus can only help the latter by completely curing themselves of the disease, but the rest has to be dealt with by the respective communities.

The obvious is being missed because of the political results. But the root of the evil is in the corruption of religion. If this is not clear, you should pursue the subject, till at least we agree as to the results.

I hope your wife is well. Of course, you will come when you can.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : C.W. 7865. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

¹ Jairamdas Doulatram

352. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 13, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I understand about Dhirubhai¹. Keep yourself completely aloof in this matter. Nothing is going to happen. What can we do when the source of whatever power I have is of a different character altogether?

Did Satyamurti meet you? He told me he would. He is quite clear in his mind. If he can have it, he will accept office today. But he will do nothing against the Congress. His loyalty is exclusively to the Congress.

Farid Ansari² arrived yesterday. He is going to Hyderabad today to see his sister there, and will return here afterwards. Is it not Monday today?

How is your health?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2 : Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 261

353. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

October 13, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

However careful you may have been, the cause of your asthma seems to be some error on your part. Find out what it was. There has been some error in your diet, in your living habits or in your manner of bathing. The error cannot be undone now, but if it is discovered its recurrence can be prevented. It is great news indeed that Anand³ is showing signs of life again. Take proper care of him, too. This is the time when a baby's future is made or marred.

The rest you will hear from Prabhavatibehn⁴ .

Blessings to you both from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W.10038.Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

¹ Son of Bhulabhai Desai

² A socialist leader of Delhi

³ Addressee's son

⁴ Wife of Jayaprakash Narayan

354. *LETTER TO VAIKUNTHLAL L. MEHTA*

October 13, 1941

BHAI VAIKUNTH,

Write a letter on the lines of the draft below and accept the appointment if they accept the proviso.

‘With reference to your letter extending my appointment for a further period of three years, I have pleasure in accepting it, it being understood that I work as an agent of the A. I.V.I. A. and in accordance with its programmes.’¹

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending a copy of this letter to Sardar so that he can advise us if there is any political sang in your acceptance. I would suggest your writing direct, so that no time is wasted.

From the Gujarati original : V. L. Mehta Papers. Courtesy. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

355. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, C.P.,

October 13, 1941

CHI. SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. You must recover soon. I shall meet Bhai Rangaswami if he comes.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI SHANKERLAL BANKER

19TH CROSS ROAD

MALLESWARAM

BANGALORE

From the Gujarati original : S. N. 32742

¹ This paragraph is in English.

356. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 13, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I am taking this opportunity as otherwise I may not be able to write this letter. What I wrote implied only one meaning. I have not implied what I have not said. And what does it matter if any such thing is talked about? The second sentence is by way of an expression of good wishes. We can assign to it what value we want. Is it not like quoting a *sloka* from the *Gita*?

Today I have sent Prithvi Chand and Puri to meet Pyarelal. Dr. Das and Nimai have left for Calcutta today. They will break their journey to see Bareto at Nagpur. They will return after a month.

I had not thought about having any changes with regard to massage.

The weather has again become very hot here. The nights are cool. I have put on some weight again. The increase is 2½ to 3 lbs. Everything depends on the use of butter and *ghee*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

357. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

October 13, 1941

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I was very glad to read your letter. You all have done a lot of spinning. So is the case almost everywhere. It will be a very good thing if everybody's faith in khadi and other constructive activities increases in this way. Congratulations to all. Whoever wants to keep his yarn may do so. I would like it if all get khadi made out of their own yarn. Like spinning-wheels, looms too should be introduced in jails on which to weave the hand-spun yarn. This can be done easily.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

All should learn Urdu and Hindi scripts and also learn to employ both these forms in their speech.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2483

358. *LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI*

[*October 14, 1941*]¹

In view of your very delicate condition and the uncertainty of the period of treatment, I am quite clear that your re-offering civil disobedience should be indefinitely postponed and that you should give yourself complete rest and follow your medical adviser's instructions.

The Hindu, 16-10-1941

359. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
October 14, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Of course you should not worry Shummy² until you are uniformly well for at least a fortnight. There need be no hurry to leave the place so long as the weather there agrees with you.

We have here a homoeopath. He is a crank like me. I have entrusted Prabhakar to his care. He took charge yesterday and P. is distinctly better today. As you know I have little faith in h'pathy, though I would like to for its comparative simplicity.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4098. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7407

360. *LETTER TO C. K. NARAYANASWAMY*

SEVAGRAM,
October 14, 1941

DEAR NARAYANASWAMY,

I was glad to have your letter and to note that in the end you began to like the Ashram and its people.

You will come with your wife whenever you like.

¹ The report is date-lined "Wardha, October 14"

² Kunwar Shumshere Singh, addressee's brother

There is very little difference between your socialism and mine as you subscribe so whole-heartedly to non-violence and the constructive programme.

I am organizing village along the constructive line but I don't mix with it the political programme so called. The two will not blend, though those working both are Congressmen. The constructive programme is complete in itself.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

SHRI C. K. NARAYANASWAMY
C/O "BOMBAY CHRONICLE"
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

361. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

October 14, 1941

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

Enclosed is a letter from Chimanlal. I have treated it as a pretext for writing this letter. You must have received my previous letter.

I did not get Manilal's letter after all. I have now given up hope of receiving it.

Nilkanth¹ and Surendra² were here for a few days. Everybody whom you know here is well.

Diwali is nearing, but there is no Diwali in my heart. I wonder if you, too, have the right atmosphere for a Diwali there.

Your new High Commissioner is going to call on me. He writes and tells me that he will remain completely neutral. I will write to you after we have met. You will of course meet him at any rate as a matter of courtesy. Invite him to Phoenix.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4923

¹ Nilkanth Mashruwala

² Surendra Mashruwala

362. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL K. NAYAK*

October 14, 1941

BHAI MAGANLAL,

Only now I could get time to read your letter of the 20th. I cannot reach and deal with all letters in time. What can be the value of my opinion now? I will state it, however. Let the friends take the pledge if they wish. I have discovered from bitter experience that they do not know the meaning of a pledge. Perhaps the best course would be to remain in contact with them and be content with whatever they do.

Regards from
M. K. GANDHI

MAGANLAL KAHANJIBHAI NAYAK
KURLA

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10115

363. *LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI*

October 14, 1941

CHI. PANNALAL,

I hope you are allowing time to take its course.

Come quickly with Gangabehn and any of the children you wish to bring.

Letters for the children are enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 34

364. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

October 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Yesterday I wrote the letter to you in the midst of a big crowd. Today I am observing silence for an hour before mailing time and taking the opportunity to write this letter.

Yesterday with great difficulty Prithvi Chand, Girdhari and

Mahmud met Pyarelal. They had given no intimation beforehand. Pyarelal was very happy. Prithvi Chand will give you a full account when he comes. He has said that Sushila must not come to Sevagram before her examination. Mother should not come to visit him if she is not going to stay at Sevagram. He wants to meet Mahadev. The rest through Prithvi Chand. I have come to the conclusion that Pyarelal wishes that Mother should come here to stay. I have not yet met Prithvi Chand. Girdhari mentioned the matter to me. Prithvi Chand has gone to Wardha.

Prabhakar is very seriously ill. He is coughing very much. His morning temperature is 99° and it goes up to 103° every day. Today a homoeopath has come here and I have allowed him to take his medicine.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

365. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

October 15, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You are right. The extensions to the cottage are so elaborate that there is every danger of our being crowded. The cosiness will be gone. Let us see.

I have suggested full fortnight to test yourself. And otherwise too this is no time for you to come. Nights are good but the days are oppressive. So every way it is good you are not here.

Asaf Ali is in Wardha. He will be coming presently. So good-bye.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4099. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7408

366. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

October 15, 1941

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

Many thanks for your letter. I am considering all that is being written of said to me.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 5586

367. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

October 15, 1941

DEAR AMBUJAM¹,

I have just heard from Jamnalalji that he has been able to sell the jewellery at over Rs. 9,000.² He considers this a good price. The letter is misplaced. If I can trace it, I shall let you know the exact amount. You have said something in your letter. Please let me have your concrete suggestion, if you have any.³

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

368. LETTER TO MADALASA

October 15, 1941

CHI. MADALASA⁴,

As you are constantly in my thoughts, I dreamt about you though I rarely dream. This letter is prompted by that dream. It occurred three days ago, but it is only today that I got the time to write.

Rearing a baby requires as much care as carrying it. The quality of your milk will depend on your diet and your way of living. As the food you eat will affect the quality of your milk, so also will your

¹ Daughter of S. Srinivasa Iyengar

² *Vide* "Letter to S. Ranganayaki", 19-6-1941

³ *Vide* also "Letter to S. Ambujammal", 20-10-1941.

⁴ Daughter of Jamnalal Bajaj, married to Shriman Narayan

temper and your thoughts. Please take my word for this, for I am writing it from personal observation. You should, therefore, make it a point to eat food only as medicine, and not to please your palate. The relish which one gets from this 'medicine' is true relish and is nourishing. Do not understand the word 'medicine' in its strict dictionary sense and be repelled by it. Milk can be taken both as medicine and for the pleasure of the palate. The first way of taking it will nourish the body and the second will harm it. The baby should get proper exercise, fresh air, massage, etc. Do not listen to anybody else in this matter. Many people will want to pamper the baby. But whatever they might say, remain firm in your resolution.

This was the idea behind my dream. I hope you are in good health and that the baby is growing well. I hope Mother and you do not quarrel and that you do not cry. After you have left childbed you should, I think, stay here for a month or so.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvd, p. 322

369. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today nothing more than a postcard. There is no letter from you. Asaf Ali will now be coming. Prabhakar is all right. The homeopath can do massage also. I have been having my stomach and back massaged by him for the last two days. There has been a definite improvement. More about it later.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

370. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

October 1, 1941

CHI. SHRIMAN,

I have made corrections in your statement. Accept them, if you like, otherwise let the statement go as it is.

Blessings, from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 300

371. LETTER TO VIDYAVATI

October 15, 1941

CHI. VIDYA,

There is no end to your misery.¹ But what is it to you? Some may die today, some tomorrow, all are destined to die. Why grieve over it? Moreover, you have dedicated yourself to the country, then why be perturbed? Be alert, give courage to everyone as before and become even more absorbed in service. May God grant you peace.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

372. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

October 16, 1941

MY DEAR C. R.,

Your brother is on his trial.² May God give him peace. I had sweet little note from him.

I shall expect you on 21st. V[allabhbai] will be here by then.

I fear I cannot accept the compliment for knowing slang better than you. I did not even know that 'O. K.' and 'A 1' were slang. So you see the poverty of my language. Anyway it won't do for you to be worse than you were in jail. And you know the consequence!!

Asaf Ali leaves for Calcutta tomorrow. All eyes are on you,

¹ The addressee had lost her husband.

² Two sons of the addressee's brother had died just then.

including mine!

Your son-in-law¹ has now become a distinguished journalist.
What about Papa²?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10901. Courtesy : C.R. Narasimhan. Also G.N. 2082

373. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

October 16, 1941

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

You had no business to lose weight and develop fever. Anyway I hope you are out of the wood now. I had a letter from Suresh and I replied. Sardar and others are due about 20th. All well.

Love.

BAPU

(M. K. GANDHI)

[PS.]

Your record in fine spinning is splendid.

From a photostat : G.N. 3784

374. LETTER TO B. L. RALLIA RAM

October 16, 1941

DEAR R.,

Many thanks for your letter.³ You and your friends will be welcome on 8th November at 4 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

B. L. RALLIA RAM

GENERAL SECY.

A. I. COUNCIL OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ Devdas Gandhi

² Addressee's elder daughter

³ The addressee had wished to meet Gandhiji and acquaint him with the result of a meeting he along with others had had with M. A. Jinnah.

375. LETTER TO CHAMPA R. MEHTA

October 16, 1941

CHI. CHAMPA,

I have your letter. Leave the three elder children there and come here. Do not bring any jewellery with you. There is no place here where they can be safely kept. I will look after you here. Maganbhai left for Mahabaleshwar today. I had shown him your letter. He is willing. I will put you up in the room I have assigned to him. I cannot ensure your safety in Wardha. I cannot protect you there if Ratilal¹ comes.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Show this to Narandasbhai.

CHAMPABEHN MEHTA

C/O SHRI NARANDAS GANDHI

RASHTRIYA SHALA

RAJKOT (KATHIAWAR)

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1050. Courtesy : Champabehn R. Mehta

376. LETTER TO ABHYANKAR

October 16, 1941

BHAI ABHYANKAR,

You will be welcome. But the Ashram is crowded. How can I refuse you, though? Moreover, there will be a large crowd in the first half of November. If you can put up with inconveniences you may come after the 15th. Please let me know the date of your coming.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19328

¹ Son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta and addressee's husband who was mentally deranged

377. *LETTER TO RATILAL DESAI*

October 16, 1941

BHAI RATILAL,

It seems I have not replied to your long letter. If so, I write now. Your letter has helped me a lot in understanding the problems. I am getting on with the work. Let us see what happens. Can we not cultivate or humour the Burmese?

I believe that a person like you can do a great deal of work in this direction. I wish you do your best. I hope all are well.

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

RATILAL DESAI
94 MOGHUL STREET
RANGOON

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

378. *LETTER TO TULSI MAHER*

*[October 16, 1941]*¹

BHAI TULSI,

I got the cloth-piece woven by you from self-spun yarn. I was very much pleased. I will preserve it. I should like others also to copy your example.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4207

¹ From the G.N. Register

379. *LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ*

[*October 16, 1941*]¹

CHI. RUKHI²,

I have your *hundi*³. The money will be spent as you say. I hope you are keeping perfect health. Who gets the letter-papers for you printed in English? How many letters do you have occasion to write in English?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9162. Also C.W. 10130. Courtesy : Benarsilal Bazaj

380. *LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA*

October 16, 1941

CHI. CHAKRAYYA,

I have your letter. What you write is clear. It is good. Convey promptly to me whatever comes to your mind. I do not like your persistent fever. Let us see what the doctor does and says. Will it not be good to buy a case for the watch? I shall arrange to get one for you from there.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI CHAKRAYYA

“ AROGYA BHAVAN”

AVADI, MADRAS

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 9113

¹ From the postmark

² Maganlal Gandhi's daughter, married to Benarsilal Bazaj

³ Bill of exchange

381. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

[After October 16, 1941]¹

DEAR SISTER,²

You are bound to wait for a reply. If it does not come during the next few days, You will write a brief note saying that you will regard the silence as consent and move out as stated in your letter.³

Wait for a while before writing to Iftikhar.⁴

Farid⁵ says he may bring Satyawati⁶ here.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

382. LETTER TO AMRIT LAL CHATTERJEE

October 17, 1941⁷

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your letter. From your previous letter I read a different meaning from what I read in your letter. I have now asked Kanu⁸ to go to you. His love for Abha⁹ is still there. But he realizes that he erred and has therefore resigned himself to forfeiture of Abha's hand. If you and your wife wish and Abha is eager to marry Kanu, then and then only should she come to me. If she comes you have to forget her for the time being as you have Sailen¹⁰ and Dhiren¹¹ till they have finished their course and are on their way to earning their bread. Abha will be trained here and will be sent to Rajkot too, if I pass her. If both restrain themselves and Abha still likes Kanu and likes his parents and surroundings and keeps her health, she will be married to Kanu. So far as I can see both will have to wait for two years before

¹ The addressee's letter to which this is a reply is dated October 16, 1941.

² The superscription is in Gujarati.

³ Vide "Statement to the Press", 4-8-1941 and "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 13-9-1941.

⁴ Iftikhar-ud-Din, President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee

⁵ Farid Ansari

⁶ Grand-daughter of Swami Shraddhanand

⁷ The date is in the Devanagari script.

⁸ Son of Narandas Gandhi

⁹ Addressee's daughter

¹⁰ Addressee's sons

¹¹ *ibid*

marriage. If all this does not commend itself to you, your wife or Abha, she should not come and you should train her there and do what you think best. I would not take it ill, if she does not come. All I want is her welfare and [to] fit her for marriage. [If] you all and she are desirous that she should marry Kanu, you should talk frankly to Kanu. If she decides to come and if you are agreeable, you may send her with Kanu.

I am glad you are all well now.

Don't expect anything from Sailen now. I hope to prepare them both as early as possible and so I have disengaged them from Ashram work.

Please show this to Kanu, if Abha is to come. The enclosed for him.¹

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10325. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

383. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 17, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This I am writing after curfew. It will be posted by Prithvichand who is leaving tomorrow.

I am glad you report marked improvement. May it continue.

I have told Satyamurti plainly that so far as I am concerned no change can be made.² If he thinks otherwise he is free to cultivate public opinion in his favour.

You are right about Harijans.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4100. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7409

¹ The letter is not available.

² *Vide* "Letter to S. Satyamurti", October 30, 1941.

384. LETTER TO NANDAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
October 17, 1941

MY DEAR NANDAN,

Sarup¹ tells me that I should not on any account let you go. You are the only person to manage the *Herald*. I had taken it for granted when I was prepared to yield that you had weighed all the facts before feeling free to go. You will therefore not think of going till the *Herald* matter is cleared, although Asaf Ali is out.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

385. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Anasuya has become a problem for you. Gomatibehn has of course written to her. Let her go if she wishes. You have done your duty. What more could you have done?

Swami Vakil's is a remarkable case. Now let us see what happens. This case illustrates how even a slight insistence on truth can be rewarding. Prithvi Chand will tell you the rest. Prabhakar may be said to have recovered. I have understood about Mirabehn.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

Today Prakasam and four other men came. People will continue to come like that.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Vijyalakshmi Pandit

386. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[October 18, 1941]¹

MY DEAR IDIOT,

One letter was entrusted to P[rithvi]chand for posting. Your note to hand. You should pass a day in Jullundur when you descend and do what you can. The nights are getting colder night after night, not so the days. The cottage is nearing completion. No more now. Munshi² and others have come.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4101. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7510

387. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

SEVAGRAM,
October 18, 1941

DEAR SISTER,³

Your letter full of information. Khan Saheb will be all right in time. Your love will conquer.

Surely I never said I did not like your warnings. I remarked about your hasty conclusion, etc. But that had nothing to do with your duty to warn where in your opinion a warning was needed. So let me have a boxful.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

FREDRICH HOTEL

MAHABALESHWAR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ The date is in the addressee's hand. *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 17-10-1941.

² K. M. Munshi

³ The superscription is in Gujarati.

388. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 18, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I am returning J's¹. What was the discrepancy in the receipt given to you? If you have a copy, please send it.

I see no harm in their selecting Nanabhai² as President instead of you. Accept whatever office they give and acquit yourself well. You should learn the art of working in an organization. When you feel that the work itself is suffering and conflicts are increasing, you may resign in a spirit of humility. But you should not assume from the beginning that the work is bound to suffer. If they give you the financial functions or control, accept it. However, after duly thinking over all this, do only what you think proper. I have faith in your judgment.

I get letters from Kanaiyo. He is fine. He is coming not tomorrow but next Sunday.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8594. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

389. LETTER TO INDU PAREKH

[October 18, 1941]³

CHI. INDU,

New year blessings to you all.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI INDU PAREKH

“SANZGIRI SADAN”

171 GIRGAUM, BOMBAY 2

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6260. Also C.W. 10450

¹ Jivanlal Shah

² Nrisimhaprasad Kalidas Bhatt

³ From the postmark. The source, however, has “*Padavo*”, that is, *Kartak sud* 1 which corresponded to October 21, 1941.

390. LETTER TO LALJI M. GOHIL

October 18, 1941

BHAI GOHIL,

Received the letter signed by you and the other teachers. The restrictions are imposed on teachers of Government schools mainly with the object of preserving the authority of the Government. This I think is sufficient reason for quitting Government service. But if you want to continue in it, truthfulness lies in following Government rules as long as the fetters are not removed as a result of the freedom movement.

There must be regulations in non-governmental national institutions also. Teachers should have a say in formulating them. It is up to the teachers to continue or not to continue in the service of such institutions. The propriety or impropriety of their regulations can be judged only after scrutinizing them.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

L. M. GOHIL
PRABHAT STORES
346 BUDHVAR, POONA 2

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

391. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 19, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Aruna's¹ letter is not so sad as you have felt it to be. I have a sadder one from her but that is on account of Asaf Ali. He passed two days with me. He wants a change. I held out no hope. He will come again. Rajaji comes Tuesday, Sardar and M. tomorrow.

J[amnalal] came in yesterday. Madalasa and baby doing well.

On your return journey it might be well to pass a day in Lahore and go and see Aruna and others. But you know better. I would not like to delay unnecessarily.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4102. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7417

¹ Wife of Asaf Ali

392. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There have been no letters from you for two days. Today I am saving time. Yesterday I just could not write. We really miss you when there is some illness here. Two persons are ill. The homeopath could not cope with them. Both are running high fever. It is of course malaria. Ramdas, Nimu and the children are coming today.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

393. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

October 19, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Will you answer the enclosed?¹ I had forgotten all about it. I had been content with your statement that you had spent not a penny of the Association's² money except on khadi work.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

394. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 20, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You do forget things nowadays. You wrote only the other day that the Simla weather just now was superb and suited you well. You dreaded the heat below. In today's note you say the heat will suit you !!! I had suggested the very thing and [you] had opined otherwise. Anyway the way is becoming clearer daily because the temperature is steaily going down.

¹ Presumably the letter from Annada Babu. *Vide* "Letter to Annada Babu", 5-10-1941.

² All-India Spinners' Association

How I wish your effort for the porters will succeed. What you say is terrible.

At long last J.'s letter was delivered by M. today. He does not give me gloomy account of J. Devdas has also come in and so Ramdas, his wife and children less Sumitra who is detained in Bombay for her eyes. Of course Sardar has come. Raihana¹ is still with me, quite merry.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4108. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7412

395. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

SEVAGRAM

October 20, 1941

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I have your letter. I have now got the exact figure. The amount realized is 16,048-15-9. I shall now see what can be done with it. You need not now send Rs. 1,000 unless you want to increase the donation. I would advise you not to at the cost of your other work. I do hope your body will be quite well. You must not worry. We have to resign ourselves to God's will.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI AMBUJAMMAL
96 MOWBRAY'S ROAD
ALWARPET, FORT
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ Abbas Tyabji's daughter

396. *LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA*

Diwali [October 20, 1941]¹

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

You are improving fast now. What good news ! I hope you write regularly to people at home. You must keep perfect health during the coming year² and render service.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9433

397. *LETTER TO JUGATRAM DAVE*

SEVAGRAM,

October 20, 1941

BHAI JUGATRAM,

I have read both the books carefully. I think they would rank high among the existing text-books. But I have not been able to convince others of my view. You may remember the preface to my efforts in this field. I had said that my attempt was not to add one more book to the number of many good books. I wanted one book to replace all the others for that standard. I stick to my view even now. But I see that it will not hold at the moment. If anyone from among our teachers succeeds in such an enterprise, he may lead the way. I want to prize open the minds of millions. I do believe they must open up. Knowledge of the alphabet develops the intelligence but little. Rather, it thwarts the development. And it costs a great deal, as I do. From that angle these two books do not make the grade. The illustrations are comparatively good but need much improvement.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The source has this among the letters of 1941. The year is also corroborated by the reference to the addressee's health. In 1941 Diwali fell on October 20.

² The Gujarati New Year

398. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

October 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your cover was so heavy that it got torn and was sent in a Government cover.

I have broken your rule quite a bit. Hence, I also observe silence in the evening while keeping the eyes closed. I stop at exactly 8.30 at night. My health is of course good. If I do more work, the blood-pressure rises. My weight went down by one lb. yesterday. I think it was due to the rush of work. I have been taking proper diet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

399. *LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA*

October 20, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I have your letter. When you have received everyone's approval about Ratlam you may write to me. I have spoken to Munshiji. When all the material is ready please let me know. The other cases are worth considering. I wish to be able to do something. I have lost the capacity to go to battle over such matters. Still I am trying to figure out what I can do.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

400. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
October 21, 1941

The publication of the statement attributed to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, which he is stated to have attempted to smuggle from his place of detention, does not, so far as I can see, lead us anywhere.¹ If the motive was to discredit the organization of which Jayaprakash Narayan is a distinguished member, it must fail.

Assuming the correctness of the charge against Jayaprakash Narayan, the method advocated by him is against the policy of truth and non-violence adopted by the Congress, and he deserves the severest condemnation. But it ill becomes the Government to condemn or discredit it. Frankly, all nationalist forces, no matter by what name they are described, are at war with the Government. And, according to the accepted canons of war, the method adopted by Jayaprakash Narayan is perfectly legitimate. He has had his training in America for seven long years and is a student of the methods adopted by Western nations in their fight for freedom. To practise deception, to resort to secret methods and even to plot murder, are all honourable and turn the perpetrators into national heroes. Are not Clive and Warren Hastings British heroes? If Jayaprakash Narayan was in the British Diplomatic Service and by secret diplomacy achieved something of importance, he would be covered with distinction.

The sensation with which the event has been disclosed to the Indian world is ill-conceived. The annotations in the communique are probably wholly unwarranted. When it is borne in mind that Jayaprakash Narayan is an untried detenu, the annotations look very like hitting below the belt. The Government should have shown Jayaprakash the document or documents seized, and published his answer if he had any to give.

The way in which his poor wife has been dragged in is unfortunate. She knew nothing of the attempt, for it was frustrated

¹ A communique issued by the Government on October 16 said : "Plans to consolidate the position of the Congress Socialist Party by winning over important members of the terrorist organizations, known as the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association and by isolating the Communist Party, were seized from Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, security prisoner, Deoli Camp, when he attempted to pass them to his wife, Prabhavati Devi, at an interview."

before anything could reach her. I may inform the public that Prabhavati does not share Jayaprakash Narayan's views. She was put under my charge by her parents when she was not yet fifteen and while her husband Jayaprakash was still in America. She has wholly accepted my view of Indian politics and is one of my most faithful co-workers. As husband and wife, Jayaprakash Narayan and Prabhavati Devi are an ideal couple. Jayaprakash has never sought to impose his views on Prabhavati. He has never prevented her from freely coming to me. Indeed, he has encouraged her to come to me whenever she has been ill. She has never been taken into the secrets of the Socialist Party. The alleged communication has completely upset her, for she never thought that her husband would advocate the method attributed to him.

The suggestion made in some newspapers that the restrictions on prisoners should be tightened is wholly irrelevant to Jayaprakash Narayan's attempt. That it was frustrated is enough proof of the efficiency of the C. I. D. Even if there is laxity, it can be no warrant for giving them bad or insufficient food, or keeping them in places far away from their homes, making it difficult or expensive for relatives to visit detenus. I have read Shri N. M. Joshi's very careful and over-moderate recommendations¹ about the Deoli Camp. I have learnt enough about it to enable me to say, in the name of humanity, that the Camp should be disbanded and the prisoners should be sent nearer their homes. It is wrong, from every point of view, to bring prisoners from their provinces and concentrate them in a place where there is no facility either of provisions or medical assistance or other amenities of life. Prisoners of war are treated like princes compared to political prisoners, whose status would be any day superior to that of prisoners of war.

One word to Congressmen. While Jayaprakash Narayan remains the patriot we have known him, they must realize that his method is harmful in the extreme while a non-violent struggle is going on. I have said, repeatedly, that secrecy has no place in a non-violent organization. No underhand or underground movement can ever become a mass movement or stir millions to mass action. I am glad, therefore, that Shri Purshottam Tricumdas, Secretary of the Socialist

¹ N. M. Joshi had, with the Government's permission, visited Deoli in July and published his impressions and suggestions.

Party, has repudiated the method said to be advocated by Jayaprakash Narayan. Indeed, I would appeal to Jayaprakash Narayan to reconsider his philosophy and, if his reason can approve, to repudiate the method as a lapse from sound reason and the loyalty he owes to the Congress. What he has stigmatized as a farce of satyagraha is not a farce. It is the fine fruit of mature experience of thirty-three years' experimenting in truth and non-violence; and, if God wills it, I hope to demonstrate that from this farce will rise a reality which will compel admission even by Jayaprakash Narayan and those who think with him. Jayaprakash did not indeed go to prison as a satyagrahi,¹ but he has not ceased to be a member of the Congress, and so it is not proper for him and others who think with him to retard the movement by their action, which is admittedly disloyal to the Congress.

The Hindu, 23-10-1941

401. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 21, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. You can't undermine your body because someone else's is much worse than yours. You can try to bring your weak-bodied neighbour to your strength. The same thing applies to one's house. No doubt you have to give up superfluities as you would superfluous fat or even muscle.

The day is full.

Love.

Yours,

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 4104. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G. N. 7413

¹ Jayaprakash Narayan was imprisoned in March, 1940; *vide* "Jayaprakash Narayan", 12-3-1940. He was released in December 1940 and rearrested soon after under the Defence of India Rules and sent to Deoli Camp.

402. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today it is partly Diwali and partly the New Year. Tomorrow it will fully be the New Year day. Right now there are too many people. Sardar is here from today. I want to treat him myself with earth and water. The place is very crowded.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

403. LETTER TO R. K. SIDHWA¹

[Before October 22, 1941]²

The responsibility for the stoppage of satyagraha in Sind is Maulana Azad's and ultimately mine. I shall not grant permission to any Sindhi friend to offer satyagraha without the permission of the Maulana.

I can safely state that neither you nor any other Congressman from Sind has any hand in the stoppage of satyagraha in Sind.

The Hindu, 23-10-1941

¹ The addressee had drawn Gandhiji's attention to the allegations made by certain Congressmen in Sind that Sind's case had not been properly placed before the Congress High Command. For Gandhiji's earlier advice, *vide* "Advice to Sind Congress Deputation", 24-4-1941.

² The report is date-lined "Karachi, October 22".

404. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

October 22, 1941

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have kept by me your letter of 15th July. I did not know what to say nor do I know now. I understand your earnestness and grief. But I do not know how to console you. However detached you may try to be, you cannot but be influenced by your surroundings. It is equally true of me, not to talk of others. Add to this the difficulty of answering in the middle of October a letter written in the middle of July. And this when every day means new history. I have therefore the greatest reluctance even to write to you in spite of the pleasure it gives me to write to you. But I must try.

Distrust of the Rulers is growing and spreading. The distance is increasing. We here perceive no difference between Hitlerism and British Imperialism. Hitlerism is a superfine copy of Imperialism and Imperialism is trying to overtake Hitlerism as fast as it can. Democracy is nowhere. In this unholy duel, so far as I can see, non-violence is working its way in a silent but sure manner. My faith in it is daily growing stronger. Whether as Polak says, and as you almost hint,¹ I think, in your most gentle manner, it can stand the strain if bombs were dropping near my feet and I was witnessing dear ones being crushed to death, I cannot say. I rehearse such situations, I pray that the faith might not break under such strain. I flatter myself with the belief that I can feel these things from afar. I did shed a silent tear when I read about the damage done to the Houses of Parliament, the Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Nevertheless this is all speculation. If I fail in the examination, if it ever came to me, I shall have the courage to admit my weakness but I will not deny my faith in non-violence.

Of communal unity there is no immediate hope, though I believe that it will come sooner than we expect. But that will bring no settlement with the British Government. In their declarations there are many impossible conditions. One is that we must get the Princes also to agree. Now the Princes mean the British Government, for the former are the latter's creation and they cannot even talk openly with

¹ The addressee explains : "I did not 'hint' that his non-violence could not stand the strain of bombing, but asked him if sometimes 'compromise of method—not of aim' could be considered."

anybody but by the latter's consent.

The Rulers feel a sense of security in the existing situation. The Princes obedient, the Muslim League showing its harmless teeth, and the Congress led by me following its equally harmless Civil Disobedience. They find no difficulty in squeezing the last pice and getting as many recruits as they want.

Can you now have a glimpse of why you find endless difficulties in the pursuit of your thankless task? But you must . . .¹ It is never wasted if it is sown in cultivable soil.

My own and hence the Congress method is incredibly simple. Its token Civil Disobedience must continue. It will blaze forth when the question of embarrassment disappears. The Congress is ready for any honourable compromise with any party including the Rulers, consistently with its fundamentals. Nothing short of Complete Independence can be acceptable to the Congress. The Congress cannot be party to the war efforts and therefore cannot take office. But Civil Disobedience can be stopped if free speech consistently with non-violence is recognized and all political prisoners are unconditionally discharged. This excludes those who have been tried and found guilty of actual violence unless they repent. It includes all untried men. So far as I can see, the Congress will not change its policy so long as I am alive and well enough to think clearly and advise. There is no one who has any sympathy with Nazism or Fascism but there is no one who has any sympathy for Imperialism [either], not even the recruits who hire themselves out for the sake of bread. Some join because they want military training at any cost.

Now you have a picture as true as I can draw of India to date.

My advice is don't worry, don't fret. You need not write, need not speak, unless you feel an irresistible impulse. Let prayer of the heart be our sole and sure refuge. It is enough to realize that not a blade moves but by His will. He allows this slaughter. We do not know why. But if we keep our hands, head and heart stainless let us believe that in His own good time, He will use us to stop this apparently senseless mutual slaughter.

Amrit is not with me for the moment. She is in Simla resting. Indira is resting in Mussoorie and keeping fairly well. Padmaja² is in

¹ A few words are faded out here.

² Daughter of Sarojini Naidu

Hyderabad. She is chronically ill.

I have in mind Andrews constantly. I will not rest till I have finished the Memorial work. Please send my love to his sisters.

I had the joint cable of good wishes from you three.

Thank you.

Love.

BAPU
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G. N. 1522

405. LETTER TO GANDHI ANNAMALAI

October 22, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 14th and the M. O. for Rs. 11. He wishes you a happy and pure married life of service.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

From a photostat : C. W. 10374. Courtesy : Gandhi Annamalai

406. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

October 22, 1941

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

How did Babudi¹ fall ill again there? Does she take hip-baths? Does she over-exert herself? What is her diet? Does she use a mosquito-net? The money was to be paid as usual. I was under the impression that it was being paid to Jajuji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. G. 128

¹ Sharda, addressee's daughter, married to Gordhandas Chokhawala

407. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

October 22, 1941

Today I am sending you only blessings. There is no time at all.

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

408. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

*[October 22, 1941]*¹

CHI. BABUDI,

Why do you fall ill? If your diet is correct and you have enough fresh air nothing should happen. Do you drink water after boiling it? Do you know how to recite Ramanama?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. G. 128

409. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING*²

SEVAGRAM,

October 22, 1941

As regards diet, I am quite convinced that the food cooked in the Ashram kitchen would, with slight adjustments, be suitable for the people in Sevagram also. The food served at the Khadi Vidyalaya or to C class prisoners would not do. The standard of food prepared in our kitchen here would be found suitable. In this regard we have taken into consideration the opinions of doctors all over India and we consult them even now. At the Ashram we can protect ourselves from a number of diseases. Whatever illness persists is due to the fact that all of us are not frugal eaters.

¹ This is written on the same sheet as the preceding item.

² Sevagram workers had sought from Gandhiji an appointment specially to hear his views on an ideal village community.

Everyone must get two lb. of milk, two *tolas* of ghee and two-and-a-half *tolas* of butter daily. Vegetables such as we have here are also essential for everybody. Perhaps in the case of those who do physical labour it may be necessary to increase the quantity of grain; they may need dal too, though we do not use it in our kitchen. But the quantity of milk and butter we take can be reduced to some extent. Skimmed milk can and ought to be used in our kitchen. It is wrong in a way not to use it. It has everything except ghee and it is cheaper too. We certainly want to reduce the cost of our diet. Skimmed milk should suffice for our villagers. They must have some fruit too. At present they get no fruit at all, though they may have some sort of mangoes during the season. They should have fruit in the same proportion as we have for the Ashram inmates. Tamarind, lemons and tomatoes are essential for them. They can manage with them. They may also require some spices, though we do not have them in the Ashram and according to me they are not at all necessary. But I do not believe that spices have no place in our villagers' diet. They can have some vitamins from the spices also. But spices cannot take the place of milk as some people mistakenly believe. I have found that the body grows weak and health deteriorates by the excessive use of spices. This will provide you some basis for calculating the expenditure on food.

The second necessity is clothing. The loin-cloth such as I wear is not meant for everybody and it is not necessary for all to adopt it. *Kurta*, short dhoti and cap should suffice for men.

The women's dress in the Ashram has been rather strange. I am of the opinion, however, that the dress of the women of the Punjab is the most suitable. What Amtul Salaam sometimes wears would be, with some modifications, very good. There is art in the *kurta*, *dupatta* and *shalwar* of the Punjab and in these every part of a woman's body can be properly covered. Mirabehn has nicely adapted it for herself. The *dupatta* is artistic and at the same time very useful and comfortable during winter. The *kurta* covers the woman's body fully, the *shalwar* also is a complete dress in itself and lends the wearer grace. The *ghaghra* is an absolutely inadequate dress and should never be worn without an under-wear. If we could not adopt a uniform dress even for the women in the Ashram, it is a very difficult proposition to do so for the whole of India. There is great scope for improvement in the present dress of [our] women. But I am not particularly bothered

about this. For the present it would suffice if we made our dresses entirely out of khadi.

These days people huddle together and sleep in the same room which is sometimes also shared by their cattle. It keeps them warm but it is bad for their health, with the result that the mortality rate in India is the highest. People will enjoy better health if they sleep in the open. This will be possible only when they have sufficient clothing to cover themselves as we have in the Ashram. Everyone must have at least a blanket and a heavy sheet of khadi. People in the Ashram try to use quilt-covers by stuffing them with paper but they become useless during the rains. One does not, however, have to spend a lot on it. Greater expenditure is needed on diet.

Thirdly, we have the housing problem. Here we must first decide how much shelter is required per head. Houses can be built with grass, mud and stalks. At present it is not so in the Ashram. I have allowed houses to be built with bricks but pucca houses are not essential in the villages. They are costly. Thatched mud houses would do in the villages. Even as it is, rain water floods even our houses and we are faced with the problem of saving people from it. Everybody should protect his own house. I see no difficulty in it. Perhaps for years to come the country cannot reach my ideal of housing. I agree that houses in the Ashram are ideal houses. In order to determine the ideal we will have to decide upon the covered area required per head. It is however essential to provide separate shelter for the cattle. At present people in Sevagram keep their cattle also in the house itself. Their houses have poor sanitation. They don't have enough room for the children. Their houses should be so constructed as to admit plenty of fresh air and light. Though the houses in the Ashram are poor dwellings even the rich can live comfortably in them. The villages also should have such houses. Today this is not the case but if the villagers co-operate with us the situation can be improved to a great extent.

What I have said to you today is a matter of great importance. I agree we cannot achieve complete success in the countryside unless we have the reins of government in our hands. But if our dedication and service attain a high degree of perfection we shall not have to depend on the Government and a great many things can be done even without it.

The villagers should co-operate with one another in regard to their cattle. We should first find out the number of cattle in the village,

and decide whether all of them are needed or we can do with less by managing them on a co-operative basis. For instance, I do not consider it proper for every villager to own a bullock-cart. Can't we manage with much fewer bullock-carts if we follow the co-operative method? The same thing applies to oxen and a number of other things. The villagers can make much more profit if they have a co-operative society for selling their grain. The cattle of the entire village can likewise be accommodated on a contributory basis. The villagers can make great progress if they work like this in co-operation with one another. Ours is a small village. We should inquire and find out in which spheres of activity and to what extent we can work on a co-operative basis. Even if all villagers are not inclined to follow the co-operative method we must find out those who are prepared to give it a trial.

Similarly, we should adopt the co-operative method in farming too. The entire produce of the village should be distributed only among those who have laboured for it. This does not mean that the labour put in will not be taken into account. A proper account of the labour put in by each individual will have to be maintained.

We should also decide about the crops we want to raise. Those things which are essential for Sevagram should be given priority. Cultivation for purposes of sale should be kept to the minimum. We have been carrying on trade to some extent since the olden times and shall continue to do so within India as well as with foreign countries. I shall not speak about other countries. Let us consider what we can do here.

We should produce all the other necessities in the village itself. Then we should also find out what other industries we can set up here. We ought to press oil and make shoes locally. Similarly we can think of other industries also.

You should decide what it is that you want to give priority to. It is for you to examine all the aspects of farming. I myself have not gone deep into this aspect and therefore am not at present in a position to guide you in this regard.

We have to think about education in Sevagram. Though you have not asked me any question on this, I may at least tell you that in my opinion there should not be a single illiterate person in Sevagram. I put forward the concept of basic education very late in my life but all the same I attach great importance to it. I had put the following

question before the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad¹ : What kind of literature are the writers bringing out for the crores of illiterate villagers? This task is as huge as it is difficult.

Let me also tell you that our own life, if it is simple and pure, is bound to have its impact on the villagers without our having to tell them in so many words. It is not our way to argue. All our personal conduct should be well regulated and must conform to our ideal. We have enough land in the Ashram and we can cultivate it as a model farm. If I want, I can have the entire land in the village bought up but I have forbidden further purchase of land for the time being and, until I am able to distribute the entire proceeds among the tillers of the soil, I do not want to purchase more land. I must ask you for the present to set through the Ashram an example of ideal farming. They will then try to follow it of their own accord. At present farming in the Ashram is not as it should be and we are far behind the ideal. Our expenditure too is excessive and we must remedy this situation. We shall make steady progress only when we persistently direct all our experiments towards our ideal. I want you to associate the Ashram women also with your experiments. They will be of great help to you. You won't be able to do without them; besides, they have to be trained for this work.

Thus Sevagram will become a sort of republic. You may appoint some person as your leader for a few years but later you will be able to do without him, for a republic has no place for a leader. People know one another closely, unlike what we find in the elections where millions of voters don't even know who the candidate is. A popular leader cannot suppress the people. We had some such institution in the olden days. But the British destroyed everything. They are trying to suppress the villagers through their military strength. Once this force loses its grip, there will be no place for the police, the village headman, the patwari and the like. Only the toughs will remain. But the people can take care of them.

Unless we do this we shall not attain the ideal social order based on truth and ahimsa. I am convinced that a non-violent society can be built only on the foundation of harmony and co-operation, without which society is bound to remain violent. If we argue that this cannot be done it will mean that a non-violent society can never come into being. In that case our entire culture would be meaningless. How can

¹ On October 31, 1936; *vide* "Speech at Gujarati Sahitya Parishad", 31-10-1936.

we call this ideal an impossibility while professing faith in human nature? Of course it presupposes ahimsa of a high order.

The ahimsa required for driving the British out of India need not be of so high a quality; but the steps we shall have to take to cleanse our own hearts cannot be taken without ahimsa of a very high order. For instance, the Hindu-Muslim tension cannot be removed without true ahimsa. We followed the path of ahimsa to face the British because we had no violent force. This was not true ahimsa. Ahimsa dwells not in the hearts of the cowards but in the hearts of the brave. The Negroes are physically robust, their chests are worth admiration but the British have filled them with fear, so much so that a sturdy Negro trembles at the sight of a white child. The same is the plight of the Indians. Although in physical strength, we are nothing compared to the Negroes, our experiments, imperfect as they are, in ahimsa have had a profound impact.

My faith in human nature is progressively growing. I have concluded, on the basis of my experiments, that human nature can be easily moulded. We have come to assume, because of our inertia, that human nature is always the same and seldom amenable to progress. Churchill and Hitler are striving to change the nature of their respective countrymen by forcing and hammering violent methods on them. Man may be suppressed in this manner but he cannot be changed. Ahimsa, on the other hand, can change human nature and sooner than men like Churchill and Hitler can.

If you can digest what I have said to you today and if you acquire the strength to act accordingly, I shall be saying many more things. Discuss fully all this amongst yourselves and put up before me a definite scheme of what you can do. I shall answer all your doubts from time to time. Today I have talked to you at great length and some of the things I have said to you are not only new but also very vital. You should try to digest them before asking me any questions, for otherwise your questions will lack the force of careful thinking.

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, November 1941

410. AN ERROR

The khadi movement, I find, has gone on for more than 21 years. But while on the one hand we do not have a sufficient number of weavers, on the other the millions of idle weavers in India do not use our yarn for weaving. Is it any error on our part which leads to this double failure? I shall try to answer this question today.

I am of the opinion that this is but the result of our own folly. If I were to find fault with anyone in this effort it could be only myself. When I placed khadi on such a high pedestal I should have considered all aspects of the problem. However, many vital things were first revealed to me in their generality and the finer details were only gradually worked out. The fact that spinning involves carding was discovered only through experience. The process of ginning cotton came to light only later. I knew that the yarn would have to be woven but I had not imagined then that it would be a difficult process. Even when I knew it I did not clearly see the solution as I see it now. The solution is that khadi workers must learn the process of weaving even as a matter of atonement. The best of our spinners have come from the same class. That is how we could make good progress in spinning. In the same manner we should have made weaving compulsory for the khadi workers. When we learn this art we shall fully understand the weavers' difficulties in using hand-spun yarn. Only then can we find a remedy for the difficulties and the professional weavers will follow us in using hand-spun yarn. Not that I had never thought of this. The work of weaving hand-spun yarn was first started long ago by the late Maganlal Gandhi and by Manilal Gandhi. But I did not insist that everyone or certain people must weave, as I used to insist that they must spin. As a result of this error the process of weaving has not been as widely taken up by khadi workers as it should have been. I am of the opinion that one among every five, seven or ten spinners must become a good weaver. Weaving cannot be done by one man. One needs a companion for fixing the warp and for sizing. One also needs the help of a boy or a girl to load the shuttle. Any-one can handle these processes as also the actual weaving on the loom. But what I propose is that a certain proportion should become experts. This will lead to great progress. It is not necessary to tell me that this is already the practice at some centres. My complaint is that I have not systematically insisted that one loom must operate where there are, say, five, seven or ten spinners. Had I so insisted I would have got

today not yarn but woven goods. The large number of satyagrahis in the prisons would not have been content with merely plying the charkha but would have had a loom and woven their yarn.

Weaving includes tapes, webbing, towels and coarse khadi as well as the fine dhotis or saris from Andhra with elaborately woven patterns. When the processes of weaving all these items are present in our minds we shall not waste a single stretch of yarn. We shall classify the different varieties of yarn, and weave them into appropriate cloth. This error has also led to a lot of waste. We used to throw away broken yarn as so much waste. I know that many of the basic schools have begun taking care to avoid such waste. We have to spread this knowledge. This is just the beginning of basic education. In fact it is the primary function of basic education to give thought to these problems, to investigate them scientifically and to suggest reform accordingly.

The most unfortunate result of this error has been our failure to enlist every weaver for our movement. Why can we not approach the weaver with hand-spun yarn instead of mill-made yarn? If we acknowledge our error and atone for it, there would be such a great improvement in hand-spun yarn that it could compete with mill-made yarn. Perhaps it may not be possible to spin by hand as fine yarn as the mills can produce. However, there need not be this vast difference between the two and the weaver need not have scorn on his face, as he now has, at the sight of hand-spun yarn.

SEVAGRAM, October 23, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, October 1941

411. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 23, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I can give you no more than a postcard reporting 'all well'.

Too much occupied in talks.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4105. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7414

412. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Right now you should be thankful that I am writing even this much. The whole time is taken up in talks. It is a very good idea that you have decided to go to Puri's place. I have acquainted myself with everything. The idea about December is also good. I am feeling better.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

413. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

[Before *October 24, 1941*]¹

Hindi is absolutely good, language perfect and lettering quite nice.

Of course you have access to all my letters and answers. I expect to be able to train you to do the whole of the editing in time. You have a wonderful command over your pen, only the thought formation has to come. To produce the exact thought means exact understanding. It is difficult when one has to interpret another. But it is not beyond you I know. You should begin to throw notes at me. I may reject them all as you see I do Mahadev's.

I want to build a cottage for my convenience rather than yours. You will still sit by me but if there is a room which can be called yours it may yield many uses. You wanted to build me a little hospital. Let this be something like it. About buying when I get the time.

From the original : C.W. 4223. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7859

¹ From the reference to the construction of a cottage; in his letter to the addressee dated October 24, 1941, Gandhiji writes that the cottage is "nearing completion" *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 24-10-1941

414. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 24, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. I have a heavy day before me today too. But I must give you a decent letter.

Your apples have come in time, but the basket was found to contain only 22. I am inquiring. But nothing will come out of it. Sometimes such thefts do take place. The apples are very good.

You need not go to Lahore. Better to give a day to Jullundur.

What you say about the ruling class is but too true.

You held up J.L.'s letter too long. You must have seen my note on J[aya]P[rakash] N[arayan].¹ Prabha is somewhat better now.

The nights are properly cold now. I had all the blankets I wear during winter.

The cottage is nearing completion.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4106. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7415

415. LETTER TO M. R. MASANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.)

October 24, 1941

DEAR MASANI²,

I was glad to have your letter and to find that it had pleased you.³

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 21-10-1941.

² (b. 1905); Joint Secretary, All-India Congress Socialist Party (1934-39); Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1945-47; Constituent Assembly, 1947-48; Ambassador of India in Brazil, 1948-49; Member, Lok Sabha, 1949-52, 1957-62 and 1963-70; Chairman, U.N. Sub-Commission on Discrimination and Minorities, 1950-52; President, Swatantra Party, 1970-71

³ Referring to Gandhiji's statement to the Press dated October 21, the addressee, in his letter dated October 22, had written : "As one who was once a colleague and is still a friend of Jayaprakash, may I say how much I appreciate what you have said as reported in the morning papers? If the proverbial 'cat may look at a queen', I hope someone who has fallen out of the active ranks may still be permitted to pay homage to the General !!"

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 10983. Courtesy : M. R. Masani. Also *Bliss Was It in That Dawn*, p. 174

416. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

October 24, 1941

CHI. BALKRISHNA¹,

I have your letter. Your present visit cannot be said to be successful. But who knows what would have happened if you had remained here? Never think about the future. When I see that your life is a burden [on others] I will not have the slightest hesitation in saying so, but as long as your intellect is clear I will not say that. For a person whose intellect is clear and whose aspirations are pure can never be a burden. The thoughts of such a man have a power not to be found in his actions. Just as speech limits thought, so also action limits aspirations. But now we shall meet soon. Let me know the exact date.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI BALKRISHNA

VADILAL SARABHAI AROGYA BHAVAN

PANCHGANI, DISTRICT SATARA

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 806. Courtesy : Balkrishna Bhav

¹ Brother of Vinoba Bhav

417. LETTER TO ORGANIZER, DELHI SATYAGRAHA
COMMITTEE¹

[Before October 25, 1941]²

Briefly put, your question is this : Is an applicant for admission to the Congress on his signing the prescribed form for admission entitled to it or is he not? My answer is : He is entitled.

The Hindu, 26-10-1941

418. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

October 25, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your letter. You must not be timid. A reform[er] has to brave starvation. It is wrong on your part to live on charity even if it is from your wife's brother. Surely I am aiding you when I am supporting Sailen, Dhiren and Abha, if she comes. That should mean at least Rs. 45 per month. Should you belittle it? But you should act as you think best. You should not expect any more financial aid from me.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10326. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

419. LETTER TO MADALASA

October 25, 1941

CHI. MADALASA,

Having conveyed my message through Radhakrishna³, this is not necessary. I am writing this merely for your entertainment. Shall I send some more *papad*⁴?

¹ This was in connection with Prof. Indra who having earlier resigned from the Congress had again signed the membership form with a note that in his opinion "the present Congress Constitution does not make it obligatory for every primary member to forgo his right to use violence in self-defence".

² The report appeared under the date-line "New Delhi, October 25".

³ Son of Jammalal Bajaj's brother

⁴ Thin, crisp, spicy, waferlike preparation

Why do you cry? Do you know that even your crying has an effect on the baby?

When are you coming over here?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 322

420. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

October 25, 1941

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

Send me Mohansingh's statement. I have read your letter. According to my practice I shall inquire into the matter at my convenience.

You must have fixed up with Chimanlal about yourself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 397. Courtesy : Bhagwanji P. Pandya

421. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

October 25, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have preserved the accompanying letter, though it is rather old now. Having some free time today, I read it and am replying to it.

Nothing remains now to be considered about Kanchan.

If the problem about the field and Balvantsinha has not been solved, put it up to me. I will deal with it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8483. Also C.W. 7158. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

422. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

October 25, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

Heaps of blessings to you both—be happy, live long and render as much service as possible. We should not make comparisons with other people who, though they do not take care of their health, seem normal. No comparison is possible. You know from experience that you would fall ill if you did not take care of your health as you do. You at any rate should know the laws of health and observe them.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10039. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

423. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

How can I write a letter to you today? The day passes only in talking. Today Govind Ballabh Pantji has come.

Has the weather turned cold there?

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

424. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 25, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Today I have no time to write. This is only to remember you. Everything is all right. You might have seen what I have written about Jayaprakash.¹

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4254. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7886

425. LETTER TO JAYANTIPRASAD

SEVAGRAM,

October 25, 1941

BHAI JAYANTIPRASAD,

I have your letter. I can certainly say that ‘the Ashram is full of unclean things and that Pratibha may continue her study where she is’. My statement would suggest that you had written to me about Pratibha. Still, if you can find the letter, I should like to see it. I cannot keep Pratibha in the Ashram. I also do not approve of the craze for passing examinations at such great inconvenience. I have no right to give money for such a purpose.

I have received the yarn.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ *Vide* “Statement to the Press”, 21-10-1941.

426. *LETTER TO MANEKLAL A. GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM,
October 26, 1941

CHI. MANEKLAL,

If you did not give me such detailed information about the family, who else would? I was very glad. I showed the letter to Ba, too.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MANEKLAL AMRITLAL GANDHI
PORBANDAR
KATHIAWAR

From Gujarati : C.W. 893. Courtesy : Maneklal A. Gandhi

427. *LETTER TO MANEKLAL*

October 26, 1941

CHI. MANEKLAL,

It was from your letter that I first learnt about Chi. Mridu's engagement. Afterwards I got Maneklal Gandhi's letter. May you all prosper during the new year and may you always be the instrument of some service.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

428. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

October 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Do not be so irregular. If you cannot write every day, tell me on which days you will write. The whole world is governed by rules. My blood-pressure remains a little high these days.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

Today the weight was 102 lbs. That means it has gone up by 1 lb.

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

429. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 26, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I have your letter. Today also there is a great crowd. Bul¹ got a disappointing reply². Everybody is fine. Discussions are going on.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4255. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7887

430. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

October 26, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

Prof. Kripalani will reach Bombay on November 1 and perform the opening ceremony³. It does not seem proper to send for Khan Saheb from the Frontier Province. Perhaps he may not like it. It is good that 42 students have been enrolled. It does not matter if the number is small, but we should be perfectly satisfied if they turn out to be first class.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5653. Also C.W. 2964. Courtesy : Prithvi Singh

¹ Khurshed Naoroji

² *Vide* "Letter to Khurshedbehn Naoroji", 27-10-1941.

³ Of the Ahimsak Vyayam Sangh

431. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 27, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I must hurry again. I began a serious study of your rendering of K's writing. It has begun ill. English is fairly good but the thought does not run smooth. The whole must read logical. You will see on your return what I mean. It is a most difficult task and if you are found to have failed it won't be accounted as your fault.

Of course I shall deal with your chest. You will stay in Jullunder as long as necessary.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4107. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7416

432. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

October 27, 1941

DEAR SISTER,¹

I have your two letters, received simultaneously.

Here is a draft² for your reply. It gives you my reaction to the Government letter. Of course you will reject it, if it does not correctly represent your view.

I understand and appreciate all you say in your second letter. My advice is that you should come here first and stay a few days so that we may have a leisurely chat. Probably Satyawati will come. You will then see her too. I would advise you to see Sarup and the Hospital³ and then see J.⁴ and Indu⁵. When you have finished this programme, you may break the order⁶. The rest when we meet.

Love.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ The superscription is in Gujarati

² This is not available

³ The Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital at Allahabad

⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru

⁵ Indira, daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru

⁶ Prohibiting entry in the North-West Frontier Province and the tribal territory

433. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. I think the hospital and your studies do not leave you with any time to spare. I want to draft my statement¹ today.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

434. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,

October 28, 1941

I have been chary of issuing statements for the guidance of satyagrahis. The deciding reason has been to have them to be self-guided where they are not guided by local leaders. But this chariness can easily be overdone. Time seems to have arrived for a brief review especially as several leaders who have been discharged have met me and there has been much speculation about the trend or the result of these talks. The public should know that those who were not wholeheartedly with the Bombay Resolution² have come out with their doubts confirmed. Similarly those who never had any doubts have become firmer than ever before in their opinion. As for me I never had any doubt as to the correctness of the Bombay Resolution and have none about the correctness of the steps hitherto taken in pursuance thereof. If I had, I could not, would not, have led a fight involving not only the fate of the Congress but even of the nation as a whole. There is one saving grace in non-violent action. Unlike violent action, it being good in itself can never do real harm.

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 28-10-1941.

² *Vide* "All-India Congress Committee Resolution", 22-9-1940.

Complaints reach me (1) that there is marked deterioration in enthusiasm; (2) that fewer people are coming forward now than before; (3) that those who are discharged are not seeking imprisonment again; (4) that there is no discipline among many satyagrahi prisoners some of whom have no notion of non-violence or truth; (5) that the treatment of C class prisoners is inhuman in that the food given is bad in quality and deficient in balance. The result is that the majority of prisoners have suffered in health, making it impossible for many on discharge to seek imprisonment again without adequate rest and repair. There are too complaints about want of newspapers, books and proper sanitation; (6) that the policy of non-embarrassment is unintelligible, as the Rulers themselves do not appreciate it, and the fight therefore should be intensified without regard to embarrassment; (7) that there is no life left in the Congress—there are no meetings, there are no demonstrations, no other activity, and that there should be a change of policy and programme even resulting in the resumption of full parliamentary programme, including ministries, i.e., reversion to the Poona offer¹ with suitable modification.

(1 & 2) I shall consider the first two together. Enthusiasm that is froth is of no use in non-violent action. Showy demonstrations and the like have a value in the initial stages. Continuous feverish activity can only promote violence and therefore retard the steady march of non-violent action, call it battle, if that word is preferred. That fewer are coming forward is but natural. For it must be recalled that civil disobedience is individual and restricted to representatives, be they even elected members of village or *firka*² committee. The list of representatives being limited it must one day be exhausted. I have no doubt that if I made a general call and relaxed the conditions of enrollment I should be overwhelmed by applications. I have no machinery to examine such applications. In reality it will be mass action which does not admit of individual examination and choice. That call will not come before the close of the war. There is neither warrant nor atmosphere for mass action. That would be naked embarrassment and a betrayal of non-violence. What is more it can

¹ The reference is to the A.I.C.C. resolution passed at Poona on July 28, 1940; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941.

² Group

never lead to independence. Mass action at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to civil war. If civil war is to be our lot, it will come, but if I know the Congress mind, it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress.

(3) This complaint is partially valid. It is true that some of those who have been discharged are reluctant to go back. This is a novel experience for India. I had to do it in South Africa. The struggle demanded it there as it now does here. Self-suffering has no limit. In the former civil disobedience the occasion had not come to send the same resisters to jail again and again. In the present one it is inevitable. Any other course would reduce the struggle to a farce. The alternative suggested is that substitutes should be found for those who would not go in again. Surely that is not the way of suffering. And how can we think of gaining independence without a full measure of suffering? The greater the cause the richer the suffering. Therefore in this struggle they only will count who will seek imprisonment again and again, come what will. They may be very few. That will not matter. Of course those who are ill will naturally not be required to go till they are restored. Some have interpreted literally my statement¹ that the discharged satyagrahis may take about a week before they go. Each case has to be judged on merits. Shri Vinoba went in twice within 72 hours of his discharge. He had to come to me before reoffering civil disobedience. Hence even that little delay. Shri Pyarelal took nearly a month before going in for the third time. There were unavoidable causes which need not occupy the reader's time and attention. I have mentioned two cases which I was personally regulating. They exemplify the elasticity I refer to. There is no shame or harm in unavoidable delay. Hypocrisy and camouflage must be avoided at all cost. In satyagraha there is no waste of men or time or labour, provided that *Satya* is adhered to in its entirety. I can otherwise utilize the services, as true soldiers of truth, of men and women who will whole-heartedly carry out instructions. Thus those who cannot for some just reason court imprisonment should engage themselves in corporate constructive activity. Difficulty arises because many Congressmen, though they profess or believe in C. D., have no

¹ *Vide* "Discussion with D. K. Gosavi", 15-5-1941.

faith in the constructive programme. I must proclaim from the housetop for the thousandth time that constructive programme is an integral part of the national movement and therefore also of C. D. C. D. without the backing of the constructive programme is criminal and a waste of effort. All cannot go to jail. But all must work the constructive programme. Even in armed conflict armies are powerfully helped by the civil population. Imagine the fate of the British forces, if their effort was not co-ordinated with that of the civilians. I was therefore delighted that there was a wide response from the prisoners and the other Congressmen this time in the matter of spinning during the spinning carnival¹. I dare to believe that if Congressmen were enthusiastic believers in communal unity and removal of untouchability and the like, there would be no communal discord and there would be no antagonism such as it is from Harijans. We are the makers of our own destiny. It has been somewhat justly said that if I am a good General, I must not grumble about my men. For I must choose them from the material at my disposal. I plead guilty. But I have qualified my admission by the adverb 'somewhat', for I laid down the conditions from the very inception of the programme of non-violence. My terms were accepted. If from experience it is found that the terms cannot be worked, I must either be dismissed or I must retire. I retired² but to no purpose. The bond between Congressmen and me seems to be unbreakable. They may quarrel with my conditions but they will not leave me or let me go. They know that however unskilled a servant I may be, I will neither desert them nor fail them in the hour of need. And so they try, though often grumblingly, to fulfil my conditions. I must then on the one hand adhere to my conditions so long as I have a living faith in them and, on the other, take what I can get from Congressmen, expecting that if I am true, they will some day fulfil all my conditions and find themselves in the enjoyment of full independence such as has never before been seen on earth.

(4) There are two sides to the complaint about indiscipline. I must here confine myself to satyagrahi prisoners only. I would naturally like the other political prisoners to attend to what I say. It is

¹ Ceremonial spinning during Gandhi Jayanti week

² In October 1934

wrong to say that there is universal indiscipline among Congressmen or that all are unfit to be called satyagrahis. Cases of grave indiscipline have been brought to my notice. I know that violent men have crept into the organization under the guise of non-violence. But I know also cases of exemplary discipline. Everybody knows that there are in the movement and among the prisoners faithful Congressmen. I am conducting the struggle in their name and for their sake. It is through them that we may expect to win. This should mean no reflection on those who are weak but true. Even a child of seven who performs its allotted task faithfully will be entitled to the same credit as those who may cheerfully mount the gallows, if thereto called.

What is happening now is a process of automatic selection. Those who cannot stand the test will stay out without dishonour. Hypocrites and smugglers will be cast out because they will not stand the real heat or they will be rejected when found out.

(5) C class prisoners' is almost a baffling question. I have said more than once that classification is bad in itself. But the Congress has come to no decision on the question. Meanwhile we must do the best we can. There is no manner of doubt in my mind that the treatment of C class prisoners is unhuman. I do not wish to blame either the Government or the prison officials. I admit that theirs is a thankless task. For ages almost they have been used to only one tradition. Their mind refuses to grasp the distinction between criminals and political prisoners. They would make no distinction between prisoners guilty of crimes and those who rebel against constituted authority. For them the political are worse than the others. But pressure of public opinion has compelled distinction. The result is highly unsatisfactory. The will on the part of the officials is lacking. Satyagrahis who seek imprisonment cannot with any dignity quarrel with the treatment they get, except when their honour is attacked. An irresponsible government, which the British Government in India is may, as it often does, defy public opinion. Satyagrahis have still to court imprisonment. It is one of the gateways to liberty. They cannot stipulate as to the conditions of jail life.

But weak as public opinion is, it can express itself with effect on a matter of pure humanity. I have suggested that medical men should

give the lead in this matter. I understand that a movement on their part is quite likely. It is cruel to distinguish between the food of the different classes. The needs in the majority of cases of the political prisoners are identical. I suggest that the rations of all political prisoners should approach what is known as balanced diet with the permission to replenish it at the prisoner's expense. As to sanitation and other matters, a non-official medical committee should make recommendations which should be given effect to at once. There should be identity of treatment in all the provinces.

Having said this, I must warn satyagrahis against hunger-strikes or the like. It is their duty to conform to the jail regulations in so far as they do not come in conflict with known rules of honour, not self-made ones by hyper-sensitive temperaments. These ought not to court imprisonment. I suggest that it is a satyagrahi's first code of honour that he will conscientiously carry out jail discipline with the reservation just mentioned. Satyagraha is a process of silent conversion. Indiscipline and nagging are wholly inconsistent with the ambition of conversion. I am repeating these views of mine not without fear and trembling. For I know that jail officials have often quoted them on wrong occasions against satyagrahi prisoners. Of course in all I have said there is nothing against carrying out constitutional agitation for jail reforms even as to the so-called criminals. A satyagrahi is a universal reformer. For him there is no distinction between criminals and non-criminals. He is out to render service to the whole of humanity to the extent of his ability and opportunity.

There is the question of newspapers and books. These are as important as food. Some would do without food but not without newspapers and literature. I hold that deprivation of this amenity is additional punishment for a political prisoner.

(6) Although I have dealt with the question of non-embarrassment in my previous statements, I see that it still continues to agitate many Congressmen. For one thing, it is part of the Bombay Resolution and effect should be given to it. It is inherent in non-violence. But it is also expedient. By causing embarrassment at this stage, the authorities must resent it bitterly and are likely to act madly. Of course it would be different if we had resorted to armed rebellion.

Then the saying 'their difficulty becomes our opportunity' would apply. It is obvious that exactly the opposite rule should apply when an opposite method is adopted. It is worse than suicide to resort to violence, i.e., embarrassment under cover of non-violence. We may not be "temperate and furious" at the same time.

'But then to be logical you must give up C. D. altogether', says the critic. To give up C. D. would be folly. C. D. is itself completely non-violent action. It is a duty in the face of violence without parallel. C. D. in the present case means assertion of the right to speak against participation in this war or all war. If we cannot do even this much when the occasion demands it, we might as well give up non-violence. C. D. is the assertion of a right which law should give but it denies. If performance of a duty causes embarrassment, it cannot be helped. It is my duty to give up drink. It would cause some loss to the tavern-keeper. I am helpless. The authority can easily avoid embarrassment by recognizing the elementary right of non-violent free speech. Consideration whether the policy of self-imposed restraint creates an immediate impression on the authority is irrelevant. Belief that it must ultimately be inherent in belief in non-violence itself. We may not bear ill will against the bitterest opponent.

(7) I do not share the belief that there is no life left in the Congress. "Still waters run deep." Congressmen are too much attached to the Congress to let the institution die of inanity. There seems to be no life because we have no spectacular show in the shape of parliamentary programme or mass C. D. Things are going according to plan. C. D. is restricted to select individuals. It will be further restricted to those who reoffer C.D. as often as necessary. It does not matter if the number is reduced to ten or two. The two will represent the whole Congress. Does not one ambassador represent his people? One can be multiplied infinitely. Parliamentary activity has been almost stopped also according to plan. It may be, in my opinion should be, stopped completely. But I do not wish to rush things. Members of local boards have in many cases been withdrawn according to plan.

Then what are the Congressmen to do if they cannot or will not be allowed to offer C. D. and there is no parliamentary programme? The answer is simple. There are only two things for Congressmen to

do. All to carry on the thirteenfold constructive programme and some select few to offer C.D. in addition. C.D. is a mighty weapon to be wielded effectively by only a few in the first instance. Constructive programme is to be worked by all Congressmen and even non-Congressmen if they will. How can people shut their eyes to its paramount importance? Even parliamentary programme without it is a mere farce. We have had it till 1920. I do not deny its usefulness even as a farce is useful. But there is no such thing as a farce without the backing of a play. In 1920 the nation came into its own. Constructive programme was described in so many words to be a preparation for C. D. Parliamentary programme was given up *in toto*. The nation lost nothing by it. Parliamentary programme will have its definite place when we have a parliament of our own. Let it not be forgotten that this is expected to be a fight to the finish. It is true that C. D. will be suspended if genuine free speech is granted. If we do not find ourselves free at the end of the war, resumption will be a certainty. But that is idle speculation. If we do our present duty, whatever the circumstances that face us at the end of the war we shall be found ready.

Let me glance at the constructive programme. There is communal unity. It is worth much more than the whole parliamentary programme. Without it, the latter is useless. It becomes a field for interminable wrangling. Complete heart-unity takes us almost straightway to independence. Let me not be told that there will be no unity at all or not in our lifetime. I must refuse to believe the negation so long as there are some Congressmen working for unity. If the Congress cannot, I know that no other institution can. For every Congressman whatever his faith must equally represent in his own person every Indian, no matter what his faith is. In that sense he belongs to all religions.

Then take untouchability. I repeat that if untouchability lives, Hinduism and with it India dies. Is that not a programme worth living for, dying for? And the spinning-wheel whose every turn brings India nearer her destiny? Surely it can fully occupy every day of every Congressman. And the wheel being the centre of our solar system it includes all the planets in the shape of village industries.

The wheel brings us at once to the emancipation of India's

manhood, *kisans*, labourers and all those who are weary and heavy-laden. If this all-inclusive and mighty programme is not understood and appreciated by Congressmen they do not know the A B C of non-violence nor do they know the elements of C.D.

This programme gives ample scope for public meetings, demonstrations, exhibitions and the like. No official Congress Committees need function for co-ordinating these activities. Wherever five earnest Congressmen are found, they can group together and organize them.

Congress will now see why I contemplate no change in the programme as it is going and why I am full of hope for the future of the country.

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

435. ASHRAM NOTE

October 28, 1941

The blood-pressure will remain normal only when people here do their work well and do not indulge in quarrels. Let them do all things according to my wishes and ideals.

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 384

436. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

October 28, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have your letter. I have gone through some more sheets of your rendering¹. It is likely that as I proceed it will run smooth. I have the earth bandage on and am lying on my back as I write this. I do so in the midst of the visitors. Therefore no more.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 3680. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6489

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Mirabehn", 13-5-1941.

437. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

SEVAGRAM,
October 28, 1941

CHI. AMBUJAM,

Your letter has “award”. What is it?

Of course you can pray for definite objects so long as they are worthy. The fact is that God is within every one of us. Intense prayer is intense concentration of the right type.

I hope things will go well with you.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

438. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI

October 28, 1941

DAUGHTER AMINA¹,

I was very pleased to read your letter. When are you and Sultana² coming over here?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6669. Also C.W. 4314. Courtesy : Hamid Qureshi

439. LETTER TO SULTANA QURESHI

[October 28, 1941]³

DAUGHTER SULTANA,

I should like you to come and stay with me for a few days. Just now Sardar also is here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6669. Also C.W. 4314. Courtesy : Hamid Qureshi

¹ Daughter of Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, popularly known as Imam Sahib. She was married to Ghulam Rasul Qureshi.

² Addressee's daughter

³ This is written on the same sheet as the preceding item.

440. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

October 28, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I have suggested that you should be appointed Vice-President. I think you should let the Committee be formed. There have to be such bodies. Only thus can we progress.

What is approximately the total figure now?

Kanaiyo is expected on Saturday.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8595. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

441. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

October 28, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You are being unreasonable. You do not write but expect me to write. But let that pass. As long as you all are happy, I am satisfied.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

442. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

My blood-pressure continues to remain high. Hence, I took three drops of *sarpagandha* yesterday both in the morning and evening. This morning it came down to 166/98. There is no cause for worry. In the morning I talked while walking and when I measured the blood-pressure it was 196/112. When it was taken in the afternoon, it was 150/90. My food intake is good.

Sardar is quite well. Vasumati's breasts are very tender. The slightest pressure causes her pain. Let me know if you understand why

this is so.

There is no letter from you even today. I take it that this is because you are very busy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

443. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter after many days. How can you afford being continuously ill? Surely you remember the saying : “Physician heal thyself”?

Anasuya can be said to have greatly improved.

You have not suggested anything about Sardar. You seem to have forgotten. It seems he is improving just by himself. I have been giving him soup of leafy vegetables for the last two days.

Ba has again started coughing. She suffers much at night. I am thinking of stopping *rotis* for her.

I have understood about Balkrishna. You must have your meals at the hospital as a rule.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Either Prithvi Chand or you will have delivered Pyarelal’s letter to Dr. Zakir.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

444. LETTER TO RAGHUVANSH GAUR

October 29, 1941

BHAI RAGHUVANSH,

What Prabhavati behn wrote to you was not correct. I never got your letter. I had asked Prabhavati to reply on behalf of Rajkumari that she herself would not be able to offer help. And you should not go abegging like this. If you do not get money from friends, then leave Patna and do some work.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 142

445. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

October 29, 1941

CHI. DEAR IDIOT,

It was a tragedy about Raghuvansh. I had asked P[rabhavati] to write for you. She thought it was for me. Hence the serious mistake. Now I have written to him myself.¹ Copy herewith. It is your duty to say 'no' emphatically. You may write accordingly.

For the Harijans you may look to me for Rs. 1,500. I shall manage on your return. Will it be enough?

If necessary you should placate S[hummy] by staying till 15th. But you know best what to do.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4108. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7417

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

446. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

October 30, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

Williams is here. He is looking after the cottage.

If you are here before 7th you will see him and his wife.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4109. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7418

447. *LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI*

SEVAGRAM,

October 30, 1941

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

I have your letter. You would have got my letter earlier but for the message which Sardar received. You are said to have sent him the message that at least for three months you did not wish to speak.

You are free to speak and convert the people to your views¹. There never was any idea of suppressing you, but when you ask me as a co-worker to guide you, the question of propriety of speech arises.

In a non-violent society and therefore in true democracy a person has many rights but duty automatically restrains him from using most of them.

I expect you to carry out your promise to look after yourself.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-11-1941

¹ On the question of a change in the Congress programme and the resumption of parliamentary activities including office-acceptance in the provinces

448. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is nothing from you today. Vasumatibehn is having a little fever today. Chakrayya is down with fever at Madras. Lakshmipati's letter is odd. He says that he is improving.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

449. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,

October 30, 1941

Asked for his reaction to the hunger-strike by detenus¹ in Deoli Camp Jail and the Government communique thereon, Mahatma Gandhi said :

The communique was unfortunate. I am generally averse to hunger-strikes by prisoners but I cannot help recognizing that at times they have no other honourable recourse for the redress of grievances. It is cruel for the Government to say that they will not consider grievances unless the strike is given up. It is tantamount to saying that the sufferers should not suffer for the redress of wrongs done to them.

I should have thought a responsive Government would all the more readily listen to appeals of the wronged when they are accompanied by self-inflicted suffering. If the demands are just, and they seem to be just according to Sri N. M. Joshi's report, justice should be expedited in order to alleviate avoidable suffering

The Hindu, 1-11-1941

¹ Two hundred and four detenus were on hunger-strike.

450. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

ASHRAM,
*Saturday, [October 31, 1941]*¹

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I am told that today is your birthday. That means one year less from the number you can devote to service. To say that you may have many more years of service is to wish you a long life. Remember, we wish to depart only after winning swaraj.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2 : Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 262

451. LETTER TO BHOGILAL LALA

October 31, 1941

BHAI BHOGILAL,

Sardar spoke to me about your meeting with an accident.² It seems you have escaped a grave danger. Let us hope you will get well in a few days.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. BHOGILAL LALA

“CONGRESS HOUSE”

AHMEDABAD, B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10860. Courtesy : Shashibehn Desai

¹ The source places this among the letters for the year 1941. October 31 was the addressee's birthday which, however, fell on a Friday in 1941.

² The addressee had met with a motor accident while travelling in the countryside for famine relief work.

452. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 31, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your letter. It really makes me sad and it will continue to do so if for whatever reason, you are not able to study well.

I do not also understand about anaesthesia. One gains experience from whatever work one may be assigned.

Mahadevbhai did not get the permission to see Pyarelal because nobody in jail has been allowed to have visitors. Now there will be a struggle on the issue.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

453. LETTER TO R. K. L. NAND KEOLYAR

October 31, 1941

BHAI NAND KEOLYAR,

The account of the yarn spun by the Kerala spinners during the Khadi Jayanti made me very happy. I have also received the draft for Rs. 236 sent by you for that yarn. Please convey my congratulations to all the spinners. I hope this enthusiasm will endure and the khadi atmosphere will spread.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

454. WHAT JESUS MEANS TO ME¹

Although I have devoted a large part of my life to the study of religion and to discussion with religious leaders of all faiths, I know very well that I cannot but seem presumptuous in writing about Jesus Christ and trying to explain what He means to me. I do so only because my Christian friends have told me on more than a few occasions that for the very reason that I am not a Christian and that (I

¹ The source reproduced this from *Inner Culture*. The date of the writing, however, is not available.

shall quote their words exactly) "I do not accept Christ in the bottom of my heart as the only Son of God", it is impossible for me to understand the profound significance of His teachings, or to know and interpret the greatest source of spiritual strength that man has ever known.

Although this may or may not be true in my case, I have reasons to believe that it is an erroneous point of view. I believe that such an estimate is incompatible with the message that Jesus Christ gave to the world. For he was, certainly, the highest example of one who wished to give everything asking nothing in return, and not caring what creed might happen to be professed by the recipient. I am sure that if He were living here now among men, He would bless the lives of many who perhaps have never even heard His name, if only their lives embodied the virtues of which He was a living example on earth; the virtues of loving one's neighbour as oneself and of doing good and charitable works among one's fellow-men.

What, then, does Jesus mean to me? To me He was one of the greatest teachers humanity has ever had. To His believers He was God's only begotten Son. Could the fact that I do or do not accept this belief make Jesus have any more or less influence in my life? Is all the grandeur of His teaching and of His doctrine to be forbidden to me? I cannot believe so.

To me it implies a spiritual birth. My interpretation, in other words, is that in Jesus' own life is the key of His nearness to God; that He expressed, as no other could, the spirit and will of God. It is in this sense that I see Him and recognize Him as the Son of God.

But I do believe that something of this spirit, that Jesus exemplified in the highest measure in its most profound human sense, does exist. I must believe this; if I do not believe it I should be a sceptic; and to be a sceptic is to live a life that is empty and lacks moral content. Or, what is the same thing, to condemn the entire human race to a negative end.

It is true that there certainly is reason for scepticism when one observes the bloody butchery that European aggressors have unloosed, and when one thinks about the misery and suffering prevalent in every corner of the world, as well as the pestilence and famine that always follow, terribly and inevitably, upon war.

In the face of this, how can one speak seriously of the divine spirit incarnate in man? Because these acts of terror and murder offend the conscience of man; because man knows that they represent evil; because in the inner depths of his heart and of his mind, he deplors them. And because, moreover, when he does not go astray,

misled by false teachings or corrupted by false leaders, man has within his breast an impulse for good and a compassion that is the spark of divinity, and which some day, I believe, will burst forth into the full flower that is the hope of all mankind.

An example of this flowering may be found in the figure and in the life of Jesus. I refuse to believe that there now exists or has ever existed a person that has not made use of His example to lessen his sins, even though he may have done so without realizing it. The lives of all have, in some greater or lesser degree, been changed by His presence, His actions, and the words spoken by His divine voice.

I believe that it is impossible to estimate the merits of the various religions of the world, and moreover I believe that it is unnecessary and harmful even to attempt it. But each one of them, in my judgment, embodies a common motivating force : the desire to uplift man's life and give it purpose.

And because the life of Jesus has the significance and the transcendency to which I have alluded, I believe that He belongs not solely to Christianity, but to the entire world; to all races and people, it matters little under what flag, name or doctrine they may work, profess a faith, or worship a god inherited from their ancestors.

Modern Review, October 1941

455. TELEGRAM TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

WARDHA,

November 1, 1941

PARIKSHITLAL

SABARMATI ASHRAM

AHMEDABAD

ARJUN¹ WIRE[S] RAMJIBHAI SERIOUSLY ASSAULTED BY
PAJPUTS SIMEJ. ADMITTED HOSPITAL. TAKE NECESSARY
PROCEEDINGS. IF NECESSARY SHOW ARJUN.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 4045. Also C.W. 154. Courtesy : Parikshitlal L. Majmudar

¹ Son of Ramjibhai, a Harijan

456. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 1, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I hope this will be my last letter to you for the season.

I do not want you to rush. You may give whatever time may be necessary.

All well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4110. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7419

457. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

November 1, 1941

I have your letter. It makes strange reading. I have no narrow patriotism about me. I would do anything to promote goodwill among men. Nothing can be done without men of the same opinion joining and co-operating. You may call them a party and condemn them. But they are not a party if they are against no one. Did Jesus and his twelve chosen disciples form a party or not?

And is there any difference between Imperialism and Nazism? I see none. The latter is the logical outcome of the first. I cannot take up arms for Imperialism in the vain hope of destroying Nazism. I would rather be ground down between the two in resisting them unavoidably. Surely your logical brain should see this.

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

458. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

November 1, 1941

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I have sent you a wire today. You must have received it and taken all possible steps. You may get arrested those who in your opinion deserve to be arrested. If you can get hold of those people, and if they appologize and pay compensation to Ramjibhai, we may certainly let them go. But in that case they should promise that they will never again harass Harijans in that manner. If the Harijans have been intimidated, you should pacify them and give them courage.

You can explain to them that if they do not understand non-violence they may defend themselves with violence.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4033

459. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[November 1, 1941]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Sardar seems to be improving. Yesterday the Civil Surgeon and Dr. Manu examined him. They too felt his health had improved. They found nothing wrong about the treatment. Vasumatibehn is still running temperature. Ba has been feeling a little better after she was given your medicine. She continues having chest pain.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

460. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

November 2, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yes, woman also like man can only propose and God reserves sole right to dispose. So when you come, I shall believe that you have. I am glad you will be leaving with S. It is well he will have his full measure of pleasure. The weather also will be cooler still by the time you return. Poor Prabha !!

You are over-sensitive. Your translation is good so far as style goes. I have simply remarked upon the looseness of thought.² Even if it is loose in the original, the translator has to make it definite. It is a difficult thing but it has to be done. But it cannot be done if you

¹ The postmark bears this date.

² *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Marit Kaur", 27-10-1941.

cannot take corrections in perfect good humour. I have only begun. It may run quite smooth as I proceed.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4111. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7420

461. LETTER TO SATIN SEN

November 2, 1941

MY DEAR SATIN¹,

I have your letter. We have to do the best we can with the help we can get by dint of Service. The Society was right. I can only distribute relief in accordance with the wishes of the donors. Of course it could reject those donations. But that would be foolish. We can try and get donations for the needy Mussalmans. It may be difficult at the present time. Then we must be content with what personal help we can render.

It would be wrong for me to send money from here even if I can collect some. What you can command locally and by local effort would be solid service. We must learn the secret of rendering service without money and without fuss. Money is often a hindrance.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

462. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

November 2, 1941

CHI. KANTI²,

I was surprised to read your letter to the grandmother. How small-minded you are ! Not a trace of generosity. And no limit to suspiciousness? Who writes to Saraswati³? I inquire and learn whatever I can regarding you. Nor is it that I do not reply to your letters. And, apart from pointing out your errors to you, what else need I do? What Ba wrote was based on experience. But let it be. I have written even this merely to explain your error to you. Kishorelalbhai also wrote his letter at my instance. I myself wished to write, but afterwards, to save my time, I asked him to do so. Even behind my not writing to you

¹ Secretary, Baquerganj District Storm and Flood Relief Committee

² Son of Harilal Gandhi

³ Addressee's wife

there is no other motive but to save my time, though I do not remember any occasion when I did not reply to a letter from you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7364. Courtesy : Kantilal Gandhi

463. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I understand about Ba. Ba's case is difficult.

What you write about me is unnecessary. I am trying my very best to abide by everything you say. I am not allowing my sleep to be disturbed. I am also talking very little [during my walks]. I keep my eyes closed and observe silence in the evening as far as possible. With just three drops of *sarpagandha* the blood-pressure too has come down. I continue the efforts to further control it. I am sure if you were present here, you would have brought it under control more effectively. So, pass your examination and come down. I like your self-confidence. But it must be backed by an equal measure of reading.

Suggest something for Sardar if you think it necessary. I give him a diet of soup of leafy vegetables and honey. He feels full of spirit.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

464. LETTER TO DHARMAPRAKASH

November 2, 1941

BHAI DHARMAPRAKASH,

I have your letter. The depressed classes question is very complicated. It transcends politics. If enough money cannot be raised for our conference it should be postponed. How much can you get with my help? It will be more befitting if you make do with whatever you can collect on your own. You must also have a clear aim in view.

Remember that Dr. Ambedkar has placed a definite aim before himself. Study it. Digest it. And also understand fully what your own is.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

465. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

It will be nice to make the help to Harijans dependent upon their conforming to your conditions. You should raise a whole-time worker there.

Your dream was strange. Sometimes these do come. I attach no importance to them.

When you come you will miss Raihana. She has become a member of the family and sings every evening. She has taught some a few verses from the Koran. She sings the *shlokas*¹ correctly.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4112. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7421

466. LETTER TO SANT SINGH

November 3, 1941

DEAR SANT SINGH,

There is no analogy between my selling blankets to a murderer and your *offering* services on the field.² Selling blankets is my calling and I may sell to whomsoever requires them. To offer your services on the field is no part of your duty. My answer therefore is 'no'.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 861

¹ Verses

² *Vide* "Blankets for Soldiers", 18-9-1941.

467. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 3, 1941

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

Of course you have to make the official announcement. How I wish I could send you something written.¹ But I must not even make the attempt. By then surroundings will give me the word. But whatever it is, it must be disappointing. You do not know what nervousness creeps over me speaking in front of learned men! It is my deep love of Malaviyaji² as elder brother and great regard for you that have compelled me to respond to your invitation.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

468. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is nothing from you today. I forgot to write yesterday that my weight had increased by 1 lb. It was 103 lbs. The blood-pressure is fully under control. Ba does not heed the advice that she should take rest. She is a difficult person. Balkrishna arrived yesterday. His room looks quite good with the extension of the verandah. Travelling has not harmed him in any way.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ The addressee had requested Gandhiji to send him an advance copy of his address for the silver jubilee of the Banaras Hindu University for circulation.

² Madan Mohan Malaviya, one of the founder-members of the Banaras Hindu University

469. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
November 4, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

You must not get ill again but move on from strength to strength.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4113. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7422

470. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

November 4, 1941

MY DEAR ANNADA,

This¹ has remained with me so long without attention. You will see and return it with such remarks as you may wish to make.

Yours,

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

471. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

November 4, 1941

MY DEAR ANNADA,

This² was received after writing to you. What do you say? Please return [it].

Yours,

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

472. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

November 4, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

I got your letter only today. I had written to you at the Mani Bhuvan address. I wrote to Urmi³, too. You never got that letter. Being unable to get your address I wrote to Manibhai.

¹ Satis Chandra Das Gupta's letter, dated October 10, replying to the addressee's allegations; *vide* "Letter to Annada Babu", 5-10-1941.

² A letter dated November 1 from Satis Chandra Das Gupta

³ Addressee's daughter

I think it necessary that you should go and see Ratilal. Naraharibhai, of course, is doing everything possible.

I like your idea of settling in Bombay. I suppose you can join the Chamber only after passing the examination. When will the result be out? More when we meet.

I am not writing separately to Urmi.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1021. Courtesy : Manjulabehn M. Mehta

473. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

November 4, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

You alone can guide me in this matter¹. You may write frankly. I have sent a wire² saying that I am consulting you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3025

474. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 4, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. There is no reason to worry about me. At the moment the blood-pressure is ideal. Last night it was 136/88 and today it is 146/96. In the morning it was 172/98. I am also able to eat well. Ba is well.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Rishabhdas Ranka's future course of action, about which he had asked for Gandhiji's guidance

² Not available

475. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

[November 4, 1941]¹

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

You have made great progress, mentally and physically.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

476. LETTER TO SIDDHARAMAPPA G. HARKUNI

November 4, 1941

BHAI SIDDHARAMAPPA,

I have your letter. Work as much as you conveniently can. Keep up your reading and study. Keep yourself fit.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

477. LETTER TO PURSHOTTAM TRICUMDAS²

November 5, 1941

BROTHER PURSHOTTAM,

I was dissatisfied with your speech in Bihar³ to the same extent as I was satisfied with your comments on the statement regarding Jayaprakash. It amounts to this that the teeth for show and for chewing are different. And what a poisonous criticism of the Congress of which you are a member? If the Congress is as you believe it to be, what is the good of your continuing to be a member of the same? Your justification of the Congress policy at present appears to be a favour on it from a high position. I am writing this much as a friend of yours. This is not for discussion in the Press. No institution can

¹ The letter is written at the back of a postcard dated November 4, 1941, addressed to Sushila Nayyar.

² The Gujarati original is not available. The addressee was General Secretary, All-India Socialist Party.

³ At the Provincial Socialist Conference

advance by adverse criticism of any other institution. It progresses by its own strength.

Blessings from

BAPU

File No. 3301/4, Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay

478. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR¹

November 5, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Today only

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4256. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7888

479. LETTER TO PRAN KRISHNA PADHIARY

[Before November 6, 1941]²

Your letter makes sad reading. I can only say even if the Congress contains only a few men who are true to it, it will be well. Those who secede will do so, but if there are a few true and brave Congressmen, people will follow them and not the seceders, no matter whether they are ministers or not.

The Hindu, 8-11-1941

480. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 6, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Has there not been idiocy somewhere about your collapse? Why did you take that pill? But there you are. "There's many a slip between the cup and the lip." So we shall both believe when you are actually installed here.

Take care of yourself. You should not be anxious about your health whilst you may not be indifferent about it.

Talimi Sangh meetings going on. About sixteen of them dined at the Ashram kitchen.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4114. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7423

¹ This is written at the end of Prabhavati's letter to the addressee.

² The report appeared under the date-line "Cuttack, November 6".

481. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 6, 1941

DEAR DR. JAYAKAR,

I was glad to hear from you. As you know I never told our friends that I would try to raise funds on any account. They never raised enough money themselves to enable me to make an appeal for funds. Now of course it is too late for me to do anything. But you are there to guide them.

Now that I am writing to you, I feel tempted to tell you that I have read the appeals you have made to me from time to time with respectful attention. But I felt sorry that I could not make the response you expected, without denying the faith of a lifetime.

I hope you are keeping fit.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Enclosure returned.

DR. M. R. JAYAKAR
WINTER ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY 6

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

482. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 6, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Vasumatibehn's fever persists, but is on the decline. She is cheerful. I am doing very well. I am very busy.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

483. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

November 6, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I will talk to Khurshedbehn. The letter to Kotiji goes with this. Silence is bound to benefit you. Do you weigh yourself?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3026

484. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter makes one sad. But you must not be nervous. Take things as they come. Mathuri¹ and Lakshmibehn came here yesterday. Lakshmibehn is Panditji's² widow. Mathuri sang a *bhajan* last evening in her magnificent voice. The substance is, man is after pleasure or happiness but it ever flies from him. Why will he not appreciate the fact that substantial pleasure or happiness comes through grief or unhappiness? Cheer up and pass on all your troubles to Him—the Rock of Ages.

I shall see to the apples being inspected at the station.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 3684. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6490

485. LETTER TO M. TAYEBULLA

November 7, 1941

DEAR T.,

I was glad to have your letter. Rajendra Babu has invited principal workers to come to Wardha. I have no doubt you will be among them. I need not say anything now. I am glad you are fit and well.

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ Daughter of Narayan Moreshwar Khare

² Narayan Moreshwar Khare

486. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. In my estimate Sardar's health is on the mend. You may ask Kishorelal why he thinks it is causing anxiety. I cannot ask him now as we are in the middle of a meeting.

Ba, one may say, has recovered. That is why I have not written to you. She has been taking only medicines prescribed by you. She does not listen at all about taking rest. Once she got angry with me and said she was determined to keep on working. I laughed it away.

Mahadev has received a communication from the Government about Bhai. It says that no permission can be given except on very special grounds. Only relatives can get such permission. I am afraid Pyarelal is going to refuse to meet anyone at all. Vinoba has stopped receiving visitors. Now the correspondence will be prolonged.

For now it will be better for you to stay only at Puri's. If you see any particular advantage in staying at the doctor's, you may certainly go and stay there and say no to Puri. Think about it and write to me.

I feel quite fit. I get a backache from fatigue. It is in the region of the shoulders. Prabhavati suggests it might be something else. That is why I am writing to you. Can there be any other reason for it except fatigue?

About Chakrayya, Lakshmiapati writes that he has quite recovered. He has no fever. He walks two miles.

Annapurna's weight can be said to be very good. Mahadev has gone to Gwalior. He will return on the 11th or earlier. He may visit you there for a day.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

487. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have your letter. I can't give you up, even if you can. It is a case not even of "till death do us part". For I do not believe in the capacity of death to part soul from soul. Blood relationship is in its very nature a physical connection, not so genuine friendship. But this

discussion will take us into deeper waters. No time for it.

I hope you are daily regaining lost ground. If the cold is so severe, can you not get down a few days earlier and await S. in Jullundur?

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

The bathrooms are becoming sumptuous.

From the original : C.W. 3682. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6491

488. LETTER TO T. KANNAN

November 8, 1941

I had your interesting letter. My blessings on your forthcoming birthday.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SH. T. KANNAN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

489. LETTER TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM,

Via WARDHA, (C.P.),

November 8, 1941

DEAR KAMALADEVI,

I have your letter. You will come when you wish¹ The visit to J. L. can be fixed up after your arrival.

Love.

BAPU

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

490. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The pain in the shoulder does not seem to be wholly due to fatigue. Massage does give some relief. But it may well be rheuma-

¹ Mutilated in the source

tism. I am observing.

The blood-pressure is quite satisfactory. It is 150/88. I am able to eat a lot. Still, it may be necessary to remain on a diet of fruit for a couple of days.

Sometimes I do feel it would be good if you were by my side. But I quickly drive the thought from my mind. I consider it is a thought best avoided till after your examination.

Navin came for two days. Lakshmibehn¹ and Madhuri² have come. Madhuri sang us a *bhajan*. I have instructed Prabha to write it down and send it to you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

491. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM,

November 8, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. Mahadev told me about your being ill. I didn't take much notice of it thinking it would only be something temporary.

I did get telephone calls about the Assembly. I said I didn't like the idea but that I would consider if you wrote to me. The 82 matter had ended there. It was good in a way. Sending you to the Assembly means sending you to jail, and right now I do not wish to send you to jail. The work you are doing is of great importance. There will be a time for going to jail.

Blessings from

BAPU

RAMESHWARI DEVI NEHRU

2 WARRIS ROAD, LAHORE³

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 8001. Also C.W. 3099. Courtesy : Rameshwari Nehru

¹ Wife of Narayan Moreshwar Khare

² Daughter of Lakshmibehn Khare

³ The address is from Pyarelal Papers.

492. *LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH*

November 8, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have read the account that you sent me about the opening ceremony. It was very good. I understand you would not be able to come before the 20th. When Bhai Devraj arrives I shall explain a few things.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5654. Also C.W. 2965. Courtesy : Prithvi Singh

493. *LETTER TO SHRINATH SINGH*

SEVAGRAM,

November 8, 1941

BHAI SHRINATH SINGH,

I have your letter. There is no reason to be sorry that Rajendra Babu was not elected¹. But we must try to remedy the situation of which this is a symptom. Do what you can about the attack on a worker like Kakasaheb.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI SHRINATH SINGH

“DIDI” KARYALAYA

730 KATRA, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5663. Also C.W. 2975. Courtesy : Shrinath Singh

494. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

November 9, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

I am sorry to have to report to you that the apples were 19 short. They were weighed at the station. The weight showed $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers less. The Station Master won't issue the certificate; though the weighing

¹ President, Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

was in his presence he refused to give the certificate. You should lodge a complaint on your side. I am doing likewise here.

I am well. I wish you could say the same of yourself.

No more possible today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4115. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7424

495. *LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI*

SEVAGRAM,

November 9, 1941

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

Your letter. You are off the track. You need no permission even as those you mention did not.¹ The Congress Constitution recognized the right of free speech by Congressmen.

I have given you my personal view of the working of non-violence.² You are in no way bound to accept it.

No one wants you or expects you to gag yourself even for one day. You are free save for the restraint you put upon yourself by reason of ill health or otherwise.

My statement³ demands the freest expression of their views by Congressmen. Therefore please feel free to express yourself in any manner you like and whenever you like.

Your difficulty has evidently arisen from the mistaken notion that you were labouring under a legal gag which needed lifting.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-11-1941

¹ The addressee's letter, dated November 6, 1941, *inter alia*, read : "The Congress Socialist Party, in spite of my earnest pleading with you, are allowed to carry on a countrywide propaganda against the resolutions of the Congress and there has not been a single session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee in recent years. to my knowledge, where they have not put forward amendments to almost every important proposition of the Working Committee."

² *Vide* letter to the addressee, 30-10-1941.

³ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 28-10-1941.

496. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

November 9, 1941

MY DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

Your letter has come in.

I am trying to send someone for your camp.

The name of the Ashram should be 'Khidmat Gah'¹ or 'Khudai Khidmat Gah'.² 'Mazlumabad'³ offends.

Girdhari Puri is preparing himself as fast as he can. I do not want to send him before he is fully equipped.

Akbar is also being trained for the same purpose.

For your teeth you should come here as early as you can but later than December.

I may not be able to catch the train if I get this typed. I hope you will have no difficulty in deciphering it.

Sardar and Rajendra Babu are here.

Love from all of us.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

497. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

November 9, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

I got your letter. Champa now writes and says that now she will come only after Nirmala's wedding. I advise you to go to Ahmedabad and fetch him⁴. If you wish, all of you may go and live in the Red Bungalow⁵ or bring him here. I see no other way.

You must have got my letter addressed to you at Mahabaleshvar. In it I have replied to your question regarding yourself.⁶

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1022. Courtesy : Manjulabehn M. Mehta

¹ House of service

² House of service to God

³ Refuge of the oppressed

⁴ Ratilal P. Mehta, addressee's brother

⁵ Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta's house near Sabarmati Ashram

⁶ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Maganlal P. Mehta", 4-11-1941.

498. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

November 9, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

I have your letter. How did you fall ill? I want you to return completely restored. Here the weather just now is beautiful. The cold has begun. Ki[shorelal]bhai is as he has been. Rajkumari is arriving on the 21st. Amtul Salaam is fine. Vasumati and Lilavati left for Bombay today.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. KANCHANBEHN SHAH
C/O SHRI MAGANLAL KALIDAS
VALOD, DIST. SURAT
T. V. RAILWAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8270. Also C.W. 7160. Courtesy :
Munnalal G. Shah

499. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

November 9, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your letter. You are greedy. But I will see what I can send you. Take care of your health. Today I have sent Vasumatibehn to Bombay for treatment. We have a large number of guests just now—Khurshedbehn, Sultana¹, Gosibehn² and so on. They will leave after two or three days.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. VIJAYABEHN
GRAM DAKSHINAMURTI
AMBLA, *via* SONGARH
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7142. Also C.W. 4634. Courtesy :
Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

¹ Sultana Razia

² Gosibehn Captain, grand-daughter of Dadabhoy Naoroji

500. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
November 9, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. I had of course been getting news of you. You have been repeatedly saying that you were coming. Now come whenever it is convenient. No harm has been done by keeping you away. I will not keep you away even a minute longer than is necessary. You are one of those who will fight against all obstacles.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11220. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

501. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I only wish that your studies should proceed well.

The Civil Surgeon and Dr. Manubhai examined Sardar today. Both of them were satisfied after examining him. They are of the view that the same regimen should be continued. They would be happy if his food intake could be increased as also his weight. Of course the items of food will be the same.

Ba is well.

My weight is constant at 103¹/₂ lbs. I feel an improvement in the shoulder.

Pyarelal has sent for a large number of books.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

502. TELEGRAM TO NALINI RANJAN SIRCAR

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1941

NALINIRANJAN SIRCAR¹
EXECUTIVE COUNCILLOR
NEW DELHI

HOPE NOTHING SERIOUS. WIRE CONDITION.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10351

503. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
November 10, 1941

RAJKUMARIJI
MANORVILLE
SUMMERHILL
SIMLA

MY CONDOLENCES² AND CONGRATULATIONS. GOD
MERCY. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 3684. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6493

504. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 10, 1941

MY DEAR A.,

Your letter. It is well Rajasaheb³ is gone. He was a living death. I felt I should send you a wire. And so one is going.

Bul has been here for a few days. Gosibehn came in last night from Mussorie having seen Indu and J[awahar] L[al].

I reported to you about the apples.

This record from Vaidya⁴ is very good. You should write to him.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 3683. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6492

¹ The addressee had suffered a mild stroke of paralysis. 7

² *Vide* the following item.

³ Of Kapurthala

⁴ Shankerlal Kunvarji Vaidya; *vide* the following item.

505. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

November 10, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

Your yarn is very fine indeed. There is room for improvement in the strength. I suppose you will get a piece woven specially from this yarn? Why do you not yourself get a loom installed? I certainly believe that for you your own method is the best one.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5753

506. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

November 10, 1941

CHI. LILI,

You must have reached there safe. Ba misses you very much. Who in your absence will go on talking silly things? Get engrossed in your study. Make up your mind to pass. I shall be satisfied if you drop me a postcard every week.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
MINT ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10112. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

507. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You must be receiving my letters regularly. Sardar is well. The shoulder pain has not completely gone. Have you met Rajaji? Or is it that you are not going anywhere these days? If you are not, I do not wish that you should. For the present, solitude is best for you.

The expense on the *tanpura* was necessary. Change of activity is rest, is it not? Besides, It is your favourite instrument. Who is your teacher?

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

508. STATEMENT ON INDO-CEYLONESE PACT

WARDHA,

November 11, 1941

The proposed Indo-Ceylonese Pact¹ is not open to the fatal objections that have been universally raised against the Indo-Burman thing,² which was sprung upon an unsuspecting public as an almost settled fact. What has come from Ceylon is a proposal for examination by the Government and the public. I have studied the relevant papers as much as possible.

On merits, the Ceylon proposal is open to objection in the same manner as the Burman. I suggest to Ceylon Ministers that there is no reason whatsoever for hurry. Adjustment can easily be made about the supply of labour, but wholesale legislation may be left over till after the war. The war is a terrible tragedy, the like of which is unknown to history. But the tragedy will be deeper still, if at the end we find

¹ The status and rights of Indians in Geylon, which were threatened by the proposed Immigration Ordinance of Ceylon Government, were sought to be safeguarded and in some respects improved in the joint report, published in New Delhi on October 16, by the Indian and Ceylonese delegations to the exploratory conference held in September in Ceylon.

² For Gandhiji's statement on Indo-Burman Agreement, *vide* "Statement to the Press", 24-8-1941.

ourselves living the old way without radical changes in every walk of life.

Let me recall here the goodwill mission that was sent by the Congress in July 1939 in the person of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It had created a deep impression upon the Singhalese and their Ministers. It was hoped that the good seed sown by our ambassador would fructify. When the Ceylon deputation came to India in November last, it was arranged that they would meet him in Allahabad. But he was arrested before they could meet. Jawaharlal had prepared a note for them. It will be published, if I find it necessary to do so.

My object in recalling the mission and the attempt made thereafter is to point out the way to lasting peace and brotherliness between Ceylon and India. It is unthinkable that Burma, Ceylon and India should distrust one another or regard the presence of their nationals among their neighbours as antagonistic to one another.

Any harmful migration from one country to the other may surely be regulated by voluntary adjustment without much legal interference. I feel somehow that no harm has accrued to Ceylon by the settlement of Indians there. As elsewhere, Indian merchants and professionals had followed in the wake of labour imported wholly for the benefit of Ceylon.

Sir Edward Jackson's report, I understand, clearly shows that Indian emigration to Ceylon has done no harm to the indigenous population.

But, if my plea for patient waiting falls on deaf ears, I suggest much the same thing that I have suggested for Burma. I should have no difficulty in persuading experienced legislators that in legislation affecting men in the street and addressed to the masses the simplest and shortest method is best. I, therefore, suggest that the whole of the Indian population found in Ceylon on a given date (kept secret) should be registered and clothed with full rights of citizenship. Those who may be outside Ceylon but who can unquestionably be proved to be *bona fide* residents of Ceylon should also be registered on application. This procedure obviates the intricacies which permeate the proposal under examination.

The term 'domicile' should find no place in such legislation. The English law of domicile is the worst possible. Judges have been known to have been confused over the interpretation of the term. Human liberty is a precious thing, which must not be trifled with by legal subtleties and interminable wranglings in courts of law. The wrangling attains no dignity, because it takes place in a law-court. Men should know definitely where they stand in given circumstances.

So far as labour is concerned, I have no doubt that Ceylon should have the sole right to import as much as it likes under contracts easily to be understood and mutually agreed to between the two Governments.

The suggested quota system should have no place in an honourable understanding.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-11-1941

509. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I hope you received my letter.

Yes, *undhi* [y]u¹ will be available. I have been forgetting to write to you about it.

Radhabai Subbaroyan is here. She will leave for Madras tomorrow.

Here is a letter for you. I think it is from Mridula². She has forgotten to sign the letter.

I am glad you will be bringing someone. Don't make up your mind to send him away at once. But you shall decide.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4116. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7425

¹ Baked vegetables

² Daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai

510. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 11, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Dr. Subbarayan's wife, Radhabai, has arrived today. Gosibehn¹ and Khurshedbehn are of course here. Sultana is here. The group from Gujarat is also here. That is the situation. You must be doing well.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

511. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,

November 12, 1941

I observe that there is a move to press the Government to release satyagrahi prisoners.

It is, perhaps, appropriate to mention that so far as I know there will be on the part of the Congress neither appreciation of nor response to any such gesture by the Government.

Those who may be discharged will have to be invited to re-offer civil disobedience if they are physically fit. Moreover, there will be great resentment if distinction is made between satyagrahis and those who are detained without trial. The Government should not be judges of what is reasonable.

What the public demand is this :

Let the Government keep the prisoners, but give decent treatment to the prisoners whether they hunger-strike or not. They need not take notice of such strikes when there is no reasonable cause for that.

The Deoli prisoners' demands as far as they are known are just. Let them end the terrible suspense by granting the demands and ending the hunger-strike.

Let them also examine the recently published weighty manifesto by representative and prominent medical men from all India on the

¹ Gosibehn Captain, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

dietary of C class prisoners and make the necessary changes and redress such other disabilities which have no just basis.

I, therefore, suggest to those who are urging the Government to discharge satyagrahi prisoners that they will do well if they will concentrate on the relief herein suggested.¹ It can be granted quickly without any political or other embarrassment.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-11-1941

512. TELEGRAM TO JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

November 12, 1941

STRONGLY ADVISE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE
HUNGER-STRIKE BY YOU AND OTHERS. PUBLIC OPINION
BEING CREATED FOR SECURING RELIEF. DR. RAJENDRA
PRASAD AND MIAN IFTIKHARUDDIN JOIN ME IN THE
APPEAL. PRABHAVATI ANXIOUS TO MEET YOU.
RESTRAINING HER PENDING DEVELOPMENTS.

The Hindu, 16-11-1941

513. LETTER TO MADALASA

November 12, 1941

CHI. MADALASA,

This is just to cheer you up. I do get news about you. You must be getting my messages. Do you move about a little now? You must go out for walks, provided the doctor agrees.

The fewer the tonic foods you eat the better.

Is the baby² growing well? Dr. Das was to come today.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 323

¹ N. M. Joshi, however, moved in the Central Assembly on November 18, 1941, his resolution recommending the immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners.

² Bharat

514. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. There is no need at all to send Annapurna right now. Ba is getting sufficient help. She does not even need much help. Let her derive full benefit from that place.

My pain is much reduced. But if it does not subside, I shall take a purgative. I shall not summon you for the present.

The way you answered Mother was correct, yet it would have been better not to answer her. Mother will not take it amiss. But it was uncalled for. You should maintain silence in the face of the wrath of the elders.

I have been sleeping in the verandah since yesterday. Do not worry about me.

You must realize that people here too are a family. Everybody is longing for you. You have written the right thing to Shankar.

Mother should definitely come in December. Mahadev cannot get permission, but Mother certainly can. It is another matter if Pyarelal declines to meet her. The *bhajan* is being sent today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

515. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 12, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter. You will get this on the 15th. From tomorrow I shall write to your Jullundur address. Today there are Kher¹ Miyan, Ismet, Radhabai, Sultana, etc. All are accommodated in the new hut. Dr. Das and Nimai have come today, and Kanaiyo also.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4257. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7889

¹ B. G. Kher

516. LETTER TO HAZARIPRASAD DWIVEDI

November 12, 1941

BHAI HAZARIPRASADJI,

I very much like the idea of publishing a quarterly from Visvabharati. This venture has my full approval.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI HAZARIPRASAD DWIVEDI
VISVABHARATI, SANTINIKETAN
BENGAL

From a copy of the Hindi C.W. 10260. Courtesy : Ravindra Sadan
Visvabharati

517. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 13, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Today also I shall make do with a postcard. I am all right, and so you are, I hope. I understand what you say in your letter. I have to go to Wardha in connection with the States' People's [Conference]. Hence this much should be enough. Beryl has sent a shawl. Tell her it is good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4258. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7890

518. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

November 13, 1941

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

In accordance with your letter I am sending you Girdharilal Puri and Krishnadas Gandhi.¹ They will be able to help in organizing spinning, etc., and discussing plans for the Ashram. I do not anticipate their stay there beyond seven days. But if you want them longer Puri can give more time. Krishnadas has very great responsibility here.

¹ Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

As to Alighul Khan I am quite clear that he should resign. He cannot help the war effort.

Love to all.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

519. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 13, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. I am all right. But again I took three drops of *sarpagandha* last night. The backache has subsided. I am having to do a lot of work. Prabha will lodge the complaint.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

520. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,

November 14, 1941

I sent the following telegram¹ to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan on the 12th instant.

To this, I have just received the following reply :

Thanks for the telegram. Have explained the whole position to Sardar Mangal Singh. Our demands are reasonable. Please excuse inability to discontinue the hunger-strike. May do what you can outside. Do not send Prabhavati.

I have heard nothing as yet from Sardar Mangal Singh. shall, no doubt, do so in due course. But the matter is too urgent to brook delay. I have heard that Shri Jayaprakash has lost heavily in weight. Forcible feeding can only be a temporary makeshift. Shri Jayaprakash is one of the most determined of workers. I flatter myself with the belief that if anything could have melted him our joint telegram should have. His preventing his wife from going to him is ominous. He wants no interference, emotional or other, with his decision.

¹ Not reproduced here; *vide* "Telegram to Jayaprakash Narayan", 12-11-1941

So far as I can see, there is no political motive behind this hunger-strike. The refusal to consider the case until the hunger-strike is given up is a cruel joke. It would be an act of inhumanity if Shri Jayaprakash and his fellow-detenus are detained till their lives are in danger. I appeal to the Government, in the name of humanity, forthwith to grant the request of the detenus. The plea of ascertaining and carrying out the wishes of the Provincial Governments is irrelevant and untenable. The Central Government is in no way bound to oblige the Provincial Governments in matters where the life and liberty of the citizen is involved. There must be something radically wrong if the Provincial Governments are afraid to keep their own detenus within their borders.

This continuing hunger-strike shows the futility of discharging civil resistance prisoners who have themselves sought imprisonment. With what face can they come out when those who have not sought imprisonment are detained without trial and are hunger-striking for the minimum of conveniences to which every human being is entitled?

The Hindu, 16-11-1941

521. LETTER TO MAGANLAL AND MANJULA MEHTA

November 14, 1941

CHI. MAGAN AND MANJULA,

I have letters of you both.

I understand about you. Khersaheb and I were so busy, each with his own affairs, that we could meet only for a few minutes. I therefore forgot to talk to him about you. I will now write to him and inquire.

The plan for the building was sent by Chimanlalbai at the Mani Bhuvan address. If you have received it, let him know your decision about it.

About Ratubhai I believe that you should go and fetch him and keep him with you. Let him have the taste of brotherly love. When you come here, you will of course bring him along with you. If Champa arrives in December we shall see what can be done. I agree with Manju's analysis.

I am glad that Munno often mentions Sevagram. Only if the other children too feel the same way, will they enjoy staying here. If

they cannot forget their attachment to city life, they will never be happy in Sevagram.

Blessings from

BAPU¹

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1023. Courtesy : Manjulabehn M. Mehta

522. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

November 14, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I accept your suggestion. What about Jamna?² Kanaiyo will write to you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8596. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

523. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI

November 14, 1941

CHI. JAMNA,

I have your letter. I had from the very beginning told you to go to Bombay. But what is done is done. The necessary arrangements will be made whenever you go. If you feel that you must go, I think the earlier you go the better.

Kanaiyo returned the day before yesterday after finishing his job. I am asking him to write to you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8596. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

¹ At the end of the letter Kishorelal Mashruwala writes : "Your second letter. I will have a talk with Balasaheb on the telephone, since he has not left. Ring him up on the 16th and see him. He lives in Khar."

² Addressee's wife

524. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I am thinking about Sardar. Nothing more today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

525. LETTER TO SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

November 15, 1941

DEAR PROFESSOR,

I am in need. I want a good, sound man who can guide Seth Jammalal¹ in the matter of cows and dairying. He must be an expert. Sethji has taken up cow-protection as his life's mission. He has need of an adviser to guide him. I have advised him to correspond with you in such matters and assured him that you will give him guidance.

I need, too, one who can be director of an agricultural and dairying institute. He can get a good salary. If you have one in view, will you please put me in touch with him?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

PROF. SAM HIGGINBOTTOM
AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE
NAINI, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat : G.N. 8938

526. LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI

SEVAGRAM,

November 15, 1941

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

I have your letter. You should have published the whole of my letter.² It did not admit of abbreviation. It has given rise to consider-

¹ The source has "Jamnadasji".

² The addressee had, on November 12, 1941, released to the Press extracts from Gandhiji's letter dated November 9, 1941; *vide* "Letter to S. Satyamurti", 9-11-1941.

able misunderstanding. I would ask you please to send the whole for publication.

I have no objection to the whole correspondence being published.¹ But it may take time. Hence the necessity for publishing the particular letter separately.

I am glad you propose earnestly to rebuild your broken body. .

..

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-11-1941

527. LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE

November 15, 1941

CHI. MAMA,

I had your postcard. It is well that they have taken away Mother. You must have bid her farewell for ever, for you will not now be able to go to Ratnagiri off and on.

Sardar is here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3844

528. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Since Mahadevbhai has obtained permission to see Pyarelal, Mother can gladly meet Pyarelal. Since I have vacated the hospital room, Mother's accommodation will be no problem at all.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ The full correspondence was released to the Press on November 18, 1941.

529. LETTER TO CHANDAN S. KALELKAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 16, 1941

CHI. CHANDAN¹,

I have your letter. All of us liked it. May you both be happy and do as much service as you can. I am not writing separately to [Satish]². Take this as addressed to both of you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6267

530. LETTER TO MOHANBHAI

November 16, 1941

BHAI MOHANBHAI,

You must not accept nomination to the Legislative Council in December, whatever your personal relations. Bhai Balwantrai will show you the statement. Don't sign it if you would not; but it would be graceful to keep out of the Legislative Council. Advise the Dewan to withdraw the announcement and postpone everything for the present or to take some befitting step.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

531. LETTER TO NRISINHAPRASAD K. BHATT

November 16, 1941

BHAI NANABHAI,

You may catch my meaning from the statement I have drafted and do whatever you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Wife of Satish Kalelkar alias Shankar

² The source has "Kanti", obviously a slip.

532. LETTER TO PURSHOTTAM TRICUMDAS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 16, 1941

BHAI PURSHOTTAM,

I have your letter. I read the speech again. It has pained me very much. I stick to the opinion expressed by me.¹ All the comments about the Congress are in bad taste. At present I am preoccupied with the Deoli affair. You may come when that is over, to understand my point of view.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

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

533. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

November 16, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

This is my last letter. We will see about the man. I have read your suggestions. I was present at the time of constitution [-making] and both your suggestions were accepted at my instance. Perhaps they would have been accepted even otherwise.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C.W. 4259. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7891

534. TELEGRAM TO JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

November 17, 1941

KAMLADEVI² HERE. SHE AND I CONSIDER YOUR
DEMAND FOR SAME TREATMENT AS DEOLI INCAPABLE
LITERAL EXECUTION. PUTS YOU WRONG BOX. YOU
SHOULD BE SATISFIED WITH REPATRIATION AND
END STRIKE AND AGAIN YOU WILL ESTRANGE

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Purshottam Tricumdas", 5-11-1941.

² Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya

PUBLIC FEELINGS BY PERSISTING IF REPATRIATION
ASSURED. SARDAR RAJENBABU KRIPALANI JOIN.¹

GANDHI

File No. 43/65/41-Pol. (I). Courtesy : National Archives of India

535. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

November 17, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your two letters. Dr. Das too had a talk with me and so Kanu.

Abha should not come here without the blessings from her mother too. She will give them if she feels that Abha will have no one but Kanu. Kanu can wait indefinitely.

It is good that Vina² is to take [up] work. The post offered is good. It should be accepted. Every one of you should be earning something if not disabled and there would be no penury. It comes when there is insistence on costly education which only a few can have at the expense of the hungry millions.

I understand what you say about debts.

Dr. Das told me that your wife felt most hurt that I stopped sending what I did when you were here. I hope you realized that I would have done you moral harm, if I had continued the payment. I am quite clear that you are better as you are and, if you can remain firm in your resolve, you will set a worthy example to all.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10327. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ In reply the addressee on November 18 telegraphed as follows : "Much pained at telegram. Afraid you have not understood situation correctly. Repatriation not our only demand. Cannot fight afresh for remaining after repatriation. Therefore asking for two small assurances. First provincial Governments shall consider sympathetically demands already before India Government. Second pending decision at least Deoli standard shall be applied. Never insisted on literal application Deoli standard. In Punjab detenus are given C class treatment. Fail to understand how our position unreasonable. Both Joshi Mangalsingh considered it reasonable. If you send someone shall convince him completely."

² Addressee's daughter

536. *LETTER TO MANINDRA NATH DAS GUPTA*

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1941

DEAR MANINDRA,

I have your letter.¹ If you are brave and have no fear of death, you should fearlessly move among Muslims and show them affection and wish them well. You should never feel cowed down. I know this is difficult but not impossible.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. MANINDRA NATH DAS GUPTA
HINDU HOSTEL
MANIPUR AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL
DACCA (BENGAL)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

537. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

November 17, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. I like my own marks. But if you study regularly you are sure to pass. Do not worry, but go on studying regularly and with confidence. The result is in God's hands.

Take care of your health. Everything is all right here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9596. Also C.W. 6568. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

538. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

November 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I just could not write to you yesterday. Sardar is all right. His food intake is about 1,200 calories. Sankaran has taken a blood-count,

¹ The addressee had sought Gandhiji's advice for restoring goodwill between Hindus and Muslims.

but he is not convinced. He spent three hours here yesterday. I am well. The backache is not yet completely gone.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

539. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

[SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,(C.P.)]²

November 17, 1941

CHI. NIMU,

I have gone through your letter. I hope the operation³ went through all right. Usha is always with me and is overflowing with joy. She was very pleased to read her name in your postcard. Kanam is fine. He forgot about the money. He has handed it over to Ba. He wants a camera. I was a little surprised that you permitted him to take ten rupees. That is the way of the rich. The children must know and learn that we are poor. Both of them sit with me at the meals. The Sardar and Kanam have warmly taken to each other. Do not worry in the least.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI NIRMALABEHN GANDHI
BHIMJIWALA BUILDING, THIRD FLOOR, ROOM 39
WORLI
BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

540. HOW TO PAY THE EIGHT-ANNA WAGE?

The satyagrahis as well as the others who have courted arrest are spinning a lot during the present movement. I am receiving news from all the prisons that spinning is going on with great enthusiasm and interest. For me this is heartening news. It may be said that Shri Dhirendra Majumdar is a paragon among the prisoners. He spins himself, makes others spin and has been deeply pondering over the methods of improving the charkha. I have received a letter from him

which deserves serious consideration. I am, therefore, reproducing it below for the benefit of khadi-lovers.¹

This scheme seeks to realine the dream of paying the spinners and ultimately all labourers, i.e., craftsmen, eight annas for an eight-hour day. It does not attempt to give everyone everything here and now. But the attempt is to show that all this can be achieved within ten years.

Bhai Dharendra does not express a definite opinion on the scheme but seeks the opinion and comments of other experts. Maybe he does not have in the prison all the necessary literature on the subject. About the scheme at the moment I can only say that all khadi workers should examine it and experiment in this direction. Small experiments need almost no capital. For example, training ten or twenty spinners and a few teachers and keeping a record of the results should not involve much expenditure.

The chief merit of the scheme lies in its being almost self-supporting. It consists of two parts. It does lay a little burden on the institution in the form of enhanced wages. But the other half deals with payment to the spinners after training them for higher production. Another merit of the scheme is the attempt at all-round reform in the spinners' lives. I attach importance to the scheme from this point of view. This scheme is not the handiwork of an ignorant khadi-lover but has been thought out by a responsible and practical worker. Dharendra Babu is not merely the author of this scheme. He is himself going to implement it.

Every experimenter in the field should remember that the scheme takes into consideration all the processes from cotton growing to weaving.

SEVAGRAM, November 18, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, November 1941

¹ The letter is not translated here. Dharendra Majumdar had outlined a scheme to implement Gandhiji's suggestion, made four years earlier, that every village craftsman should get one anna for an hour's honest labour. The scheme which involved social as well as economic reform visualized an immediate beginning in a small area and its gradual extension in ten years.

541. TELEGRAM TO BHURALAL BAYA¹

November 18, 1941

BHURALAL BAYA
UDAIPUR
ICONSENT.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

542. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 18, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

This is about Paranjape. Now write about newspapers. Newspapers are supplied to C class prisoners in other States. I don't know about all. But they are supplied in Bihar and the U.P.

Sarala² had been here for two days.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Deshpande's letter and a copy of the reply are enclosed.

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

543. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is a letter from you today. I shall abide by your wish with regard to that girl. I am not in a position to know better. I cannot write more.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's telegram which read : "State desire Kripalaniji Vijayalakshmi its guests. Your consent essential."

² Addressee's daughter

*544. TELEGRAM TO HOME MEMBER, GOVERNMENT OF
INDIA*

WARDHA,
November 19, 1941

HOME MEMBER¹
NEW DELHI

AM COMMUNICATION WITH JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN VIEW ENDING HUNGER-STRIKE.² HE AND HIS COMPANIONS REFUSE ABANDON STRIKE WITHOUT KNOWING NATURE FUTURE CONDITION ASSUMING REPATRIATION WILL BE GRANTED. HE WANTS ME SEND REPRESENTATIVE REMOVE POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING. COULD YOU PLEASE WIRE AUTHORITY MAHADEV DESAI PROCEED DEOLI?³

GANDHI

File No. 43/65/41-Pol. (I). Courtesy : National Archives of India

545. TELEGRAM TO JOG⁴

November 19, 1941

JOG
CARE STOCK
CAWNPORE
YOU CAN.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

546. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

November 19, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

Herewith the draft. Show it to Rajendra Babu and Jamnalalji also. If absolutely necessary, you may come over here, but it will be better if you revise the draft and send me the final version so that I

¹ Sir Reginald Maxwell

² *Vide* "Telegram to Jayaprakash Narayan", 17-11-1941.

³ The Government on November 20, 1941, authorized Mahadev Desai to visit Deoli.

⁴ This was in reply to the addressee's informing Gandhiji of his arrest and asking him if he should seek bail and defend his case.

need do nothing more than sign it. I suppose you know that this afternoon I have no time at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10954

*547. MESSAGE TO FRONTIER PEOPLE*¹

[Before *November 20, 1941*]²

Mahatma Gandhi wants every person in the Frontier Province and tribal areas to devote some portion of his daily time to spinning on the *dhanush takli*³.

The Hindu, 23-11-1941

548. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

November 20, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

In the midst of work, I won't say anything beyond saying may God the Truth, not untruth, guide you. For God is both Truth and untruth. If you do not understand this language you should ask me to give you its meaning.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 6490. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9885

549. LETTER TO DR. D. D. SATHAYE

November 20, 1941

DEAR DR. SATHAYE,

I have your letter. You will excuse the delay in writing to you. Of what use can my ignorant word be for a highly technical treatise?⁴ From your index I see it is not going to be a popular book telling the

¹ This was delivered to Abdul Ghaffar Khan by representatives from Wardha who attended the Red Shirt Camp at Utmanzai. *Vide* "Letter to Abdul Ghaffar Khan", 13-11-1941.

² The report appeared under the date-line "Peshawar, November 20".

³ An invention of Maurice Frydman, a Pole, also known as Bharatananda

⁴ The addressee had requested Gandhiji to write a foreword to the Hindi portion of his book on ophthalmology.

man in the street what he should do to keep his 'eyes straight' with all the implications of the last phrase.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

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

550. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is so much pressure of work at present that I find writing to you a severe test. Sardar can be said to be quite well. He still does not accept this. I felt relief in my constipation because I gave up milk and butter for two days. I felt good and the blood-pressure came down to 136/88 in the afternoon. I have taken milk today. I have also taken butter. I am all right. The blood-pressure is 156/96.

Ba is coughing a little at night. She is eating well. She is straining herself a lot.

The crowd here defies description.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

551. LETTER TO AMARNATH JHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

November 20, 1941

BHAI AMARNATHJI,

I venture to write to you without earlier acquaintance.

Your election as President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan made me glad as well as sad. Who would not be glad at the election of a scholar like you? But I must confess that I was sad, too; because I had, in the interest of work, wanted Rajendra Babu to be the President this year. That is why Seth Jammalal Bajaj proposed the name of Rajendra Babu.

You are of course aware that I have been closely associated with the Sammelan for many years. I had a hand in framing the policy of the Sammelan towards propagation of Hindi. It has developed some

political overones too. I shall not be able to attend the Sammelan. Hence myself and a few friends thought that the election of Rajendra Babu would safeguard the interests of the Sammelan.

But this did not happen. Now all my hopes rest on you. I hope to secure your help in what I had expected from Rajendra Babu.

It will be common ground between you and me that all of us should endeavour to do our best, keeping in view the accommodating attitude of Tandonji¹ who is the soul of the Sammelan, and all the other things we know he stands for.

I do not know whether or no you approve of the policy adopted at Indore² and Nagpur³. Some attempts were made at Poona to change that policy. The attempts did succeed to some extent. I do not however regard these changes as intolerable. But further steps in that direction will become unbearable for persons like me. My efforts would be to move a step further than at Nagpur. I am convinced this would secure the progress of Hindi and the welfare of the nation. Hindi-Urdu controversy should not have been started nor should it be continued.

There have been sharp differences about the Wardha office. That office must be subordinate to the Sammelan but I think it should have as much autonomy as the Madras office. If it is agreed that the Wardha office has well served the cause of Hindi, it should, I think, enjoy greater autonomy than it has today.

Rajendra Babu's presence at the Sammelan is uncertain. He cannot stand the December weather of the Punjab. Nor can Seth Jamnalalji go. Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Acharya Shriman Narayan may go. Please lend your ear to them. I wish there should be no conflicts at the Sammelan nor any meaningless controversy. If there are differences on principles, let them be expressed in a friendly spirit. Therefore I would request you, if you can spare the time, to come here for a day so that all of us can meet and talk things over. Rajendra Babu and Jamnalalji are here for the time being. If you cannot come for want of time or for other reasons, I can send Kakasaheb and

¹ Purushottamdas Tandon

² In 1935 and 1936, respectively

³ *ibid*

Shrimanji to you. Please let me know your convenience.

Kindly excuse me for the trouble.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI AMARNATH JHA

GEORGE TOWN

PRAYAG, U.P.

From the photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10262. Also G.N. 65

552. *LETTER TO MADALASA*

November 21, 1941

CHI. MADU,

Will you always remain as crazy as you are? Come here at the earliest opportunity, if not to stay here, at least to meet me. And then you may pour out all that is stored up in your heart and cry yourself out to your heart's content. Since I am giving you such a fine opportunity of crying here, stop crying there. For the rest, if you follow the rules I have suggested you will forever be happy.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 323

553. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

[November 21, 1941]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today only this much. I wrote to you only yesterday.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ The letter is written at the back of Kasturba Gandhi's letter of 21-11-1941

554. LETTER TO DR. S. MEHDI HASSAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 22, 1941

DEAR MEHDI,

In your words, I cannot give twice, for I have nothing to give quickly or otherwise, but I get the credit of giving half because I refuse at once, i.e., by return post.

You know my limitations.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. S. MEHDI HASSAN
GONANIA MEDICAL COLLEGE
HYDERABAD DN.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

555. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, (C.P.)
November 22, 1941

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

With reference to the Sales Act, please do as Shri Jajuji¹ may advise. I have not applied my mind to it in all its bearings.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAJPATRAI BHAVAN
LAHORE

From the original: Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

556. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 22, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I could write yesterday with great difficulty. Today that is not exactly so. There are still five minutes for the prayer bell to go. Sardar

¹ Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association

has been started on 2oz. of *separata* today. Rajkumari has arrived today. Rajaji and Bhulabhai have gone.

Ranganayaki¹ has come for a few days. I am all right. I can say that the backache has gone. I cannot say whether there is still a trace left. It has started getting quite cold.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

557. LETTER TO NIRMALA AND SUMITRA GANDHI

[SEAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA, (C.P)]²
November 22, 1941

CHI. NIMU,

As Ba has replied to your letter I saved my time. You must have got at least one of my letters. You have not acknowledged it. As it seems to me, Kanam and Usha are getting along very well. They are overflowing with joy. They come out for walks both times. They run about like mad, eat quite well. Both eat greens, too, in sufficient quantity. Perhaps they eat jaggory more than is good for them, but I let them have as much as they ask for. Bhansalibhai of course teaches them but the Sardar also is taking great interest in them.

I am very glad that you are getting along quite well there.

As usual, people are crowding here.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. SUMI,

You are not Dhritarashtra, for he was blind from birth. You are Gandhari, for, she deliberately bandaged her eyes. Ask Ba who Gandhari was and she will tell you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Widow of S. Srinivasa Iyengar

² As on the letter-head

558. *LETTER TO SUNDERLAL*

[November 22, 1941]¹

BHAI SUNDERLAL,

Only today could I reach your telegram of the 18th. So I am not replying by wire. May what you have begun meet with brilliant success.

Blessings from

BAPU

PANDIT SUNDERLALJI

C/O DR. DAVAR

NEW DELHI

From the Hindi original : C.W. 10263. Courtesy : Purushottam Prasad

559. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

November 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Mahadevbhai is there today. He might have met you. Everything is going on nicely. Only I am under great pressure of work.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ From the postmark

560. LETTER TO NIRMALANANDA

November 24, 1941

MY DEAR NIRMALANANDA¹,

Come if you must.

Yours,

BAPU

BHIKSHU NIRMALANANDA

KRIPA ASHRAM

TIRUVENNAMALIUR

S. INDIA

From a photostat : G.N. 1397

561. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The prayer bell has just gone. Sardar is fine. But Ba continues to have the cough. What can one do?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

562. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

November 24, 1941

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

Blessings to Chi. Savitri and her husband. It is good that both are khadi-wearers, and that there will be no purdah during the wedding. I hope both of them will continue to render service and live happily.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 842

¹ Formerly G. V. Gurjale

563. *LETTER TO AMARNATH JHA*

SEVAGRAM

November 24, 1941

BHAI AMARNATHJI,

I have your letter and wire. Thanks. Kakasaheb and Shrimanji will of course be visiting you now, so there is nothing I need say. It is enough that I assure you that nothing will be done at this end that might create ill will and nothing will be done to change Tandonji's policy in his absence.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

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

564. *LETTER TO TEGH RAM*

November 24, 1941

BHAI TEGH RAMJI,

I have your letter. I am in correspondence with Shri Amarnathji. It will be enough to tell you that in Tandonji's absence nothing will be done that might affect his policy.

Yours

M. K. GANDHI

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

565. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

November 25, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your letter. So long as you feel grieved by my conduct, how can you forgive me? I have no conviction of wrongdoing. Just think clearly a bit. Was I in any way bound to pay you a single pice? You pleaded inability to get on with the Bengal workers. You wanted to come to Sevagram. I took pity and let you come. Inch by inch I came to know of your difficulties and I began to accommodate you. When I thought you to be unworthy of support, I declined to continue, after notice. Was that a wrong done to you? You yourself admit that you acted hastily and thoughtlessly. I acted in the only honourable way I could. I was disbursing public funds. You should know

that I brought you here almost against the wish of trusted co-workers. Your wants were and are beyond your market value. I doubt whether I should have given you the support I did. I still continue to do what I can for you because I believe you to be a person willing to serve but with reasoning faculty gone astray. Your present letter is proof of what I say.

I suggest your showing all the correspondence between us to your friends or rather the other workers. Let Dhirenda say what he thinks of it. It is a serious thing for you to harbour the wrong against me and be satisfied that all is well.

Of course if you harbour any wrong against me, your wife cannot help it. And it is but natural that she cannot send Abha to such a man as me. I hope this letter will clear all your doubts. If it does not, you should pursue the inquiry till you convince me of my error or are yourself convinced of doing wrong to me in thinking as you do.

You are wrong about Sailen. He is not going to help Rishabhadas but the latter is willing for my sake to take him up. Had you not been in need of money, I might not have sent Sailen. S[ailen] too likes the job.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10328. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

566. LETTER TO SULTANA RAZIA

SEVAGRAM

November 25, 1941

MY DEAR SULTANA,

I was delighted to have your letter. The four propositions you have laid down with the approval of the Maulvi Sahib are sound. But how to secure universal acceptance for them is the question. They form a basis for join action. If you have been able to assure Maulvi Sahib of my *bona fides* the next step for us is to meet and discuss the ways and means. If he can take the trouble to come here, this is a good time. Dr. Rajendra Prasad too is here.¹ You will ascertain his wish and let me know.

As to the fifth proposition I have doubts. It demands clarification and mutual discussions.

¹ The rest of the letter is from Pyarelal Papers.

I hope you are keeping well. When are you returning? We all miss you.

Did you not take with you that book on women? I miss it on the shelf. I have an idea that you borrowed it.

Love.

BAPU

BIBI SULTANA RAZIA

AUNDER KOT

MEERUT

From a photostat : G.N. 10859. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

567. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You have got to be satisfied with a postcard for now. I cannot have even the slightest respite from work. I think I am very well. My weight remains constant at 103½ lbs. although I have stopped taking milk for two days. Sardar is well.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

568. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

November 26, 1941

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

Your work has increased. I am glad. There is no harm at all in going to Mathura, etc. Bow in front of the temples from outside. I have not visited any of those temples. How can we, through mere curiosity, visit a place which is not open to Harijans? You should not, therefore, enter the temples. Father has raised a fine question. It shows that you are the daughter of a vigilant father. With good wishes for your welfare,

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9434

569. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter after many days. It will hurt me if you do not write from sheer lethargy. The thought that your studies are getting disturbed is unbearable. You may well pass in the examination, but your studies being disturbed without cause can only result in harm. Whether it is Satya or any other friend who comes, your studies must not be interrupted.

I wish you would abandon the idea of living elsewhere and stick to Puri's. I would change my view if you found a more comfortable place than Puri's. But I prefer Puri's house. Once we take a decision we should not change it all of a sudden.

You cannot also change the decision to get away for three months. It does have its advantages. Why worry about the loss of pay? Surely you are not going to stick to the salary. No, you must not change the three-month decision.

I had a dream only yesterday that you are sure to get your M. D.; that you are extremely talented and have been offered a salary of three or four hundred rupees for a couple of years merely to enable you to enhance your knowledge; I had to take a decision and I could not arrive at any and then I woke up to find that there was neither any offer nor did I have to take any decision.

Everyone is well here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Mahadev has not been given any date for meeting.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

570. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
November 27, 1941

The discontinuance of the hunger-strike by the Deoli detenus relieves the terrible tension under which the public was labouring. It was not possible to contemplate with unconcern the starvation, even self-inflicted, of patriots, whether one agreed with their method or not.

Let us hope that repatriation will be hastened and their treatment will not be worsened for their removal to their respective provinces.

I have read the Government communique describing the bewitching life in Deoli. I recall a similar description of life in the Andamans. It read like a fairy tale and yet most of the inmates preferred to return home. These descriptions, however truthful they may be in the estimation of the writers not themselves detenus, do not answer the reality as the detenus see it. The object of the communique, on the face of it, is to show that the condition in Deoli was superior to what it was in the respective provinces. If such was the case, it shows how correct and proper was the demand of the hunger-strikers that their condition on repatriation should be no worse than in Deoli. I should translate the demand thus :

(1) Repatriation should not be to a remote godforsaken place in the detenu's province. The object of repatriation would be wholly frustrated if the detenus are transferred to a place far away from their homes.

(2) The conveniences and food should be as near to Deoli's latest standard as possible.

That is so far as the prisoners' demands are concerned. But something more is needed. Seeing that the detenus have not been tried, the burden is on the Government to give them as decent a treatment as possible. War economy has no place in this connection, for detention is itself a war measure and could not be justified on any other ground. Therefore, they are entitled to family allowance and travelling expenses for their families when necessary. It should be remembered that most of the detenus are poor people. So much as to Deoli.

But I feel that the question of food, sanitation and classification is and should be treated as an all-India question. I confine myself just now only to political prisoners, whether detenus detained on suspicion or satyagrahis who have courted imprisonment. If I had the authority, I would treat all prisoners alike, making a distinction only on the ground of health and habit. But I must not complicate the main issue by raising others [that] do not demand immediate solution. I think that classifications should be scrapped. At best they are arbitrary.

The scale prescribed in the very weighty and reasoned manifesto recently issued by eminent medical men representing the whole of India should be accepted forthwith as the minimum scale for all India, with such variations as staples grown in various provinces may demand. All political prisoners should have the right to supplement their food and other requirements from their own pockets.

All should be supplied with a selection of newspapers and magazines of known standing without any censoring. There should be no restrictions as to choice of books. What is not generally prohibited in India should be allowed to prisoners. They should be allowed to write letters and receive visitors on the same scale as in B class.

It should be common cause that no recognition should be given to hunger-strikes for wringing illegitimate concessions nor need they be penalized by refusal to consider legitimate demands on merits. For a prisoner under stress, hunger-strike is the last non-violent remedy. He seeks to end imposed suffering by self-imposed suffering. He thereby hopes to melt the heart of authority or at least enlist the sympathy of the public. Experience shows that the method is not to be despised. It has succeeded in several cases. But it is not easy to know always whether the cause for which a strike is undertaken is valid. We know, too, that Governments do not always come to a right decision in such cases. I have before me the case of a prisoner, who has given up his strike at my instance. The cause, as transpires in the record of the case before me, seems to have been more than valid. The vegetables served contained a dead scorpion. The men who had resorted to hunger-strike are now being tried for breach of jail regulations in that they refused the food served. There is the Chunar hunger-strike now going on for a fortnight. It is in respect of the treatment of C class prisoners. I have wired pleading for its suspension.¹

I think that hunger-strikes should not be regarded as a crime, but whenever such a strike takes place it should be referred to a judicial tribunal with the right to the prisoner to be represented by a lawyer of his choice. If the cause is found to be valid, the grievance should be removed. If the hunger-strike is persisted in, although the finding is against the prisoner, the fast should be ignored. If the procedure recommended by me is adopted the probability is that strikes will automatically decrease. Where the cause is valid, the authorities will grant redress on a mere notice of hunger-strike and where the strike is found to be unjustified there will be no public sympathy. It follows that there would be no forcible feeding if the procedure I am recommending is adopted. In rare and obstinate cases a life may have to be lost. It is impossible always to prevent suicide, even by fasting.

Fasting has come to stay as a remedy for redress of grievances. It has its uses. An honest fast draws attention to a felt grievance and

¹ The telegram is not available.

compels redress. What I have suggested is regularization of the humanitarian instinct and the rescuing of a useful institution from ridicule or contempt.

The Hindu, 29-11-1941

571. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1941

DEAR BAPUJEE,

I have your letter. Three names come to my mind.¹ H. N. Kunzru, Hamid Ali, ex-Collector, Satara, K.A.D. Naoroji (Lieut.) of the Tatas. I have given you enough to choose from.

I have your other letter just now which I have not yet read. Of course all your letters are treated as confidential.

Hope you are not freezing there.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

572. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA²

November 27, 1941

BHAI GULZARILAL,

As I have said before, if the Majoor Mahajan realize that the value of their labour is always greater than that of capital and if they all combine, they can come into their own without hurting a single individual.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Gujarati : *Gujarat Samachar*, 3-12-1941

573. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

November 27, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

It is good that Urmi has started going to school. Since you will be spending most of your time in Bombay, why should you construct

¹ For appointment as Agent in Malaya

² This was sent on the 25th anniversary of Majoor Mahajan, Ahmedabad, of which the addressee was the Secretary.

a big house here? For brief visits you may come whenever you wish and you will be accommodated with the others. You have as yet spent on nothing else besides timber. The timber can be used for other purposes.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MAGANBHAI MEHTA
4 B TEJPAL ROAD, TOP FLOOR
GAMDEVI
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10117. Courtesy : Maganlal P. Mehta

574. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You will have received the letter I wrote you yesterday. Today the blood-pressure was 142/86. In the morning it was 152/96. It is not always as good as this. But you will see that it is all right. Sardar's quota of food has been increased. He takes 4 oz. of *separata*.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

575. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

November 27, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It is not necessary to give jaggery to everyone. Some of the guests sitting by my side sometimes take jaggery and sometimes do not. Two children invariably take it. It could be offered to other children also. It is not common practice to offer jaggery. Outsiders have complained that a lot of sweets are served here and the criticism is correct. This may lead to some dissatisfaction; but you should face it and give your explanation. Starch and jaggery have the same food value; but the processes of their digestion are different. Starch has yet to be converted into jaggery.

Twig brushes can be cut only from babul or *neem* trees. It is undoubtedly theft to cut them from trees not belonging to us. We must get them from trees earmarked for us. Tell this to B[alvantsinha] and select a tree or two. Thorns may be used as fuel or put to some [other] use.

Govindrao does not have the strength. He is not idle, he is weak. If a man dare not touch a scorpion, even though each of us can lift it with our hands, how can he be compelled to do so? Govindrao is afraid of contracting leprosy. This fear is not peculiar to him; many people have it. This work, it is quite obvious, can be allotted only to a willing worker.

Cleaning of latrines should be completed before meals. If that is not possible, let it be done at 2 in the afternoon. This should be decided by common consent and from the point of view of hygiene.

Efforts are made to give advance intimation about guests. Lanterns may be bought if necessary. I do try to reduce to the minimum the number of people staying here.

The contact with cities is inevitable. We have to watch whether we earn in the cities or merely help in enabling the cities to exploit the villages. Yes, we should try to reduce to the minimum contact with cities.

We have to create love for physical labour. The difficulty is that guests outnumber regular inmates in the Ashram. How can the guests be expected to labour? Make a list of the regular inmates and you will be surprised to see how few we are.

I understand the reason for your not coming to me.

Do whatever is proper in respect of *jawar*. I do not like that question.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4406

576. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

[November 28, 1941]¹

MY DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

Misbehaviour. Punishment was swift and sure. Not the b.p. That was the result but the punishment consisted in the cancellation of the tour. You cannot afford to play ducks and drakes with your body.

¹ From the G.N. Register

The nature of the work you have to do demands rigid restraint. It is necessary precaution to cancel the tour. Moral : Don't do it again.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 10160

577. LETTER TO DADACHANJI

SEVAGRAM,

November 28, 1941

DEAR DADACHANJI,

I have your letter. I am glad you have written so frankly as you have done. I am entirely at one with you that our relations with the Burmans ought to be of the most cordial character. The correspondence between the Prime Minister and me was naturally perfectly friendly on either side. I myself love the Burmese people and as you know I had come in every close touch with the Phoongis. What concrete steps can be taken at present I do not know. I think the defects that I have pointed out in the Agreement¹ are real and they should be remedied. You should, therefore, not give in on those points but try to remove those defects by friendly negotiation. You ought not to take an attitude of opposition to your colleagues. There is no occasion for it.

I am glad you have not expected me to go through your very long letter to Shri Satyamurti. I tried to read it nevertheless but had to leave it for want of time.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

578. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today also only a postcard. The blood-pressure was 134/84 this afternoon, and 158/96 in the morning. Ba, Mahadev and Ramdas are

¹ The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 14-8-1941.

going to visit Pyarelal tomorrow. The premission was received only today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

579. INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY HERALD"

WARDHAGANJ,

November 28, 1941

Mr. Amery's Manchester performance¹ does not excite any new reaction in me. Mr. Amery has said nothing new. It is difficult for me to say anything more. Mr. Amery holds certain views which he is entitled to hold. But he does not know India as well as I do. Therefore, I see that by repeating his statement, he is doing no good either to his own country or to India. His repeating the same untruths would not convert untruth into truth.

The Hindu, 30-11-1941

580. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

SEVAGRAM,

November 29, 1941

DEAR BAPUJEE,

Why did you give so much time to explain the wretched unfortunate incident? If you had given me a line I should have been satisfied. I sent you the papers because I did not want to have anything about you on my mind without your knowing it. We may travel along different roads but my regard for you shall never suffer diminution.

¹ In a speech at Manchester on November 19, L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said : "We can be proud of Britain's contribution to India. What the Magna Carta won for us in the rights of the individual under the law, that we have given to India. We have now set ourselves to achieve in co-operation with Indian statesmanship the far greater miracle of building up within the space of a few years that superstructure of responsible freedom which we took centuries to complete. In spite of suspicion we still retain the underlying goodwill and confidence in India. But above all there is need of goodwill between Indians themselves."

I got the benefit of Malaviyaji's *kaya kalpa*¹ by resisting it. It was all so unnatural.

Yours

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

581. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE

November 29, 1941

DEAR SIR GEORGE,

It was an unexpected pleasure to hear from you after such a long time.

I was sorry to learn of your son's death. But I suppose there is hardly an English family that has not to its credit such heavy sacrifice. This mention brings to the mind a rush of thoughts which you can imagine.

When I get your book I shall read it and write to you if there is anything to tell you. Meanwhile let me tell you that I remain the same true friend of the British that I always have been, whether fighting or co-operating.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

582. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Ba and Mahadev have gone to Nagpur. Mahadev may write to you from Nagpur. The blood-pressure had gone up last night. It came down to 154/96 in the morning. In the afternoon also it was 154/92. The climate is good. Sardar is well.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. C.

NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Rejuvenation of the body

583. *LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND*

November 29, 1941

BHAI SAMPURNANAND,

I got your letter and the book. I like your line of thinking, so I shall certainly try and read the book. Prabhavati will read it first. She asked for the books as soon as she saw it. At the moment she is on her way to Jayaprakash from where she will proceed to Bihar. I shall get the book only at Benares.

I hope you were all right in the jail.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SAMPURNANANDJI
JALIPADEVI
BENARES

From the Hindi original : Sampurnanand Collection. Courtesy : National Archives of India

584. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

November 30, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

You should go to the Harijan Sevak Sangh and present the case¹. Don't rush to the Press.

As to my retiring from politics,² I might as well wind up non-violence as retire from politics. It would be like denying myself.

I hope you had my previous letter.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10329. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

585. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

November 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no question of writing today. Ba has written. Mahadevbhai has also written. You will know everything from that.

¹ Of the Harijan employees of Nabadwip Municipality whose condition was pitiable

² The addressee had suggested Gandhiji's retirement from politics.

My blood-pressure was 202/110 last night. This morning it was 152/92. This only means that I should stop working after the prayers. I am thinking along those lines. Prabhavati is leaving tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

586. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
November 30, 1941

CHI. LAKSHMI,

I have your letter. I learnt more from the newspapers. We should send an address to our Chief Justice for having raised Devdas's status so high. He saved him Rs. 1,000 and gave him complete rest for one month. Let Ramu¹ also go to jail and enjoy himself.

Anna² had fallen ill. Ramachandran Brahmachari says he is now better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2144

587. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[November 1941]³

CHI. SUSHILA,

In the matter of Dev, you should try to convince him. What is this obsession about examination? Why such a craving for a job? Are all those who earn highly educated? What about millions who are unable to have education? Even then, he may study if he wishes; but why this craze for it? Can you not tell him all that? You may use this letter if you think it necessary.

¹ Ramchandra, addressee's son

² C. Rajagopalachari

³ From the reference to Sardar Patel's treatment and improvement in his condition it appears that the letter was written in November 1941. Sardar Patel was under Gandhiji's treatment between October 20 and November 30, 1941; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 20-10-1941 *et seq.*

Mahadev will go to meet Pyarelal after the pressure of visitors here is reduced. His presence is necessary during the current discussions.

When will you be able to attend to your studies properly? Right now, Raihana is here. I think of you. She can teach music very well. She can teach other things also. But all such things only after your examination is over. When will you be going to Lahore? Sardar, who was having a harrowing time with six or seven doctors, is now almost free from trouble since he came. The spasms have not ceased completely, but he is not suffering in any way. He used to pass five motions a day; now it is only once, and that too, with the help of enema. He used to spend an hour on the toilet seat, but now he spends fifteen minutes at the most. Only my treatment is being given—mud-packs, hip-bath and lying in warm water. He is allowed to take as much honey and lime as he can. He is feeling quite energetic.

Read Balkrishna's letter. What is the purpose behind your sending me saffron?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

588. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

December 1, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. Never mind the loss of the scholarship. But you should not have taken a vow not to pass. Try your best. Let God, then, do as He wills. You ought to like your solitary life. That is a sign of a studious nature. When one is going along the straight path there is no need to keep count of the days, for there is no other path to follow. Prabhavati is leaving today. She is going in order to meet Jayaprakash. From there she will most probably go to Bihar. Laksh-mibai¹ arrived today. Khurshedbehn and Kamala Devi are still here. Sardar is going to Bombay today. From there he will go to Bardoli. I am also going to Bardoli on the 9th. I will stay there for a month. We are all well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10113. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

¹ Lakshmbai Vaidya, a khadi worker and educationist of Poona

589. *LETTER TO MADALASA*

SEVAGRAM,
December 1, 1941

CHI. MADALASA,

The doctor says now you are quite free. So you can come when you wish. I have to go to Bardoli on the 9th for one month. So I would like you to come before the 9th. I hope you are happy. I learn from the doctor that the baby is also making progress.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Please hand over the enclosed receipt in the office.

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 323

590. *LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI*

December 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. It is certainly sad about Sita¹, but you need not get frightened. Such a thing could have happened here, too, though of course there would be less danger here.

It is clear that you cannot leave. I think it is the duty of you both to spend your lives there. You may bring up Sita there as best as you can. If I brought her up, I would do so under my close personal supervision, as I did the four [brothers] and other [children]. I do not repent having done that. According to me, they have lost nothing. If Harilal went to school, etc., you see the result. We cannot see the weaknesses of barristers and degree-holders, for we are overawed by them. In fact, there are many even among barristers and doctors who, like Harilal, lead immoral lives and are given to drinking. But they are big men, holding degrees, and so their weaknesses are not noticed. And, moreover, I myself condemned Harilal, and that also is one reason why he is on the streets. It was my duty to denounce him, though I think “denounce” is not the right word in this context. If, however, you are not convinced of the correctness of my advice, and if you can overcome your desire to keep Sita with you and she herself is willing, you may send her over and she will be educated in the

¹ Addressee's daughter

manner you desire. Devdas and Ramdas bring up their children as they think best. You both have the same right. I can only advise you as a friend. The right belongs to the parents alone, and it is their moral duty, too, to bring up their children in the way they think best.

Do ask Virji's son, too. You need not feel awkward about it. You did well, of course, to explain to Sita a woman's function. Instruction in regard to sex organs will do her nothing but good. If the instruction is pure, the children will understand the right function of the organs and will learn self-control. Everything will depend on how the instruction is imparted. You yourself should think over this matter. Naraharibhai has written something Kishorelalbhai also will write to you and send you some useful literature. Please do not get frightened.

I had Manilal's letter also. I have sent him a reply, too.¹

I am pained to read about Sorabji and Jalbhai. But that is how the world goes on.

Everybody is well here. Ramdas's children are here for the present. Nimu² is arriving tomorrow with Sumi³. She had to undergo an eye operation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4925

591. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

December 1, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Yes, there has been some misunderstanding. I had told Arya-nayakum⁴ clearly; some books are to be kept and for them a couple of almirahs, too. I have . . .⁵ to Aryanayakum. His language is such; pay no heed to it.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4407

¹ Gandhiji, however, had not; *vide* "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", 2-12-1941.

² Ramdas Gandhi's wife Nirmala, and Sumitra, her daughter

³ *ibid*

⁴ E. W. Aryanayakum, Secretary of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh

⁵ One word is illegible.

592. NOTE TO BALVANTSINHA¹

December 1, 1941

What is all this? Why all this unhappiness at the insult from a member of the weaker sex? I do not know at all what names . . . behn² called. Even the abuses from our sister should be looked upon as praises. I shall of course investigate but I do not like your writing to me, for whatever reason. Insult is to be put up with. You ought to have laughed it away. And where is the question of sending you away? One can drive away only oneself. The Ashram belongs to you and also to . . . behn³. If you both quarrel, who can ask whom to go away? The *Gita* truly says : Wrath breeds stupefaction, stupefaction leads to loss of memory, loss of memory ruins reason and so on.⁴ I find you in such a situation. Wake up and laugh at your own folly.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 291

593. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

December 2, 1941

MY DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

Unless you are sure of getting on well and if you are permitted to travel come here. I have to leave here for Bardoli on 9th. If you leave tomorrow 3rd you are here on 4th. That gives me clear five days. You must be the judge.

Love.

BAPU

PROF. KUMARAPPA
C/O SHETH SHOORJIBHAI
CUTCH CASTLE
GIRGAUM. BOMBAY

From a photostat : G.N. 10161

¹ The addressee, who was then observing silence, was pulled up by a woman member of the Ashram for his failure to supply rice to the kitchen. Exasperated, he complained to Gandhiji, asking to be sent away.

² The names are omitted in the source.

³ *ibid*

⁴ *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 63-4

594. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM,
December 2, 1941

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have not given you the number of my party because I am myself uncertain. But provisionally you may count on three—Mahadev Desai, Kanu Gandhi and myself. I do not want to bring my wife with me.

As to Swami Bhawani Dayal, I am taking no notice of the matter. Our people in S.A. or elsewhere must show the weaknesses to which they are heir¹.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

595. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

December 2, 1941

CHI. MANILAL,

I was under the impression that I had replied to your letter. But Kishorelal tells me that I have not done so. If you cannot be happy there, you may come over, but it will not look proper. It will not be proper to desert your co-workers. All the same, I do not wish to force you to stay on. You two, therefore, may do what you consider is your dharma. What further guidance can I give you than this?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4926

596. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

December 2, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I hope you have not been frightened. It is not an easy thing to be a mother. Children are bound to get one illness or another. Manjulabehn will come and see you. I am reaching Bardoli on the 10th. You may come over to me then. By that time Anand will be full of *ananda*². Fix your thoughts on God and do what you can. If you

¹ The source has “of which they are heirs”.

² Joy

want Shakaribehn¹ to go there, send a wire. She is ready. Since you are staying with your family, I have been wondering whether I should send her.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10040. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

597. LETTER TO MADALASA

December 4, 1941

CHI. MADALASA

At half past ten this morning I received your letter of yesterday. You had asked for permission to come. Now that permission is useless. You can now come over any time you wish.

There is no need to drag yourself here if you are happy there. I will peep in there on the 9th. But if you can relax better by coming here, then you should certainly come.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 324

598. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

December 4, 1941

CHI. MAHAVIR,

I have your letter. Munshiji says you should send your application in March. I learn that there will be no point in sending it before that. You should, therefore, wait till March. Write to me in March. There is no need at all to send Satyadevi² just now. I am likely to leave this place for Bardoli on the 9th.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MAHAVIR
C/O SHETH BHIMJI KARA
CHANDAVARKAR ROAD
BORIVLI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6244

¹ Addressee's mother

² Addressee's sister

599. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

December 4, 1941

BHAI SAMPURNANAND,

I just got your letter. Even before your letter arrived I had, in the course of a letter to a friend, stated that you were fully entitled to offer criticism. It has had no adverse effect on me, although I maintain that there is absolutely no ground whatsoever for your criticism. At the back of [the struggle for] freedom of speech there is [the claim for] independence as it was at the back of the Salt [Satyagraha]. But then this is a controversial subject. Time will reveal everything.

That leaves the question of Hindi. This controversy is meaningless and stems from ignorance. No one in the Congress is antagonistic towards Hindi. And no one will suspect me of such antagonism. But I may differ in my policy [regarding Hindi]. And if this happens to be the case, what would be my position in the Sammelan¹? I have been dragged into the Sammelan and I can quit this moment. I regard Urdu and the Persian script as included in Hindi. I have been maintaining this view since the Indore [session]. The man responsible for giving to the national language the name Hindustani [and getting it] accepted by the Congress is Tandonji. Now what can be done? I think the resolution was all right. And if it was so we should regard Hindustani as a synonym for Hindi. Now tell me if there is anything wrong in it. Rajendra Babu is not in a condition to go to Kashi. And he is certainly not going to Abohar. Kakasaheb and Shrimanji are on their way to meet Dr. Amarnathji.² Maybe, now Tandonji himself will come out. Whatever he says will be done.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original : Sampurnanand Collection. Courtesy : National Archives of India

¹ Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

² *Vide* "Letter to Amarnath Jha", 24-11-1941.

600. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
December 4, 1941

In the course of an interview, this afternoon, on the Government of India's communique¹ regarding the release of political prisoners, Mahatma Gandhi said :

As I have said before the event,² I must repeat after the event, that, so far as I am concerned, it cannot evoke a single responsive or appreciative chord in me.

From my student days onward, I have been, and still claim to be, a friend of the British people. But my friendship cannot blind me to the fact that British representatives hold India as a bonds slave. All the freedom that India enjoys is the freedom of a slave and not the freedom of an equal, which is otherwise known as Complete Independence. Mr. Amery's pronouncements do not soothe the festering sore, but are like sprinkling chillies on it. It is in that setting that I am called upon to examine this release.

If the Government of India are confident of the determination of all responsible opinion in India to support the war effort, the logical conclusion would be to keep the civil disobedience prisoners in their custody, because they produce a jarring note. The only meaning I can attach to the release, therefore, is that they expect that the prisoners will have changed their opinions in their self-invited solitude. I am hoping that the Government will be soon disillusioned.

Civil disobedience was not taken up without the most careful consideration. It was certainly not taken up out of any vindictiveness. It was taken up, and I hope will be continued, in order to make good the claim of the Congress to let the British people and the world know that there is, at the very least, a large body of public opinion represented by the Congress which is utterly opposed to participation in the war, not because it wishes any disaster to the British arms or

¹ Issued on December 3, 1941, which stated : "The Government of India, confident in the determination of all responsible opinion in India to support the war effort until victory is secured, have reached the conclusion that those civil disobedience prisoners whose offences have been formal or symbolic in character, can be set free. Effect will be given to this course as soon as possible. There are provinces in which local conditions may mean delay; but before the end of the year the Government of India hope that throughout India practically all such persons will have been set free. With them there will be released also Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru."

² *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 12-11-1941.

victory to the Nazi or Fascist arms, but because it sees no deliverance from blood-guiltiness either for the victor or for the vanquished, and certainly no deliverance for India out of this war.

The Congress, which seeks and claims to represent the dumb millions, has, for the past twenty years, accepted non-violence as its unbroken policy to achieve India's independence. To stop civil disobedience, symbolic though it may be for the time being, will be to deny its policy at a crucial moment. The Government claim that, in spite of the Congress efforts, they are able to get all the men and money from India. Therefore the Congress opposition, in their estimate, can only be a moral effort and a moral demonstration. I, for one, am entirely satisfied with it, because I am convinced that from that moral demonstration will arise, when the moment comes, a demonstration which will result in the attainment of India's independence, not the ascendance of this party or that. The Congress struggle covers every single unit in India.

Now that the Congress President¹ is expected to be out, it will be for him to consider whether and when to call the Congress Working Committee or the A. I. C. C. These two bodies will determine the future policy of the Congress. I am but a humble instrument of service in conducting the civil disobedience.

I would, however, say one word about the detenus and other prisoners. It sounds strange that those who have sought imprisonment are to be discharged and not those who are either detained without trial or imprisoned because they hold the freedom of their country dearer than their personal liberty. There is surely something utterly wrong somewhere. Therefore I cannot rejoice over the Government of India's decision.

The Hindu, 6-12-1941

601. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

December 5, 1941

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

It is nice to be able to write to you outside the jail. But the pleasure is only momentary for I cannot reconcile myself to these discharges. However, we meet this new menace.

This is merely to tell you that I delayed answering your question as the rumour about your discharge was in the air.

¹ Abul Kalam Azad

I have read your letters most carefully. I agree with your conclusions and I like the very generous manner in which you have treated the whole thing. I had one and only one chat with F¹. and he accepted my proposition that he would not think of marrying Indu without your consent and blessing. Indu wrote to J. that she was coming and seeing me too. Now that you are out and probably will be for a few days if not longer, you will shape this thing as you wish.

I hope you have liked the recent statements issued by me. You will tell me when you are coming. Maulana² telephoned today saying he proposed to come after two or three days. I propose to leave here on 9th for Bardoli for one month. Sardar wants me to give one month to Gujarat. He is under treatment, mostly dietetic. I have prescribed the diet. I think his pain is most bearable under that regime. So far as it is possible our talks and meetings should take place in Bardoli. The discharges are a challenge. I feel that we should hold the W[orking] C[ommittee], A. I. C. C. meetings as early as we can. But of this you and Maulana are the best judges.

I am writing this against time.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1941. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

602. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,

December 5, 1941

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter.

Now that you have been released, your responsibility and mine have increased. There is no question of your returning [to jail] immediately. I am thinking [about it].

I am leaving for Bardoli on the 9th. Go to Rajkot meanwhile and come to Bardoli after finishing your work there. I will not be in a hurry to send you away from there.

I am fully satisfied with Lakshmibai. She is a very good and thoughtful lady.

¹ Feroze Gandhi

² Abul Kalam Azad

I hope you keep fine health. I have no time to write more. All those released from Nagpur have come to see me. I am writing this surrounded by a large crowd.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10421. Also C.W. 6860. Courtesy :
Prema Katak

603. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

December 5, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

Kanhaiyalal Vaidya will be seeing you. He will tell you about Ratlam. Go there. Do what you can. Whether your efforts as a lawyer succeed or not, the poor prisoners will feel comforted by your going. Meet the officials there and see that, outside your sphere of duty too, compassion prevails.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 7671. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi.

604. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

December 5, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter and the doctor's report. Before that I had two letters from Mahadev. Please make no changes before I arrive there. We shall have a talk with Dr. Gilder. I am unshaken in my faith that your present diet is sufficient and that you must improve with it. Nevertheless, we must respect the doctor's findings. Do not be negligent about taking rest. You must take walks both morning and evening. Listen to the doctor's advice and walk as much as possible or lie down but do not sit for too long. We had already decided about a belt when you were here. But if there is any speciality in the Powell belts, let one be procured there.

I am busy with the problem of the prisoners. You must have seen my statement¹.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SWARAJYA ASHRAM

BARDOLI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2 : Sardar Vallabhbhai, p. 263

605. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,
December 6, 1941

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

LUCKNOW

WROTE YESTERDAY. YOUR WIRE. COME WHEN YOU
CAN. SARDAR HAD LONG SETTLED BARDOLI
PROGRAMME.² HIS BODY SHATTERED. I AM SOLE GUIDE ON

¹ *Vide* "Interview to the Press", 4-12-1941.

² The addressee's telegram dated December 4, 1941, *inter alia*, read : "Would not Bardoli involve longer journey for Maulana others ?"

CARE HIS BODY. WOULD AVOID DISTURBING HIM BUT
YOUR AND MAULANA'S OPINION SHALL PREVAIL. LOVE.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1941. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

606. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

December 6, 1941

CHI. TARAMATI,

I have your letter as also Harkishan's. You must send me news every day. Bhaskar Patel has a sanatorium there, hasn't he? Has he examined him (Mathuradas)? You should give up all worry and nurse him cheerfully.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. TARAMATI MATHURADAS
WINDI HALL
DEOLALI
G. I. P. RAILWAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

607. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,

December 7, 1941

The jail delivery that is going on apace of satyagrahis must be taken as a challenge to convene a meeting of the A. I. C. C. which, the Government of India have been evidently induced to expect, will reverse the Bombay decision, whose working is reflected in my conduct of the satyagraha campaign. I have, therefore, advised the Maulana Saheb to convene a meeting of the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. at an early date, but until that decision is reversed civil disobedience has to go on.

I must admit, however, that the conduct of the campaign has been rendered difficult by the Government action in discharging civil disobedience prisoners, but if we are to reach our goal, we have to cut our way through every difficulty. This one is nothing compared to what we are likely to have to face before we come into our own.

If the A. I. C. C. meeting is to come, as it must, pending the meeting members of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. must

not offer civil disobedience, nor should those who are interested in reversing the Bombay decision.

Apart from these, civil disobedience should continue without interruption. Of course it will stand suspended on Xmas Day, Boxing Day and New Year's Day.

The question naturally arises whether civil disobedience is to be offered in the usual manner by reciting the prescribed formula¹ or in some other manner.

I like the formula method. It gives directness and symmetry to the movement. There is great power in the reciting of the same formula in the same manner. It rivets the attention of the masses and men on identical theme. The formula is not a mean thing. It is a protest of the nation against war as an arbitrator. It is a message of peace on earth and goodwill towards mankind. What is individual formula today will become, in due time, that of the masses, but the authorities having discharged symbolical satyagrahis may refuse to rearrest them for reciting slogans.

There are then two ways open to us: If they do not rearrest, there need be no dismay and demoralization, the jail is not our objective. Freedom of speech is the immediate objective. If recitation is not objected to, we have advanced somewhat towards our objective and it will be foolish to court imprisonment for the sake of it.

Dismay and demoralization arise because Congressmen in general have not realized the inevitable connection between constructive programme and civil disobedience. Civil disobedience without the backing of constructive programme can never lead us to independence. Shorn of it, civil disobedience becomes method of violence bound to prove ineffective in the end.

Moreover, civil disobedience, even when it is mass, will only be offered by those who are bodily fit, whereas constructive programme is for all and will never be suspended. If the whole nation took it up in earnest it is enough to give us complete independence. The prosecution of the constructive programme means constructing the structure of swaraj.

The whole theme of corporate non-violence, as I have conceived it, falls to pieces if there is no living faith in the constructive programme.

To my mind, swaraj based on non-violence is a fulfilment of the

¹ Namely, "It is wrong to help the British war effort with men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance", *Vide* "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 8-11-1940.

constructive programme; hence, whether the authorities jail us or not, we must pursue the constructive programme.

I have been asked whether discharged satyagrahis should hold or attend meetings and deliver speeches. They should do so. I do not want or expect them to re-offer civil disobedience immediately. That would be indecent haste, but ordinary civil disobedience may go on. For the discharged ones let there be breathing time. Let them address meetings in their constituencies and study things. At the meetings they will expound their views on the general situation and not hesitate to interpret anti-war Congress policy.

Symbolic satyagraha has a definite meaning but it is open to the authorities to arrest Congressmen for their speeches even if they do not intend thereby to offer C. D. That was how they had arrested the Maulana Sahib and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, not to mention lesser lights.

Let it be known that I have no authority to suspend C. D. on extraneous grounds. That is for the Congress to do. For me personally there is no choice.

As a man sworn to peace, at this critical moment to suspend my anti-war activity would be to deny myself.

Therefore, for those who think like me, whether we are misunderstood or worse befalls, we must express our faith through our action hoping thereby that ultimately our way will be accepted by all warring powers as the only escape from a blood-bath which is reducing man to his lowest depth.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-12-1941

608. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

December 7, 1941

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have your heart-rending letter. I can quite imagine your brother's condition.

I have written to Prakasam without mentioning the correspondence. Of course you will come in the afternoon and have as much time as you need. This is just to let you know how you occupy my thoughts.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

So you could not come. I have wired. I must go to Bardoli. Vallabhbai has made elaborate preparations. And he is so weak. I hope you have cancelled the Lucknow address. It is a big risk. Do come to Bardoli as soon as you can.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10902. Courtesy : C. R. Narasimhan. Also G.N. 2083

609. LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM,

December 7, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I have sent a telegram. You will have seen Munshiji¹. Being too busy I could not answer your letter [earlier]. Also, there was nothing to say.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

610. ASHRAM NOTE

December 8, 1941

The rules deducible from the eleven observances² and essential for a well-regulated Ashram life are as follows :

All members—whether permanent or otherwise—will turn every minute of their time to good account. They will take part in every corporate activity of the Ashram. When free from Ashram work they will spin or carry out some other process connected with cotton. They will prosecute their private studies from 8 to 9 p.m. or during daytime, when they have no Ashram work to do and have done at least one hour's spinning.

They may not spin when they are ill or otherwise unable to spin owing to circumstances beyond their control.

¹ Vide "Letter to K. M. Munshi", 5-12-1941.

² Ahimsa, truth, non-stealing, *brahmacharya*, non-possession, body-labour, control of the palate, freedom from fear, equal regard for all religions, swadeshi and looking upon all human beings as touchables

No one should talk idly or in a loud voice. The Ashram must bear the impress of perfect peace as well as of truth. Our relations with one another must be marked by affection and restraint, and with guests and visitors by courtesy. Whether a visitor is dressed in rags or in gorgeous robes, we should treat him with the same respect. We must not make any distinction between the rich and the poor, the high and the lowly. This does not mean that we may expect a delicately nurtured guest to live as simply as ourselves. That is to say, in waiting upon guests, we must always take into consideration their habitual mode of life. This is true courtesy. If an unknown visitor arrives at the Ashram, we must ask him the purpose of his visit, and if necessary take him to the manager. This is the duty of every inmate of the Ashram, because we cannot know whom such a visitor is likely to meet first.

Our every word and every act should be well considered. Whatever we do we should do with a will and in complete identification with the work of the moment.

Food must be taken like medicine, under proper restraint, only for sustaining the body and keeping it a fit instrument for service. We must therefore take food in moderation or even abstemiously. We must be content with what food we get. If the food is insufficiently or badly cooked, we must not talk about it at meals, but courteously speak about it later to the manager of the kitchen. Bad or imperfectly cooked food should not be eaten. We must not champ while eating. We must eat our food slowly, decorously and tidily in a spirit of thankfulness to God.

Everyone must wash his own dish thoroughly and keep it in its place.

Guests and visitors are requested to bring their own plate, drinking pot, bowls and spoon, as well as lantern, bedding and mosquito-net. They must not have more clothes than necessary. Their clothes should be made of khadi. Other things must be as far as possible village-made or at least swadeshi.

Everything must be kept in its proper place. All refuse must be put into the dust-bin.

Water must not be wasted. Boiled water is used for drinking purposes. Pots and pans are finally washed with boiled water. Unboiled water of the Ashram wells is not safe to drink. It is necessary to learn the distinction between boiling water and hot water. Boiling water is that in which pulses are cooked; and which gives out lots of steam. No one can drink boiling water.

We should not spit or clean the nose on the road, but only in an out-of-the-way place where no one is likely to walk.

The call of nature must be attended to only at the appointed place. It is necessary to clean oneself after answering either call of nature. The water-jug used in the toilet is, as it should always be, set apart. After a visit to the latrine, we must wash our hands with pure earth and pure water, and wipe them with a clean napkin. The night-soil must be fully covered with dry earth so as not to attract flies and in such a way that nothing but dry earth is visible.

One must sit carefully on the latrine seat, so that the seat does not get dirty and the stool drops into the receptacle. A lantern must be carried if it is dark.

Everything which can attract flies should be properly covered.

Teeth must be cleaned with care at the proper place. The end of the twig must be well chewed into a soft brush, and the teeth and the gums must be brushed with it inside and out. The saliva discharged during brushing must be spat out. It must not be swallowed. After the teeth are well brushed the twig must be split into two to clean the tongue with. Then the mouth should be carefully washed. The nose also should be cleaned by drawing in water. The split twigs should be washed well, and collected in a pot. When they dry up they should be used for starting a fire, the idea being that nothing which can be used should be thrown away.

Waste paper, which cannot be used for writing on the other side, should be burned. Nothing else should be mixed with it.

The refuse from leafy vegetables must be kept separate and converted into manure.

Broken glass should be thrown into a pit at a safe distance from houses.

If anyone visits the Ashram or comes as a guest he should be received with love. He should not feel an outsider.

In the Ashram everything should be in its proper place and every nook and corner should be clean. No dust should be allowed to collect on the doors, nor should they be sticky.

Everyone should do with great care the work allotted to him.

No one should absent himself from a collective task. There should be the most scrupulous care in cleaning the utensils.

The latrines should always be kept dry. The night-soil must always be covered with dry earth.

Much water stagnates near the water-room; this is not good. Food should always be kept covered, so that it does not attract flies.

In the matter of food everyone should remember our vow about control of the palate, and eat all the things as medicine. We should not be perturbed if occasionally we miss an item. Whatever we get should be accepted as God's grace.

We should learn to understand correctly the meaning of our prayer. Take care of the Ashram property while you are using it, as if it were your own.

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, pp. 384-7

611. LETTER TO R. M. SANYAL

SEVAGRAM,
December 8, 1941

DEAR PROFESSOR,

As you know I am doing all I can. I suppose your brother will be transferred in due course to U. P. The release is a different and difficult matter. You will have seen my statement¹ on it.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

612. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

December 8, 1941

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Please read and return the file² with your reply.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

613. LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA

December 8, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

I have your letter. If one's brother is mad and by his behaviour frightens one, can one cast him out on the streets? Suppose it is one's

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 7-12-1941.

² Containing five documents of the All-India Spinners' Association, sent by Annada Babu

own son, what would one do? When Ratu¹ had run away, the Doctor² had lost all peace of mind and recovered it only when he had found him. I do not suggest that Prabhashankar³ is right. If Ratu is not as mad as we think, it is certainly a good thing. If he is worse, it would do nothing but good for you to go. Maybe, your very presence will calm him. The children may be kept away for their own safety. They may stay with Manjula and you may live somewhere with Ratilal. Here, of course, you are always welcome.

I have the following gentleman in view. He knows about you. I had written to him :

Dolatram Sundarji Dave, 2nd Floor, 355 Vithalbhai Patel Road.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1024. Courtesy : Manjulabehn M. Mehta

614. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

December 8, 1941

BHAI KAKUBAI,

I for one like your recommendation regarding the women. I have not spoken to Jajuji, I have not been able to see him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10852. Courtesy : Purushottam K. Jerajani

615. INTERVIEW TO EVELYN WRENCH⁴

[*Before December 9, 1941*]

Sir E. I recently had an hour-and-a-half talk with Mr. Jinnah and heard his point of view. I do not know what following he has, but he reiterated again and again : "Never will Muslims be subservient to Hindu authority. You English and Germans are much closer to each other than Hindus and Muslims." I would like to know what you have to say in regard to this.

¹ Ratilal, addressee's brother, and Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta, addressee's father

² *ibid*

³ Prabhashankar Parekh, Ratilal's father-in-law

⁴ According to Evelyn Wrench, Editor of *The Spectator*, the interview took place just before Christmas, 1941, in Gandhiji's Ashram, Sevagram, Wardha. The period, however, has been inferred from the fact that Gandhiji was at Wardha in December 1941 up to the 9th, when he left for Bardoli.

GANDHIJI. I deny absolutely what Jinnah sahib says. The Muslim is as much an Indian as I am and of the same blood. There is no fundamental cleavage between Hindus and Musalmans. We have lived in the same land as brothers for generations and what has been possible all these years will certainly be possible in the future. With due respect to Jinnasahib, he resorts unconsciously to an untruth when he says what you have just quoted, and speaks as a disappointed man does in order to maintain his view at any cost. In any case, the fear of subservience is quite imaginary. No one can dominate a population of 80,000,000. Can such a number be termed a minority? I personally would resist the subservience even of the Parsis, who are a mere handful, i.e., 1,00,000, because I believe in equality for all and has throughout been the Congress creed. But I admit that Jinnah sahib's fear though in fact imaginary is a real thing in his estimation, and therefore he has my sympathy.

Sir E. What about the possibility of a free and equal India becoming a partner in the British Commonwealth in the sense that Canada and Australia are partners?

G. Bitter experience has shown that India cannot be that in the sense that Canada and Australia are. At the moment the British Commonwealth is a Commonwealth of *White* nations. But I go a step further than you. Why only a *British* Commonwealth? Whoever is victor, there should be, after the war, a commonwealth of all nations. The British Commonwealth must give a place to this and no one must be excluded. Germany, Italy, Russia, all must come in, not only those who are today Allies of Britain. India will gladly be a member of such a common-wealth.

Sir E. You are indulging in undue optimism. I worked seven years for the All Peoples Association in Europe and my experiences there during the last two decades do not lead to hope that the real internationalism is round the corner. Anyhow, your and my goal of universal brotherhood is common. Is it thus wise to destroy or abolish what has stood for a Commonwealth of at least some nations when the world is not ready for the ultimate ideal?

G. It is not a question of abolition. It is a question of extending the scope of the British Commonwealth. If Britain wins wholly, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and perhaps even Bolshevik Russia will disappear. If Britain were honest, which I dispute, she would then embrace all nations on terms of equality.

Sir E. According to the sentiments expressed in the Atlantic Charter?¹

¹ A joint declaration was drawn up at a series of meetings on board warships in the North Atlantic in August, 1941 by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the then President of the United States and Winston Churchill the then Prime Minister of the United

G. What is the Atlantic Charter? It went down the ocean as soon as it was born ! I do not understand it. And Mr. Amery denies that India is fit for democracy, while Mr. Churchill says the Charter could not apply to India. Force of circumstances will falsify their declarations. Personally I like to believe that all become honest, the millennium is round the corner!

Sir E. I know your views on pacifism. But all the same you won't impede the British war effort?

G. I said I would not embarrass Britain. And so far as civil disobedience is concerned, I have demonstrated that this is so. A non-violent man cannot desire embarrassment. And Government, in using the term "symbolic"¹ in their recent release of satyagrahis unsought by the satyagrahis have tacitly admitted non-embarrassment. Had Congress wished, it would have been possible to ignite a spark that would have swept right over India and which would certainly have deflected British energy from the war.

Sir E. You want Britain to win, don't you? Cannot you under any circumstances give active support to our war effort?

G. I do not wish disaster to British arms. In saying this I may be said to have modified my original words. But I cannot give active support in the war effort without denying a life-time of practice.

Sir E. Compared with fifteen years ago, has not British opinion moved favourably towards India? There are two powerful sections of public opinion in Great Britain today—one which holds that she should move closer to the U.S.A. and the Dominion with a view to forming a federation between these English-speaking democracies and definitely cut loose from India, which with its alien civilization they say has little in common with the Anglo-Saxons; the other consists of those who believe that the chief glory of the British Commonwealth is that it can admit nations of any race, creed or colour to become partners within its orbit. Do you not trust us? Do you not think that we are genuine when we see the difficulties inherent in the different viewpoints of yourself and Mr. Jinnah? Would there not be civil war if we were to withdraw?

Kingdom, stating certain common principles and policies on which the two leaders based their hopes for a better future for humankind after World War II. It condemned the use of force and territorial aggrandizement and defined the right of all peoples to self-determination and self-government. Though it was incorporated by reference in the declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, the Atlantic Charter, like many war-time declarations, it was characterized more by vague generosity than by any precise commitment. Also *vide* footnote of "Interview to United Press of India", 17-8-1941 and "Interview to H. V. Kamath", 5-9-1941.

¹ *Vide* footnote of "Interview to the Press", 4-12-1941.

G. I believe that a party wishing equality for India does exist in Britain. But it is an insignificant minority, and while I honour and like their opinion I cannot be enthused over it, for I know that those who shape policy and dominate are otherwise inclined. For me, therefore, it is only the Secretary of State who counts. I see no genuine ring in his statement. If he were honest he would not ask for an agreed solution among us as the first step. It is obvious that if Jinnasaheb asks me for things which I cannot give him, he will naturally go to the third party where he can get what he wants, as he did in London during the Round Table Conference¹. The minority pact was there flung on us one fine morning unknown to any one of us. It is one of the most disgraceful chapters in British history. The Secretary of State should realize that the last word is in his hands. Hence it is that I have said you should retire and we shall have a pact in fifteen days. There may be civil war, it is highly probable there will be, but at the end of it there will be peace.

Sir. E. At the end of all wars there is peace.

G. Your proposition was wrong. You can only have lasting peace based on justice. We are an unarmed people. Your armies are meant to suppress an armed rebellion and are not for use by us. The Indian troops are mercenaries and would be of no use in the civil war. It is the politically conscious Muslims and Hindus who will fight. They will fight with sticks, staves and soda-water bottles, but they will soon tire, and there will be wise men enough among us to bring about an honourable peace.

Sir E. Are you not assuming too much?

G. I assume nothing. These are daily happenings. There is breaking of each other's heads for a couple of days and then there is peace.

Sir E. But a Hindu cannot dine with a Muslim. Mr. Jinnah says these social barriers matter a good deal.

G. They do not. You inter-dine and inter-marry with Germans and yet are both saturated with hate for each other.

Sir E. May I take it that you would oppose Pakistan even if it were agreed upon by the Muslims and Britain?

G. No agreement between the British and Muslims can affect me. An agreement between Hindus and Muslims alone will affect me.

Sir E. Do you not think that Britain has stood for freedom and democracy—take Canada, Australia, South Africa?

¹ Of 1931

G. You have stood for these things simply for the spoilation of the weakers races. I have lived for twenty years in South Africa and I know the quarrel between you and the Dutch was over the sharing of the spoils and the same is happening elsewhere in Africa, too.

Sir E. But very few are ready for a world Commonwealth. At what moment would you be willing to join a Commonwealth?

G. When Africa, China, Japan are all included. I cannot be subservient anywhere.

Sir E. Are you opposed to defence behind an international group?

G. I would agree to a minimum international police force.

Sir E. What about an air-force?

G. On no account. I look upon air-power for destruction as a terrible crime against humanity.

Sir E. But if you do not agree to an armed force to stop aggression other Hitlers may arise.

G. They will not arise if justice prevails. Hitler is a scourge sent by God to punish men for their iniquities.

Sir E. Take the case of Abyssinia. If there had been an armed international force we could have stopped Mussolini from that conquest.

G. You cannot cure a lesser evil by a greater evil. You might have succeeded in wiping out Italy, but how would that have helped? Britain's success in the exploitaion of non-European races raised the ambition of Bismarck and later Mussolini and others.

Sir E. But is not the mentality now passing? I assure you it is in England. Take the case of Iraq, to whom we have given independence.

G. I wish I could think that. I do not agree that there is freedom in Iraq today. I do not read current history as you do. Nothing is of a permanent nature. One can only talk of good intentions when the war is over. I would love to see that Iraq at least had real complete independence after the war.

Sir E. You may call me prejudiced, but Churchill has definitely announced that there will be no a acquisition of territory, etc.

G. You are not prejudiced. You have perforce to believe what is told you. I have grave doubts. I mean no ill. Having given up arms, I can mean none. I never think of imaginary evils, however. There is no distrust of men and mankind in me. They will answer before God, so why should I worry? But where my own mission is concerned, my thought is active, and I try to wish everyone well in spite of doubts and mistrust. I will suffer the agony if that is to be my lot. But I may not

unnerve myself while I can struggle against evil.

Sir E. Try to believe there are more people in great Britain than you imagine in favour of India's inclusion as a free partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. I can give you proof. There is the Labour Party.

G. I believe you are a growing party. All the same, I feel you are still insignificant. But you mention Labour Party, which is a dismal failure today. It takes its seat in the House of Lords!

Sir E. After the war would you consider every problem if you felt India was to be free?

G. I have shut my mind against nothing and I am a friend of Great Britain. I always have been. I have no axe to grind. Whatever I do is out of love.

The Spectator, 6-3-1942

616. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA,
December 8, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. I cannot bear to see you fall ill. One who wants to serve must acquire control over the body.

There is nothing wrong in your involving yourself with women's organizations. You have to come in close contact with women.

We ourselves create obstacles for ourselves. Had you got rid of your fear, you would have come to stay at Sevagram earlier. People may not like to be here permanently. But I notice that many people have liked it at least for a few days.

Miss Moore's situation is as you have described. Having lived in the same social milieu, her ideas are unsympathetic. She appeared to me to be a good woman. She lived here very nicely. Now you may not have to go.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11221. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

617. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
December 9, 1941

In the midst of the human conflagration which envelops the world powers who believe in the strength of their arms, little knowing

what in reality they are fighting for, it is healthy and uplifting to contemplate what a man like Badshah Khan, the first among the Khidmatgars, is doing for the cause of peace and for qualifying himself for taking an effective part by non-violent means in the freedom movement. He has undying faith in non-violence though he has not worked out all its implications. For the last few months, he has been holding little camps for non-violent training of Khudai Khidmatgars. But during the third week of November he held a biggish one¹, to which he had invited neighbouring workers from the Punjab, Kashmir and Baluchistan. Charkha was the important activity. Over three hundred wheels plied daily. *Dhanush takli* was also introduced in the camp. Its cheapness and the ease with which it could be manufactured in every village appealed to everyone. Sanitation work was done in the surrounding villages and there were speeches explaining non-violence. A resolution was passed appealing to tribesmen to be peaceful and non-violent. Copies of it were printed for distribution among those tribesmen who came into British territory. Here is the daily routine :

6 a.m. *azan*¹ for prayers; from 6 to 7.30 prayers; from 7.30 to 7.45 morning exercise; from 7.45 to 8 tea; from 8 to 10.55 village cleaning; from 11 to 12 noon, school; from 12 to 2 p.m. morning meal and rest; from 2 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. spinning; from 3.30 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. public meeting; 4.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. flag salutation; from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. informal discussion; 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. evening meal; 8 p.m. to 9 p.m. roll call.

Village cleaning was done in perfectly orderly manner. Workers were divided into several parties, carrying their own brooms. Villagers supplemented these from their own stock and joined Khidmatgars in this loving service. They did not leave out even police stations. Men in charge of these gratefully accepted the service.

The camp worked like this for seven days from November 16 to 22. There were about 20 Hindus and two women in the party. Badshah Khan, though ill himself, took part in every activity. The camp was of the simplest character. There were no servants. One medical man had volunteered his services which were most useful as many men were suffering from malaria. The Government had also sent a doctor with some medicines.

¹ For Gandhiji's message to this camp, *vide* "Message to Frontier People", before 20-11-1941.

¹ Call to the faithful

The following was the daily menu: 7.45 a.m. tea and bread; 12 noon, bread made from wheat and maize with dal or vegetables; 7 p.m. ditto.

The camp consisted of about five hundred representatives and guests from all over the N. W. F. Province. They were accommodated in little tents without side flaps. The total cost of running the camp was about Rs. 1,500. Congressmen and others could profitably copy the simplicity, economy and orderliness of this camp.

The Hindu, 12-12-1941

618. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

December 9, 1941

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Your letter. I am off to Bardoli tonight with Rajen Babu.

Do come as early as you can.

Maulana Saheb wires W[orking] C[ommittee] is to be held on 18th at Bardoli. If he has not already issued notice I have suggested 23rd as I have heavy meetings on 17, 18, 19. But I have left the decision to Maulana Saheb.

I hope you got my letter.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1941. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

619. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

December 9, 1941

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

I have your letter. You may start a goshala. You must have a good cattle-breeder. But the question is whether you will be permitted to put up constructions at the place.

I shall certainly love to spend one month every year at the goshala. If possible I may let you have the next October or November. Keep this to yourself.

Do not close the paper department. We should absorb the boys who are well-trained.

Madhav Prasad is very liberal; I write to him from time to time.

I am taking the account with me.

Those who embrace Sikhism should not be regarded as Harijans.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1080

620. *LETTER TO AMARNATH JHA*

BARDOLI,

December 12, 1941

BHAI AMARNATHJI,

I have your letter. I did not answer your previous letter because Kakasaheb and Shrimanji were going to visit you.

Kakasaheb has given me a full report. Let us see what Tandonji has to say. We must at all cost avoid friction.

Yours

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : C.W. 10261

621. *“CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME : ITS MEANING AND PLACE”*¹

*[December 13, 1941]*²

INTRODUCTORY

The constructive programme may otherwise and more fittingly be called construction of *poorna* swaraj or complete independence by truthful and non-violent means.

Effort for construction of independence so called through violent and, therefore, necessarily untruthful means we know only too painfully. Look at the daily destruction of property, life and truth in the present war.

Complete independence through truth and non-violence means the independence of every unit, be it the humblest of the nation, with-

¹According to *Mahatma*, Vol. VI, Gandhiji wrote this on the train from Wardha to Bardoli. Gandhiji left Sevagram on December 9, 1941, and reached Bardoli on December 10, 1941. However, in his letter to Mirabehn dated December 13, 1941, Gandhiji says, “I was immersed in writing work which is just finished.” Apparently he commenced writing this on the train and finished it later at Bardoli.

The version reproduced here was “thoroughly revised” and date-lined “Poona, 13-11-1945”. The Foreword and the two Appendices appear in their chronological places under the dates November 13, 1945, January 16, 1946, and January 27, 1948.

² *ibid*

out distinction of race, colour or creed. This independence is never exclusive. It is, therefore, wholly compatible with interdependence within or without. Practice will always fall short of the theory, even as the drawn line falls short of the theoretical line of Euclid. Therefore, complete independence will be complete only to the extent of our approach in practice to truth and non-violence.

Let the reader mentally plan out the whole of the constructive programme, and he will agree with me that, if it could be successfully worked out, the end of it would be the independence we want. Has not Mr. Amery said that an agreement between the major parties, translated in my language, any agreement *after* communal unity which is only one item in the constructive programme, will be respected? We need not question his sincerity, for if such unity is honestly, i.e., non-violently, attained, it will in itself contain the power to compel acceptance of the agreed demand.

On the other hand there is no such thing as an imaginary or even perfect definition of independence through violence. For it presupposes only ascendancy of that party of the nation which makes the most effective use of violence. In it perfect equality, economic or otherwise, is inconceivable.

But for my purpose, which is to convince the reader of the necessity of following out the constructive programme in the non-violent effort, the acceptance of my argument about the ineffectiveness of violence for the attainment of independence is not required. The reader is welcome to the belief that independence of this humblest unit is possible under a scheme of violence, if this effort enables him also to admit that it is a certainty through the complete execution of the programme by the nation.

Let us now examine the items :

1. COMMUNAL UNITY

Everybody is agreed about the necessity of this unity. But everybody does not know that unity does not mean political unity, which may be imposed. It means an unbreakable heart unity. The first thing essential for achieving such unity is for every Congressman, whatever his religion may be, to represent in his own person Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Jew, etc., shortly, every Hindu and non-Hindu. He has to feel his identity with every one of the millions of the inhabitants of Hindustan. In order to realize this, every Congressman will cultivate personal friendship with persons representing faiths other than his own. He should have the same regard for the other faiths as he has for his own.

In such a happy state of things there would be no disgraceful cry at the stations such as “Hindu water” and “Muslim water” or “Hindu tea” and “Muslim tea”. There would be no separate rooms or pots for Hindus and non-Hindus in schools and colleges, no communal schools, colleges and hospitals. The beginning of such a revolution has to be made by Congressmen without any political motive behind the correct conduct. Political unity will be its natural fruit.¹

We have long been accustomed to think that power comes only through Legislative Assemblies. I have regarded this belief as a grave error brought about by inertia or hypnotism. A superficial study of British history has made us think that all power percolates to the people from parliaments. The truth is that power resides in the people and it is entrusted for the time being to those whom they may choose as their representatives. Parliaments have no power or even existence independently of the people. It has been my effort for the last twenty-one years to convince the people of this simple truth. Civil disobedience is the storehouse of power. Imagine a whole people unwilling to conform to the laws of the legislature, and prepared to suffer the consequences of non-compliance. They will bring the whole legislative and executive machinery to a standstill. The police and the military are of use to coerce minorities however powerful they may be. But no police or military coercion can bend the resolute will of a people who are out for suffering to the uttermost.

And parliamentary procedure is good only when its members are willing to conform to the will of the majority. In other words, it is fairly effective only among compatibles.

Here in India we have been pretending to work the parliamentary system under separate electorates which have created artificial incompatibles. Living unity can never come out of these artificial entities being brought together on a common platform. Such legislatures may function. But they can only be a platform for wrangling and sharing the crumbs of power that may fall from rulers whoever they may be. These rule with rod of iron, and prevent the opposing elements from flying at one another's throats. I hold the emergence of complete independence to be an impossibility out of such a disgrace.

¹ The first edition here has the following additional paragraph : “The implication of such heart unity may seem startling, though it is the logical necessity. Congressmen cannot aim at parliamentary power in opposition to persons of other faiths. Congressmen, therefore, will refrain, so long as these differences last, from entering the parliamentary arena.”

Though I hold such strong views, I have come to the conclusion that so long as there are undersirable candidates for elective bodies, Congress should put up candidates in order to prevent reactionaries from entering such bodies.

2. REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

At this time of the day it is unnecessary to dilate upon the necessity of the removal of this blot and curse upon Hinduism. Congressmen have certainly done much in this matter. But I am sorry to have to say that many Congressmen have looked upon this item as a mere political necessity and not something indispensable, so far as Hindus are concerned, for the very existence of Hinduism. If Hindu Congressmen take up the cause for its own sake, they will influence the so-called *sanatanis* far more extensively than they have hitherto done. They should approach them not in a militant spirit but, as befits their non-violence, in a spirit of friendliness. And so far as Harijans are concerned, every Hindu should make common cause with them and befriend them in their awful isolation—such isolation as perhaps the world has never seen in the monstrous immensity one witnesses in India. I know from experience how difficult the task is. But it is part of the task of building the edifice of swaraj. And the road to swaraj is steep and narrow. There are many slippery ascents and many deep chasms. They have all to be negotiated with unfaltering step before we can reach the summit and breathe the fresh air of freedom.

3. PROHIBITION

Although like communal unity and removal of untouchability prohibition has been on the Congress programme since 1920, Congressmen have not taken the interest they might have taken in this very vital social and moral reform. If we are to reach our goal through non-violent effort, we may not leave to the future government the fate of lakhs of men and women who are labouring under the curse of intoxicants and narcotics.

Medical men can make a most effective contribution towards the removal of this evil. They have to discover ways of weaning the drunkard and the opium addict from the curse.

Women and students have a special opportunity in advancing this reform. By many acts of loving service they can acquire on addicts a hold which will compel them to listen to the appeal to give up the evil habit.

Congress committees can open recreation booths where the tired labourer will rest his limbs, get healthy and cheap refreshments, and find suitable games. All this work is fascinating and uplifting. The

non-violent approach to swaraj is a novel approach. In it old values give place to new. In the violent way such reforms may find no place. Believers in that way, in their impatience and, shall I say, ignorance, put off such things to the day of deliverance. They forget that lasting and healthy deliverance comes from within, i.e., from self-purification. Constructive workers make legal prohibition easy and successful even if they do not pave the way for it.

4. KHADI

Khadi is a controversial subject. Many people think that in advocating khadi I am sailing against a headwind and am sure to sink the ship of swaraj and that I am taking the country to the dark ages. I do not propose to argue the case for khadi in this brief survey. I have argued it sufficiently elsewhere. Here I want to show what every Congressman, and for that matter every Indian, can do to advance the cause of khadi. It connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Let everyone try, and he or she will find out for himself or herself the truth of what I am saying. Khadi must be taken with all its implications. It means a wholesale swadeshi mentality, a determination to find all the necessaries of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers. That means a reversal of the existing process. That is to say that, instead of half a dozen cities of India and Great Britain living on the exploitation and the ruin of the 7,00,000 villages of India, the latter will be largely self-contained, and will voluntarily serve the cities of India and even the outside world in so far as it benefits both the parties.

This needs a revolutionary change in the mentality and tastes of many. Easy though the non-violent way is in many respects, it is very difficult in many others. It vitally touches the life of every single Indian, makes him feel aglow with the possession of a power that has lain hidden within himself, and makes him proud of his identity with every drop of the ocean of Indian humanity. This non-violence is not the inanity for which we have mistaken it through all these long ages; it is the most potent force as yet known to mankind and on which its very existence is dependent. It is that force which I have tried to present to the Congress and through it to the world. Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, “the livery of India’s freedom”

Moreover, khadi mentality means decentralization of the production and distribution of the necessaries of life. Therefore, the for-

mula so far evolved is, every village to produce all its necessities and a certain percentage in addition for the requirements of the cities.

Heavy industries will need to be centralized and nationalized. But they will occupy the least part of the vast national activity which will mainly be in the villages.

Having explained the implications of khadi, I must indicate what Congressmen can and should do towards its promotion. Production of khadi includes cotton-growing, picking, ginning, cleaning, carding, slivering, spinning, sizing, dyeing, preparing the warp and the woof, weaving, and washing. These, with the exception of dyeing, are essential processes. Every one of them can be effectively handled in the villages and is being so handled in many villages throughout India, which the A.I.S.A. is covering. According to the latest report the following are the interesting figures :

2,75,146 villagers, including 19,654 Harijans and 57,378 Muslims, scattered in at least 13,451 villages, received, as spinners, weavers, etc., Rs. 34,85,609 in 1940. The spinners were largely women.

Yet the work done is only one-hundredth part of what could be done if Congressmen honestly took up the khadi programme. Since the wanton destruction of this central village industry and the allied handicrafts, intelligence and brightness have fled from the villages, leaving them inane, lustreless, and reduced almost to the state of their ill-kept cattle.

If Congressmen will be true to the Congress call in respect of khadi, they will carry out the instructions of the A. I. S. A. issued from time to time as to the part they can play in khadi planning. Only a few broad rules can be laid down here :

1. Every family with a plot of ground can grow cotton at least for family use. Cotton-growing is an easy process. In Bihar the cultivators were by law compelled to grow indigo on 3/20 of their cultivable land. This was in the interest of the foreign indigo planter. Why cannot we grow cotton voluntarily for the nation on a certain portion of our land? The reader will note that decentralization commences from the beginning of khadi processes. Today cotton crop is centralized and has to be sent to distant parts of India. Before the war it used to be sent principally to Britain and Japan. It was and still is a money crop and, therefore, subject to the fluctuations of the market. Under the khadi scheme cotton-growing becomes free from this uncertainty and gamble. The grower grows what he needs. The farmer needs to know that his first business is to grow for his own needs. When he does that, he will reduce the chance of a low market ruining him.

2. Every spinner would buy—if he has not his own—enough cotton for ginning, which he can easily do without the hand-ginning roller frame. He can gin his own portion with a board and an iron rolling-pin. Where this is considered impracticable, hand-ginned cotton should be bought and carded. Carding for self can be done well on a tiny bow without much effort. The greater the decentralization of labour, the simpler and cheaper the tools. The slivers made, the process of spinning commences. I strongly recommend the *dhanush takli*. I have used it frequently. My speed on it is almost the same as on the wheel. I draw a finer thread and the strength and the evenness of the yarn are greater on the *dhanush takli* than on the wheel. This may not, however, hold good for all. My emphasis on the *dhanush takli* is based on the fact that it is more easily made, is cheaper than and does not require frequent repairs like the wheel. Unless one knows how to make the two *mals*¹ and to adjust them when they slip or to put the wheel right when it refuses to work, the wheel has often to lie idle. Moreover, if the millions take to spinning at once, as they well may have to,² the *dhanush takli*, being the instrument most easily made and handled, is the only that can meet the demand. It is more easily made even than the simple *takli*. The best, easiest and cheapest way is to make it oneself. Indeed one ought to learn how to handle and make simple tools. Imagine the unifying and educative effect of the whole nation simultaneously taking part in the processes up to spinning ! Consider the levelling effect of the bond of common labour between the rich and the poor !

Yarn thus produced may be used in three ways : by presenting it to the A.I.S.A. for the sake of the poor, by having it woven for personal use, or by getting as much khadi for it as it can buy. It is clear enough that the finer and better the yarn the greater will be its value. If Congressmen will put their hearts into the work, they will make improvements in the tools and make many discoveries. In our country there has been a divorce between labour and intelligence. The result has been stagnation. If there is an indissoluble marriage between the two, and that in the manner here suggested, the resultant good will be inestimable.

In this scheme of nationwide spinning as a sacrifice, I do not expect the average man or woman to give more than one hour daily to this work.

¹ Straps

² The first edition here has, “even under the stress of war”.

5. OTHER VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

These stand on a different footing from khadi. There is not much scope for voluntary labour in them. Each industry will take the labour of only a certain number of hands. These industries come in as a handmaid to khadi. They cannot exist without khadi, and khadi will be robbed of its dignity without them. Village economy cannot be complete without the essential village industries such as hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing, etc. Congressmen can interest themselves in these and, if they are villagers or will settle down in villages, they will give these industries a new life and a new dress. All should make it a point of honour to use only village articles whenever and wherever available. Given the demand there is no doubt that most of our wants can be supplied from our villages. When we have become village-minded, we will not want imitations of the West or machine-made products, but we will develop a true national taste in keeping with the vision of a new India in which pauperism, starvation and idleness will be unknown.

6. VILLAGE SANITATION

Divorce between intelligence and labour has resulted in criminal negligence of the villages. And so, instead of having graceful hamlets dotting the land, we have dung-heaps. The approach to many villages is not a refreshing experience. Often one would like to shut one's eyes and stuff one's nose; such is the surrounding dirt and offending smell. If the majority of Congressmen were derived from our villages, as they should be, they should be able to make our villages models of cleanliness in every sense of the word. But they have never considered it their duty to identify themselves with the villagers in their daily lives. A sense of national or social sanitation is not a virtue among us. We may take a kind of a bath, but we do not mind dirtying the well or the tank or river by whose side or in which we perform ablutions. I regard this defect as a great vice which is responsible for the disgraceful state of our villages and the sacred banks of the sacred rivers and for diseases that spring from insanitation.

7. NEW OR BASIC EDUCATION

This is a new subject. But the members of the Working Committee felt so much interested in it that gave a charter to the organizers of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh which has been functioning since the Haripura session¹. This is a big field of work for many

¹ Of the Congress in 1938

Congressmen. This education is meant to transform village children into model villagers. It is principally designed for them. The inspiration for it has come from the villages. Congressmen who want to build up the structure of swaraj from its very foundation dare not neglect the children. Foreign rule has unconsciously, though none the less surely, begun with the children in the field of education. Primary education is a farce designed without regard to the wants of the India of the villages and for that matter even of the cities. Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages, to all that is best and lasting in India. It develops both the body and the mind, and keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of the future, in the realization of which he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or her career in school. Congressmen would find it of absorbing interest benefiting themselves equally with the children with whom they come in contact. Let those who wish put themselves in touch with the Secretary of the Sangh at Sevagram.

8. ADULT EDUCATION

This has been woefully neglected by Congressmen. Where they have not neglected it, they have been satisfied with teaching illiterates to read and write. If I had charge of adult education, I should begin with opening the minds of the adult pupils to the greatness and vastness of their country. The villager's India is contained in his village. If he goes to another village, he talks of his own village as his home. Hindustan is for him a geographical term. We have no notion of the ignorance prevailing in the villages. The villagers know nothing of foreign rule and its evils. What little knowledge they have picked up fills them with the awe the foreigner inspires. The result is the dread and hatred of the foreigner and his rule. They do not know how to get rid of it. They do not know that the foreigner's presence is due to their own weaknesses and their ignorance of the power they possess to rid themselves of the foreign rule. My adult education means, therefore, first, true political education of the adult by word of mouth. Seeing that this will be mapped out, it can be given without fear. I imagine that it is too late in the day for authority to interfere with this type of education; but if there is interference, there must be a fight for this elementary right without which there can be no swaraj. Of course, in all I have written, openness has been assumed. Non-violence abhors fear and, therefore, secrecy. Side by side with the education by the mouth will be the literary education. This is itself a speciality. Many methods are being tried in order to shorten the period of education. A temporary or permanent board of experts may be appointed by the

Working Committee to give shape to the idea here adumbrated and guide the workers. I admit that what I have said in this paragraph only points the way but does not tell the average Congressman how to go about it. Nor is every Congressman fitted for this highly special work. But Congressmen who are teachers should find no difficulty in laying down a course in keeping with the suggestions made herein.

9. WOMEN

I have included service of women in the constructive programme, for though satyagraha has automatically brought India's women out from their darkness as nothing else could have in such an incredibly short space of time, Congressmen have not felt the call to see that women become equal partners in the fight for swaraj. They have not realized that woman must be the true helpmate of man in the mission of service. Woman has been suppressed under custom and law for which man was responsible and in the shaping of which she had no hand. In a plan of life based on non-violence, woman has as much right to shape her own destiny as man has to shape his. But as every right in a non-violent society proceeds from the previous performance of a duty, it follows that rules of social conduct must be framed by mutual co-operation and consultation. They can never be imposed from outside. Men have not realized this truth in its fulness in their behaviour towards women. They have considered themselves to be lords and masters of women instead of considering them as their friends and co-workers. It is the privilege of Congressmen to give the women of India a lifting hand. Women are in the position somewhat of the slave of old who did not know that he could or ever had to be free. And when freedom came, for the moment he felt helpless. Women have been taught to regard themselves as slaves of men. It is up to Congressmen to see that they enable them to realize their full status and play their part as equals of men.

This revolution is easy, if the mind is made up. Let Congressmen begin with their own homes. Wives should not be dolls and objects of indulgence, but should be treated as honoured comrades in common service. To this end those who have not received a liberal education should receive such instruction as is possible from their husbands. The same observation applies, with the necessary changes, to mothers and daughters.

It is hardly necessary to point out that I have given a onesided picture of the helpless state of India's women. I am quite conscious of the fact that in the villages generally they hold their own with their menfolk and in some respects even rule them. But to the impartial

outsider the legal and customary status of woman is bad enough throughout and demands radical alteration.

10. EDUCATION IN HEALTH AND HYGIENE

Having given a place to village sanitation, the question may be asked why give a separate place to education in health and hygiene? It might have been bracketed with sanitation, but I did not wish to interfere with the items. Mention of mere sanitation is not enough to include health and hygiene. The art of keeping one's health and the knowledge of hygiene is by itself a separate subject of study and corresponding practice. In a well-ordered society the citizens know and observe the laws of health and hygiene. It is established beyond doubt that ignorance and neglect of the laws of health and hygiene are responsible for the majority of diseases to which mankind is heir. The very high death-rate among us is no doubt due largely to our gnawing poverty, but it could be mitigated if the people were properly educated about health and hygiene.

Mens sana in corpore sano is perhaps the first law for humanity. A healthy mind in a healthy body is a self-evident truth. There is an inevitable connection between mind and body. If we were in possession of healthy minds, we would shed all violence and, naturally obeying the laws of health, we would have healthy bodies without an effort. I hope, therefore, that no Congressman will disregard this item of the constructive programme. The fundamental laws of health and hygiene are simple and easily learnt. The difficulty is about their observance. Here are some :

Think the purest thoughts and banish all idle and impure thoughts.

Breathe the freshest air day and night.

Establish a balance between bodily and mental work.

Stand erect, sit erect, and be neat and clean in every one of your acts, and let these be an expression of your inner condition.

Eat to live for service of fellow-men. Do not live for indulging yourselves. Hence your food must be just enough to keep your mind and body in good order. Man becomes what he eats.

Your water, food and air must be clean, and you will not be satisfied with mere personal cleanliness, but you will infect your surroundings with the same threefold cleanliness that you will desire for yourselves.

11. PROVINCIAL LANGUAGES¹

Our love of the English language in preference to our own mother tongue has caused a deep chasm between the educated and politically-minded classes and the masses. The languages of India have suffered impoverishment. We flounder when we make the vain attempt to express abstruse thought in the mother tongue. There are no equivalents for scientific terms. The result has been disastrous. The masses remain cut off from the modern mind. We are too near our own times correctly to measure the disservice caused to India by this neglect of its great languages. It is easy enough to understand that unless we undo the mischief the mass mind must remain imprisoned. The masses can make no solid contribution to the construction of swaraj. It is inherent in swaraj based on non-violence that every individual makes his own direct contribution to the Independence movement. The masses cannot do this fully unless they understand every step with all its implications. This is impossible unless every step is explained in their own languages.

12. NATIONAL LANGUAGE

And then for all-India intercourse we need, from among the Indian stock, a language which the largest number of people already know and understand and which the others can easily pick up. This language is indisputably Hindi. It is spoken and understood by both Hindus and Muslims of the North. It is called Urdu when it is written in the Urdu character. The Congress, in its famous resolution passed at the Cawnpore session in 1925, called this all-India speech Hindustani. And since that time, in theory at least, Hindustani has been the *Rashtra-bhasha*. I say "in theory" because even Congressmen have not practised it as they should have.² In 1920 a deliberate attempt was begun to recognize the importance of Indian languages for the political education of the masses, as also of an all-India common speech which politically-minded India could easily speak and which Congressmen from the different provinces could understand at all-India gatherings of the Congress. Such national language should enable one to understand and speak both forms of speech and write in both the scripts.

I am sorry to have to say that many Congressmen have failed to carry out that resolution. And so we have, in my opinion, the shameful

¹ In the first edition this and the following topic are discussed under the heading "Propaganda of Rashtrabhasha".

² The first edition here adds : "The picture that I have drawn in this paragraph is true to life as it was before 1920."

spectacle of Congressmen insisting on speaking in English and compelling others to do likewise for their sakes. The spell that English has cast on us is not yet broken. Being under it, we are impeding the progress of India towards her goal. Our love of the masses must be skin-deep, if we will not take the trouble of spending over learning Hindustani as many months as the years we spend over learning English.¹

13. ECONOMIC EQUALITY

This last is the master-key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good.

I adhere to my doctrine of trusteeship in spite of the ridicule that has been poured upon it. It is true that it is difficult to reach. So is non-violence. But we made up our minds in 1920 to negotiate that steep ascent. We have found it worth the effort. It involves a daily growing appreciation of the working of non-violence. It is expected that Congressmen will make a diligent search and reason out for themselves the why and the wherefore of ² non-violence. They should ask themselves how the existing inequalities can be abolished violently or non-violently. I think we know the violent way. It has not succeeded anywhere.³

¹ The first edition here has the following additional paragraph: "Love of one's own language: I need hardly add anything to what I have said in the foregoing paragraph. The two propositions hang together for those who view India as one country."

² The first edition has after this: "what they are called upon to do," and adds: "They may not be satisfied with the mere conformity, honest or half-hearted, with the instructions issued from time to time."

³ The first edition here adds: "Some claim that it has in Russia in a large measure. I doubt it. It is too early to make an unchallengeable claim. And now that the war has broken out between Russia and Germany, we are unable to say what the ultimate result will be."

This non-violent experiment is still in the making. We have nothing much yet to show by way of demonstration. It is certain, however, that the method has begun to work though ever so slowly in the direction of equality. And since non-violence is a process of conversion, the conversion, if achieved, must be permanent. A society or a nation constructed non-violently must be able to withstand attack upon its structure from without or within. We have moneyed Congressmen in the organization. They have to lead the way. This fight¹ provides an opportunity for the closest heart-searching on the part of every individual Congressman. If ever we are to achieve equality, the foundation has to be laid now. Those who think that major reforms will come after the advent of swaraj are deceiving themselves as to the elementary working of non-violent swaraj. It will not drop from heaven all of a sudden one fine morning. But it has to be built up brick by brick by corporate self-effort. We have travelled a fair way in that direction. But a much longer and weary distance has to be covered before we can behold swaraj in its glorious majesty. Every Congressman has to ask himself what he has done towards the attainment of economic equality.

14. KISANS²

The programme is not exhaustive. Swaraj is a mighty structure. Eighty crores of hands have to work at building it.³ Of these *kisans*, i.e., the peasantry, are the largest part. In fact, being the bulk of them (probably over 80%) the *kisans* should be the Congress. But they are not. When they become conscious of their non-violent strength, no power on earth can resist them.

¹ The first edition here adds, "which is conceived as the last."

² In the first edition this and the succeeding two topics, viz., "Labour" and "Students", are discussed under a single heading "Kisan, Labour and Students", which begins as follows: "I have now finished the inquiry about the thirteen items of the constructive programme. I have attempted to show how each item fits in with the scheme of swaraj and how it can be worked by individual Congressmen."

³ The first edition here has: "Therefore, many other items of a piece with the thirteen can be added, the centre being always the charkha round which all other activities should come from the charkha."

"The reader will notice, as some of my co-workers have noticed, the absence of any reference of *kisans*, factory hands or labour and students. I have deliberately avoided reference to their work as parts of the constructive programme. They have to work the thirteen items same as any other worker in the cause. My avoidance is not intended to belittle the part they can play in the movement. I am quite conscious of the great importance they have in the movement for freedom. The question underlying the inquiry is who is to organize them and how."

They must not be used for power politics.¹ I consider it to be contrary to the non-violent method. Those who would know my method of organizing *kisans* may profitably study the movement in Champaran when satyagraha was tried for the first time in India with the result all India knows. It became a mass movement which remained wholly non-violent from start to finish. It affected over twenty lakhs of *kisans*. The struggle centred round one specific grievance which was a century old. There had been several violent revolts to get rid of the grievance. The *kisans* were suppressed. The non-violent remedy succeeded in full in six months. The *kisans* of Champaran became politically conscious without any direct effort. The tangible proof they had of the working of non-violence to remove their grievances drew them to the Congress and led by Babu Brijkishore Prasad and Babu Rajendra Prasad they gave a good account of themselves during the past civil disobedience campaigns.

The reader may also profitably study the *kisan* movements in Kheda, Bardoli and Borsad. The secret of success lies in a refusal to exploit the *kisans* for political purposes outside their own personal and felt grievances. Organization round a specific wrong they understand. They need no sermons on non-violence. Let them learn to apply non-violence as an effective remedy which they can understand, and later when they are told that the method they were applying was non-violent, they readily recognize it as such.

From these illustrations Congressmen who care could study how work can be done for and among *kisans*. I hold that the method that some Congressmen have followed to organize *kisans* has done them no good and has probably harmed them. Anyway they have not used the non-violent method. Be it said to the credit of some of these workers that they frankly admit that they do not believe in the non-violent method. My advice to such workers would be that they should neither use the Congress name nor work as Congressmen.

The reader will now understand why I have refrained from the competition to organize *kisans* and labour on an all-India basis. How I wish that all hands pulled in the same direction! But perhaps in a huge country like ours it is impossible. Anyway, in non-violence there is no coercion. Cold reason and demonstration of the working of non-violence must be trusted to do the work. In my opinion, like labour, they should have under the Congress a department working for their specific questions.

¹ The first edition here has: "About the *kisan* movement too, there is, I fear, an ugly competition to use *kisans* for power politics."

15. LABOUR

Ahmedabad Labour Union is a model for all India to copy.¹ Its basis is non-violence, pure and simple. It has never had a set-back in its career. It has gone on from strength to strength without fuss and without show. It has its hospital, its school for the children of the mill-hands, its classes for adults, its own printing press and khadi depot, and its own residential quarters. Almost all the hands are voters and decide the fate of elections. They came on the voters' list at the instance of the Provincial Congress Committee. The organization has never taken part in party politics of the Congress. It influences the municipal policy of the city. It has to its credit very successful strikes which were wholly non-violent. Mill-owners and labour have governed their relations largely through voluntary arbitration. If I had my way, I would regulate all the labour organizations of India after the Ahmedabad model. It has never sought to intrude itself upon the All-India Trade Union Congress and has been uninfluenced by that Congress. A time, I hope, will come when it will be possible for the Trade Union Congress to accept the Ahmedabad method and have the Ahmedabad organization as part of the All-India Union. But I am in no hurry. It will come in its own time.

16. ADIVASIS²

The term *adivasi*, like *raniparaj*³, is a coined word. *Raniparaj* stands for *kaliparaj* (meaning black people, though their skin is no more black than that of any other). It was coined, I think, by Shri Jugatram. The term *adivasi* (for Bhils, Gonds, or others variously described as Hill Tribes or aboriginals) means literally original inhabitants and was coined, I believe, by Thakkar Bapa.

Service of *adivasis* is also a part of the constructive programme. Though they are the sixteenth number in this programme, they are not the least in point of importance. Our country is so vast and the races so varied that the best of us cannot know all there is to know of men and their condition. As one discovers this for oneself, one realizes how difficult it is to make good our claim to be one nation,

¹ The first edition here has : "As to labour, I am responsible for the organization of Ahmedabad labour. I am of the opinion that it is a model for all India to copy."

² The first edition does not have this and the following topic.

³ "Forest people"

unless every unit has a living consciousness of being one with every other.

The *adivasis* are over two crores in all India. Bapa began work among the Bhils years ago in Gujarat. In about 1940 Shri Balasaheb Kher threw himself with his usual zeal into this much-needed service in the Thana District. He is now President of the Adivasi Seva Mandal.

There are several such other workers in other parts of India and yet are too few. Truly, "the harvest is rich but the labourers are few". Who can deny that all such service is not merely humanitarian but solidly national, and brings us nearer to true independence?

17. LEPERS

Leper is a word of bad odour. India is perhaps a home of lepers next only to Central Africa. Yet they are as much a part of society as the tallest among us. But the tall absorb our attention though they are least in need of it. The lot of the lepers who are much in need of attention is studied neglect. I am tempted to call it heartless, which it certainly is in terms of non-violence. It is largely the missionary who, be it said to his credit, bestows care on him. The only institution run by an Indian, as a pure labour of love, is by Shri Manohar Diwan near Wardha. It is working under the inspiration and guidance of Shri Vinoba Bhave. If India was pulsating with new life, if we were all in earnest about winning independence in the quickest manner possible by truthful and non-violent means, there would not be a leper or beggar in India uncared for and unaccounted for. In this revised edition I am deliberately introducing the leper as a link in the chain of constructive effort. For what the leper is in India, that we are, if we put look about us, for the modern civilized world. Examine the condition of our brethren across the ocean and the truth of my remark will be borne home to us.

18. STUDENTS

I have reserved students to the last. I have always cultivated close contact with them. They know me and I know them. They have given me service. Many ex-collegians are my esteemed co-workers. I know that they are the hope of the future. In the heyday of non-co-operation they were invited to leave their schools and colleges. Some professors and students who responded to the Congress call have remained steadfast and gained much for the country and themselves. The call has not been repeated for there is not the atmosphere for it. But experience has shown that the lure of the current education, though it is false and unnatural, is too much for the youth of the

country. College education provides a career. It is a passport for entrance to the charmed circle. Pardonable hunger for knowledge cannot be satisfied otherwise than by going through the usual rut. They do not mind the waste of precious years in acquiring knowledge of an utterly foreign language which takes the place of the mother tongue. The sin of it is never felt. They and their teachers have made up their minds that the indigenous languages are useless for gaining access to modern thought and the modern sciences. I wonder how the Japanese are faring. For their education, I understand, is all given in Japanese. The Chinese Generalissimo knows very little, if anything, of English.

But such as the students are, it is from these young men and women that the future leaders of the nation are to rise. Unfortunately they are acted upon by every variety of influences. Non-violence offers them little attraction. A blow for a blow or two for one is an easily understandable proposition. It seems to yield immediate result though momentary. It is a never-ending trial of brute strength as we see in time of war among brutes or among human beings. Appreciation of non-violence means patient research and still more patient and difficult practice. I have not entered the list of competitors for the students' hand, for the reasons that have dictated my course about *kisans* and labour. But I am myself a fellow-student, using the word in its broader sense. My university is different from theirs. They have a standing invitation from me to come to my university and join me in my search. Here are the terms :

1. Students must not take part in party politics. They are students, searchers, not politicians.

2. They may not resort to political strikes. They must have their heroes, but their devotion to them is to be shown by copying the best in their heroes, not by going on strikes, if the heroes are imprisoned or die or are even sent to the gallows. If their grief is unbearable and if all the students feel equally, schools or colleges may be closed on such occasions, with the consent of their principals. If the principals will not listen, it is open to the students to leave their institutions in a becoming manner till the managers repent and recall them. On no account may they use coercion against dissentients or against the authorities. They must have the confidence that if they are united and dignified in their conduct, they are sure to win.

3. They must all do sacrificial spinning in a scientific manner. Their tools shall be always neat, clean, and in good order and condition. If possible, they will learn to make them themselves. Their yarn will naturally be of the highest quality. They will study the

literature about spinning with all its economic, social, moral and political implications.

4. They will be khadi-users all through and use village products to the exclusion of all analogous things, foreign or machine made.

5. They may not impose *Vandemataram* or the national flag on others. They may wear national flag buttons on their own persons but not force others to do the same.

6. They can enforce the message of the tricolour flag in their own persons and harbour neither communalism nor untouchability in their hearts. They will cultivate real friendship with students of other faiths and with Harijans as if they were their own kith and kin.

7. They will make it a point to give first aid to their injured neighbours and do scavenging and cleaning in the neighbouring villages and instruct village children and adults.

8. They will learn the national language, Hindustani, in its present double dress, two forms of speech and two scripts, so that they may feel at home whether Hindi or Urdu is spoken and Nagari or Urdu script is written.

9. They will translate into their own mother tongue everything new they may learn, and transmit it in their weekly rounds to the surrounding villages.

10. They will do nothing in secret, they will be above board in all their dealings, they will lead a pure life of self-restraint, shed all fear and be always ready to protect their weak fellow-students, and be ready to quell riots by non-violent conduct at the risk of their lives. And when the final heat of the struggle comes, they will leave their institutions and, if need be, sacrifice themselves for the freedom of their country.

11. They will be scrupulously correct and chivalrous in their behaviour towards their girl fellow-students.

For working out the programme I have sketched for them, the students must find time. I know that they waste a great deal of time in idleness. By strict economy, they can save many hours. But I do not want to put an undue strain upon any student. I would, therefore, advise patriotic students to lose one year, not at a stretch but spread it over their whole study. They will find that one year so given will not be a waste of time. The effort will add to their equipment, mental, moral and physical, and they will have made even during their studies a substantial contribution to the freedom movement.

PLACE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I have said in these pages that civil disobedience is not absolutely necessary to win freedom through purely non-violent effort, if the co-operation of the whole nation is secured in the constructive programme. But such good luck rarely favours nations or individuals. Therefore, it is necessary to know the place of civil disobedience in a nationwide non-violent effort.

It has three definite functions :

1. It can be effectively offered for the redress of a local wrong.
2. It can be offered without regard to effect, though aimed at a particular wrong or evil, by way of self-immolation in order to rouse local consciousness or conscience. Such was the case in Champaran when I offered civil disobedience without any regard to the effect and well knowing that even the people might remain apathetic. That it proved otherwise may be taken, according to taste, as God's grace or a stroke of good luck.
3. In the place of full response to constructive effort, it can be offered as it was in 1941¹. Though it was a contribution to and part of the battle for freedom, it was purposely centred round a particular issue, i.e., free speech. Civil disobedience can never be directed for a general cause such as for independence. The issue must be definite and capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield. This method properly applied must lead to the final goal.

I have not examined here the full scope and possibilities of civil disobedience. I have touched enough of it to enable the reader to understand the connection between the constructive programme and civil disobedience. In the first two cases, no elaborate constructive programme was or could be necessary. But when civil disobedience is itself devised for the attainment of independence, previous preparation is necessary, and it has to be backed by the visible and conscious effort of those who are engaged in the battle. Civil disobedience is thus a stimulation for the fighters and a challenge to the opponent. It should be clear to the reader that civil disobedience in terms of independence without the co-operation of the millions by way of constructive effort is mere bravado and worse than useless.

CONCLUSION

This is not a thesis written on behalf of the Congress or at the instance of the Central Office. It is the outcome of conversations I had

¹ The first edition here has : "as it is being offered at present."

with some co-workers in Sevagram. They had felt the want of something from my pen showing the connection between the constructive programme and civil disobedience and how the former might be worked. I have endeavoured to supply the want in this pamphlet. It does not purport to be exhaustive, but it is sufficiently indicative of the way the programme should be worked.

Let not the reader make the mistake of laughing at any of the items as being part of the movement for independence. Many people do many things, big and small, without connecting them with non-violence or independence. They have then their limited value as expected. The same man appearing as a civilian may be of no consequence, but appearing in his capacity as General he is a big personage, holding the lives of millions at his mercy. Similarly, the charkha in the hands of a poor widow brings a paltry pice to her, in the hands of a Jawaharlal it is an instrument of India's freedom. It is the office which gives the charkha its dignity. It is the office assigned to the constructive programme which gives it an irresistible prestige and power.

Such at least is my view. It may be that of a mad man. If it makes no appeal to the Congressman, I must be rejected. For my handling of civil disobedience without the constructive programme will be like a paralysed hand attempting to lift a spoon.

Constructive Programme : Its Meaning and Place

622. THE PLACE OF SILK

Shri Jajuji writes :¹

All these are good points. They have also been pretty well discussed. But some questions are raised again and again and need to be discussed again and again.

I shall answer the questions in the order in which they have been asked.

(1) The question of violence and non-violence does arise, for there is violent silk and non-violent silk. The best thing of course is for people who like to consider everything from the point of view of

¹ The letter is not translated here. Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, had formulated the following views and sought Gandhiji's opinion on them : (1) Bearing in mind that sericulture involves violence, the worker should give it at best secondary importance; (2) silk competes with fine khadi; (3) it tends to make people luxury-loving; and (4) it calls for a much larger capital outlay.

non-violence to give up silk altogether.

But from the point of view of khadi we should not raise this question. We should stock both kinds of silk in our bhandars, though we should give encouragement only to non-violent silk.

(2) We should never allow silk to reach a point where it can compete with khadi. The idea behind giving a place to silk was that it should supplement khadi. It has also been the view that hand-spun silk is always to be preferred to foreign silk and silk manufactured in Indian mills. But silk must never be given the place of cotton cloth. That is why a limit has been put upon the quantity of silk to be stocked in khadi bhandars.

(3) This is not an important point. In a way even Andhra khadi, coloured khadi and khadi with woven designs make us luxury-loving. Khadi is as much for the fastidious as it is for the poor. From the very beginning it has been our endeavour to introduce into khadi as much beauty and decoration as we can. We display this at every khadi exhibition. We have been showing progress in the appearance of khadi every year. This was and still is the correct [attitude]. Khadi-mindedness does not mean that art and design should have no place in khadi, and that it is to be only the attire of the poor. Therefore the restraint we should place on ourselves here is that we should put what art and design we can into khadi and be satisfied. From this point of view silk is to be and should be discarded. From this point of view too we compare the fine Andhra khadi with silk. Then the silk-lovers say they find silk cheaper than the Andhra khadi. I answer that we cannot advance the work of khadi in this way. Khadi, though it may be costly, comes out cheap in the end.

(4) If silk-making calls for twice as large a capital outlay, we have a very strong reason for giving it up. But having regard to human nature we do not or cannot wholly renounce silk. In our definition of khadi we have given a place to hand-spun silk and hand-spun wool. But we cannot encourage woollens and silk with a view to increasing profits. There will have to be some restraint in regard to these. Service of the millions is possible only through cotton khadi.

BARDOLI, December 13, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, December 1941

623. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

BARDOLI,
December 13, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

This is just to tell you that you are never out of my mind. I was immersed in writing work which is just finished. I hope you are getting stronger and having greater inner peace.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I am in excellent form.

From the original : C.W. 6491. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9886

624. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

December 13, 1941

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter. I am glad Indu will be coming with you. There is no winter worth the name here. The nights are cool, the days hot.

The questions we have to discuss are many. I trust you and Maulana Saheb will be here before the date of the Working Committee.

I have heavy meetings of the A. I. S. A. and G. S. S. beginning from 17th. I expect to finish all on 20th.

Sardar is bearing himself well.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1941. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

625. *LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

December 13, 1941

CHI. ANAND,¹

I am now comparatively free to write to you. The photograph I have signed.

¹ The superscription is in the Devanagari script.

You may publish the books according to your notion. But it is not possible to bind Jivanji¹ not to publish anything of the kind himself. You are catering for one class of readers, he for another. You have no pecuniary ambition, nor has J. All the earnings from the books, etc., go to the public purpose, so I must not prevent either.

You can pass on to me all the requests for translations. I hope you are better and that Vidya² is flourishing.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI ANAND HINGORANI
UPPER SINDH COLONY
KARACHI SADAR

From a microfilm. Courtesy : National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

626. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

December 13, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

How is it that there is not a single letter from you? Ba makes inquiries every day. How are you and what are you doing? And is your work now properly arranged? My health is fine. There is no sign of winter yet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3563

627. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

December 13, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

How are you getting on? How do you pass your day? I am somewhat worried. I am here till January 9.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi : *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, facing p. 309

¹ Jivanji D. Desai, Manager, Navajivan Press

² Addressee's wife

628. *LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
December 14, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

You will be released soon now. I shall expect a detailed letter from you. You must have got in jail all the rest you needed. Did you eat jail food or did you get any from outside? Who were your companions, how did you spend the month, how much weight did you lose or gain? What was the result of the appeal?

Ramu was to follow you. Tell him that he will be my first satyagrahi next time and ask him to win over the jailors.

I hope Lakshmi and the others were all right during your absence.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am perfectly happy here in Sardar's regime.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2145

629. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

December 14, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I hope you are well. Be patient both in solving your mental problems and doing your work. Do only what you can. Kanchan is getting along. It is rather warm here. There is no sign at all of winter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8482. Also C.W. 7161. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

630. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

December 14, 1941

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I keep thinking about your health. You must bring it round. Sankaran wrote and told me that he was planning something. Write to me and give me the news. Babu is expected in a day or two.

I am all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10605

631. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

BARDOLI,

December 15, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

Of course I will try to show you how utterly wrong you are. But when a man believes in a different philosophy from the one another subscribes to, it is difficult for that other to carry conviction. Such is my plight.

You quote from the Bible but your application is quite new and utterly selfish. You turn a donation into a debt. What is to be done? I brought you out of Bengal because you were disgusted and now you think that you did me a favour in coming out.

Of course a labourer is worthy of his hire. You want money without work. And when you do work, you want more than the highest you and I have agreed upon, viz., 8 as. for 8 hours' work. But you think you have a claim upon me, i.e., society, for Rs. 2-12 per day for practically very little work. Let me not be misunderstood. I know Abha is doing something, so also perhaps you. But your letter shows that even if all of you were doing nothing, you will claim the above amount as if it was a right. I suggest to you that you are wholly wrong in making the claim and defending it on high morality. My notion is different. I must not carry the argument any further.

God will give you light if you are humble and will seek it in the right spirit.

If my letter does not convince, you should wait till we can meet some day, if ever we do. Meanwhile we must agree to differ.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10330. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

632. LETTER TO CHANDAN S. KALELKAR

December 15, 1941

CHI. CHANDAN,

I am glad that you wrote to me, though only from a selfish motive.¹ You would certainly have money in Baroda, but your Prince may have to sell his soul there. Occasions may arise in Indian States when, if you refuse to obey the State's order, you would in no time find yourself disgraced. That is why, when an opportunity arose earlier, it was decided that a hundred rupees else-where would be preferable to a lakh in an Indian State. You will not get elsewhere the opportunity for service which you two have in Kashi. Did you not know, when you decided to marry Shankar, that he was a poor man's son and had grown up in simplicity, that he was a man of self-respect and that he would be prepared to sacrifice his all for the sake of his honour? Yes, he might welcome comfort if he can have it by straightforward means. Perhaps there is this difference between Kaka and him.

See that you do not tempt Shankar. If he is patient, he will rise where he is at present. What he earns is enough to meet your needs. Have patience. Remember the line "Be equiminded in happiness and suffering, for they are born with the body", and let Shankar follow his straight path.

You and Baby will be well. I have written at greater length than I had intended. Of course I could not afford the time, but, then, it was you !

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 955. Courtesy : Satish D. Kalelkar

¹ The addressee had complained about her husband's reluctance to take up a more lucrative job in Baroda.

633. *LETTER TO TARAMATI M. TRIKUMJI*

December 15, 1941

If Mathuradas¹ is destined to render still more service, he will come to no harm. I have no doubt in my mind that if he observes complete silence and fixes his thoughts exclusively on God, that would be the best medicine.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 181-2

634. *LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI*

BARDOLI

December 15, 1941

Where are you going to put up here? If you wish to come here, you will not be a burden. Do not unnecessarily tax your body.

What is the news about Mummy? What is Bharati² doing?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 11222. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

635. *LETTER TO NARENDRA DEV*

BARDOLI,

December 16, 1941

BHAI NARENDRA DEV,

I deliberately withheld the reply to your letter. I was hesitating to say no. In the mean while other demands also started coming in. I realized that the time for accepting invitations had gone. I resisted many from Kashi. But I could not reject them all. How long could I resist Malaviyaji's pressure? So please spare me Lucknow.

I hope you are all right. Will you come here?

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Gandhi-Nehru Correspondence. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Addressee's husband

² Addressee's sister

636. *LETTER TO SUNDERLAL*

December 16, 1941

BHAI SUNDERLAL,

I have your letter. Your optimism is terrific. I have answered Sultana.¹ She has not written back. I am ready. So far as I am concerned there is no quarrel.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

637. *LETTER TO SULTANA RAZIA*

BARDOLI,

December 17, 1941

MY DEAR SULTANA,

I have your letter. I will write to Maulana Saheb. You have to come again.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 10860

638. *SPEECH AT A. I. S. A. MEETING*

BARDOLI,

December 17, 1941

I had received Jajuji's letter² many days ago. I liked many things in the letter. But I feel that we should have some discussion on the letter today. If I were to put down the things that Jajuji has said in his letter, my language would have been a little different though the substance would have been the same. The principles he has enunciated are sound. It is another matter to what extent they can be put into practice. But it is better that we clearly understand the principles. When the principles have been clearly formulated we are able to look at things in a uniform way. There is then no room left for disagreements. If there is some slackness in practice we must put in more

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Sultana Razia", 25-11-1941.

² Saying that khadi workers did not show the qualities of self-sacrifice and hard work required of them

effort. What else could we do but make the effort?

As Jajuji has pointed out, no matter how much khadi we produce, if we have not understood the principles behind khadi, khadi work is bound to languish. India wore khadi even before. Indeed, we exported khadi to the biggest countries of the world. But we cannot pride ourselves upon it today. Khadi then was not associated with politics. Kings and officials, out of avarice, forced the poor to part with khadi and sold it to make themselves rich. This makes it difficult for us even today to explain khadi activity to the masses.

But today we agree that khadi is the means to our freedom. This first occurred to me in 1908. The very thing that was a cause of our slavery will open the door to our freedom. We have to understand this.

We have therefore based khadi on truth and non-violence. If we forget it and think of producing khadi anyhow, a time will come when we shall be burning khadi. No other constructive activity is so much ridiculed and denounced as khadi. The coming of the mills has given people all the more occasion to do so. In their own way they are justified. Since khadi was there in the past, they ask, why did we become slaves. How can we treat the same khadi as a means to our freedom? It is the duty of the Sangh to answer them. This is the question Jajuji has placed before us.

We have to produce khadi on a large scale. We also have to think how. But if we forget truth and non-violence, no matter how much khadi we may produce, we shall lose it in the end. If we do not hold on to the basic thing, impurities will creep in. Khadi workers should therefore see that the whole khadi business is kept pure. Today when we contemplate producing khadi on a mass scale we ought not to forget the basic thing. Today I shall not say that all our spinners too should understand truth and non-violence. But I must say this about our 3,000 workers. If they do not abide by truth and non-violence we shall sink. Shri Bharatanandaji has formulated a graduated plan to provide for meeting the demand of khadi for the whole of India at the end of ten years. Today the plan is a mere set of figures on paper. But it can be turned into reality. How is it possible, however, if we do not find good workers? If we but make up our minds we can become really good workers. Jajuji is right in giving this matter the first place. The question before us is: 'How can we produce such workers?' If we are always awake we shall develop the spirit of non-violence and self-sacrifice. Even a votary of violence is capable of self-sacrifice. Hitler too is said to be self-sacrificing. He is violence incarnate. It is said he is a vegetarian. I find it difficult to imagine

how, if he is one, he is able to countenance so much slaughter. Anyway, his is said to be a life of self-sacrifice. He has no vices. He has not married. His character is said to be clean. He is always alert. What we require is both self-sacrifice and non-violence. Non-violence means love. First the chief workers should manifest it. We may begin with myself, then Jajuji and then the members of the Council. Let us be vigilant and alert. Our example is bound to influence the workers, even if unconsciously. Then we shall be able to make ourselves free of doubts and fears about khadi. It does not matter if our speed is slow. We must never renounce the principles we have evolved. If we do not forsake them, we are bound to be successful.¹

The question of a living wage is a difficult one.² I myself have not been able to form any opinion on it. If I come across a man who is good and qualified I should be tempted. I shouldn't want to lose him. If we frame a certain rule then we must follow that rule. I have been trying to frame some rule. But we must confess that at the moment we are helpless. We cannot frame a rule which will make it difficult for us to find workers. To make such a rule would mean that we do not move with the times. We shall thereby even lose the ability to pay a wage of three annas to each spinner. It is true and just that if we pay spinners three annas we should ourselves learn to live on three annas. Today we are taking many times more than what the spinners get. Even the lowest paid worker amongst us receives many times more. But I must confess with shame that this disparity has put us in difficulties. However, I have no satisfactory solution.

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, December 1941, and January 1942

639. LETTER TO MIRABEHN³

December 18, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. Of course, you should now have your correspondence and everything. You must lead your own natural life

¹ What follows is from *Khadi Jagat*, December 1941.

² Shrikrishnadas Jaju had also raised certain questions concerning a living wage for khadi workers and suggested that the workers should be satisfied with what they got.

³ The addressee had sent this along with a letter to Prithvi Singh.

without let or hindrance and grow to your fullest stature. The heat here continues but I bear it well. The place is full but Sardar's arrangements are perfect.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 10874. Courtesy : Prithvi Singh

640. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BARDOLI,

December 19, 1941

As the war approaches the Indian border, people begin to get scared. I have a typical letter from Assam and others from various parts. They expect guidance from me as a war-resister and director of satyagraha.

So far as satyagraha is concerned, in areas such as Assam responsible Congressmen should not offer satyagraha but should devote themselves to steadying those who are under Congress influence.

As to the guidance of those who would listen to the Congress or me, the people will presently have directions from the Working Committee.

But so far as I am concerned, I am quite clear that the people should refuse to be scared even though bombs may be dropped in their midst. For the time being at any rate the danger is to be expected only in the big cities. Those who do not wish to run any risk would do well quietly to leave their cities.

It is wrong to make a rush on every scare and crowd the railway stations. The railway staff cannot possibly cope with sudden rushes. It is unmanly to rush for saving oneself. A wise and brave man will wait till the last man is safely out. What I have said applies to all Congressmen and others. I would not like it to be said of us as a nation that we run about like mad men on the approach of the slightest danger. We must face bravely any situation that may befall us.

Congressmen who are war-resisters will remain at their posts and offer such assistance to the people as is within their power. They will run, at any risk, to the help of those who may be injured.

Whilst I have been and am still against Congressmen joining A.R.P., I have never thought or suggested that Congressmen should leave points of danger or fields of service.

It is not necessary to belong to any Government organization to be able to render effective service without expectation of reward or praise.

The chief thing is to preserve complete equanimity, no matter what danger faces us. This is especially so for those who are warresisters and fear no enemy.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-12-1941

641. TELEGRAM TO THIMMA REDDY¹

December 19, 1941

NEVER SAID CONGRESSMEN SHOULD NOT.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

642. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

BARDOLI,

December 19, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your two letters. Who is to blame if, even though I write, you do not get the letter? I dropped you a postcard on December 10. After that I have a letter from you only today.

You must make good preparation. You are not forbidden to come here, but overcome that temptation if you can and go on studying there. The gas trouble was due to your own negligence. Ba had fever. Mahadevbhai has taken away Durga².

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10114. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

¹ The addressee who was President, Nandidurga Labour Association, had in his telegram dated December 18 sought Gandhiji's advice regarding the propaganda carried on by the Ramachandra group that Gandhiji disapproved of Congressmen guiding labour organizations.

² Mahadev Desai's wife

643. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*¹

BARDOLI,

December 20, 1941

I have been asked for a brief statement on the entry of America in the war. It is not possible for me to join the chorus of current opinion. I cannot welcome this entry of America. American tradition singles her out as an arbitrator and mediator between the warring nations. By her territorial vastness, amazing energy, unrivalled financial status and owing to the composite character of her people she is the one country which could have saved the world from the unthinkable butchery that is going on.

I do not know whether America could have avoided the entry. I have no data for giving a decisive opinion on the question. I have only expressed my fervent wish that it might have been possible for her to play her natural part. It is tragic to contemplate that with America as party to the war there is no great Power left which can mediate and bring about peace for which I have no doubt the peoples of all lands are thirsting. It is a strange phenomenon that the human wish is paralysed by the creeping effect of the war fever.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-12-1941

644. *MESSAGE TO BHAGINI SAMAJ, BOMBAY*

BARDOLI,

December 20, 1941

I hope the silver jubilee of the Bhagini Samaj will be celebrated in a splendid manner and the Samaj will grow from day to day.

M. K. GANDHI

BHAGINI SAMAJ
MAGANLAL GHIA BUILDING
255 KHETWADI MAIN ROAD
BOMBAY 4

From a facsimile of the Gujarati : *Bapujini Shital Chhayaman*, facing p. 1

¹ Gandhiji gave this statement in response to a request from abroad.

645. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

December 20, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your letter. Your mother and brother were here only yesterday. I also would have been happy if you had been here. Nothing is certain about Ahmedabad. I shall let you know if I decide to go. It is enough for me that you are quietly doing your work there. Ba has been slightly ill. She is better now. Mahadev has gone to Unai with Durga, but she has taken ill there. There is no cause for worry. Tell Nanabhai that Bhai Vithaldas Jerajani wishes to join the Kathiawar Khadi Committee. They should take him and inform him, and invite him to attend when a meeting is called.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7143. Also C.W. 4635. Courtesy : Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

646. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

December 20, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. You can introduce this change immediately. The telephone cabin should be located outside the office, so that the telephone would be accessible even when the office is closed and the cabin should be so fitted that the receiver could be picked up from inside the office and the telephone used whenever necessary. If it can be shifted outside the dak-room, there would be sufficient accommodation. If you have followed this, make the change. This answers your question. I have spared some hours for Kanchan. She is getting on with her studies.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7162. Courtesy : Munnala G. Shah

647. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
December 21, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Get the work done through the All-India Spinners' Association as suggested by Bhai Jugalkishore in his letter. We will certainly spend as much as possible in Kangra as also in Pilani.

I think it would be best to call a meeting of the A. I. C. C. in Wardha. If you agree, send invitations by wire. The meeting should start on the day after my arrival and be over before the 19th.

Indu has come here.

I hope Madalasa is all right. The baby must be growing.

I missed you very much at the All-India Spinners' Association and will miss you again at the Working Committee. But I think your good lies in my not pressing you.

I am keeping good health. I hope you too are all right.

You can fix a meeting of the Goseva Sangh on any date after January 27. Has Janakimaiya¹ returned? I hope she has not spoiled her health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3027

648. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

BARDOLI,
December 21, 1941

CHI. TARAMATI,

I have your letter. You have given good news. If the improvement continues as now, he will soon be rid of the trouble.

Dr. Gilder said that there was certainly a chance for improvement. Everything depends on patience, courage and observance of

¹ Janakidevi, addressee's wife

rules on the part of Mathuradas. He must observe silence properly.

It is always crowded here.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI TARAMATIBEHN MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
WINDI HALL
DEOLALI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

649. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

December 21, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

I am not worried about the house. My worry is this : You do not carry on your work as a physician in the way I would like you to do. There are so many sick persons in the Ashram. Why do you not treat them? If a man or a woman falls ill I cannot send you to attend to the patient. So far as I know you do nothing at Khurja, either. You have given me to understand that you can do nothing until the house is ready. Where there are houses already you will not work. Do you follow what I Mean? I have a moral responsibility towards you. It irks me that I cannot give a satisfactory account to people about you. Patients come to me. Why should I have to call a doctor rather than you? Your letter which is before me gives me no satisfaction. I have not written this for the sake of argument.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

650. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

December 24, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

How foolish and selfish I am ! I had no consideration for your health, and thought only of myself. I sought your permission but did not wait for it, and insisted on the Committee holding the meeting at Wardha.¹ In this I committed violence and that too not of an ordinary kind. I misused our friendship, your generosity. To beg pardon of you is no atonement. True atonement would be not to repeat such

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", 21-12-1941.

callousness towards you or anyone else.

You only deserve to be congratulated. You were courageous enough to tell me what you felt and also accepted your limitations.¹ This is not a small thing. Do not worry at all. By your saying no, my regard and love for you have only increased, if that were possible.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3028

651. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BARDOLI,

December 27, 1941

The action of the Bihar Government in banning the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha has always appeared to me to be inexplicable.² Those who had proclaimed their desire to hold the meeting were responsible men and, what is more, so far as I am aware, trusted by the Central Government and known to be pro-Government. They had and have identified themselves with the war effort. Why such people could not be trusted by the Bihar Provincial Government to behave decently passes my comprehension. I see that Vir Savarkar³ had accommodated the Bihar authorities to the extent of postponing the session with a view to coming to an understanding.

When all attempts at a settlement failed, civil resistance was the only remedy open to the suppressed Hindu Mahasabha. And I must confess it fills me with delight to find Vir Savarkar, Dr. Moonje and other leaders being arrested⁴ in their attempt to assert the very primary and very fundamental right of holding an orderly meeting subject to all reasonable restrictions about the preservation of the public peace. I observe that even Dr. Shyama

Prasad, the new Finance Minister of the Bengal Government, has successfully courted arrest by committing the same honourable offence that his colleagues have committed. I congratulate the leaders of the Sabha on their dignified and peaceful protest against the utterly arbitrary action of the Bihar Government. There is surely something

¹ The addressee had expressed his inability to make arrangements for the A.I.C.C. meeting at Wardha.

² The Bihar Government had banned the annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha from being held between December 1, 1941 and January 10, 1942, "so as to avoid the possibility of communal clashes" at the time of Bakr-id.

³ V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha

⁴ On December 23

terribly wrong in it. But out of evil somehow or other good often results. Let me hope that this action of the Bihar Government has brought the Hindus and Muslims of Bihar, and even all India, together on the common platform of human liberty. For I am quite sure that the Muslim League could not possibly wish the denial to their sister organization of a liberty which they could claim for themselves. I hope that there will be only one end to this Bihar episode, viz., lifting of the ban on the Hindu Mahasabha and the men who are imprisoned today holding their session without let or hindrance.

The Hindu, 28-12-1941

652. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

December 27, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. I have accepted Punamchandji's¹ suggestion believing that he would give you no trouble and that he has the ability to complete this work². I cannot think of your taking any trouble in this regard.

Indu will certainly come on the occasion of the A. I. C. C. [meeting]. She is happy here.

About the States' People's Conference, as discussed between us I have given my opinion that its office should be brought over to Wardha.

Bapu could not finish this but wants it to be dispatched as it is. .

..

AMRIT KAUR

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3029

653. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

December 27, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I had hoped to write to you at length on purity. But I have not a minute to spare. I will say in brief that a person who understands the relation between the body and the spirit can easily attain inner purity

¹ Punamchand Ranka, President, Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee

² Of arranging the A.I.C.C. meeting at Wardha

by meticulously practising external purity. On the contrary, one who disregards external purity in the struggle for inner purity loses both.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4408

654. LETTER TO NELLIE FISCHER'

BARDOLI,

December 28, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I have yours of October 17th received yesterday.

To send you season's greetings is a mockery when hatred reigns supreme and God of Love and Truth is disowned.

Here are a few lines for your book².

"I had the privilege of coming in close contact with the late Bishop Fischer. He seemed to me to be one among the few Christians who walked in the fear of the Lord and therefore feared no man."

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

655. LETTER TO DR. A. G. TENDULKAR

BARDOLI,

December 28, 1941

MY DEAR TENDULKAR,

I was glad to hear from you. Nasik weather must suit you well.

I would like to see Indumati again and have her in the Ashram as long as she wishes to be there.

Love.

BAPU

(M. K. GANDHI)

From a photostat : C.W. 10953. Courtesy : Indumati Tendulkar

¹ Wife of Frederick B. Fischer

² Biography of Frederick B. Fischer

656. *LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH*

December 28, 1941

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Babudi has gone to Surat. Anand had cough and felt uncomfortable in the crowded atmosphere here. They will come here on Tuesday to get Anand's stitches removed. I shall try and detain them.

Shakaribehn has gone to Ahmedabad. Ba has gone to Maroli for four days.

I hope you are doing well.

What did you do about the book and the money with Surendra? Does Lakshmidas wish now to work under Balvantsinha?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10606

657. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

BARDOLI,

December 28, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I was not at all happy to let you go, but I felt that I ought to. When I told Ba, she got angry. She said she was not at all inconvenienced. I would be glad if you come over on Tuesday prepared to stay here longer. The doctor says he can treat Anand only if he can examine him daily. Ba has gone to Maroli and I have sent Sumi with her.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10041. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

658. *MESSAGE TO ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE*

[Before *December 29, 1941*]¹

The most important work before the Conference is to recognize the special obligation of the women of India to enforce the constru-

¹ The sixteenth session of the All-India Women's Conference commenced in Cocanada from December 29 under the Presidentship of Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

ctive programme which I have put before the nation in my recent pamphlet¹. It should satisfy the highest ambition for service of the tallest woman in India.

The Hindu, 31-12-1941

659. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SWARAJYA ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
December 29, 1941

MY DEAR C.R.,

I have studied the resolution² sent by you. Maulana Saheb came in and just introduced it to me. I am sorry I do not like it. It evades the main issue and does not give the true lead to the nation. I am quite clear that the difference between the Committee and me should be brought out and dealt with. If we do not want to help this Government on other grounds than those of non-violence, they ought to be clearly stated. If we can under certain circumstances they should be defined. The scope of Congress non-violence should also be defined.

You can share this with J[awaharlal] and come to me at 1.30 if you think it necessary. The silence finishes at 1.25.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 10903. Courtesy : C. R. Narasimhan

¹*Constructive Programme : Its Meaning and Place*; vide “Constructive Program: Its meaning and Place”, 13-12-1941.

² For the final resolution, vide Appendix “Congress Working Committee’s Resolution”, 30-12-1941.

660. DISCUSSION AT WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING¹

[On or before *December 30, 1940*]²

So far as I am concerned, even if I was given the utmost power conceivable, even if I was made the Viceroy of India today, would I ask the people of India to take up the sword to keep the Empire alive? I for one should feel that I was committing moral suicide in that I would be abandoning the faith of a lifetime, the faith which I had persuaded the Congress to accept for twenty years as a policy. The steady unflinching pursuit of that policy has brought us quite close to the achievement of the objective. Am I to abandon the very boat which has brought me quite close to the shore? Yudhishtira³ would not forsake his faithful dog and enter the gates of Heaven without him. For he knew that the Kingdom of Heaven would be as naught to him without the dog, i.e., his faith. Would the Arab (i.e., the Congress) give up towards the end of the journey the faithful steed (i.e., non-violence) that had made it possible for [him]⁴ to make that journey? It would be an act of betrayal or faithlessness on my part. Could I, when the war is at my door and when I am in the same predicament as they, forget the sovereign remedy I suggested to them⁵ and clutch at the

¹ In his article "The Month in Bardoli—I" from which this discussion is reproduced, Mahadev Desai gives the following introduction : "Though the actual decision [of the Working Committee] came to be made on the basis of the interpretation of the Bombay Resolution, what was of vital importance was the actual feeling in the minds of men. No matter how the Bombay Resolution was interpreted, were we clear about certain fundamentals? Were we clear that the policy of non-violence that we had followed, to the best of our ability, for twenty years was no religious creed or for no religious purpose, but a wholly political method for the achievement of the political independence of India? Gandhiji had no doubt on the question. The next question was—could we at this critical hour in our nation's history give up that policy even for the sake of proffered freedom?"

² The Congress Working Committee meeting concluded on December 30, 1941.

³ Eldest of the Pandavas, also known as Dharmaraja for his adherence to truth

⁴ The source has "it".

⁵ Gandhiji had advised the same course to the Abyssinians ("Message on Italo-Abyssinian Crisis", on or before 1-8-1935 and "Statement on "Italo-Abyssinian Crisis", on or before 1-8-1935), the Chinese, the Spaniards "Discussion with Hengchih Tao", before 15-8-1938; "If I were a Czech", 6-10-1938 and "Letter to Juan Negrin", 15-10-1938), and the Poles ("Message to the Poles", before 30-8-1939 and "Cable to Paderewski", 8-9-1939).

method I have denounced and discarded? No matter what the country would say, what should be the attitude of individual Congressmen who had sworn by the method of non-violence?

He was clear that, if it was felt that we had committed a mistake, that it was worth while bargaining a principle for what seemed to be a richer gain, they should declare their conviction, and if and when the objective was gained, they should convert the whole of India into a recruiting ground, ask every man and woman to contribute his or her share in the war effort, and even extinguish themselves in so doing. What was needed was downright honesty. He at any rate had never conceived this possibility. If he knew that some day India would have to engage in a violent war in order to win independence, he would long ago have addressed every youth to go in for military discipline, and he would not have placed tireless emphasis, day in and day out, on the various items of the constructive programme.

Harijan, 18-1-1942

661. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

BARDOLI,
December 30, 1941

DEAR MAULANA SAHIB,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay Resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all wars on the ground principally of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On rereading the Bombay Resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view, and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that independence, I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission whether I am alone or assisted by an organization or individuals. You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay Resolution. I must

continue civil disobedience for free speech against all war with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions.

I will not, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1375. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also C.W. 10904. Courtesy : C.R. Narasimhan

662. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BARDOLI,

December 30, 1941

If anyone had thought, as I had thought, that the door to Congress participation in the present war on the ground of Congress non-violence was closed for ever by the Bombay Resolution, then they may now know that the Bombay Resolution had not quite closed the door. Undoubtedly, as the resolution said, the Poona resolution had lapsed, therefore, the Poona offer had lapsed. But the Congress has now, through the Working Committee, made it clear that the door is not barred altogether against Congress participation, certainly not on the ground of non-violence.

The key for unlocking the door remains principally in the hands of the British Government. The Working Committee has very properly declined to state the terms on which that door can be opened. It will depend upon varying circumstances, but, in my opinion, the chief circumstance is the Government. Having been insulted often enough, the Working Committee would not court any further insult by making any offer. After all, its position is absolutely clear. Everbody knows what the Congress stands for and what it wants. Everyone should, therefore, know that nothing will be accepted by the Congress short of what it stands for. Therefore, the burden of the next step is cast on the Government. This is the chief thing that is relevant at the present time.

I have a pressing cable from those English friends who are interested in India's freedom and who are lovers of their own people.

¹ For the Congress Working Committee's resolution in response to this, *vide* Appendix "Congress Working Committee's Resolution", 30-12-1941.

I have not replied to that cable. They have reminded me of Mr. Andrews' legacy. Whatever the meaning of their reminder, my meaning could only be one. The one indissoluble bond between Charlie Andrews and myself was that we would never compromise our conscience on any account whatsoever. And, in all that I have done, I can fearlessly claim that I have been guided by my conscience.

I have made it clear in my letter¹ to the Maulana Sahib that I could not possibly identify myself with the door to participation being kept open in any shape or form, because that would mean, in my opinion, a recantation of all that the Congress has stood for the last twenty years or more. I would not be guilty of selling that heritage even for the independence of India because it would not be real independence.

I feel that if any country has a message for the world, which is groaning under violence unknown perhaps to history, it is India. When India, through the Indian National Congress, accepted the policy of non-violence, so far as I know, no Congressman had thought that another war—and such a bloody war—was to come so soon as it has. The testing time, however, has come for India and I, who have an unchangeable belief in the efficacy of non-violence for the present distemper from which mankind is suffering, could not possibly in any manner, directly or indirectly, associate myself with participation in the war; and so I have stood out.

But the Congress contains men and women holding varying shades of opinion and, therefore, it should be no wonder that the Working Committee represents those varying shades of opinion. It has at least three bodies or, rather, it has at least three bodies representing three schools of thought: a minority party, believing in non-participation on the ground of non-violence, pure and simple; the other believing that the Congress should not carry non-violence to the point of refusing association in the war under any circumstances and there is the third, which has many reasons almost as strong as the decisive reason of non-violence guiding the minority. The resolution² which has been just handed by the Secretary of the Working Committee to the Press is a resultant of the efforts of these bodies. I would like the public and Congressmen to read that resolution in that light. I hope everybody will appreciate the fact that the Working Committee has not come to any hasty decision. It did not mind what time it took in order

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² *Vide* Appendix "Congress Working Committee's Resolution", 30-12-1941.

to produce a resolution worthy of the great national organization that it represents.

I would say one thing to Congressmen that those who are believers in non-violence in the same sense that I am, have nothing to fear, as I interpret the resolution of the Working Committee. It not only leaves them absolutely free to hold that opinion but to propagate it for the acceptance of anybody who chooses. Only they remain in the Congress so long as the Congress is not called upon to participate in the war effort. It is open to them to convert all Congressmen to their view. I am quite sure that the Working Committee will welcome such a conversion but I would warn Congressmen against indecision at this critical period in the national life and I would warn them also against weakly following this party or that for the sake of gaining power in the Congress. Those who do so will miserably fail to gain power for the nation. Personally, I would like the Congress, as I would like the whole world, to accept non-violence as the law of life in every department, social, political and domestic. But there is no room for cowardliness. I would far rather that we all became violent than cowards. Let me hope, therefore, that every Congressman will have his own convictions and the courage to enforce them.

The Hindu, 31-12-1941

663. LETTER TO PRABHULAL

[December 30, 1941]¹

BHAI PRABHULAL,

I have your postcard. We learn and grow only through experience. Though today the khadi was spoiled tomorrow it may improve, provided we learn the correct lesson.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4137

664. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

BARDOLI,

December 31, 1941

CHI. ANAND,

Jairamdas informs me that Vidya had fallen ill. God is testing you. You have to pass the test. Do not worry about the deafness,

¹ From the G.N. Register

either. Everything depends on God. Do not labour beyond your capacity.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy : National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

665. LETTER TO KHWAJA SAHEB

[1941]¹

KHWAJA SAHEB,

I am much obliged to you for your kindness in sending me a Hindi version of the Koran.

I hold Urdu in the greatest respect. I am also a student of Urdu and I desire its progress. In my opinion the Hindus who want to serve both should know Urdu and read Urdu books and newspapers. Similarly the Muslims who wish to serve both should know Hindi and keep in touch with Hindi books and newspapers.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

666. LETTER TO SURESH SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, XSC.P.,

[1941]²

BHAI SURESH,

I got your letter. It is good that you have volunteered. I hope you are spinning regularly. Your turn will come after the three batches have gone ahead. I shall prepare a programme for new batches.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original : G. N. 8693

¹ The letter is placed in the file for 1941.

² From the reference, presumably to individual satyagraha offered in 1941; *vide* also "Letter to Suresh Singh", 14-2-1939

667. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Sunday, [1941]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

This chit will go with Mahadev's letter. That is all the time I can spare. I am all right. Kumarappa² is keeping well. Krishnadas's health causes some anxiety. He has fever today. He has passed a little blood. Do not worry. I hope there was no inconvenience on the way. Keep writing to me regularly.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

668. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[1941]

STUPID DAUGHTER,

How foolish you are! Where can you go to escape from me? Wherever you go, you will find me. It is very difficult to abandon me. On Sunday you have to sleep near me.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

669. LETTER TO FARID

January 2, 1942

MY DEAR FARID,

I have seen yours to A. K. I have read the judgment. If what the magistrate says is true about her³ speech, it was not non-violent. The B class should be accepted not because it is B class but because of the food obtainable. She need not use the other facilities which are not

¹ It appears from the contents that this and the following item belong to the year 1941.

² J. C. Kumarappa

³ The reference is to Satyawati, grand-daughter of Swami Shraddhanand; *vide*, "Letter to Satyawati", 3-1-1942.

required from the medical standpoint.

About the situation you will know from any statement¹.

How is Zohra²? Are you keeping well?

Love to you all.

M. K. G.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

670. LETTER TO MADALASA

January 2, 1942

CHI. MADALASA,

I got your letter and was very pleased. Your joy was evident in it. Your welfare is assured. Remember that there is no happiness except through self-control. It is very happy news indeed that you sisters are all together just now and enjoying yourselves.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 324

671. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

January 2, 1942

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. Inform Bhai Haribhau³ that I welcome his decision. Now he should not leave the Khadi Vidyalaya.

About the States we shall talk when I reach there.

Hold back Poonamchandji from heavy expenditure. I hope you are careful about your diet.

Jawaharlal will reach one day in advance.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3030

¹ *Vide* "statement to the Press", 30-12-1941.

² Addressee's wife

³ Haribhau Upadhyaya

672. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
January 3, 1942

CHI. MIRA,

You catch scorpions, rats, snakes! ¹ Presently you will have a museum!!! I am glad you are nearing the end of your selections.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 6492. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9887

673. *LETTER TO JAFAR HASAN*

BARDOLI,
January 3, 1942

MY DEAR JAFAR HASAN,

Your letter.

My address was written and distributed. My remarks in the course of the discussion could only be in the same strain as my address. My address was published in the papers too. There is nothing in that address to warrant the Maulana's criticism.

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

674. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

BARDOLI,
January 3, 194[2]²

CHI. BABUDI,

I really owe an apology to Anand. Will he forgive me now? I do not get even a minute. Tell Anand I wish him to grow up, live long

¹ The addressee explains : "I had now come out of my silence and was staying in Ashadevi's home, in order to revise and complete, with her assistance, my English rendering of selected Vedic hymns. In the cottage, where I had stayed during the last months of silence, I had caught and removed to the fields not less than 52 scorpions. One or two snakes also inhabited the place. In Ashadevi's house, I set about catching the rats and within about a week removed over thirty to a distant upland."

² The source has 1941 which is obviously a slip. Gandhiji was at Bardoli on this date in 1942.

and give *ananda*¹ to everybody. Ba will come on the 7th or maybe even later than that. See if you can go to Sevagram earlier. I do not like your keeping poor health. Go and join Shakaribehn wherever she is. I should advise you to leave Surat and improve your health. What Ghia says regarding the effect of circumcision is not likely to be correct. There will be no harm in repeating the operation once, if it is necessary to do so. But there may possibly be some risk in removing too much skin.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10031. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

675. LETTER TO SATYAWATI

BARDOLI,

January 3, 194[2]¹

CHI. SATYAWATI,

I received your letter. I hope you are well. There is no need to refuse B class. We should accept such amenities as the rules permit. We may well refuse others.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

676. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

January 4, 1942

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You may or may not attend the meeting but ought not to miss your [hip-] bath. You must, therefore, have it, just now.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2 : Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 378

¹ Happiness or joy

¹ The source has "41", which is evidently a slip. The letter is written below another dated January 2, 1942, on which date Gandhiji was in Bardoli.

677. SPEECH AT GUJARAT PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEE MEETING¹

BARDOLI,
January 4, 1942

[Gandhiji] first asked everyone if he had understood all the implications of the Bardoli Resolution.²

Then let me put it to you in a nutshell. The resolution means that, if the Government gave a guarantee that full freedom would be given after the war, the Congress would help in keeping this Empire alive. It was not that the bargain had been actually made, but the terms had been agreed upon, whereas, if I did not want to enter into any bargain at all, I should plainly say so. If you feel that on your agreeing to offer full co-operation in the war effort, India will have complete independence after the war, that the British will thereafter remain in India at your mercy and sufferance, that even during the war you will run your own affairs provided of course that your Defence Minister will carry on the war to victory, you must confirm the Bardoli Resolution. The temptation is very great indeed. If for that sake you are ready to reverse the Congress policy and purchase swaraj and pay as price thereof ahimsa, you must confirm the resolution. Remember that the very greatest of our leaders are party to the resolution and they have not chosen to do so lightly. As against this there are those who think that ahimsa is a pearl of great price and that it cannot be given up, that it can never be the price of swaraj, then their position is different. But if you are in doubt, if you feel that in sticking to ahimsa you lose both ahimsa, because you are incapable of it, and swaraj, that Gandhi is a good man but it would be prudent not to go the whole length with him, then you must accept the resolution. Only those will express their disapproval of it who are sure in their heart of hearts that prudence, political insight, policy, every consideration demands that ahimsa may not be sacrificed for swaraj. Now let those who will vote for the Bardoli Resolution raise their hands.³

¹ Reproduced from Mahadev Desai's "The Month in Bardoli-I"

² In reply several people did not raise their hands. For the Resolution, *vide* Appendix "Congress Working Committee Resolution", 30-12-1941.

³ Thirty-six raised their hands.

Good. Now let the *acharyas* (masters) of ahimsa raise their hands.¹

There were about ten neutrals who wanted to put questions, but Gandhiji said as the vote was quite informal the neutrals need not trouble themselves.²

Mahatma Gandhi stated that he had not left the Congress, and his position was the same even at Bombay. He said :

I am a servant of the Congress and I want to serve the Congress in consonance with the principles of truth and non-violence. The Working Committee has decided to co-operate with the Government in war if Britain grants swaraj to India.

Whatever be my opinion, you must exercise our free judgement in this matter.

It is not a fact that the Congress has violated the principle of non-violence but it has only made a small opening for violence just with a view to shaking hands with Britain.

Rajaji thinks that all of us should go to war fully armed, but it may not be the opinion of all.

We should continue the constructive programme. Of course it will be now very much restricted. I do not want to send workers to jail nowadays when their services can be better availed of in alleviating panic.

Harijan, 18-1-1942, and *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-1-1942

678. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

BARDOLI,
January 5, 1942

CHI. MARY,

You can come at any time. You can never be a burden. Your friends too may come if they can be cooped up in odd corners. Do just what you like. There is no depression in me.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 6083. Also C.W. 3413. Courtesy : F. Mary Barr

¹ Twenty-seven voted for ahimsa.

² What follows is from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

679. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

January 5, 1942

BHAI NARAHARI,

Sardar and I send our good wishes for the success of the inauguration function of the school.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

680. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

BARDOLI

January 6, 1942

CHI. MANUDI¹

I have your letter. You did well in going there. Write to me regularly from Bombay. The cold seems to have ended here.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. MANUBEHN MASHRUWALA

BAL KIRAN

P.O. JUHU, BOMBAY 24

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 2680. Courtesy : Kanubhai Mashruwala

681. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

January 6, 1942

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

Who has ever succeeded in controlling his mind? One should not, therefore, let the mind remain empty. How will impure thoughts enter it if it is never empty? It is for this reason that so much importance is attached to reading, pondering and seeking the company of the good. And this is also why Ramanama is the supreme remedy.

Your diet, etc., seem all right.

You need not start a dispensary, but you should practise as a vaid. You may, if necessary, store the required drugs. It is necessary to remain in practice, too.

¹ Daughter of Harilal Gandhi, married to Surendra Mashruwala

The evils of registration are indeed showing themselves. The fraud will continue for some time, but will end by and by. Do not pret over it at all, for it cannot be prevented.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Why must you fall ill? And if you do should not your own treatment cure you soon?

From Gujarati : C.W. 2920. Courtesy : Vallabhram Vaidya

682. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS¹

BARDOLI,
January 7, 1942

As far as may be, I have been endeavouring to study the internal and external reaction to the Working Committee resolution.² My being relieved of the direction of Congress civil disobedience does not reduce my responsibility but increases it manifold. For one thing, my official disconnection with the Congress itself increases my detachment; but since detachment never means indifference, my attachment to every Congressman increases and I must speak to him more than before. The voice of silence was enough to direct the campaign of civil disobedience, but it is not enough to explain and interpret in terms of non-violence the day-to-day puzzles that arise in the minds of Congressmen and others by reason of the overwhelming events happening near us.

Rangoon was naturally and culturally part of us before Burma years ago became part of British India and, therefore, it remains part of us though now sundered. What has happened there,³ has had its repercussions all over India.

So far as I can see, civil disobedience in the sense in which it was launched is not likely to be revived on behalf of the Congress till the war has ended. In a purely symbolic manner it may have to be kept up not in the name of the Congress but on behalf of resisters of all war on the pure ground of non-violence, no matter how few they are. It will be kept up for the sake of asserting the right of resisters to carry on propaganda against all war. They dare not keep still in the midst of

¹ This appeared in *Harijan* under the title "The Next Phase".

² This sentence is from *The Bombay Chronicle*. For the Working Committee resolution, *vide* Appendix "Congress Working Committee Resolution", 30-12-1941.

³ Rangoon was bombed by the Japanese on December 23, 1941.

the unhuman slaughter that is going on. They must not only speak and write against it, they must, if need be, sacrifice themselves in the attempt to stop the torrent of blood. Whether they are a few or many they have to live their mission.

Before taking any step in the direction of civil disobedience I propose to restart the three weeklies¹ and understand the reaction of Government to the new orientation. I hope that they will have no objection to propaganda, naturally non-violent, against all war. It would be non-embarrassing in the sense that there cannot be, as there never was, any idea of surrounding or picketing munition factories or recruiting offices.

If the right is not conceded, there must be token civil disobedience by the fewest possible, even one or two known believers in resistance to all war. I must not select many, because every worker is wanted to educate the people in the art of non-violent behaviour in the face of impending danger.

Strange as it may appear, I suggest that ceaseless occupation in constructive programme is the best preparation to face danger. For it means concentration in villages of the city people and their being occupied and occupying the villagers in productive and educative work.

This removes unemployment and with it fear. Such movement on a large scale at once inaugurates a new social order. It will constitute the greatest contribution to internal peace, and should render nugatory formidable panicky ordinances just issued.

Harijan, 18-1-1942, and *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-1-1942

683. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

January 7, 1942

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your postcard. I see that you will not be able to recover completely. Why does Nanabhai fall ill so often? Would he not come to Sevagram for a few days?

Vasumati has reached Sevagram. We leave the day after tomorrow. Ba is expected to return from Maroli today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7144. Also C.W. 4636. Courtesy : Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

¹ Namely, *Harijan*, *Harijan Sevak* and *Harijanbandhu*

684. *LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA KAMDAR*

January 7, 1942

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

Valjibhai tells me that your husband has passed away. You are a brave woman and have wisdom. Bear the separation patiently. Look after the children and engage yourself in some public service. Do not cry. Write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7473. Also C.W. 4919. Courtesy : Hari-ichchha Kamdar

685. *LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

BARDOLI,

January 7, 1942

CHI. TARAMATI,

Dr. Bhaskar's letter to Sardar has arrived today. It reports great improvement in Mathuradas's health. Observing silence has been very beneficial. Let Mathuradas take good care and observe silence without being impatient at all to talk. Tell Dilip¹ to write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI TARAMATIBEHN MATHURADAS
WINDI HALL
DEOLALI- G. I. RLY.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

686. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

BARDOLI,

January 8, 1942

CHI. BABUDI,

I have your letter. Yes, since Bombay agrees with you it will be good if you go there. Weakness and cough must not persist. It would never do if they become chronic. Come over to Sevagram when I

¹ Addressee's son

return from Kashi. You may come even earlier. But it is true that without Shakaribehn you will take no rest.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 10042. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

687. SPEECH AT KHADI VIDYALAYA¹

BARDOLI,

January 8, 1942

Needless to say that it gives me pleasure to declare this Khadi Vidyalaya open. There should be many such *vidyalayas* in Gujarat. As a matter of fact Khadi Vidyalaya may be said to have been opened when in 1921 we decided to prepare for launching satyagraha. I had not then discovered the word *vidyalaya*² and had at any rate not associated it with khadi, though I knew that khadi was a *vidya* (science), and most important of sciences. But I had then not the courage to say it. But the beginning was made here, anything that was invented in the line took the name of Bardoli—as for instance, the ‘Bardoli *pinjan*’ (carding-bow.) Then we had a big depot here for the manufacture of all our implements. This depot has, for several reasons, been moved to Sabarmati. Whilst, therefore, it is a pleasure to me to open the Vidyalaya, it is a matter of sorrow that we should be opening it at this late day.

It needs no argument today to prove that the charkha is linked with ahimsa and therefore with swaraj. What is going to be the part that crores of our people will play during the deadly carnage that is going on? We know the part that Government are playing, we know the part that some of us are playing at their behest, and to satisfy the pangs of hunger and starvation. They are rushing headlong to take part in the work of destruction. Millions are being collected from the rich and the poor, and yet the Government coffers are ever empty. But barring those that are thus directly and indirectly helping in the work of destruction, what are the rest going to do, what *can* they do? How are they to carry on? There is starvation and poverty everywhere. There is scarcity of water, and unlike in South Africa where there is

¹ The translation has been collated with Mahadev Desai’s report “The Month in Bardoli-I” published in *Harijan*, 18-1-1942.

² Literally, ‘abode of learning’

every provision against droughts, there is none here, and we and our cattle die like flies for want of water. Those that go to war do so in the hope of returning alive after killing others, some may not return at all. But shall we be content to die like flies? We have sworn by ahimsa and pledged ourselves to win swaraj by ahimsa. It is twenty years since we took the pledge, yet we do not know how to redeem it. What then is the thing that will enable us to work for swaraj, and to stand erect and strong in the face of this conflagration? It is the charkha and all it means. Land we have, but the land system, uneconomic holdings and methods, have reduced us to the level of beasts of burden, it does not yield us enough to eat all the year round, and we are workless for almost half the year. We have, therefore, to take up subsidiary industries. Those are the charkha and the allied activities.

I do not want to repeat the argument or go into the implications of the science of khadi. It is a good thing that this vidyalaya is being opened. Let this Vidyalyaya generate a force that may universalize the charkha in Gujarat. There are, I am told, seventy thousand Congress members in Ahmedabad. If all these were regular spinners, did they give their quota of yarn to the Congress? Congress soldiers should not forget that their chief weapon is the charkha and spinning regularly is their 'military' discipline. The military weapons and munitions today have proved futile. They have failed to keep Czechoslovakia, Poland and France free or alive, though they boasted of renowned soldiers. Hitler has enslaved them all. Besides, we can no more guarantee the welfare of a country that engages in armed warfare. President Roosevelt says he and the Allied Powers are fighting the Axis Powers to make the nations of the world free, and that the Axis Powers are fighting to enslave the world. But to me both the parties seem to be tarred with the same brush.

What shall we do in the midst of this mutual destruction which spells freedom for none? The charkha and all it means is the only thing that will enable us to live and make us stand in honour and self-respect. This we can do if we can combine faith with understanding, for un-understanding faith will not carry us far. The work has been placed into Uttamchand's hands. The responsibility has been entrusted to him, not because he is an expert, but because he has the faith. If he refuses other responsibilities and concentrates on this task, he is sure to bring credit to this venture, difficult as it is.

Don't think that you have come here just to learn the art of khadi. If you labour under such a misunderstanding you will not be

able to turn out any work anywhere. You have come here to bear the burden of the work for swaraj. It is a tremendous burden to bear, and the very first lesson you have to learn is to know the qualifications of the soldiers of swaraj. The very first is restraint and patient labour. That is what the charkha will teach you. The renowned cities of the world are crumbling into dust. London is changed out of recognition, the edifices which the builders thought would stand the revages of time are no more. St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Buckingham Palace have all been bombed with the result that what is called the capital of the world today looks, to use Narmadashankar's word, "devastated". And our cities like Rangoon will share the same fate. The age of cities is thus coming to an end. The slogan of 'Back to the villages' was never so true as today. Therefore all of you at any rate have to go to the villages. The mills will not be of any avail. They are producing cloth for the belligerents and may ere long cease even to do that work, and may have solely to engage in producing munition. We have therefore to produce all our cloth and to make our villages self-sufficient in all respects. That you cannot do without a life of restraint and patient toil. For this you will have to know all the processes right from identifying the different varieties of cotton to the stage when it becomes fit to be woven into khadi. The course you have to prepare for is not simple. It will require all your energies and your faculties, for it is an all-comprehensive one. What about girls? Girls also may be admitted, but that depends upon Uttamchand's courage. We cannot admit them right now. Every one of us, man or woman, has to lend his hands and his mind and his heart to the work of building our nation and swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 18-1-1942

688. DISCUSSION WITH HARIJAN WORKERS¹

BARDOLI,
January 8, 1942²

The first was the question about the wells: Should we seek the co-operation of Harijans, and, if so, to what extent?

Co-operation is necessary, but we must not take the Harijans in a body and invade the *savarna* quarters. We should visit the wells,

¹ This is reproduced from Mahadev Desai's "The Month in Bardoli-II". Harijan workers who had met in Sabarmati under the Presidentship of Thakkar Bapa came to Gandhiji with ready-framed questions.

² From *Gandhi—1915—1948 : A Detailed Chronology*

ascertain the classes of people using them, and reason with these to let the Harijans use them. Regarding Local Board wells the help of officials may be freely sought, and such Harijans may be asked to go and use the wells as may be prepared to stand ill-treatment. But the brunt should be borne by the *sevaks*¹, care being taken to stand between the Harijans and those who would threaten to molest or belabour them. The Harijans should be invariably asked to use clean vessels and observe all the ordinary rules of cleanliness. We can also dig wells for Harijans and invite the *savarnas* to use them. It is likely that the Harijans may be boycotted, we should see that they get employment elsewhere. The Harijans have to be taught to learn to assert themselves firmly and non-violently, and the *savarnas* may be gently reminded that injustice cannot last for ever. These are broad principles, but everyone has to take measures suited to the circumstances in each case.

Q. Can't we insist on the admission of Harijan boys to hostels where *all* non-Harijan Hindu boys are admitted?

A. Of course, but care should be taken to see that the hostel is not exclusively for a particular community or section of Hindus. Where all sections are admitted and only the Harijans are excluded, the workers should strain every nerve to get the Harijans admitted.

When I said that removal of untouchability did not include the removal of restrictions on inter-dining and intermarriage, I had the general Hindu public in mind, not the Congress workers or Congressmen. These have to abolish untouchability from every part of their life.

The next question was about the temptations given by missionaries in the shape of books, school fees, etc., with a view to the boys' ultimate conversion. How was one to deal with them?

[A.] The missionaries have of course the right to preach the gospel of Christ and to invite non-Christians to embrace Christianity. But every attempt to press material benefits or attractions in the aid of conversion should be freely exposed, and the Harijans should be educated to resist these temptations.

Q. What are the qualifications that a Harijan *sevak* should have in order to make his work felt?

A. Such a question is rather late in the day. But I shall try to answer it again. It is a misfortune that politics have been mixed up with anti-untouchability work, which is essentially one of self-

¹ Workers

purification, justice, humanity. Long before I took to politics I felt that abolition of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity were essential for national well-being. In order to prevent the vivisection of Hinduism I had to fight it with my life, and the question did receive a political complexion, but in essence it is a purely religious and moral question. Every *sevak* must be fired with a passion to purify Hinduism, and must be ready to lay down his life in the attempt. Such a *sevak* will be ready to sacrifice his all—family connections, social advantages, and life itself—in order to wipe out the blot on Hinduism. The work should be as one of life's essential functions, e.g., offering one's prayers, ablutions, etc., not carrying emolument or reward. If the worker is fired with this passion, the way will be clear before him. Thus a worker would rather starve than allow the Harijans to be starved, would hesitate to use amenities which are denied to the Harijans and feel increasing identification with them every day. All this work is to be done without regard to the political results. Assuming for a moment that swaraj does not come as a result of the abolition of untouchability, the work has to be done in order to keep Hinduism pure and alive. I know that with some of the Congressmen the work has only a political meaning, but it is wrong. If they seek justice from an alien Government, they must first do justice to their own kith and kin. That is the fundamental maxim of equity—he who seeks equity must do equity.

There is, I know, a section who says that political freedom must be won first and social reform would follow later. It is a wrong idea, and certainly inconsistent with one who would win swaraj by non-violent means. But the Harijan worker has to educate both the orthodox and exclusively political-minded people. Let him not judge others, but by selfless self-effacing service set an example to them.

Harijan, 1-2-1942

689. *ADVICE TO KHADI WORKERS*¹

BARDOLI,

[On or before *January 9, 1942*]²

[Q.] We are producing two lakhs of rupees worth of khadi, but the demand exceeds 12 lakhs. How are we to meet it? We have not enough weavers and workers, and there is the question of funds too.

[A.] Let me take up the last question first. It is my firm conviction which has grown upon me with the years that, if there are

¹ Reproduced from Mahadev Desai's "The Month in Bardoli-II"

² Gandhiji left Bardoli on January 9, 1942.

workers, no work suffers for want of funds. But the real question is of the capacity to produce. Supposing someone gave you one crore of rupees, I know you cannot produce ten crore rupees worth of khadi. The reason is lack of workers, lack of efficiency, and lack of faith. It is good that there is a growing demand for khadi—though twelve lakhs of rupees worth of khadi is nothing extraordinary where eight crores of rupees worth of khadi could be used. But the increased sales mean that the liking for khadi is also on the increase. We should contact these consumers and persuade them to spin. And here comes in the *dhanush takli*. You may know that I can spin on the ordinary wheel better, but I have made a point of using only the *dhanush takli*, and I am now almost an expert in it. The reason is that, whereas Lakshmidasbhai¹ cannot execute an order for 25 lakhs of wheels, the people can themselves make as many *dhanush taklis*. It is so easy to make, so cheap, takes very little material and practically no technical skill. It is a wrong policy to manufacture wheels in Sabarmati in order to export them to the Punjab or South India. They should be made locally everywhere, and for that purpose the *dhanush takli* is the thing. Universalization of this will increase production by leaps and bounds.

You have to catch the increasing love of spinning by the fore-lock. In none of our previous campaigns was spinning done on such a large scale as during the last campaign. The figures for Sabarmati Jail were good, but the figures for Agra and Bareilly were also good. Badshah Khan has been able to popularize spinning as he had never been before. We have, therefore, to take this tide at the flood and bring expert knowledge to bear on the love for spinning that is growing.

We have to go from house to house and enlist willing spinners ready to contribute their yarn.

I take it that all khadi workers are believers in the attainment of swaraj by non-violent means. Yours then should be the largest contribution to constructive work.

Some of you have to be weavers too. There are enough handloom weavers in India to produce all the cloth we need. We have to persuade them to take to weaving hand-spun yarn and also to get their womenfolk and children to produce yarn in their homes.

Harijan, 1-2-1942

¹ Lakshmidas Asar

690. NOTES

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS

The Manager tells me that the subscribers of *Harijan* have appreciated the unavoidable suspension and exercised extraordinary patience. With a few understandable exceptions they have not recalled the balance of the unused subscription due to them. I am glad to be able now to say that they will have their copy again regularly. It will not be possible to retain the old rate for reasons they know. The subscriptions left over will be credited to the subscribers who will be notified when they are to be exhausted. I hope that the three editions will retain their old popularity. I expect even visible increase, for I believe in the intrinsic value of the menu that will be served to the reader from week to week. The three weeklies are purely and simply media of service. Never have they been a business enterprise.

“VIOLENCE IS DISASTROUS”

Shri S. V. Thakar, the quiet but efficient worker in the *Harijan* and other causes, sends me a note drawing attention to a violent feud between two parties of Bhils which his intervention with Government assistance has just prevented. The late Gula Maharaj, himself a Bhil reformer, had by his earnestness and simplicity appealed to the Bhil imagination, and thousands of them inspired by him had abandoned drink and other evil habits. He died a year ago leaving a successor. There was a social boycott proclaimed by the reform party against those who would not give up bad habits. This bred bad blood. Violence seemed imminent. Shri Thakar's timely intervention referred to above stopped bloodshed. But the reform has suffered a setback. The party of opposition is in the ascendant, and unless the pure ethical spirit again pervades the movement it may collapse. Shri Thakar rightly wishes to draw the moral that violence even in a good cause will not answer, and that every reform must be broadbased on the willing and enlightened association of the people concerned. They cannot be coerced into good habits.

ADIVASIS

Thakkar Bapa complains that, whilst he likes the pamphlet dealing with the constructive programme, he misses in it mention of *Adivasis* or the so-called aboriginals, such as Santhals, Bhils, etc.¹ The

¹ A chapter on *Adivasis* was added in the revised edition of the *Constructive Programme : Its Meaning and Place*; vide “Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place”, 13-12-1941.

complaint is just. Many other causes are included in the constructive programme by implication. But that cannot and should not satisfy such a humanitarian as Thakkar Bapa. The *Adivasis* are the original inhabitants whose material position is perhaps no better than that of Harijans and who have long been victims of neglect on the part of the so-called high classes. The *Adivasis* should have found a special place in the constructive programme. Non-mention was an oversight. They provide a vast field of service for Congressmen. The Christian missionary has been more or less in sole occupation of the field. Great as his labour has been, it has not prospered as it might have, because of his ultimate aim being

the *Adivasis*' conversion to his fold and their becoming de-Indianized. Anyway, no one who hopes to construct swaraj on the foundation of non-violence can afford to neglect even the least of India's sons. *Adivasis* are too numerous to be counted among the least.

ON TRAIN BARDOLI-WARDHA, January 9, 1942

Harijan, 18-1-1942

691. PEACE ORGANIZATION

If the Congress were an organization with a military bias, there is no doubt that today it would be a full-fledged military unit every member becoming trained to be an efficient soldier. Fortunately for India and humanity, the Congress is not such an organization. No other purely national organization is or can be in the India of today. Fortunately again for India and humanity, the Congress has pledged itself since 1920 to win India's freedom through non-violent means. But up to now it has been largely a debating society, offering civil disobedience at intervals and all the time only playing with its vital programme of construction. At one time every Congressman was expected to create something for the nation. He or she was to spin for the nation. Congressmen would not respond, and the clause about spinning was dropped. There were other items too which every Congressman was to work. But he has not done so to the extent expected. The moment has now come for him to make a definite choice. The only programme before him is to become a servant or soldier of peace. A soldier of peace, unlike the one of the sword, has to give all his spare time to the promotion of peace alike in war time as in peace time. His work in peace time is both a measure of prevention of, as also that of preparation for, war time.

If then I was a Congressman with a vote, I would vote, as an emergency measure, for requiring every Congressman now on the

Congress register or to come hereafter to possess the minimum qualifications for working the constructive programme. It would be wrong to remind me that the Congress should retain its democratic character. It will not lose it because, of its own motion, it becomes an efficient working body which anybody undertaking to obey its discipline and conditions of membership may join. The Congress will cease to be popular, if it cannot deserve popularity in times of stress. If it cannot provide work for the workless and hungry, if it cannot protect the people from depredations or teach them how to face them, if it cannot help them in the face of danger, it will lose its prestige and popularity. No person or corporation can live long on his or its capital. The latter has to circulate and multiply itself.

The Congress has become popular because it has been foremost in fighting imperialism. Today the old way is of no avail. Nobody thinks of mass revolt at the present moment. The best, quickest and most efficient way is to build up from the bottom. The psychological moment has come. 'Back to the villages!' has become a necessity from every point of view. Now is the time to decentralize production and distribution. Every village has to become a self-sufficient republic. This does not require brave resolutions. It requires brave, corporate, intelligent work. As far as I know at the present moment this is common ground between the rulers and the people.

Let every Congressman answer for himself whether he will be a soldier or servant of peace or whether he will become a non-entity unwilling to take his place in building up swaraj.

ON TRAIN BARDOLI-WARDHA, January 9, 1942

Harijan, 18-1-1942

692. WHY?

While I was engaged in organizing and conducting the civil disobedience movement on behalf of the Congress I could not issue the three weeklies without noticing the doings of civil resisters and the general progress of the movement. That would have been to turn the weeklies into civil disobedience organs and to challenge the Government to suppress them. The Government in their turn could not but have accepted the challenge and suppressed the papers and even prosecuted me. Whilst I must always be ready to welcome imprisonment, I was not then ready to court it. Nor was it my plan to invite suppression when my avowed object was to organize strictly and only individual civil disobedience. Therefore, even at the price of sacrificing the pleasure of serving the people in various ways through the

weeklies, duty demanded their stoppage. I feel that the step taken was correct in every way.

The reason for suspension now no longer exists. On the contrary I should fail in my duty, if I did not resume publication. As I have repeatedly said I am no enemy of Britain. I have many dear and personal friends among Britishers. I cannot wish ill to Britain. My resistance to war does not carry me to the point of thwarting those who wish to take part in it. I reason with them. I put before them the better way and leave them to make the choice.

But we have arrived at a stage where it is no longer merely a question of resisting war effort. There are questions which confront war-resisters as much as they confront war-mongers. And they can be decided only one way by both, though the approach must vary. Such are questions of dealing with scarcity of food and clothing, looting and bread riots, etc. I have views on all these and like questions. Resumption of the weeklies is needed for the dissemination of my views on these and like matters. In the ability of the people to deal with them without fuss and even without Government effort lies the way to swaraj whose basis is non-violence. Mere Government effort cannot deal with crises affecting millions of people unless there is voluntary response from them.

If we wish to achieve swaraj through truth and non-violence, gradual but steady building up from the bottom upwards by constructive effort is the only way. This rules out the deliberate creation of an anarchical state for the overthrow of the established order in the hope of throwing up from within a dictator who would rule with a rod of iron and produce order out of disorder.

These columns will then deal with the day-to-day problems that face the people.

ON TRAIN BARDOLI-WARDHA, January 9, 1942

Harijan, 18-1-1942

693. TALK AT SEVAGRAM¹

[On or after *January 10, 1942*]²

I knew the Sardar's power of organization, but I discovered for the first time that the Sardar was a skilled agriculturist. Every inch of space in the banana garden and every drop of water that was being given to it had been made careful use of. The banana yielded a yearly

¹ Reproduced from Mahadev Desai's "The Month in Bardoli-I".

² Gandhiji returned to Sevagram on January 10, 1942.

crop, but in between the plants at convenient distances were fruit trees like the mango and the *lichi* and the *chiku* and grape fruit, and on the ridges were various vegetables. Surrounding the garden had been planted permanent trees, and inside the garden were walks making it easy for the field-worker to take care of the trees and also providing enough space with velvety earth for those who desired to have their morning and evening constitutional. All this was enough to rest and please the eyes and the mind. The Sardar's labour had yielded the Ashram several thousand rupees and set an example to others. As a result dozens of people had taken to banana-growing.

Harijan, 18-1-1942

694. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 11, 1942

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have just learnt that both you and Maulana Saheb have arrived. I had told M. S. that I would take silence at 2. When I said so I had forgotten that I had given an appointment to Prof. Copeland for 4.30 p.m. I could not cancel it. I took silence, therefore, at 5.25 p.m. I should be at your and his disposal after that time. I am sorry but I was helpless.

Please read this to M. S.

Indu should be coming tomorrow.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1941. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

695. *LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA*

January 11, 1942

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Herewith a letter for Kanta. I like your observing silence.¹ I will not ask you to give it up. You may, however, give it up, if you like, for the sake of serving others or even without any reason.

I would like it if Lakshmidas or someone like him works with you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1942

696. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.)

January 12, 1942

MY DEAR C.R.,

I like your letter to the president of your Committee immensely. Of course your resignation adds to your dignity.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIC. RAJAGOPALACHARI

48 BAZLULLAHROAD

THYAGARAYA NAGAR

MADRAS

From a photostat : C.W. 10906. Courtesy : C.R. Narasimhan

697. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

January 12, 194[2]²

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I had dictated two letters to you C/o Brij Bihari³. The address was given by you. You need not get frightened by anybody's criticism. I

¹ On Gandhiji's advice the addressee observed silence for two months and broke it on January 16, 1942.

² From the postmark. The source, however, has "1941" which is a slip.

³ Addressee's brother

shall reach Benares on the 21st, and return from there on the 22nd. Babuji will be accompanying me. If you reach earlier, go to Sir Radhakrishnan's or Shankar's and come over to me after I arrive there. There will be no harm if you cannot come. Do not come at the cost of your work. Shankar's address is : Prof. Kalelkar, Chandan Kutir, University.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3550

698. *HAND-SPUN AS MEASURE OF VALUE*¹

In my part of India shells and seedless dried almonds were used as coins accepted by the people and the State treasury. They had no intrinsic value. They were a measure of people's deep poverty. They could not afford the lowest metal coin. Five shells would buy them a little vegetable or a needle. I have suggested a measure which will not be a mere token but which will have always an intrinsic value which will also be its market value. In that sense it will be an ideal measure. For the present and by way of experiment I have suggested a warp length of a single thread of yarn as the lowest measure and to be used in dealings principally with the spinners and generally with khadi-lovers. The spinners can have all their daily wants supplied as against a fixed quantity of yarn. Stores will need to be maintained by the A. I. S. A. in combination with the A. I. V. I. A. and ultimately with those who will give their co-operation. As I conceive it, the system can be worked only if it is decentralized. This is not its demerit but merit. The end to be sought is human happiness combined with full mental and moral development. I use the adjective moral as synonymous with spiritual. This end can be achieved under decentralization. Centralization as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society. I have presented to khadi workers and those who are interested in the solution of the problem of India's poverty, the idea of a measure of value in its barest outline. Let them work it out and find for themselves flaws, if any, in the conception, and if they do not, let them enforce it where they can.

SEVAGRAM, January 13, 1942

Harijan, 18-1-1942

¹ This appeared under "Notes"

699. NOTE TO BALVANTSINHA

January 13, 1942

I have felled hundreds of palm-trees with my own hands, and got them felled before my eyes. I cannot bring those trees back. According to your argument any tree can be cut down. Of course, it is all right that you did what you deemed proper. I am pained that you cut down so many trees without consulting the others. The palm is a poor man's tree. Do I have to explain to you its usefulness? If all the palm-trees are cut down, life at Sevagram will be severely affected. The palm-tree is interwoven with our life. Grass, etc., could have been sown in some other place. But you should not brood over it. It would be good if you take whatever lesson you can from it. I cannot spare any time. Speak to Gajanan¹; explain this to others. Assess the utility of the palm-tree.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, pp. 293-4

700. SIR AKBAR HYDARI²

The late Sir Akbar Hydari³ was a rare combination. He was a great scholar, philosopher and reformer. He was a devout Muslim, but he saw nothing antagonistic to Islam in Hinduism. He was a student of various religions. He was catholic in the choice of his friends. On the return voyage from the second Round Table Conference⁴ we found ourselves in the same boat. He was a regular attendant at the evening prayers I used to have on board. He was so interested in the *Gita* verses and the *bhajans* we sang that he had got them all translated for him by Mahadev Desai. He had made me promise that we should tour together in India the interest of communal unity. But God had willed otherwise. The late Lord Willingdon had a different programme for me. I was plunged into the civil disobedience fight. Sir Akbar and I could never carry out the programme. He had come under the

¹ Gajanan Nayak who was in charge of the palm-gur department of the Ashram

² This appeared under "Notes".

³ Who died in Delhi on January 8

⁴ In December 1931

influence of Shri Aurobindo Ghose. He was almost invariably in Pondicherry during the days when the sage of Pondicherry gave the quarterly *darshan* to his devotees. Sir Akbar's death is a great loss to the country. My respectful condolences to the deceased's family.

SEVAGRAM, January 14, 1942

Harijan, 18-1-1942

701. LETTER TO SIR FRANCIS WYLIE

January 14, 1942

DEAR SIR FRANCIS WYLIE¹,

Rajkumari showed me your letter containing reference to me. I must plead guilty. I was angry over what I considered to be unworthy of you of whom I had glowing accounts. I had been told that you were a follower of Tolstoy. I could not very well write to you about my great grief. For though I have accepted your adjective, I was more grieved than angry. Needless to say that I would have been delighted to have your son with me. He would have enjoyed the novel life at Sevagram. And of course I was and am sorry that we could not meet each other though we were so near each other.

I hope you are having a pleasant time in Afghanistan, if anywhere at this time life could be called pleasant.

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

702. LETTER TO AMARITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,

January 14, 1942

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I hope you got my letter from Bardoli.

Abha is most disconcerted. You will see my letter² to her.

My suggestion is that you should bring her to Benares and I shall take her with me. She should promise her mother that she will not marry Kanu without her blessing, but that she will marry no other person. Abha shall remain under my charge. I may send her to Rajkot, if she wishes.

¹ British Minister to Afghanistan since August 1941

² This is not available

But of all this we can talk in Benares. Of course, I shall pay the fares.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : C.W. 10335. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

703. LETTER TO MANJULA M. MEHTA

January 15, 1942

CHI. MANJULA,

I had your letter. There was one from Magan, too. Can't you stay in the room next to Champa's? If you cannot do that, will you stay in the same block? If you cannot do even that, you may stay in my room. You will not be a burden to me. You will get there privacy, too. I will not mind . . .¹ In short, I will make whatever arrangements you wish.

I am going to Benares on the 19th and will return on the 24th or the 25th. Come after that. You may come even during my absence.

Ratilal is in a miserable plight in Rajkot. I would still advise Magan to go there. He will be able to find an attendant. I cannot find one from here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 1615. Courtesy : Manjulabehn M. Mehta

704. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

January 15, 1942

CHI. NARANDAS,

Champa tells me that Ratilal's condition is very bad. She is staying here. A letter from Atmasarupanand is enclosed. Can you suggest or do anything in this matter?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am leaving for Kashi on the 19th, and shall return on the 24/25th.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8597. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

¹ Illegible

705. SPEECH AT A. I. C. C. MEETING¹

WARDHA,

January 15, 1942

The President has put me in a quandary by raising me skyhigh, as if, one may think, I were a dweller in the clouds. That is not at all true. I have not yet used an aeroplane—of course, I have seen them flying in the skies, like birds but I have not touched one. So the question of flying does not arise. It is misuse of language to call such a man a dweller in the skies. I am of the earth, earthy. I am an ordinary mortal composed of common clay.

The question of ahimsa would not have come up before you, had it not come up before the Working Committee at Bardoli. We discussed it for seven days. And it was well that it came up. The result has been good, not bad. But before I say anything on this question, let me make one or two things clear.

Please note that I am, as I have said, an ordinary mortal like you. Had this not been the case, we should not have been able to work together these twenty years. Ahimsa with me is a creed, the breath of life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India or, for that matter, before anyone except in casual or informal talks. I placed it before the Congress as a political weapon, to be employed for the solution of political problems. It is a new experiment in ahimsa which I have undertaken. As far as I am aware, no one has hitherto employed ahimsa in the political arena in this manner. If someone has, at least I am not aware of it. Maybe it is a novel method, but it does not on that account lose its political character. I tried this for the first time in South Africa, with good results. I have brought it from there. The question there was exclusively of the political existence of Indians who had no political consciousness but had settled in South Africa as merchants, petty hawkers, etc. And there I used ahimsa as a political weapon. It was for them a question of life and death. The whites wanted them to quit. They had only two alternatives. They could either quit or stay there with the status of animals. We tried everything that was humanly possible. We found that all the so-called constitutional remedies, with which the Congress work in India had made me familiar, had failed. I was an expert in petition-writing which had yielded me lots of money. I have been for long a draftsman for

¹ This translation has been collated with the summary by Mahadev Desai published in *Harijan*, 25-1-1942, under the title "Don't Divide the House".

the Congress here, which work I used to do there also. They submitted many petitions, but when all other methods failed they resorted to satyagraha. The various measures that I adopted there were not the work of a visionary or a dreamer. They were the work of an essentially practical man dealing with practical political questions. As a political method, it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another. If, therefore, I say to you that our policy should not be given up today, I am talking political wisdom. It is political insight. It has served us in the past, it has enabled us to traverse many stages towards independence, and it is a politician that I tell you that it would be a grave mistake to think of giving it up. If I have carried the Congress with me all these years, it is in my capacity as a politician. It is hardly fair to describe my method as religious because it is new.

Maulana Saheb has affectionately used high words of praise for me, but I cannot accept them. A thing can yet be discarded after showering all praise on it. A person can be raised sky-high and then cast down to the dust. I have been taunted as a Bania. It is all right. How can I help it? I was born a Bania. I shall stay a Bania and shall die as a Bania. Trade is my profession. I am trading with you and with the world. The article in my possession is an invaluable pearl. It has to be weighed in the proper scales—as Maulana Saheb rightly said, pearls, grass and men need different scales. I am a trader in ahimsa. Those who can pay the price for it may have it. In my view, it cannot be bartered away even for independence. But you do not value this thing as I do; because you do not have the scales with which to weigh it.

Please do not think that I am speaking to you from a high pedestal. The simple question is why are we prepared today to discard a thing which we have cherished for so many years. No doubt, you have not discarded it yet, but you will if your terms are accepted. This much I am able to see. I do not raise the question of what we shall do after swaraj. I am myself not aware what I will do after swaraj. But today you are eager to barter away ahimsa for swaraj. You had taken a pledge that you would win swaraj only through ahimsa, and through no other means. Today you are ready to depart from it. I want to tell you that this bargain will not bring you complete independence. Independence for me means the independence of the humblest and poorest among us. Today we are at the threshold of independence on the strength of ahimsa. For the Congress to abandon ahimsa and to

join war' is to undo the work of the past twenty years. It is my discomfiture that I could not make you see this.

This is not the time for counting votes.

In spite of holding this view, I stand before you today to plead with you to accept this resolution², and not even to divide the house. If I can convince you of this, you should accept my advice, otherwise leave it. This is not the time when we may canvass support for our groups and seek a vote. If we merely talk tall about independence but do nothing to attain it, how can we aspire for it? I had once said that everyone would become his own leader after my arrest. Today also you can become your own leaders and think for yourselves. But I want you to remember one thing. I am a man who won't exchange ahimsa even for independence; and yet I am giving you this advice as an exponent of ahimsa.

Along with this, I wish to reiterate that I do not wish to with-draw a single word from what I had written about the Poona Resolution and I have no regrets for what I said. However, the Bardoli Resolution, though it looks like the Poona Resolution, is a different thing. The Poona Resolution attempted to interpret ahimsa. The Bardoli Resolution does not do so. The Poona Resolution was the outcome of my mistake for which I have already atoned. But the Bardoli Resolution is the outcome of deliberations over many days. At one time after the Bardoli Resolution, I had thought of dividing the A. I. C. C. and testing how many members supported my view. But as the situation developed stage by stage, as I saw the climate in the country and the criticism of our Congress in the world, I came to the conclusion on the basis of my ahimsa that if I could persuade the A. I. C. C. I should advise them to accept this resolution deliberately and whole-heartedly. My advice to those who agree with me, that is, to those who have faith in total ahimsa, is to remain neutral and not vote for or against the resolution. But if their abstention helps the opponents of this resolution to defeat it, they should vote in support of this resolution and not allow it to be defeated.

I have no doubt that the Working Committee has taken a retrograde step in passing this resolution. Rajaji may not agree, because he thinks I am in the wrong. Jawaharlal also may say that there is no retrograde step in this resolution. But in my opinion this step-back is a prelude to a step forward. A withdrawal sometimes becomes necessary. We have a right to take a step back for jumping forward.

¹ Mahadev Desai here adds : "before the attainment of complete independence".

² Adopted by the Working Committee at Bardoli. For the resolution, *vide* Appendix "Congress Working Committee Resolution", 30-12-1941.

Therefore a man who has parted company with you, who claims to be a satyagrahi and in whose life there is no room for tactical manipulations comes to you and advises you to accept this resolution, however imperfect, because it correctly reflects the Congress mind. Even if the protagonists of ahimsa have a majority in this house, they should help the adoption of this resolution. The Congress does not know its own mind but I know that the attitude of the Congress is reflected in this resolution.

The Congress has a great reputation. This resolution has enhanced it. The whole world is watching us, the eyes of our countrymen are fixed on us. Several people contemplated the prospect with trepidation, lest the Congress should flounder in response to Gandhi's formula and become a religious organization instead of a political one. Let me dispel their fear, and say that the Congress which accepted ahimsa as a creed can do no such thing, that we have not wasted the past twenty years. Whatever a doubting Thomas may think, when the moment of settlement arrives in Delhi, everyone will realize that the Congress remains the same with or without Gandhi. The language may differ, but the demand will remain the same. No one can cheat it. It will go on repeating '*Neti, neti*'¹ until it wins the real substance it wants. If you can get what you want and you strike the bargain, you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear. If I am allowed to vent my views through my three weeklies, you will find me saying that I did become a trader but I could not sell my ahimsa.

Whatever, therefore, our opponents inside and outside India may think and feel happy about, I won't let them say that Gandhi was after all a crazy person. I do not want the Congress to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world. I do not want it to be said that in order to retain my leadership you bade good-bye to your senses because you had no courage to give give me up. I do not covet leadership by undermining anyone's manhood. If the Congress alters its resolution for fear of losing my leadership and if I allow this transaction, this will result in the degradation of the Congress as well as my own. This is not the way I work. It is a fraudulent way. Am I going to cheat the Congress after fifty years of national service?

I have removed the very roots of this risk. I have told Maulana Saheb that you have not lost me by relieving me. You would lose me only if I cease to be loyal to the Congress, only if I become a visionary, only if I cease to be a practical man. It is not at Bardoli that

¹ 'Not this, not this', formula in the Vedas rejecting all verbal descriptions of the Reality; here, rejection of every offer falling short of the national goal of complete independence.

I left the Congress; I did so seven years ago in Bombay¹ and I did so in order to be able to render greater service to the country and the Congress. If I am relinquishing the Congress now, I do so only to serve it better. Colleagues like the Sardar and Rajendra Babu are not happy over the resolution but I am asking them not to leave the Congress. If the real hour for leaving the Congress arrives, and if they continue to cling to their present convictions, then they may say good-bye to the Congress. But even if they leave the Congress, the Congress is not going to cease to function. Its work will go on whether they are there or not. No man, however great, is indispensable to the Congress. Those who built up the Congress like Dadabhai, Pherozshah and Lokamanya are no more, but the Congress still functions. For they have left for us an edifice to work upon and expand. Why should then my withdrawal or that of other leaders make any difference? The Congress will survive and will strike the bargain it is striving for.

I wish to stop you from dividing the house by seeking a vote on this resolution. I do not want the Congress to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world. We have not a clean slate to write on. Our leaders have taken a step which has produced world-wide reactions. To alter the resolution out of shape is to ignore these. It would be unwise to change the policy adopted by the Working Committee. It will make the Congress appear ridiculous before the world. The world has a right to expect that the Working Committee's policy will be endorsed by the A. I. C. C. We have no valid grounds to alter it. To those who want to catch up with me and introduce a new resolution for preserving ahimsa, I would say: 'Yes, it does bring you credit. If you have chewed and digested ahimsa, I shall follow in your footsteps and so will Maulana Saheb. But I see no such evidence in you. If you bring another resolution merely to retain my leadership, it will be a foolish step. In fact, it will amount to violence. Therefore you should accept this resolution, however imperfect it may be.'

Do not please go away with the idea that there is a rift in the Congress lute. As Maulana Saheb has said, the Working Committee has functioned like members of a happy family. Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I were estranged. This is baseless. Jawaharlal has been resisting me ever since he fell into my net. You cannot divide water by repeatedly striking it with a stick. It is just as difficult to divide us. I have always said that not Rajaji, nor Sardar

¹In October 1934; *vide* "Letter to Secretary, Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee", 30-10-1934.

Vallabhbhai¹, but Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says whatever is uppermost in his mind, but he always does what I want. When I am gone he will do what I am doing now. Then he will speak my language too. After all he was born in this land. Every day he learns some new thing. He fights with me because I am there. Whom will he fight when I am gone? And who will suffer his fighting? Ultimately, he will have to speak my language. Even if this does not happen, I would at least die with this faith.

There is another reason why this resolution should be supported. (By chance this resolution has) become a mirror of the Congress in which all groups can see themselves. I can see my own reflection, and so can Rajendra Babu, Badshah Khan, Sardar and the rest. Those who have spent a lifetime in cursing the Government as also those who wish to compromise with the Government can see their own reflections in this mirror.

Maulana Saheb has not properly described how this resolution was framed. This is not the resolution as drafted by Jawaharlal. His draft has been materially amended. Rajaji also had a hand in revising it. People have an erroneous impression about Jawaharlal that he never budges from his views. Today at least he cannot get that certificate. He argues vehemently, but when the time for action arrives, he can make considerable compromises. This resolution is a product of a general consensus. The views of all the members of the Working Committee are reflected in this resolution. Like *khichri* it contains pulses, rice, salt, chilli and spices. Maulana Saheb has already explained the different points of view within the Working Committee. We have many groups amongst us. One is represented by Jawaharlal. His opposition to participation in the war effort is almost as strong as mine, though his reasons are different. He will not concede that he has retraced his steps in consenting to this resolution. But he himself will agree that the Rajaji group can take a different view of this resolution. The original draft had left no room for Rajaji and his followers to function. Rajaji would like to participate in the war effort if the Government accepted the conditions laid down by the Congress. So he has opened a tiny window for himself. Through this window Rajaji will try to pull Jawahar towards him and Jawahar will pull in the opposite direction. It is no longer open to the Government and the Congress critics to say that the Congress has banged the door against negotiation on the

¹ Mahadev Desai's summary here makes no mention of Sardar Patel.

doctrinaire ground of non-violence. The resolution throws on the Government the entire burden of wooing the Congress by meeting its legitimate demands and securing its participation in the war effort. That nothing much is to be expected from the Government is probably too true. Only the resolution puts the Congress right with the expectant world by debunking the criticism that the Congress is an organization of doctrinaires. And since there is a party in the Congress ready to welcome an honourable offer that will satisfy the rigidest test, it is as well that the resolution has accommodated this party. It has to be seen which group ultimately pulls the others. Whichever group wins, how can it harm us? We need have no objection.

Although different points of view have thus been accommodated in this resolution, it is not open to the charge of duplicity. It seeks to give an opportunity to different points of view to influence one another. This is how I understand it. Jawahar, Rajaji, Rajendra Babu as well as a man like me have each some elbow room in this resolution.

How does this resolution leave scope for Rajendra Babu? We have contemplated some step for the future, which upsets him. But we are not here to decide what we shall do in the future. When India becomes free, the resolution says, we can defend ourselves with arms. If we wish to help China and Russia, the resolution leaves us free to do so. We have no ill will against the Britishers, and for that matter against Germans, Italians or Japanese. How then can we have an ill will against China and Russia? The Russians¹ have created a brave new thing. But I have my doubts as to how long they can defend their freedom in this manner. Experience tells us that any great work founded on force does not last. The Chinese sail in the same boat with us. It is a vast country and I am proud of it. I would like all these nations to be at peace with one another. If China seeks to defend herself with arms, she will have to become like Japan. She will have to do everything that Hitler and Mussolini are doing. I would like to think that when the occasion arises India would defend herself through non-violence and thus be a messenger of peace to the whole world. Jawahar will also then work for it—not for war. Rajendra Babu can therefore support this resolution. As a political [weapon] non-violence is no small thing; it can bring about all these results.

¹ Mahadev Desai's summary has : "who have done great things for the proletariat".

You should all remember that non-violence is the common factor among Jawaharlal, Rajaji, Rajendra Babu and Maulana Saheb. We are all agreed that today we have to work only through non-violence. We will think of other things at the appropriate time. That is why I find myself supporting this resolution. Rajendra Babu can today propagate to his heart's content the message of ahimsa from the Congress platform. This resolution leaves him free to do so. Besides this, the instructions about the constructive programme¹ for Congressmen will promote ahimsa. It includes almost all the items of the thirteen-point constructive programme put forward by me. The U. P. Congress Committee has recently passed a resolution which is praiseworthy. It refers to ahimsa too. It covers everything that I should like it to.

We have made a clean breast of everything in this resolution. When all of us are sailing in the same boat, why do you want to introduce a new resolution? Ahimsa is not a thing which can be established through mechanical means. Did I serve the Congress for the last twenty years on the strength of a 'vote'? On the contrary, when matters reached the stage demanding a 'vote' I voluntarily retired from the Congress. Voting is all right in small matters, but our work will be hampered if we decide larger issues by 'vote'. The Congress is like a non-violent army. Our effort will be to keep it non-violent to the end. I am not going to restrain it if on the basis of experience we realize that we were on the wrong path.

The real strength of the Congress lies in those people who are outside the Congress but rally to its support when the call goes out. They do not care for name or fame, nor have they any personal axe to grind. We have to become their true representatives. You have to forge the Congress into a strong, solid and disciplined organization.

In the past 15 months Congressmen have evinced some sense of discipline. Occasionally there were lapses but I tolerated them because I had to steer the Congress ship. But now we shall have to observe stricter discipline. The time has now arrived when the Congress should act with one mind. The ultimate weapon of the Congress today is ahimsa. Until this creed is altered, no Congressman can preach violence openly or secretly. If he does so, he will be disloyal. No one can however judge what lies inside a man's heart. But we will have to enlist all those who promise to march in step with us. This resolution keeps the door open for every honest Congressman.

Finally, some friends ask, 'What has the Congress done, after all?' They complain that the resolution has no operative clause. The

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Congress Working Committee's Instructions", 25-1-1942.

complaint is true so far as the resolution is concerned. The Congress will issue separate instructions for this purpose. The resolution had to be merely explanatory. It is addressed less to Congressmen than to the world. It is not even addressed to the Government.

Let there be no misunderstanding nor lack of zeal among Congressmen because the resolution has postponed satyagraha. Neither Jawaharlal nor Rajaji will let you remain idle. I certainly will not. Let those who think the constructive programme is insipid know that there is nothing in the Working Committee's resolution to prevent a Congressman at his own risk from leading civil disobedience—individual or mass. If he succeeds, he will win nothing but praise from all and I myself will kiss his feet. The more a person advances in ahimsa, the more proud will the Congress feel of him. But such advance should not need any *imprimatur* from the Congress. But let me warn the enthusiasts that they will not handle the weapon with any success. They will only damage themselves and the cause by any hasty or ignorant action. And let me say as an expert in the art of satyagraha that those who regard the constructive programme as insipid do not know what non-violence is and how it works. So much for civil disobedience.

Let us now turn to the parliamentary mentality. Though it has come to stay in spite of my efforts to eradicate it, the parliamentary programme can, I hold, have no place in Congress work so long as the war lasts. The Congress cannot handle it without identifying itself with the war effort. I have always held that at all times it is the least important part of a nation's activity. Legislators are not the masters but servants of their electors—the nation. The less, therefore, we look at and depend upon parliaments the better. Power resides in the people either through their arms or through their civil disobedience, more comprehensively described as non-violent non-co-operation. But the power of non-co-operation comes only through solid, incessant constructive work. Non-violent strength comes from the constructive programme only and not through destructive activities. Hence the constructive programme is the only thing before the Congress today. And in this all parties are at one.

There are instructions about the constructive programme for Congressmen. They form the operative part. If properly implemented, this would be a complete substitute for civil disobedience and the parliamentary programme. Civil disobedience has been wisely reserved for me as an expert in satyagraha. It is good, so long as I am alive and well in mind, that it is so reserved. I have almost put a stop to it today. But the suspension of satyagraha is not linked with the resolution. So far as I am concerned, there will be no need for

satyagraha, if the Government do not interfere with *Harijan*. For these three weeklies will constitute enough propaganda against all war. *Harijan* will try to carry the message of peace to all corners of the country. But if this is not permitted, then will be the time for civil disobedience as a gesture. I want every worker to be out for constructive activity.

Today we have to serve the millions and that work does not allow us to get shut up in prisons. We do not wish that thieves and robbers may ransack the country. Even if we want to unleash a revolution, we shall have to provide for the prevention of pillage. The Congress will disappear if it fails to do this. The work of providing adequate food and clothing to the famished devolves on our shoulders. But if even the pen is snatched away from my hands, I may be compelled to become the sole resister. But I have no fixed plans. Events will point the way.¹

The suspension of satyagraha has connection only with the present condition of the country, and I want every single man who thinks with me to remain outside and do work rather than go to jail and read the Koran and the *Gita* and lead an easy life there. I won't let them lead an easy life. Jawaharlal will ask for diaries from thousands of men. He is not going to sleep. Therefore, if you will go away with the real message to the country, do not criticize this resolution. Nobody is rendered incapable of giving the fullest possible service, in fact he is made capable of the fullest growth, by reason of this resolution. Civil disobedience remains under my control, and the reason for its suspension is wholly extraneous to my retirement from office. Every one of you has to give a good account of yourself. If all will pull your full weight in the fulfilment of the constructive programme, you will find a different India in six months' time.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 25-1-1942, and *Harijan*, 25-1-1942

¹ What follows is a report of Gandhiji's brief English speech, in reply to Shri Prakasam's question, reproduced from *Harijan*.

706. LETTER TO SULTANA RAZIA

January 16, 1942

MY DEAR SULTANA,

You are quite right about non-violence.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 10861

707. LETTER TO D. D. SATHAYE

January 16, 1942

DEAR SHRI SATHAYE,

Gandhiji had your letter in Bardoli and now he has your p.c. He has been so busy that his personal correspondence is in arrears. He wishes me to tell you that you are of course on his list of satyagrahis but there is no satyagraha just now. The constructive programme is there for everyone to follow.

Yours sincerely,

AMRIT KAUR

SHRI D. D. SATHAYE
127 GIRGAON ROAD, BOMBAY 4

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

708. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

SEVAGRAM,
January 17, 1942

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

Here are the two copies¹. You will show them to the Maulana Saheb and to Jawaharlal. The letter to the Government you will send when and if you come to the conclusion that you will better serve the cause by being in the jail than by being outside and working among the people. For you are not likely to get the permission asked for.

The resignation you will send if your co-workers and Dr. Khan Saheb agree.²

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ Not available

² *Vide* also "Letter to Abdul Ghaffar Khan", 18-1-1942.

709. ADDRESS TO CONGRESS WORKERS¹

WARDHAGANJ,
January 17, 1942

Gandhiji explained what had been achieved at Sevagram in regard to the restoration of communal unity and removal of untouchability and urged that they were assets which should be acquired whether freedom was obtained or not. He also pointed out what work had been done with regard to khadi and basic education.

He dealt with the various aspects of the constructive programme, with particular reference to Hindu-Muslim unity, the removal of untouchability, charkha and the organization of a volunteer corps.

Mahatma Gandhi emphasized that a mere pact between the Congress and the Muslim League would not solve the problem; such a pact was applicable only to the carrying out of the parliamentary programme. He referred to the Lucknow Congress-League Pact² and said that real Hindu-Muslim unity could only be brought about by active constructive work.

Answering a question, Gandhiji said that volunteer bodies must be organized but only on the basis of non-violence. The volunteers must render all help to the people. It was possible that these organizations might not be allowed to function. In such circumstances, they must carry on their work, if it was indispensable, even at the risk of their lives.³

Everyone who is a four-anna member of the Congress must become a Khudai Khidmatgar now by service to the people.

Concluding, Gandhiji exhorted them to carry out the instructions given by the Working Committee carefully, which alone would strengthen them in the struggle for freedom.

The Hindu, 18-1-1942

¹ Gandhiji addressed representatives of the the Provincial Congress Committees and members of the Congress Working Committee.

² Of 1916; *vide* Appendix "The Congress League Scheme", November 1917.

³ For another question, and Gandhiji's answer to it, *vide* "Constructive Programme and Government", 19-1-1942.

710. TALK WITH A WORKER¹

[Before January 18, 1942]

The would-be satyagrahi² said he was a believer in ahimsa. Gandhiji asked him :

How much do you spin—5 yards or 50 yards?

Never more than 50, and sometimes even less than 5.

Do you spin every day, or once every week, or every month?

I don't spin more than 50 or 100 yards in a month.

Do you make your own slivers?

No, Mahatmaji.

Then where do you get them from? Get them by post?

No, I get them from the khadi bhandar, and when I do not get them there, I get them through friends coming from places where slivers can be had.

Do you make your *mal* (string) yourself or do you purchase a reel from the market?

His friend intervened and said : “Mahatmaji, he is a believer in ahimsa, and that, I thought, was the essential qualification. According to the test you now apply we are all likely to fail.”

Well, then it is better that none of you takes part in satyagraha than that you should go without being properly qualified. My standard is inexorable. I want you to spin not only regularly but intelligently. I want you to know how to test your yarn, how to draw fine yarn and coarse yarn, to know the economics of khadi and so on. And when you will say to me, ‘I know all these things’, I will ask you : ‘What about you life?’ Do you observe non-violence in your relations with the members of your family and in your daily affairs? Where is the good of your saying you accept non-violence in theory? Supposing you said you accepted the theory of khadi, but purchased and used foreign cloth, how would your acceptance of the theory help me? And please understand that, while in British India I am prepared to reconcile myself to belief in ahimsa as a policy, I want you in the States to believe in it as a creed. Violence in many Indian States is greater than in British India, and we want the supreme purity and sacrifice of a Prahlada to meet the violence there. Give me a Prahlada, and I shall give him my blessings.

Harijan, 18-1-1942

¹ This is reproduced from Mahadev Desai's “On the Path of Ahimsa”

² From an Indian State

711. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

SEVAGRAM,
January 18, 1942

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

Maulana Saheb and Jawaharlal had a long talk with me over your retiring from the Congress. They say that they never understood that you had contemplated withdrawal from the Congress. They said that the talk was plainly about withdrawal from the Working Committee only. They said too that in their opinion your withdrawal even from the W.C. was sure to be misunderstood and would harm the very cause you have at heart. Naturally you are the best judge of the situation. You would give due weight to their opinion. I can have no opinion. I rely entirely upon your judgement on the facts. If the facts are as they say, their opinion should prevail. If they are otherwise and you have no such fear as they entertain, your opinion should prevail.

They further said that you should take no step without the approval of Dr. Khan Saheb and your co-workers. They say too that if you go, Dr. K. S. must come to the W.C. You will now tell me and Maulana Saheb what is to be your judgement.¹

I hope my letter is clear. With love,

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

712. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

January 19, 1942

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. I have not a single minute to spare. It is not proper for you to lose heart. You must make up your mind to pass. We are going to Kashi today, and shall be back on the 24th.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 10089. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

¹ The addressee resigned from the Congress Working Committee on February 8, 1942.

713. REAL WAR EFFORT

The greatest need of the immediate present is to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. There is already scarcity in the land both of food and clothing. As the war progresses, both the scarcities must increase. There are no imports from outside, either of food-stuff or of cloth. The well-to-do may not feel the pinch as yet or at all, but the poor are feeling it now. The well-to-do live on the poor. There is no other way. What is then their duty? He who saves gains as much, that is to say, he produces as much. Hence those who feel for the poor, those who would be one with them must curtail their wants. There are many ways. I shall only mention some here. There is much, too much food eaten and wasted by the well-to-do.

Use one grain at a time. Chapati, rice, and pulses, milk, *gur*, ghee, and oil are used in ordinary households besides vegetables and fruit. I regard this as an unhealthy combination. Those who get animal protein in the shape of milk, cheese, eggs or meat need not use pulses at all. The poor people get only vegetable protein. If the well-to-do give up pulses and oils, they set free these two essentials for the poor who get neither animal protein nor animal fat. Then the grain eaten should not be sloppy. Half the quantity suffices when it is eaten dry and not dipped in any gravy. It is well to eat it with raw salads such as onion, carrot, radish, salad leaves, tomatoes. An ounce or two of salads serves the purpose of eight ounces of cooked vegetables. Chapatis or bread should not be eaten with milk. To begin with, one meal may be raw vegetables and chapati or bread, and the other cooked vegetables with milk or curds.

Sweet dishes should be eliminated altogether. Instead, *gur* or sugar in small quantities may be taken with milk or bread or by itself.

Fresh fruit is good to eat, but only a little is necessary to give tone to the system. It is an expensive article, and an over-indulgence by the well-to-do has deprived the poor and the ailing of an article which they need much more than the well-to-do.

Any medical man who has studied the science of dietetics will certify that what I have suggested can do no harm to the body, on the contrary it must conduce to better health.

This is only one way of saving food-stuff. It is obvious. But by itself it cannot produce much visible effect.

Grain-dealers have to shed their greed and the habit of making as much profit as possible. They must be satisfied with as little as possible. They run the risk of being looted, if they do not gain the credit of being keepers of grain for the sake of the poor. They should

be in touch with the people in their neighbourhood. Congressmen have to visit grain-dealers within their beat and give them the message of the time.

By far the most important part of the work consists in educating the villagers to keep what they have and to induce cultivation of fresh crops wherever water is available. This requires widespread and intelligent propaganda. It is not generally known that bananas, potatoes, beetroot, yam and *suran*, and in a measure pumpkin are a food crop easily grown. They can take the place of bread in time of need.

There is, too, scarcity of money. There may be grain available but no money to buy it with. There is no money because there is no employment. This has to be found. Spinning is the readiest and the handiest. But local needs may supply other sources of labour. Every available source has to be tapped so that there is no want of employment. Only the lazy ones need and must starve. Patient handling will induce even this class to shed their laziness.

The problem of clothing is much easier than feeding, if it is handled well and in time. The mills may not be relied on in these times. There is ample cotton to be had in India. It is a problem for cotton cultivators how to dispose of their stock. The outside market is closed to them. Our mills cannot absorb the whole of the crop. It can be utilized, if the nation takes to spinning not for wages but for the sake of clothing the naked. Of course those who need employment will spin for profit. This number must be limited. They need organizing. Much money will be needed for the purpose. But national spinning does not need so much organizing. Profit motive being eliminated and willingness being assumed, organization is reduced to simplest terms.

This is no time for multiplying wheels. They take time to manufacture. Raw materials are daily becoming dearer. Wheels cannot be manufactured everywhere. Places where they are can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Therefore I suggest the plying of the *dhanush takli* and even the simple *takli*. The former should be manufactured locally. Indeed it is difficult to manufacture the simple *takli* at once in lacs. The *dhanush takli* is the only thing which can be easiest manufactured. Slivers cannot be supplied to spinners. Each one should get some cotton for himself or herself, and card it as well as may be with the hand or with a home-made small bow such as the children in the Bihar basic schools have. All this can be done because no one is expected to manufacture a large quantity of yarn. If every one of our available

millions span for one hour daily, there would be enough yarn to keep every handloom going. The reader should know that there are lacs of handloom weavers in the land. There is danger of their starving for want of yarn.

Here is a great task for every Congressman to undertake. He has to become a good spinner and carder and know how to manufacture the *dhanush takli*. Let every Congressman begin with himself and his family and neighbours, and he will find that the life-giving contagion spreads like wild fire which envelops you before you hardly know what you are witnessing.

Any organization that tackles these two problems successfully will command the love and confidence of the people. I hope that all will join in this real war effort. It is none the less effective because it is peaceful and constructive.

Will the Princes let their people do this work without let or hindrance? Will Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah allow the members of the Muslim League to co-operate with the Congress workers in this truly national but non-political work which is also humanitarian? There are 23,000 Muslim spinners, carders and weavers earning their daily bread through the A.I.S.A.

ON THE WAY TO KASHI, January 19, 1942

Harijan, 25-1-1942

714. CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME AND GOVERNMENT

Will not the working of the constructive programme bring Congressmen into conflict with the Government? This was one of the many questions asked at the meeting of the principal members of the A. I. C. C. I addressed in Wardha on the 17th. My answer was that the whole programme was so conceived as to avoid conflict. Of course the most innocent activity may be so manipulated as to provoke conflict. I expect every Congress worker to do his best to avoid it. But there is no help for it, if the Government prohibit such activities because they are undertaken by Congressmen who believe that the working of the constructive programme will bring swaraj. That is the only non-violent way to achieve the end. Swaraj by non-violent means must come from the creative effort of those who desire it. The Government should welcome every such effort, unless they want to prevent even cent per cent non-violent movement. In that case conflict will become unavoidable. But I am of opinion that no conflict is possible, at any rate while the war lasts, unless the Congress workers want or provoke it. They have to work, work and work. They will make no speeches or

demonstrations in doing their constructive work. As I have already said, today most of the items of constructive work happen to be—like feeding and clothing—common cause between the Government and the people.

ON THE WAY TO KASHI, January 19, 1942

Harijan, 25-1-1942

715. COMMUNAL UNITY

Freedom will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore communal pacts, whilst they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts. Without it there can be no peace in the land. Even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts. This union can come only by mutual service and co-operative work.

Separate electorates have resulted in the separation of hearts. They presupposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust.

How to get out of the tangle is the question. I want just now to confine myself to the four Muslim majority provinces. In them there is natural Pakistan in the sense that the permanent majority can rule the minority. I hold it to be utterly wrong thus to divide man from man by reason of religion which is liable to change. What conflict of interest can there be between Hindus and Muslims in the matter of revenue, sanitation, police, justice, or the use of public conveniences? The difference can only be in religious usage and observances with which a secular State has no concern.

Congressmen, if they are not to merge in the Hindus as Hindus, must rigidly abstain from the legislatures and local bodies governed by separate electorates. In these provinces the separate electorates must be taken to have come from the Hindu demand and in the supposed Hindu interest. But a Congress Hindu has no interest apart from his Muslim brother. Therefore he must not enter the electoral bodies where Hindu and Muslim interests are falsely regarded as separate and even antagonistic. If he enters these bodies, he can do so only to divide the majority members, i.e., to take sides with one Muslim party or another. If I could make all Hindus Congress-minded, I would withdraw every Hindu member from these bodies and put the Muslim members on their honour. I would seek to influence them from outside these bodies by being friends with them and rendering disinterested service. I would be indifferent to their manning all the services. At the most an infinitesimal percentage can

have a share in them. And it is a superstition to suppose that these services can oppress a people who have become

conscious of human dignity and human rights and know how to enforce them. Since the vast majority of Congressmen are Hindus in at least three Muslim majority provinces, they have a rare opportunity of showing their non-violent strength, their disinterestedness, their utter freedom from the communal taint, and their ability to submit to the rule of their Muslim fellow-countrymen. They will do this not in a huff but as true nationalists and friends of the Muslims. Remaining outside they will probably better protect the just interests of Hindus as citizens. For a Congress Hindu is not any the less a Hindu because he claims to represent equally, as he must, all the other faiths in himself. For as I have said, so far as the State is concerned, its capacity for service stops short of the service of the different faiths, and the services it can render apply to all irrespective of their faiths. Therefore Congressmen have a rare opportunity of showing undefiled nationalism in these provinces. They will incidentally show the other minorities that they have nothing to fear from the majorities if they know the true way. We must get out of the miasma of religious majorities and minorities. Why is a Parsi's interest different from a Hindu's or Muslim's so far as the State is concerned? Did not Dadabhai and Pherozeshah rule the Congress while they lived, not by Congress grace or patronage, but by right of service and merit? Did their rule injure any Hindu or Muslim interest? Were these interests ever in conflict on the Congress platform? And is not the Congress a voluntary State?

ON THE WAY TO KASHI, January 20, 1942

Harijan, 25-1-1942

716. QUESTION BOX

CONGRESS AND A. R. P.

Q. Can a Congressman belong to A.R.P. and such other committees connected with the war?

A. I think not. But this does not mean that he will render no help in caring for those who may be injured by bombs or otherwise. On the contrary he will be expected to be most assiduous in rendering such help.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

Q. While working the constructive programme, can a Congressman preach economic equality? How can working the civil disobedience programme bring it about?

A. You can certainly preach it, if your speech is strictly non-violent and not in the manner of some who, I know, have preached forcible dispossession of landowners and capitalists. But I have shown a better way than preaching. The constructive programme takes the country a long way towards the goal. This is the most auspicious time for it. The charkha and the allied industries, if fully successful, practically abolish all inequalities, both social and economic. The rising consciousness of the strength which non-violence gives to the people, and their intelligent refusal to co-operate in their slavery must bring about equality.

STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATION

Q. What is the meaning of strengthening the Congress organization?

A. You can strengthen it no doubt by enlisting members who know the meaning of the fundamental article of the Congress, namely, attainment of Purna Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. Enlisting of bogus members and members for seizing power in the Congress is vicious and harmful.

There is no room for power politics within the Congress, if the Congress is to end the power or the system that grinds the people and be itself in power. Therefore real strengthening of the organization consists in every Congressman working the constructive programme to its fullest capacity. Enlisting *bona fide* members without much effort provides running expense of the Congress, only if the enlisting itself does not eat up the subscriptions you collect from members.

‘OTHER ORGANIZATIONS’

Q. What do you mean by associating with other volunteer organizations working for similar ends? Do you include communal organizations?

A. I do. Unfortunately we have very few other non-communal organizations. ‘Similar ends’ naturally means constructive ends, using ‘constructive’ in the widest sense of the term. Thus you will tender your help to a Muslim League or Hindu Sabha volunteer in putting out fire or tending the wounded. You will also invite their help in such matters.

ON THE WAY TO KASHI, January 20, 1942

Harijan, 25-1-1942 and 1-2-1942

717. SPEECH AT BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY¹

January 21, 1942

REVERED MALAVIYAJI, SIR RADHAKRISHNAN, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

You all know very well that I have neither the physical strength nor the inclination to undertake a long journey, and yet when I received Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation to deliver an address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Benares Hindu University I had not the heart to decline it. You know the strong bond of affection that binds me to Malaviyaji, and it is with a certain amount of pride and satisfaction that I obey his behest whenever it is at all possible for me. I therefore could not say 'no', Sir Radhakrishnan's letter was a call to a pilgrimage.

Great as are Malaviyaji's services to the country, I have no doubt that this University constitutes his greatest service and achievement, and he has worn himself out for the work that is dear to him as life itself. It was out of my great regard for him that twenty-five years ago I accepted his invitation to attend the foundation ceremony of this University.² I knew that in that august function, which was to be attended by the Viceroy and the ruling Princes of India, there was no place for a poor man like me. I had not then been made a Mahatma, and if anyone called me by that name, I knew I must have been mistaken for Mahatma Munshiramji, as the late Swami Shraddhanand was then called. For there cannot be a number of Mahatmas, and I knew even when I was in South Africa that Munshiramji's great work had entitled him to that name. He also was one of those who sent me messages of congratulations and compassion. In those days too Malaviyaji Maharaj showered his kindness on me. But he has a knack for detecting servants of the people, however obscure they may be, and bringing them into his fold. This is his usual trick.

People have great admiration for Malaviyaji Maharaj as you must have heard today. He deserves every word of it. I know the Hindu University is a huge affair. There is no greater beggar than Malaviyaji on the face of the earth. He has never begged for himself; by the grace of God he has never been in want, but he became a voluntary beggar for causes he has made his own, and God has always filled his bowl in an overflowing measure. But he has an insatiable

¹ This has been collated with Mahadev Desai's translation in *Harijan*, 1-2-1942, under the title "Kashi Vishwavidyalaya Address".

² *Vide* Speech at Benares Hindu University", 6-2-1916.

appetite, and although he got a crore and ten lacs instead of the crore he wanted he is still asking for more. Even at this moment he whispered into my ears that he had a good donation from the Maharaja of Darbhanga, our Chairman. I know how Malaviyaji leads his own life. It has been my privilege to be acquainted with every aspect of his life. It is a rare good fortune to have him still in our midst, a living example of a pure life of plain living and high thinking; the students particularly can draw many a lesson from his life but I have a fear that, though he is physically in your midst, many of you are untouched by his great example. The fault is wholly ours, not his. The sun radiates heat and light to all on earth, but how can even the sun help those who will shut themselves from him? But I am not here to sing Malaviyaji's praises. Who can be more unfortunate than the one who in spite of being so near to him fails to imbibe his noble qualities such as his simplicity, sacrifice, patriotism, generosity and universal love?

I must now address a few words to you—the teachers and the students of the Vidyapith. When I accepted Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation he had asked me to send a copy of my address to him. I told him that I had no time to write anything, I did not even know what I should be able to say. A feeling of nervousness overpowers me when I am in the midst of learned men. Ever since my return to India my lot has been cast among the poor and the downtrodden—those whom the Congress represents—and whilst in their midst I feel no sense of constraint or hesitation. In your midst I feel tongue-tied. I simply said to Sir Radhakrishnan that I should trust to the inspiration of the moment. That inspiration has come, but I do not know how you will welcome my plain-speaking.

As speaker after speaker spoke and left the dais, I longed for someone who would address the audience in Hindi or Urdu, or Hindustani, aye, even in Sanskrit,—even in Marathi, or for that matter in any of the Indian languages. But no such good luck befell me and you. Why? We are slaves and have hugged the language of those who have kept us enslaved. It has become a fashion to blame the Englishmen for all our ills. I have not hesitated to blame them for many things they have done. I have never charged them with compelling us to adopt English as the medium of expression. We devote precious years of our lives to learning the English language, our ambition being to be able to speak English as Englishmen, and our breast swells with pride when an Englishman pats us on our back for speaking flawless English. Think of the time and energy of our youth expended on learning the English language, as if it was our mother tongue, and calculate by simple multiplication the number of

years and the volume of precious energy that are lost to the nation.

And yet all this is happening in the Benares Hindu University which has been extolled today as the living embodiment of Indian culture. Malaviyaji did all that was necessary to draw the best possible teachers by attractive salaries, but he could not do the rest. It was not his fault that Hindi did not take the place of English. The teachers are the product of the tradition which they have inherited, and the students are content to accept what they get from them. They need not be. They go on strikes and even hunger-strikes, often for trivial reasons. Why will they not insist on having their tuition in the all-India language? There are, we were told today, 250 students here from the Andhra Province. Let them go to Sir Radhakrishnan and ask for an Andhra section of the University and ask to be taught through the medium of Telugu if they will not learn the all-India language. But if they were to be guided by my lights, being Indians they should demand as the medium of instruction a language understood throughout India. And Hindustani alone can be that language.

You know what has happened in Japan—a country which I do not regard as essentially great—but which is regarded as great in Asia in that it has successfully challenged the supremacy of America and England. The thousands of boys and girls in the Japanese schools and colleges receive their education not through the medium of English but through Japanese. Their script is difficult, but it is no bar to their learning it and they have not given it up in preference to the Roman. Not that they boycott English and other European language. But they economize their energy. Those who need to learn them do so for enriching the Japanese thought with knowledge which the West alone can give. They take care to turn into Japanese all that is worth taking from the West. That is because the mind of Japan's youth is fresh and alert. The knowledge gained thus has become national property. There would have been no greater folly if instead of doing so they had thrown their mother tongue to the winds and opened English medium schools and colleges such as we find in other countries. In this way they might well have learnt a new language but the Japanese people could not have gained the new knowledge. Our ambition does not go beyond becoming clerks in Government offices, lawyers, barristers, judges, all helplessly serving the system they would fain destroy. And we have not succeeded in mastering the English language either. After all, is it not an alien language? I get numerous letters from English-educated people—some of them possessing the highest degrees of our universities—but they betray a woeful ignorance of the English language. The reason is simple. Malaviyajis and Radhakrishnans are rare, and the thousands cannot achieve what

they have done.

As I was listening to the English speeches I was amazed at the patience and innate courtesy of our people who, though they do not understand a word of what is said, do not mob us, as they well might do. If there is any doubt in your minds about this, I can demonstrate to you by a show of hands how few—even from among the students—have followed the proceedings here. I had said all this when I came here twenty-five years ago. What I have seen today compels me to repeat it all.

There is another thing to which I am tempted to draw your attention. I witnessed this morning a scene that I had least expected here. There was a Vasant Panchami day¹ procession of the students who had to march past Malaviyaji's house after receiving his silent blessings. The way in which they were walking betrayed a lack of even elementary physical training. Instead of walking in step, erect and disciplined like soldiers on the march, they walked haphazardly in a desultory fashion. Their walking could hardly be called a march. In my opinion they are so much burdened with English that they find no time to attend to other things. That is why they are unable to learn the things they must.

I noticed another thing while returning after a visit to Shri Shivprasad Gupta in the morning. I cannot help saying a word about the sight that greets you as you enter the great portals of the University. Thanks to the money that Malaviyaji can get for the asking, the gate is in consonance with the splendour of the edifices here. But what did I find on the top of the gate?—the bulk of the space (three-fourths) taken up by the words BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY in English, and one-fourth given to the inscription in Hindi which is the language through which you would derive your knowledge. I wondered what need there was of the English language? Malaviyaji cannot be blamed for this. It must have been the work of some engineer. Just a little thought on the part of those who were in charge of such things would have been enough to tell them that what was needed there was the name written in Devanagari and Persian scripts—which would have symbolized to the people the desire on the part of Malaviyaji's University and Sir Radhakrishnan for communal harmony. It would have been in the fitness of things too, as both Hindi and Urdu are understood in this region and both the scripts are familiar. The fact that it is written in English is an indication of the domination of the English language over our minds.

We are scared of learning a new language or a script, whereas

¹ On which the Goddess of Learning is worshipped

for us learning an Indian language or a script should be as easy as anything. Surely it is no difficult thing for a non-Hindi-speaking person to learn Hindi or Hindustani. I can undertake to teach Hindi to anyone knowing Gujarati, Bengali or Marathi in the space of three months. Even the South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada—are full of Sanskrit words and, if there was just a little fervour and love of the country in us, we should not hesitate to decide to write all the languages derived from Sanskrit as also the Southern group in the Devanagari script. These languages have not only a fairly common vocabulary, there is also a striking resemblance in the scripts. If our minds were not fagged, we would easily know half a dozen Indian languages. Then there is Urdu which should not be difficult to learn, if only our Urdu scholars did not make it a matter of pride to pack it with Persian and Arabic words, as the pundits pack Hindi with Sanskrit words. The result is that I am completely at a loss when high-flown Urdu of the Lucknow style is flung at me.

One more thought I should like to leave with you. Every university is supposed to have its tradition, its distinctive feature—Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, have theirs. They take pride in the fact that the students they turn out can at once be identified for the distinctive impression left on them by the universities. Our universities leave no such distinctive mark. But I am afraid our universities are the blotting-sheets of the West. We have borrowed the superficial features of the Western universities, and flattered ourselves that we have founded living universities here. Do they reflect or respond to the needs of the masses? Now I am told that a special feature of your University is that engineering and technology are taught here as nowhere else. I should not consider this a distinguishing feature. Let me make a suggestion to you. Have you been able to attract to your University youths from Aligarh? Have you been able to identify yourselves with them? That, I think, should be your special work, the special contribution of your University. Money has come in, and more will come in if God keeps Malaviyaji in our midst for a few more years. But no amount of money will achieve the miracle I want—I mean a heart-unity between Hindus and Muslims. I would like you to go out to invite Mussalmans to come here, and not to mind if they reject your advances. You are the representatives of a great civilization which according to Lokamanya Tilak is 10,000 years old and according to later scholars even older. This civilization regards ahimsa as the supreme dharma. This has been our tradition from the times of the Vedas. The special contribution of that civilization is to befriend the world, to turn so-called foes into friends. Our civilization has absorbed, like the holy Ganga, many streams from outside, and it

is my prayer that the Hindu University which is endeavouring to represent Hindu culture and Hindu civilization may invite and absorb all that is best in other cultures and nurse hostility towards none. That should be its distinctive feature. English will not help you to evolve this. It is our own ancient learning that will teach you this—our scriptures learnt and understood in the proper spirit.

One thing more and I have done. You are living in palatial hostels, but you should not get used to living in palaces. Look at the little house in which Panditji lives in utter simplicity and without the least splendour. You enter his room. There is no decoration and only the barest furniture. You, who will be his heirs, should model your lives accordingly. Many of you are children of poor parents. Don't forget that you have to represent the poor, and that therefore a life of ease and luxury is inconsistent with the poverty of our land. May you be all models of plain and simple living and high thinking like Malaviyaji. May God bless you with long life and the wisdom to carry out what I have said, if it has appealed to you.

[From Hindi]

Benares Hindu Vishwavidyalaya Rajat Jayanti Samaroh, pp. 41-7.

718. DISCUSSION WITH CONGRESS WORKERS¹

BENARES,

January 22, 1942

Q. What is your ultimate object? Do you want the Congress to accept your principles or to achieve its object?

A. Every plan and programme that I have placed before the Congress has been placed with a view to achieving the goal of independence. Truth and non-violence are a matter of creed for me—you may call it my religion, but it has not been my object to propagate that religion through the Congress. Before the Congress they have been placed as effective means to an end—as political means for a political objective, as I did in South Africa. If it was otherwise, I should cease to be a political worker and occupy the position of a *dharmaguru*². The political method can be changed whenever expedient, but the change should be honest and deliberate. But one should not pretend to adhere to the method when really in practice one has given it up. That would be deceiving oneself and the

¹ Mahadev Desai in "Benares Notes—II", from which this is extracted, reported the proceedings of two meetings—one of the Executive of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee and the other of the U.P.P.C.C.

² Religious head

world.

Q. We should like to have a glimpse of the next six months of a year as you picture it to yourself. You have often said that this is a fight to the finish, your last fight which will not end until the goal is won. What are likely to be the future developments as you can visualize them?

A. It is a good question, and also a difficult question. Not that I am not clear, but because it takes us into the realm of speculation. I let things and happenings react on me—though I confess I do not follow everything as Jawaharlal with his study of foreign affairs can. Jawaharlal is convinced that the British Empire is finished. We all wish that it may be finished, but I do not think it is finished. We know that the Britishers are tough fighters, we know what the Empire—especially India—means to every home in Britain, and therefore they will never consent to be ‘Little Englanders’. Mr. Churchill has said that they are not “sugar candies”, and that they can meet rough with rough. Therefore it will be long before the Empire is finished. There is no doubt, however, that they are nearing the end, and what Jawaharlal has said is very true that, if we could do nothing to prevent the war, we certainly will do much to prevent a peace in which we have no voice. That is what every Congressman has to bear in mind. We have, therefore, to be up and doing. If we sit with folded hands, we may have a peace which we do not desire.

I adhere to the statement that it is my final fight, but we have had to alter our programme because of the latest developments, because war has come to our door. The suspension had nothing to do with my retirement from the official leadership of the Congress. Even if it had continued, how could I today ask Jawaharlal to march back to jail? Of course he will be in jail, if he is prevented from doing the work we have chalked out. But things have happened so rapidly that we had not the slightest idea of what was coming. How then can I talk of a year or even six months ahead? That we are marching swiftly towards independence I have no doubt. There is no doubt about the programme ahead of us. No Congressman should rest content with just paying his four-anna fee. He has to be active all the twenty-four hours. Even the one concrete programme of production of cloth is sufficient to occupy all our energies. There are 4,000 students in the Benares Hindu University. Will they spin an hour every day? I am talking of spinning because it is a thing nearest my heart, but there are a hundred and one other things. Have the villagers enough food to eat? Have they enough to cover themselves in this bitter cold? These are the questions that occur to me again and again. On our capacity to feed the starving and clothe the naked and generally to serve the masses in the time of their need will depend our capacity to influence

the peace whenever it comes. What I have said applies to all parties. Whoever serves the purpose best will survive and have an effective voice.

Q. You think they cannot have a treaty just as they like?

A. I do. The days of secret treaties are gone, I hope. If we behave ourselves, we can have a decisive voice at least so far as we are concerned. But Jawaharlal can explain these things better. I am no student of history or even of contemporary events in the world.

Q. Why did you advise the A.I.C.C. members to support the Bardoli Resolution, though at one stage you had decided to divide the house? Rajaji's speeches after the A.I.C.C. are against the Bombay Resolution, and even expediency dictates that there can be no co-operating with a dying Empire.

A. I am afraid you are 'estopped' from asking the question, if I may use a legal term. But as you have asked the question, and there is nothing to hide, I may answer it. In fact I answered it in my speech before the A. I. C. C.,¹ if you listened to it with attention. Well, then, let me tell you that, though I am old in age, my mind is not decaying. It is ever growing, and the decision not to divide the house indicates my growth or evolution in my own non-violence.²

Mahatma Gandhi said that after he had made his attitude on the question known since the Bardoli decision, he had come to realize that as the majority of the Working Committee members, representing, as they do, the large bulk of Congressmen, were not prepared to go the whole hog with him on the question of non-violence, it would have become unfair to clinch the issue at Wardha, for he was confident that if he had insisted upon the question being decided by a vote, a large number of the A.I.C.C. members, perhaps in spite of their conscience, would have voted in support of his attitude. That could have been a decision obviously misrepresenting the real situation. It would have been harmful in the extreme, and hence he decided that he should plead for the support of the Working Committee's resolution. Wrong assumptions could never lead to right results.³

To divide the house appeared to me a piece of violence. If every one of the members of the A. I. C. C. was a pukka believer in political non-violence, it would have been a different matter. But I knew that such was not the case. The Bardoli Resolution was a true reflection of the Congress mind. In such matters majority and minority do not count. And there was nothing to prevent the whole-hoggers to go whatever length they liked.

The contingency of co-operation is, if anything, very remote.

¹ Vide "Speech at A.I.C.C. Meeting", 15-1-1942.

² The following paragraph is from *National Herald*.

³ This sentence is from *The Hindu*.

Until then all have to act in terms of non-violence. When the contingency does arise the whole-hoggers can secede from the Congress. In fact we can then meet again and put the whole matter to vote.

Q. Would it be proper or improper to defend oneself with arms against *atayis* (confirmed offenders) in case of disturbances?

A. The answer has been already given by me and also by the Congress. And the word *atayis* is bad for our purpose. And don't ask what is proper and improper. If you were to ask *me*, I should say it is improper. If you are non-violent, do not have resort to arms. If you cannot muster non-violence of the brave, defend yourself as best [as] you can. The law gives everyone the right of self-defence against a dacoit, and the Congress does not take away the legal right. But in riots or communal disturbances, he who calls himself a Congressman has to act non-violently. That is the resolution of the Congress. Even there if your courage fails you and you use force, the Congress will not censure you, for the simple reason that the Congress never intended to encourage cowardice.

Q. You are said to have permitted khadi bhandars to sell blankets to Government. It is not co-operation in the war effort?

A. I did. It was not proper for me to ask whether the blankets were for the use of soldiers or for someone else. The case is different when a man sells fire-arms or swords or poison. The vendor has to inquire how the fire-arms are to be used, and the chemist has to ask for the doctor's certificate. On the other hand a rice-seller will not, and is under no obligation to inquire who is going to consume the rice.¹

Admitting that it was very difficult to draw the line of demarcation, Mahatma Gandhi said the principal criterion from his point of view was for the supplier to consider how his supply would be utilized. Of course, his view on the question was not necessarily that of the Congress and Congressmen were free to object to it without acquiescing in the butchery in which the soldiers were engaged. It was quite conceivable that the blankets supplied to them served to spare them the hardships of a severe winter, the more so when they were maimed or wounded in the battle. There was the underlying humanitarian motive in making these supplies and that could not be questioned as co-operation in the war effort.

But you may go further than I did. If you think I erred, you are at liberty to denounce me. If you think a non-violent man may not sell rice or blankets to soldiers, you are welcome to your interpretation of non-violence. I for one will not hesitate to give water or food to a

¹ The following paragraph is from *National Herald*.

soldier who comes to me with hands red with murder. My humanity would not let me do otherwise.

The question of spurious khadi was next discussed, and Gandhiji said :

A great deal depends on intelligent and wide-awake public opinion. If the public takes it into its mind to prevent the spread of this khadi, it can easily do so. But we have not cultivated what Lord Willingdon used to call the courage to say 'No'. Those who are interested in khadi are all shareholders of the A. I. S. A., and it is their duty to take up this work. To feed the hungry and clothe the naked is our immediate programme, and you have all to lend a hand effectively. If you all do so, the question of spurious khadi will not arise. No Congressman can deal in spurious khadi.¹

Stressing the importance of Congressmen concentrating on khadi, Mahatma Gandhi said that by virtue of their commitment to the Congress constructive programme whereof the khadi movement was the most important part, the responsibility of clothing Indians in the immediate future was devolving upon the shoulders of Congressmen and they would soon be tested as to their ability to discharge it. Inquiries made by him from Indian millowners had revealed that cloth stocks were very limited and fast diminishing. And such of them as were held were being manipulated by persons dealing in futures (*satta*). Not only the public, said Mahatma Gandhi, but also the Government of the country would knock at his doors for more and ever more of khadi in the near future. That time was fast approaching. He hoped that Congressmen would not be found unprepared to meet the situation.

The last question was about the Congressmen's duty in times of raids and scares and consequent disturbances.

The emergency is there today. Dacoities are rampant, and unless the Congress asserts itself effectively, the situation will go out of our hands. The need for peace brigades was never more urgent than now.² The risk of death is there, whether you choose violence or non-violence. Why not then prepare yourselves to die non-violently? It will also enable you to offer effective resistance in case of a civil war. As for the protection of the wounded in air raids, the bulk of the work will come upon yourselves. You will not join the A. R. P., simply because you will be then parts of a machine over which you have no control and you would be active participants in the war effort³. But it

¹ The following paragraph is form *National Herald*.

² *National Herald* add here : "In this connection he said that the danger, far from lying in the future, was ever present and, saying that his suggestion for the formation of peace brigades still held the field, he complained that Congressmen had doubted his seriousness in making it and had dismissed it as impracticable without earnestly examining its implications and potentialities."

³ *National Herald* adds here : "in regard to which the Congress position had been already made clear."

is certain that the Government will not be able to render assistance everywhere. Did they do so in Rangoon? We have harrowing tales of the dead and wounded lying on the streets of Rangoon uncared for. Wherever, therefore, the authorities fail there will be enough scope of work for us. We have to prepare

volunteers for this work ready to take risks and to act with initiative. We may have to remove the dead and wounded, take charge of vacant houses, and so on. In this work you will heartily co-operate with the authorities wherever they will accept your co-operation.¹

Mahatma Gandhi said that . . . nothing was expected to deter them from organizing volunteer squads and offering such relief as was possible in emergencies in co-operation with the Government organization, if necessary, and in spite of it, if possible, regardless of the consequences. For instance, after an air raid if there were persons trapped in a crumbling house or a house on fire, it was the duty of Congressmen to extricate them and pull down the house, lest it should collapse and take a toll of life, without waiting to see whether the official organization's aid, sanction or a request for co-operation was forthcoming.

Mahatma Gandhi was all humour at the conference and Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, was the butt of it. Mahatma Gandhi said :

Kripalani was morose formerly, because I thought he was not married. But, even when he is married and has a very good partner in life, his mood haunts him.

Harijan, 8-2-1942, and *National Herald*, 24-1-1942

719. HINDUSTANI

(a) The proceedings of the Congress, the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani. The English language or any Provincial language may be used, if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the Province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

—Article 25 of the Congress Constitution

The Congress has not carried out this resolution to any appreciable extent. It is a sad reflection. The fault is Congressmen's. They will not take the trouble of learning Hindustani. Their effort for learning languages is evidently exhausted with the performance of the impossible task of acquiring a knowledge of the English language equal to a learned Englishman's. The result is tragic. It has meant

¹ What follows is from *National Herald*.

impoverishment of the provincial languages and displacement of the all-India language described by the Congress as Hindustani. It has also meant a break between the millions and the English-educated few who happen to be the natural leaders for the simple reason that they are the only educated class. There is no education worth the name apart from the schools established by the Government. The Congress has to perform the Herculean task of displacing the English language with Hindustani. With the passing of the resolution it should have created a bureau for fulfilling, the purpose as it might do even now. But if it does not, individual Congressmen and those who are interested in evolving an all-India language should do so.

But what is Hindustani? There is no such language apart from Urdu and Hindi. Urdu has sometimes been called Hindustani. Did the Congress mean Urdu in the Article quoted? Did it exclude the more extensively known Hindi? Such a meaning would be absurd. It evidently meant, and could only mean, a scientific blend of Hindi and Urdu. There is no such written blend extant. But it is the common speech of the unlettered millions of Hindus and Muslims living in Northern India. Not being written, it is imperfect, and the written language has taken two different turns tending to widen the difference by each running away from the other. Therefore the word Hindustani means Hindi and Urdu. Therefore also Hindi can call itself Hindustani, if it does not exclude Urdu but tries to assimilate Urdu as much as is scientifically possible without damaging the natural structure and music of the original. Urdu can do likewise. There is no separate Hindustani body attempting to blend the two streams which today threaten to run away from each other.

The noble task can be performed by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and Anjuman-e-taraqqi-e-Urdu. I have been connected with the former since 1918¹ when I was invited to preside at its session of that year. I acquainted the audience with my views on the all-India medium. When I presided again at its session in 1935², I was able to persuade the Sammelan to define Hindi as the language spoken by Hindus and Muslims of the North of India and written either in Devanagari or Persian script. The natural consequence should have been for the members of the Sammelan to expand their knowledge of Hindi by living up to the definition and producing literature that

¹ The source has "1917"; Gandhiji had presided over the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in March 1918 in Indore. *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1909.

² Also at Indore; *vide* "Speech at Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Indore", 20-4-1935.

could be read by both Hindus and Muslims. This

should have meant the members learning the Persian script. They seem to have denied themselves this proud privilege. But better late than never. Will they bestir themselves now? They need not wait for the Anjuman to respond. It will be a great thing, if the Anjuman does. Each Association can, if it will, work in harmony with the other. But I have suggested unitary action independent of the other party. That Association which will adopt my plan will enrich the language it stands for, and will ultimately be responsible for producing a blend which will serve the whole nation.

It is unfortunate that the Hindi-Urdu question has assumed a communal shape. It is possible for either party to undo the mischief by recognizing the other and incorporating the acceptable part in a generous spirit. A language that borrows unstintingly from the others without harming its special characteristic will be enriched, even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowings.

ON THE WAY TO WARDHA, January 23, 1942

Harijan, 1-2-1942

720. SPEECH AT CHOKHAMELA BOARDING HOUSE¹

NAGPUR,

January 24, 1942

Gandhiji began to address the gathering. There was noise. In a moment a youth² sprang to his feet and said : “This is not the ordinary noise. We are protesting against your coming.” Gandhiji invited him to come to the rostrum and say what he wanted to say. He had nothing more to say than this : “We do not want you here. Those who invited you here had no right to do so.” Asked Gandhiji of him :

But why don't you want me here?

Because you have done nothing for the Harijans.

That's all? Have you anything more to say?

“Nothing more,” he said, and after a while disappeared.

I am told by the friend who raised the voice of protest that those who invited me here had no right to do so. The fact is that it was the students of the Chokhamela³ Boarding House who came to Wardha to invite me. I had begged to be excused, but Shri Chaturbhuj

¹ Reproduced from Mahadev Desai's “An Unexpected Experience”. Gandhiji spoke in Hindustani on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the Boarding House. On his arrival a number of Mahar youths shouted anti-Gandhi slogans.

² S. K. Mathurkar

³ Name of a Harijan saint of the Mahar community

Jasani intervened and told me that, if the work that carried me to Benares was after my heart, this might be even dearer in as much as it was the silver jubilee of an institution that had served Harijan boys. And since the abolition of untouchability is my life's work and I even toured the country for the same cause for one whole year¹, I agreed.

But assuming that those who invited me had no right to do so, it was surely not my fault. These protests do not displease me. The Harijans have suffered all these centuries at the hands of the *savarna* Hindus as from no one else, and as I am one of the latter I am participant in their sin. And I am never accustomed to weigh my sins in golden scales. I can atone for them only if I made a mountain of a molehill. The reason is simple. Man can never see his faults in proper perspective, and if he really did so, he would scarcely survive them. The remedy is, therefore, to magnify one's shortcomings. And the sin of untouchability is so heinous that it is impossible to exaggerate it. Those who suffer from it are naturally liable to be angry with those who are trying to wipe it out. They may well say to me : 'Who are you to remove untouchability? We shall wipe it out our own strength.' Now the way of demonstrating one's strength is of two kinds : one is the eternal, God-given way of self-purification, where man takes the blame upon himself of all the wrongs he is suffering from; the other is the way of retaliation, the Mosaic law of tooth for a tooth and nail for a nail. The latter is quite natural in that we have descended from the state of brutes, and some of their qualities may have been exaggerated in us. It is Hitler's way. Because a Jew or many Jews may have wronged the Germans he thinks it is his duty to exterminate the whole Jewish race. To those Harijans who would destroy caste Hindus and Hinduism I would say that the Hindus deserve it. But the caste Hindus too owe a duty to themselves and their religion. Let them receive lathis and stones from Harijans. But they should continue to serve them.

What, however, is to be done, if they will not receive our service?²

Let the stones rain on us, we have to keep quiet and to hold this meeting. I had promised to stay here for ten minutes, but I am in no hurry to go now. Send word to the demonstrators that, if they will have a separate meeting, I am prepared to stay and address that meeting and answer the charges they may have to make against me. And what after all is my crime? That I am labouring for them? That I am endeavouring to put a little money into their pockets? That I am

¹ From November 1933 to August 1934

² At this stage there was a slight interruption because stones were thrown at the audience, injuring a few persons.

telling the sanatanists day in and day out that they have to purge themselves of their sin? And why rain stones on the innocent audience?

They wanted to hurt me, but what have they succeeded in doing? They have hurt a few innocent people including two children in the audience. If they wanted to punish me or those who invited me, they should have gone directly for us. Let me tell them that this hooliganism is the opposite of bravery, humanity, civility. Let me tell them they are going about the wrong way. They are injuring their own cause.

Now a word to those assembled here. Though this is a boarding house, those who receive their board and lodging here are all students. I hope your stay here will be fruitful and give you what is real education. Let today's demonstration be a lesson to you. It should make you neither angry nor afraid, for anger and fear are twin sins. Let the demonstration awaken you to your sense of duty and burn the eternal truth indelibly on your minds that only Truth quenches untruth, Love, quenches anger, self-suffering quenches violence. This eternal rule is a rule not for saints only but for all. Those who observe it may be few but they are the salt of the earth, it is they who keep the society together, not those who sin against light and truth.

I ask you not only *not* to punish the demonstrators but not even to have the wish. They are not wicked. It is through them that God works to open our eyes to the wickedness within us. Let, therefore, today's demonstration purify you, as I know it will purify me. True *vidya* (knowledge) is the art of self-purification. Now I want you to stay here until the storm ceases, lest your going out just now should infuriate them. Let us wait until their fury ceases, and then quietly go back to our homes. In the mean while let us all recite *Ramdhun* together, let someone give us a hymn, and we shall disperse only when we are told that everything is quiet outside.¹

Harijan, 1-2-1942

721. TO GUJARATIS²

You have sacrificed a great deal in the cause of swaraj. But it is not enough. You can contribute still more in the form of money, labour, and increasingly intelligent and fresh minds.

Is it not sad that Rs. 2 lakhs worth of khadi only is being

¹ Krishnanand Sokhta then invited the audience to join him in reciting Ramanama and the meeting dispersed peacefully thereafter.

² The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 1-2-1942.

produced in Gujarat whereas Rs. 12 lakhs worth is wanted? It may be that there is not so much poverty in Gujarat as in the other provinces. But that does not mean that Gujaratis cannot, if they wish, produce all the khadi they need. Reckoning the population of Gujarat at 1 crore, the people would need at least 3 crores worth of cloth. You should produce at least this quantity, i.e., 15 crore yards.

The time is fast approaching when we shall not be able to get mill-cloth. There is scarcity even today, and what if the mills are bombed, what if they are used as munition factories? Either each one of us, young and old, rich and poor, man and woman, has to spin and provide for his own clothing or else go naked. There is not the least exaggeration in this. In the warring countries people are rationed for food and clothing,¹ and as the war is prolonged even the necessities of life are being used up and munitions are produced only to end in smoke. The war is thus working double destruction.

We have been will-nilly dragged into the vortex. But we are not yet so hard put to it as the people in the warring countries. If, however, we sit with folded hands until the trouble comes upon us, we shall be found to have been fools². We must be wise and adopt the necessary measures in time.³

It is my request then to those Gujaratis whose ears I can reach that they should give as much money and as much yarn as they can to the Mahagujarat Khadi Mandal. Receiving centres should be opened where necessary so as to save people the cost of posting yarn. The master-key to producing the requisite khadi lies in the wheel plying in every home. If good yarn is spun, weavers will be available, though I have already advised that we should take time by the forelock and train voluntary weavers also.

Will every Congressman rise to the occasion and spin for the nation?

SEVAGRAM, January 25, 1942

Harijan, 1-2-1942

¹ The Gujarati here adds : "no one can get more than his rations."

² The Gujarati here adds : "who would start digging a well only when overcome by thirst."

³ The Gujarati here adds : "We should erect our bunds before the waters overtake us."

722. A DEPLORABLE INCIDENT

As Sardar Vallabhbhai was leaving Sevagram the other day he told me of a dacoity in a home² in Kheda District. Armed dacoits entered the house, belaboured the inmates, and escaped with the loot. The story was heart-rending. What should I do under similar circumstances, I thought to myself. What should Congressmen do in the circumstances was the next thought; and since then the train of thought arising from the dacoity has taken possession of me. The Congress has been working continuously since 1920 under the policy of non-violence. The province of Gujarat has also had the advantage of a leader of the Sardar's calibre. And yet daring dacoities can take place. How far then can Congress influence be said to have penetrated? People imagine that, if the British Government were to cease to function today, it would be the non-violent Congressmen who would automatically take over. But it is not so. I have been working to this end for the last twenty years, but my dream has not materialized. For the Congress has not had a living faith in the very means which it adopted in 1920. Therefore the non-violence of the Congress has really been non-violence of the weak. But governments can only be run by the strong. And a non-violent government can only be run by those who believe that non-violence is the mightiest force on earth. If we had had this strength, there would be no Hindu-Muslim riots, there would be no robbers or dacoits. Some might say that for such strength you need either a Jesus or a Buddha. But this is not so. Neither Jesus nor Buddha tried non-violence in the political sphere, or it would be truer to say that the present-day type of politics did not exist in their day. The Congress experiment is, therefore, a new one. The tragedy is that Congressmen have not tried it with full faith, full understanding and sincerity. If they had had these three essential qualities, the Congress would today have been far taller than it is. But I may not cry over spilt milk. I refer to the past only in order to guide us in the present. Even if we wake up now, the game is ours; if we do not, we shall surely lose. Power invariably elects to go into the hands of the strong. That strength may be physical or of the heart, or, if we do not fight shy of the word, of the spirit. Strength of the heart connotes soul force. If today we decide that we should try to get power by force of arms, we shall have to undo all the work of twenty years among the masses. We shall have to spend a considerable time in giving people a contrary training. We cannot afford to give the required time at this

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 1-2-1942.

² The house of one Jesangbhai

critical juncture. It is certain that today whoever has any strength of any kind will use it for seizing power. It is my firm conviction that, if Congressmen are to get power, it should only be through non-violence or soul force.

We have neither time nor material to do new work even in this line. When we have so far employed non-violence as a weapon of the weak, how can we all of a sudden expect to convert it into a weapon of the strong? But in spite of this I feel that at the present moment this experiment alone is feasible and proper for us. There is no risk involved in it. Even failure in it takes the form of success because, even if the people are not able to go the whole length in the experiment, they cannot possibly be led into a ditch. By following the way of physical force they may not only be proved cowards, but in attempting to follow an untrodden path thousands may also be destroyed.

It is then the duty of Congressmen to seek out dacoits and robbers. They should try to understand and convert them. Such workers cannot be had for the asking; but Congressmen should know that this work is just as important as it is fraught with risk, and a certain number of them have to devote themselves to it.

The second thing requisite is that we should prepare such workers as would, under difficult circumstances, stand up to dacoits and, whilst trying to check or convert them from their evil ways, be prepared to suffer hurt or even death. Perhaps few workers will be forthcoming for this task too, but peace brigades throughout the country are a definite necessity. Or else in times of chaos Congressmen will lose all the reputation they have so far gained¹.

Thirdly, the rich should ponder well as to what is their duty today. They who employ mercenaries to guard their wealth may find those very guardians turning on them. The monied classes

have got to learn how to fight either with arms or with the weapon of non-violence. For those who wish to follow the latter way the best and most effective *mantra* is : तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा—² (Enjoy thy wealth by renouncing it.) Expanded, it means : ‘Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society.’ This truth has hitherto not been acted upon; but, if the monied classes do not even act on it in these times of

¹ The Gujarati here adds, “and whatever we have achieved till now will be undone”.

² *Ishopanishad*, 1

stress, they will remain the slaves of their riches and passions and consequently of those who overpower them.

But I have visions that the end of this war will mean also the end of the rule of capital. I see coming the day of the rule of the poor, whether that rule be through force of arms or of non-violence. Let it be remembered that¹ physical force is transitory even as the body is transitory. But the power of the spirit is permanent, even as the spirit is everlasting.

SEVAGRAM, January 25, 1942

Harijan, 1-2-1942

723. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

January 25, 1942

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. Your pathetic note was received in Kashi. I could not understand why you should have felt so grieved at our not meeting as I went.² You had met me in the morning, had you not? But even if you had not, you should be now above these outward demonstrations of affection which is a permanent thing independent of outward manifestation. Let your work be your sole absorption.

I am glad you are keeping fit.

Babla³ is all right.

Ignore what you may read about the row in Nagpur.⁴

I am all right.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 6493. Courtesy : Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9888

¹ The Gujarati here adds : "the power acquired by."

² The addressee explains : "Never in all these years had I not touched Bapu's feet before he left for a journey; but on this occasion he had departed before I realized what was happening."

³ Narayan, Mahadev Desai's son

⁴ *Vide* "Speech at Chokhamela Boarding House", 24-1-1942.

724. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 25, 1942

CHI. NARANDAS,

I had your letter in Kashi. Pay the money as may be desired by the Association. I was very pleased by your decision to stay on in it.¹

I have brought Abha with me. May I send Vina, her elder sister, to you? She keeps weak. She may work well under your protection and guidance. I am sure Jamna will like it.

Vina is in Calcutta at present. I am trying to fix her up somewhere and hence the question. Do not say yes merely to please me. I do not wish to put the slightest burden on you. I only wish to train a worker.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8598. Courtesy :
Narandas Gandhi

725. LETTER TO NRISIMHAPRASAD K. BHATT

SEVAGRAM,
January 25, 1942

BHAI NANABHAI,

Received your letter only today. It was good that you were able to keep Narandas. Your encouragement will drive away his fear. I have him with me because we have only a small number of honest and able workers like him. The money should be deposited with Bachharaj & Co. only. But do what all of you think proper. If Jerajani² continues to insist, take him on. He too is an old hand. He will be useful to you. You will have to look carefully into this. Don't give too much of your time and certainly not your physical strength. But if you are aware of this responsibility, you can without stirring from Ambla rectify everything and remove the irregularities. You are the helmsman.

Preserve your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Kathiawar Khadi Mandal

² Vithaldas K. Jerajani

[PS.]

Please give the enclosed to Narandas. Don't starve him of finances for khadi work.

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

726. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

January 25, 1942

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have read all. I see no need for making any payment today before the office¹ moves over. Menon's² monthly salary must be paid under any circumstances; so also in the cases of Vaze³ and Aryabhushan. Has Vaze's bill been stopped? I think Menon should be asked to send over the things. He will send them to Wardha from where they will be brought in a bullock-cart.

We must think over the annual budget and also about the sum of Rs. 1,500. We shall discuss this later.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I will write to Balwantrai⁴.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3031

727. LETTER TO BALWANTRAI MEHTA

January 25, 1942

BHAI BALWANTRAI,

I was able to read your letter only today. You should certainly be relieved. Talk to Prof. Dantawala. Let me know his requirements. So long as alternate arrangements are not made and your visits are necessary, please do the needful. If Himmatlal takes over, what else can we hope for?

Send him immediately to the office. Dr. Menon will certainly look after the general work in your absence. R. K. will supervise it. Jamnalalji has decided to keep the office at Sevagram for the present.

¹ Of the States' People's Conference

² K. B. Menon

³ S. G. Vaze

⁴ Balwantrai Mehta; *vide* the following item.

The other staff is freshly recruited, isn't it? You will have to go there once.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

728. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

January 26, 1942

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

Puri tells me you would like me to appeal for funds for your work. If he has understood you correctly I would gladly make the appeal. Will you please confirm the information and tell me how much is the need?

I hope you had my letter¹ sent to you at the Maulana's instance.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Are the teeth giving satisfaction?

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Abdul Ghaffar Khan", 18-1-1942.

729. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

January 26, 1942

BHAI SAHEB,

How can I express the joy I experienced on meeting you? I hope you have started what you spoke of. Please arrange to send a wire.

Yours,

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI 5 MADANMOHAN MALAVIYAJI

P. O. BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2202

730. "CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME"

While I was writing the pamphlet¹ on the thirteenfold, now fourteenfold, constructive programme, Rajendra Babu was doing likewise in his own way. His pamphlet² has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, at 4 annas (postage 1 anna extra). It may be called a companion to mine. The reader will find much of interest and instruction in Rajendra Babu's treatise. It gives details which I have omitted. No worker should be without either.

SEVAGRAM, January 27, 1942

Harijan, 1-2-1942

¹ *Constructive Programme : Its Meaning and Place*; vide 13-12-1941.

² *Constructive Programme—Some Suggestions*

731. QUESTION BOX

UNITARY METHOD

Q. You seem to be advocating what you call the unitary method in the solution of many questions. Will you explain it a little more fully than you have done?

A. It is as simple as it is sure. A contract or pact is between two parties. There is also consideration passing from one to the other. Such was the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. The same thing could have been accomplished by the unitary method. Only then there would have been no compromise dictated by fear and distrust. The Congress could have done, according to its notion, absolute justice, i.e., yielded the maximum consistent with the welfare of the whole nation without the expectation of any consideration from the League. In a well-regulated family the relations are governed by the unitary method. Thus a father gives to his children not as a result of a pact. He gives out of love, a sense of justice without expecting any return therefor. Not that there is none. But everything is natural, nothing is forced. Nothing is done out of fear or distrust. What is true of a well-regulated family is equally true of a well-regulated society which is but an extended family. My advice about the adoption of two scripts by Hindus and Muslims is based on the unitary method. My equal love for all communities dictates its adoption. Properly applied, the method never fails. It disarms criticism and opposition. It presupposes a clean conscience and clean action. I propose to unfold in these columns the application of the method in all our communal relations. The views will be personal to me, as are all such since the Bardoli Resolution. They will be addressed to Congressmen for adoption only in so far as they appeal to their reason.

RAJAJI

Q. What has come over Rajaji? You and he seem to be drifting away from each other.

A. Yes, we seem to be and yet we are not. The seeming drift is but a prelude to a closer bond and clearer understanding. His loyalty is above suspicion. He would have gladly suppressed himself, if I had not strongly encouraged him to propound his views with a view to their adoption by the public. We owe allegiance to the same goddess. Our interpretations differ. If he is erring, he will retrace his steps as soon as he discovers it. And he knows that I would do likewise, if I

discover mine. I feel, therefore, absolutely safe with him, and I ask all questioners to do likewise.

UNTRUTH

Q. Do you know that you are reported to have said at Benares that it is sinful for any Indian ever to study or speak in English and you are charged with insincerity in that you make such liberal use of the hated language when it suits you?

A. The report is wholly untrue. But once an untruth gets a start it is most difficult to overtake. Many untruths about me have had such a start. They created a temporary sensation and got a decent burial without any effort on my part. So will this one. No untruth has ever done any harm to anyone if there was no bottom to it. I am answering the question, not to protect my reputation but to carry my point further. The charge of insincerity is itself the best refutation of the untruth. For my free use of the English language is not a thing of today. The charge should have been regarded as unworthy of belief. Let it be known that I am a lover of the English language and the English. But my love is wise and intelligent. Therefore I give both the place they deserve. Thus I do not allow the English language to displace the mother tongue or the natural all-India language—Hindustani. Nor do I let my love of the English displace my fellow-countrymen whose interest I can in no way allow to be injured. I recognize the great importance of the English language for international intercourse. I hold its knowledge as a second language to be indispensable for specified Indians who have to represent the country's interest in the international domain. I regard the English language as an open window for peeping into Western thought and sciences. For this too I should set apart a class. Through them I would spread through the Indian languages the knowledge they have gained from the West. But I would not burden India's children and sap their youthful energy by expecting the expansion of their brains through the medium of a foreign language. I do hold it to be a sin on the part of those who are responsible for producing the unnatural condition under which we are being educated. Such a thing is unknown in any other part of the world. Being too near the scene of the wreck we are unaware of the damage the nation has suffered by it. I can see the enormity of the damage because of my daily and close contact with the dumb and suppressed millions.

ANOTHER UNTRUTH

Q. You are reported by the Press to have approvingly referred to the progress made by the Japanese in adopting Western methods with a thoroughness hitherto unknown in the East. Is not this a contradiction of all you have written about the West? Or is there one law for India and another for Japan?

A. This is another untruth like the one about the English language. The reader will find out for himself from Mahadev Desai's report of my Benares speech¹ as to what I actually said about the Japanese. The burden of my speech was the undesirability of making English the medium of instruction and all-India speech. I said in this connection that, however harmful in my opinion the Japanese adaptation of the West was, the rapid progress was due to the restriction of the learning of the Western mode to a select few and using them for transmission of the new knowledge among the Japanese through their own mother tongue. Surely it is easy enough to understand that the Japanese could never have adapted themselves to the new mode, if they had had to do so through a foreign medium.

SEVAGRAM, January 27, 1942

Harijan, 1-2-1942

732. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

January 28, 1942

CHI. LILI,

I am replying to your letter the moment I got it. I did not like your account of how you were working. I have told you a thousand times not to get impatient. Whatever knowledge you acquire will not be wasted. You should thoroughly understand the subjects. Learn only what you can without over-exerting yourself. Have a talk with your Principal and other professors. Let me know what they say. I would not at all like your giving up your studies. I am not keen that you should take the examination this year. Of course if you can do so without difficulty, you may. But I should regard it as sheer folly and theft of public money for you to benumb your brain by keeping awake at night and drinking pots of tea. A person like you ought not to throw away money like this.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9597. Also C.W. 6569. Courtesy : Lilavati Asar

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Benares Hindu University", 21-1-1942.

733. TALK TO KHADI VIDYALAYA STUDENTS¹

SEVAGRAM,

January 29, 1942

I have something to say about the manner in which you just came and sat here.² The task before us is so great and pure that it should influence our manner of speech as well as movement, in fact all our actions as well as thoughts. When we assemble to hear someone we should sit in a decent posture, without being huddled together. And we should make it a point to sit up straight and erect and in an attentive posture. The way you are huddled together, one upon another, shows a lack of manners, of culture. Every tradition has its own definite style of deportment. In Western countries, people sit on chairs in a prescribed manner. The military training they receive also influences their style. We also have our own concept of good manners. But we have forgotten it. We have learnt nothing new from the West. That is why our plight is like Trishanku's³, neither here nor there. We have our own code of postures, which helps make physical as well as spiritual progress. It is something we can offer the world provided we assimilate it in our lives. But we have now grown indolent. This is about the ancient Hindu tradition. The Arabs too have their own code of etiquette. They also have a graceful manner of sitting and rising. Their prayers too are offered in their own prescribed style. In short, the only purpose of my saying all this is that whatever we do should have a method about it—a code to govern it. If you fulfil the expectations entertained about you, you can surpass the students of Government schools or colleges. In my view the importance of this Vidyalaya is not less but in fact more than that of a school or college. You are judged also by the way you lie and sit, by the manner and matter of your talk. Every action of a man from the cradle to the grave should be steeped in his culture. I would like to see your own culture in every one of your actions. It is not enough for you merely to learn spinning and weaving; it is only a means.

Two things are most essential for man to subsist. One is food and the other clothing. There are three ways of solving the problem of food and clothing. One of them is to get them in the form of charity. But it is not proper. It does not mitigate the poverty of the people. On

¹ After the evening prayer Gandhiji addressed the students from different provinces who had one month's training at the Vidyalaya.

² There was some confusion when the students took their seats at the meeting.

³ Who hung between heaven and earth

the contrary, it makes beggars of them. The other way is to take up employment and earn wages with which to subsist. This too makes us dependent. The third way is to arrange the production of food and clothing. This can be done in two ways. Either through spinning-wheels or through mechanized factories. By mass-producing the goods we can certainly become self-dependent collectively, but not individually. In case of air-raids where will they drop the bombs if not on the workshops and factories? Certainly not on the [small] dwelling units where *taklis* and spinning-wheels are plying. If eventually we are left with no other means of producing cloth, we shall be obliged to depend on others for our needs. And if the factories are diverted to the manufacture of ammunitions, there will be no other means but the spinning-wheel left with us.

All this can happen in future. If we can foresee it we should provide for it right from today. Today we need khadi worth one billion rupees, out of which we shall be able to produce at the most khadi worth one crore. It is no great achievement in my view. You are being trained here so that when you leave you may teach the people to produce their own requirements and stand on their own legs.

Today if someone comes to me even after passing his M.A., I would ask him too what his ultimate aim in life was. What does he want to do? Employment of some sort, isn't it? To secure employment and earn his bread. But that is not your aim. If you come here to be trained so that you can earn your bread you cannot interest a man like me. Here is before you a course covering one year, not several as in the schools and colleges. The aim is to devise a scheme by which the whole of India, every single man in the country, can stand on his own feet. By producing cloth in the mills the money does not go to the poor but it moves from the poor man's pocket into the rich man's. On the other hand, if I buy khadi, I transfer some money to the poor and help them to be self-reliant. In this way if we succeed in making them self-reliant in one matter alone, they will themselves learn to be so in all other matters. Khadi is like the carpenter's set square. When with its help he corrects one angle, the remaining angles stand corrected in consequence. In the same way, if we could establish khadi, many other things would take root without special effort on our part. As a result of the work we have done for khadi, many village industries have now been revived and the activities of the A. I. V. I. A. are gaining ground. If you look at khadi work from this angle, you will realize what splendid thing khadi is and consequently your work and its impact too will be equally splendid.

Bear in mind that you are learning the way of filling the poor man's pocket and not your family's. If we fail to appreciate this point, we all shall have to repent in the end. You had better look out now, quit this work and take up another profession or employment.

In this context, I have deliberately omitted to mention the country's independence and politics, although they are all interconnected. If we could make the poor people of India self-reliant in necessities, swaraj will be within our reach. In my view, that alone would be real swaraj, and nothing else. If you will go through Shri Rajendra Babu's recent essay on constructive programme you will know what an important role khadi has in the struggle for independence.

Those of you who are leaving today should understand that whatever they have learnt or done here during these four weeks is nothing more than superficial introduction. They must increase their knowledge. If you have not developed a scientific outlook, if you have not learnt to think the scientific way, you will not be able to develop whatever you have gained here, nor will you be able to fulfil the expectations entertained of you. Here you have been entrusted with a key to a store of knowledge and if you have learnt to use it, I trust you will draw from that store new things every day and enrich yourselves.

A teacher who establishes rapport with the taught, becomes one with them, learns more from them than he teaches them. He who learns nothing from his disciples is, in my opinion, worthless. Whenever I talk with someone I learn from him. I take from him more than I give him. In this way, a true teacher regards himself as a student of his students. If you will teach your pupils with this attitude, you will benefit much from them.

In my opinion the late Maganlal Gandhi was such an ideal khadi worker. He proved his worth beyond my expectations. Even struggling against the most formidable difficulties, he used to learn something useful to him wherever he could. He was neither afraid nor tired of hardships. Till his death he engaged himself in learning more and more about khadi. I want you to follow in your life this ideal of Maganlal Gandhi. Remember, if on returning to your home provinces you do not develop the knowledge acquired here, you will lose very soon what you carry with you. If you want to develop your knowledge, know that it can grow only by teaching it to the others. If you continue to be such progressive and brilliant workers you will, I am sure, grow from 13 to 130 in a very short time.

So, I am placing a great burden on the teachers who are leaving this place today. Please carry it with you. From wherever you will go and work I expect to hear that you are honest gentlemen and devoted servants of the country.

If anyone wants to ask any question he may do so.

Q. What should a khadi worker do to guard himself against lethargy and pride?

GANDHIJI : He should spin regularly and attentively for eight hours every day without a break. If, while plying the wheel, he thinks only of service to *Daridranarayana*, pride will not be able to cast its shadow on him, and how can lethargy remain?

Q. What should a khadi worker do in case his subordinates do not carry out his instructions? Should he punish them? Should he get angry?

GANDHIJI : He should try to convert them through patience without losing his temper. It has been my experience that when I become angry, I fail to convince. Anger is an enemy of reason. That is why we should not lose temper. Similarly, we cannot also mete out punishment. If any punishment is necessary, we should ourselves undertake a fast. But if the interest of khadi work demands it, the person concerned can be relieved.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 15-2-1942

734. LETTER TO MANJULA M. MEHTA

January 30, 1942

CHI. MANJULA,

I have your letters. I acted upon them immediately. I took Champa to task. She has realized her error somewhat and feels ashamed. But my words are likely to have no permanent effect on her. After my rebuke, she gave me the accompanying letter¹. I have read it. It means nothing.

When are you coming here? If you wish, I would shift Champa from that room. It is reserved for you exclusively. It will take some time before your building is ready. Till then you may treat this room as your own. I have put Champa there as your representative.

¹ This is not available.

Ratilal has run away to Wankaner on somebody's mare. It is not proper for Magan not to go and see him. An attendant can be found there.

I hope all of you are doing well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1025. Courtesy : Manjula M. Mehta

735. LETTER TO PREMA KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,

January 30, 1942

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. Your work there seems to be going on quite well.

You did well to draw my attention to my habit of talking too much. I will continue to call you silly, but I will bear in mind your criticism. You cite the remarks of others in support of your criticism and they too will caution me.¹ I do admit that there is substance in one point. My past experiences are no valid arguments. They may give me strength, but as arguments their value is limited. If the experiments in the past were based on error, the error is not mitigated but multiplied by repeating those experiments.

I plead completely guilty to your second charge. I am in no position now to write long and interesting letters. I can do that only if I went to jail. Nor can I talk interestingly. The pressure on my time has become much too heavy for that.

Lakshmibai is leaving today. I like her very much. Her health is fully restored.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10422. Also C.W. 6861. Courtesy : Prema Kantak

¹ The addressee had conveyed to Gandhiji, the criticism of some leaders and constructive workers that he had grown argumentative and referred too often to his experiences in South Africa.

736. MY SINCERITY

I have been asked which way my sympathy lies. From a purely humanitarian point of view, undoubtedly, it is all with England. I do not wish that the British should be defeated, nor do I wish the defeat of the Germans. There will be very little meaning and charm for us in the rest of the world if an entire people, to whichever nation they belong, remain downtrodden, humiliated and embittered. Will not bitterness in any one nation constitute seeds of a future war? Whatever it is, if the present war continues till the bitter end, civilization itself will be reduced to ashes in this conflagration. Let us pray that it will stop before it is too late. Still, can it stop so long as there is hatred in the hearts of men? If I have hatred for even one individual, will it not imperceptibly spread to all his countrymen? Of course, there is ample reason for condemning the German dictator. But if I wish that armies bid farewell to arms and refrain from bloodshed—since this is the only meaning and message of ahimsa—I should adhere to my conviction and should have no hatred for any living human being. Although I am pained at his deeds, I can have no hatred even for Adolf Hitler.

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, January 1942

737. DHANUSH TAKLI

I think *dhanush takli* is going to play a big role in the constructive programme. Today I am not going to enter into the relative merits and demerits of *dhanush takli* and the spinning-wheel. I am convinced that we cannot manufacture spinning-wheels by thousands. It requires plenty of money which we do not have. Nor can they be manufactured at every place. They are also hardly portable.

It is not possible either to make good *taklis* at every place, nor can we spin fast with them.

That leaves only the *dhanush takli* which can be made with little labour and less money. We can also spin fast with it.

Therefore, I request all khadi workers to study the *dhanush takli*, learn to make it and popularize it.

Manufacture of new spinning-wheels should be postponed for the time being. By all means make the best use of the existing ones. Those who can and wish to manufacture the spinning-wheels locally

may do so. But in order to create an atmosphere for *dhanush takli* all the new spinners should be supplied with *dhanush taklis* only.

All khadi workers should peruse from *Harijan* my article¹ on the subject.

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, January 1942

738. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 1, 1942

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your question is right. Ordinarily such things cannot be passed. But it is reasonable to give this much to Lakshmidas. He should be paid every month, if he asks for it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4411

739. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA GOSEVA SANGH CONFERENCE²

WARDHA,

February 1, 1942

Gandhiji with biting irony . . . cast . . . lurid light on the worship of the cow as seen in the streets of Bombay.

We catch her by the tail and sanctify our eyes with its sacred touch. We regard even her urine as sacred and full of medicinal value and drink it. Alas, the poor cow is innocent of all this worship, and so our worship is lost on her. It even scares her. When it scares her she answers our attentions with a kick; when she is not scared she suffers us. . . .

All this is too true and those who claim to protect the cow betray a criminal ignorance of the real method of protecting her and her progeny. Those who claim to worship the cow cruelly ill-treat the bullocks. Chaunde Maharaj has been working at the problem assiduously for years, but whilst he accepts my facts and even argument, he says, 'What about the public sentiment? They somehow want to save the cow from the butcher.' But they go about the wrong way and succeed in defeating the very object they are trying to achieve. I do

¹ *Vide* "Real War Effort", 19-1-1942.

² Reproduced from Mahadev Desai's "Goseva Sangh—I and II". Gandhiji inaugurated the first conference held under the presidentship of Vinoba Bhave.

not say this in a carping spirit, but shocking ignorance and want of understanding of the essentials of the problem betrayed by most of the people who run our pinjrapoles¹ dismay me.

He referred in passing to the wrong way of protecting the cow from a Mussalman wanting to slaughter her, and said that he would repeat *ad nauseam* that to quarrel with the Mussalman and to kill him in order to protect the cow was to instigate more slaughter.

The whole milk and ghee trade is in the hands of the Hindus. But have we been able to ensure a supply of pure milk and ghee? The milk is adulterated, and even the water used for adulteration is not clean. The cruel and criminal process of *phooka*² is well known. The ghee sold in the market can often be described as poison rather than ghee. The butter we get from New Zealand, Australia or Denmark is guaranteed pure cow's butter, but there is no guarantee about the butter or ghee available here. There is not a shop in Wardha, where some of us are keen on this problem, where one could go and buy a seer of cow's ghee of guaranteed purity.³

I therefore say that if I can really protect the cow by adopting proper ways and means, I would protect the rest of the animals. But it can be done only if we know the true science and economy of it. Only then shall we be able to interest Perinbehn in the problem.⁴ I am amazed at our partiality for buffalo's milk and ghee. Our economics is short-sighted. We look at the immediate gain, but we do not realize that in the last analysis the cow is the more valuable animal. Cow's butter (and ghee) has a naturally yellowish colour which indicates its superiority to buffalo's butter (and ghee) in *carotene*. It has a flavour all its own. Foreign visitors who come to Sevagram go into raptures over the pure cow's milk they get there. Buffalo's milk and butter are almost unknown in Europe. It is only in India that one finds a prejudice in favour of buffalo's milk and ghee. This has spelt all but extinction of the cow, and that is why I say that, unless we put an

¹ Place where aged and infirm cattle are cared for

² Blowing

³ Mahadev Desai introduces the next paragraph with the following note : "Every animal—in fact all life—is sacred and should be protected, but unless we really protect the one that was most valuable in national economy, other animals could not be protected. In our neglect of the cow we had brought both the cow and the buffalo at death's door."

⁴ Perinbehn Captain, on being invited to the conference, had declined saying : "None of this travesty of worship for me. I might attend when you have put it on a rational footing and shown by concrete work that the Hindus really care for the cow. And if you will protect the cow, why not the horse and the dog too—both of them equally noble?"

exclusive emphasis on the cow, she cannot be saved. It is a tragedy that all the cows and buffaloes put together cannot give us enough milk for the 40 crores of our people. We ought to realize the value of the cow as a giver of milk and the mother of draught and agricultural cattle. And how far is one to pamper popular prejudices? A cow proves valuable even if she dies, if we would make use of the skin, the bone, the flesh, the entrails and so on. But the good Chaunde Maharaj wonders if people can be persuaded to believe that dead cow's hide is sacred. Why not? I would not hesitate to go into my house with shoes made of dead cow's hide, provided of course the shoes are clean. I should not hesitate to have my meal with such clean shoes on. I have to do all this in order to show that the cow is an asset and not a liability. Today in many places they bury dead cows or sell them away for a song. We despise the Harijans who eat carrion, but we forget that it is due to our own fault. If we treated the hide properly, if we knew the manurial value of the flesh, and the use of the bone and the entrails—which we are demonstrating at Nalwadi—there would be no carrion-eating.

Ever since my return to India from South Africa I have been harping on the question of the reform of pinjrapoles. Unless we realize and define their proper functions, they are sure to remain the economic waste they are. Their proper function is to take care of dry, old and disabled cows, of which individual owners cannot possibly take care—certainly not in towns and cities. Their function is not that of a dairy—though they may run a separate dairy if they can—but the care of the old and the disabled animals, and to provide the raw material for a tannery. There should be a well-equipped tannery attached to every pinjrapoles. They should maintain the best stud-bulls and loan them out for public use, they should provide every facility for the humane and scientific castration of bulls to be turned into bullocks, and there should be instruction centres for the agriculturalist and the dairy farmer. Here is plenty of scope for our agricultural and dairy graduates who should receive additional training for the special work and then be attached to every one of our pinjrapoles. All the pinjrapoles should then be affiliated to our Association which should be the central institution for expert advice, collection and co-ordination of information and statistics, and so on. The Association has made it a rule to have as its members those who take the following pledge :

I agree with the object and means of the Association.

I promise to use cow's milk and its products exclusively, except for medical purposes or under unavoidable circumstances or in the articles of food containing milk and its products in a negligible quantity. I will refrain from

the use of the leather of slaughtered cows, bullocks and calves.

I will donate a sum of rupee one or 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn to the Association every year.

Do not magnify the so-called difficulties and the embarrassment you would cause to your hosts. You can go about with cow's ghee wherever you go—as Kakasaheb does—or you can do without it. It will be good propaganda, and you may succeed in converting your hosts also. But duty is not always easy of performance. To run away from it is the opposite of manliness, opposite of humanity.¹

Answering a question, Gandhiji said that *goseva* formed part of the constructive programme of the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the audience to stabilize and organize pinjrapoles. Even Muslims could co-operate in this cow-protection and preservation work, as it would increase milch cattle, give nutrition and preserve a good supply of bullocks for cultivation.

Unless you offer your full co-operation to Jamnalalji, especially on the question of pinjrapoles, his best efforts cannot succeed. Today the cow is on the brink of extinction, and I am not sure that our efforts will ultimately succeed. But if she dies, we also die along with her—we, i.e., our civilization. I mean our essentially non-violent and rural civilization. We have, therefore, to make our choice. We can choose to be violent and kill all uneconomic cattle. Like Europe we should then breed our cattle for the purposes of milk and meat. But our civilization is fundamentally different. Our life is wrapped up in our animals. Most of our villagers live with their animals, often under the same roof. Both live together, both starve together. Often enough the owner starves the poor cattle, exploits them, ill-treats them, unmercifully extracts work out of them. But if we reform our ways, we can both be saved. Otherwise we sink together, and it is just as well that we swim or sink together.

The question today is to solve the problem of our starvation and poverty, but I have confined myself to the problem of the starvation and poverty of our cattle. Our *rishis*² showed us the sovereign remedy. 'Protect the cow,' they said, 'and you protect all.' We have to add to the talents they have left us, and not to waste them. We have invited the experts,³ and we shall make every use of their advice. Nothing that we laymen say is final, we shall get the experts to test it with their

¹ The following two paragraphs are from *The Hindu*.

² Seers

³ Kothawala of the Bangalore Dairy, Sam Higginbottom of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, Viswanathan of the Agricultural Research Institute and Datar Singh of the Montgomery Dairy Farm attended the conference.

knowledge and experience. We shall, therefore, always seek their advice and invite their criticism.

Harijan, 8-2-1942 and 15-2-1942, and *The Hindu*, 2-2-1942

740. THREE ESSENTIALS

Assuming the presence of the will among the millions, rapid spread of hand-spinning is possible only by the adoption of the following three things :

1. Use of unginning cotton from the nearest spot when it is not grown on one's own plot.

2. Ginning it on a polished board with an iron or smooth wooden rod and carding the cotton by manipulation of the cotton with fingers assisted by a wooden knife made on the spot. This process is called *tunai* (तुनाई).

3. Spinning the slivers on the *dhanush takli*.

Hand-gins cannot be manufactured to order today. All available unginning cotton should be prepared first by the method explained in 2 above.

Where unginning cotton is not available ginning cotton from factories has got to be used. It too lends itself to *tunai*, though much more time is required for carding by the *tunai* process when bale cotton has to be used. Where a carding-bow is available, naturally it will be used. But what is true of ginning is equally true of carding. It is not possible to manufacture bows and gut in a moment. *Tunai* is a method devised and being perfected by Shri Vinoba with an artist's skill and ardour.

When spinning spreads among the millions it will be impossible to supply slivers from a centre or centres. The utmost that is possible is for families or groups to set apart one or two hands per a fixed number for carding. The ideal, the best, and in the long run the quickest, way is for each one to prepare his own slivers. It makes spinning more interesting, and the variety of occupation breaks the monotony.

I suggest that, though the crisis is not yet felt and the mills are working, khadi workers will do well from now to adopt the suggestions I have made. When the crisis does come, we shall then be found ready.

SEVAGRAM, February 2, 1942

Harijan, 22-2-1942

741. HINDI + URDU = HINDUSTANI

The following letter¹ was written on the 29th ultimo and sent to me by its writer by registered post. It was received at Sevagram on the 31st ultimo :

The writer has signed the letter, but as it is marked personal I refrain from giving his name. In any case the name does not matter. What the writer says is, I know, the belief held by many Muslims. My repudiation has not undone the mischief.

But my article² which was written on the 23rd ultimo and has appeared in *Harijan* of the 1st instant, should soothe the writer so far as I am concerned.

I entirely agree with my correspondent that all who want one all-India speech should today learn both the forms—Hindi and Urdu. Those who do will ultimately give us a common language. That form which is more popular and more understood by the masses, whether Hindu or Muslim, will surely be the all-India speech. But if my proposal finds general acceptance, the language question will cease to be a political issue or a bone of contention.

I do not subscribe to the correspondent's statement that Urdu is "more developed, more beautiful, more attractive, more concise, and more expressive". No language is intrinsically all that the correspondent says. A language becomes what its speakers and writers make it. English had no merit apart from what Englishmen made it. In other words, a language is a human creation and takes the colour of its creators. Every language is capable of infinite expansion. Modern Bengali is what Bankim³ and Rabindranath have made it. If, therefore, it is true that Urdu is more everything than Hindi, it is because its creators are abler than those of Hindi. I can give no opinion, for I have not studied either as a linguist. I know just enough of both for my public work.

But is Urdu a language distinct from Hindi as, say, Bengali is from Marathi? Is not Urdu a direct descendent of Hindi, written in the Persian character with a tendency to borrow new words from Persian and Arabic rather than Sanskrit? If there was no estrangement between the two communities, such a phenomenon would have been

¹The letter, not reproduced here, alleged that Gandhiji was advocating the cause of Hindi in the name of Hindustani.

²Entitled "Hindustani"; *vide* 23-1-1942.

³ Bankimchandra Chatterjee

welcomed. And when the animosities have died out, as they will one day, our descendants will laugh at our quarrels and will be proud of the common Hindustani speech which will be a mixture of words indifferently borrowed from many languages according to the tastes and equipment of its multitude of writers and speakers.

Let me correct one misimpression of my correspondent. He seems to think that Hindustani will finally displace all the provincial languages. That is neither my dream nor of those who have been thinking of an all-India speech. Their dream is that Hindustani should displace English which has almost become a common medium of communication between the educated classes resulting in a gulf being created between them and the masses. The tragedy can be prevented only if the common speech spoken by the largest number of India's inhabitants is adopted as the interprovincial speech. The fight, therefore, is not between Hindi and Urdu, but between the two on the one hand and English on the other. The result is a foregone conclusion in spite of the heavy handicap that the sisters are labouring under, not to speak of the temporary mutual quarrel.

My correspondent quarrels with my connection with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I am proud of my connection with that body. It has a record of which it has no reason to be ashamed. The name Hindi was common to both the communities. Both have written in Hindi and promoted its growth. Evidently my correspondent is ignorant of what my connection with that body has meant. It was under my instigation that it wisely, and shall I say patriotically and generously, adopted the definition of Hindi to cover Urdu. He asks whether I ever joined an Urdu Anjuman. I have never been seriously asked to join any. If I was, I would have made a stipulation with my inviters similar to the one I made with those who induced me to preside at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I would have asked the Urdu-speaking inviters to let me ask the audience to define Urdu so as to include Hindi speech written in Devanagari script. No such luck came my way.

But now, as I have already hinted in my article of the 1st instant already referred to, I would like to form an association advocating the learning of both forms of speech and both the scripts by its members and carrying on propaganda to that end in the hope finally of a natural fusion of the two becoming a common interprovincial speech called Hindustani. Then the equation would be not Hindustani = Hindi + Urdu, but Hindustani = Hindi = Urdu.

SEVAGRAM, February 2, 1942

Harijan, 8-2-1942

742. THE ASHRAM PRAYER¹

The Ashram prayer has become very popular. Its development has been spontaneous. The *Ashram Bhajanavali*² (Hymn Book) has gone into several editions and is increasingly in demand. The birth and growth of this prayer has not been artificial. There is a history attached to almost every *shloka* and every selected *bhajan*. The *Bhajanavali* contains among others *bhajans* from Muslim Sufis and Fakirs, from Guru Nanak, and from the Christian Hymnary. Every religion seems to have found a natural setting in the prayer book.

Chinese, Burmese, Jews, Ceylonese, Muslims, Parsis, Europeans and Americans have all lived in the Ashram from time to time. In the same way two Japanese sadhus came to me in Maganwadi in 1935. One of them was with me till the other day when war broke out with Japan. He was an ideal inmate of our home in Sevagram. He took part in every activity with zest. I never heard of his quarrelling with anyone. He was a silent worker. He learnt as much Hindi as he could. He was a strict observer of his vows. Every morning and evening he could be seen going round with his drum and heard chanting his *mantra*. The evening worship always commenced with his *mantra* नं म्यो हो रेंगे क्यो, which means "I bow to the Buddha, the giver of true religion." I shall never forget the quickness, the orderliness, and utter detachment with which he prepared himself the day the police came without notice to take him away from the Ashram. He took leave of me after reciting his favourite *mantra* and left his drum with me. "You are leaving us, but your *mantra* will remain an integral part of our Ashram prayer," were the words that came spontaneously to my lips. Since then, in spite of his absence, our morning and evening worship has commenced with the *mantra*. For me it is a constant reminder of Sadhu Keshav's purity and single-eyed devotion. Indeed its efficacy lies in that sacred memory.

While Sadhu Keshav was still with us, Bibi Raihana Tyabji also came to stay at Sevagram for a few days. I knew her to be a devout Muslim but was not aware, before the death of her illustrious father, of how well-versed she was in Koran Sharif. When that jewel of Gujarat, Tyabji Saheb, expired no sound of weeping broke the awful silence in his room. The latter echoed with Bibi Raihana's sonorous recitation of verses from the Koran. Such as Abbas Tyabji Saheb cannot die. He is

¹ The Hindi original of this appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 8-2-1942.

² Vide "Ashram Bhajanavali", 15-12-1930.

ever alive in the example of national service which he has left behind.¹ Bibi Raihana is an accomplished singer with an ample repertory of *bhajans* of all kinds. She used to sing daily as well as recite beautiful verses from the Koran. I asked her to teach some verses to any of the inmates who could learn them, and she gladly did so. Like so many who come here she had become one of us. Raihana went away when her visit was over, but she has left a fragrant reminder of herself. The well-known 'al Fateha' has been included in the Ashram worship. The following is a translation of it.

1. I take refuge in Allah from Satan the accursed.

2. Say : He is God, the one and only
God, the Eternal, Absolute,
He begetteth not nor is He begotten,
And there is none like unto Him.

3. Praise be to God,
The Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds,
Most Gracious, most Merciful,
Master of the Day of Judgment,
Thee do we worship
And Thine aid we seek.
Show us the straight way,
The way of those on whom
Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace,
Those whose (portion) is not wrath
And who go not astray.

I am writing this note in reply to an ardent Hindu friend who has thus gently reproached me : "You have now given the *Kalma* a place in the Ashram. What further remains to be done to kill your Hinduism?"

I am confident that my Hinduism and that of the other Ashram Hindus has grown thereby. There should be in us an equal reverence for all religions. Badshah Khan, whenever he comes, joins in the worship here with delight. He loves the tune which the *Ramayana* is sung, and he listens intently to the *Gita*. His faith in Islam has not lessened thereby. Then why may I not listen to the Koran with equal reverence and adoration in my heart?

¹ The Hindi here has : "On her arrival I said to Raihana jestingly, 'You convert the Ashram inmates to Islam. I shall convert you to Hinduism.'"

Vinoba and Pyarelal studied Arabic and learnt the Koran in jail. Their Hinduism has been enriched by this study. I believe that Hindu-Muslim unity will come only through such spontaneous mingling of hearts and no other. Rama is not known by only a thousand names. His names are innumerable, and He is the same whether we call Him Allah, Khuda, Rahim, Razaak, the Bread-giver, or any name that comes from the heart of a true devotee.

SEVAGRAM, February 2, 1942

Harijan, 15-2-1942

743. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

WARDHA,

February 2, 1942

CHI. AMRIT,

An ideal secretary keeps her chief straight where he is going astray. She hovers round him and watches all the movement about him, picks up his papers, even torn, lest he might have torn important ones in mistake, collects all she has given him, if it is to be found anywhere. Therefore she leaves after him and seeks what he has left behind and if not owned by anybody else, collects it.

Now I was right in correcting you yesterday but wholly wrong in showing disappointment or irritation. Forget the wrong and treasure the right. What I have said is by way of indication. Follow the spirit of this note and you will be an ideal secretary.

This is my birthday present which goes loaded with all the good wishes that I am capable of conceiving.

Love.

BAPU

RAMJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM

From the original : C.W. 3686. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6495

744. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Unrevised

Silence Day, February 2, 1942

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your question deserves to be considered. Does the Goseva Sangh belong to Hinduism or is it a public institution? If it is a public institution, then do all religions accept it, or will they? If it is not a sectarian body, then we should try to draw to it followers of all religions.

Your list does not contain names of persons from different provinces; there is nothing like *goseva* in the South nor in Bengal and the Punjab. Is no one from these places to be included?

Of late I have not come in contact with Chaunde Maharaj, but my experience of him is not quite encouraging. He has one or two workers who are good. My attitude is to accept from him whatever help he can give. He has his own institution. It should not be interfered with. We should learn from each other, and have a fraternal feeling.

Yes, there ought to be a woman. By all means do have Manibehn. It will be very difficult to get Rajkumari. At home it will not be possible for her to follow the rules about the cow. If you enlist supporters or friends, you can include persons like Rajkumari.

I shall look into the accounts of the old Sangh.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3032

745. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

Silence Day, February 2, 1942

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You should see the knife they give me. It is full of dirt. In jail the knives are kept shining clean. This can also be as clean; in fact all our implements should be as clean.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4412

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter of the same date. He has however noted in his diary that he did not understand Gandhiji's reply.

746. QUESTION BOX

HINDU-MUSLIM PUZZLE

Q. In your proposed solution of the Hindu-Muslim puzzle¹, do you expect all the Hindus to abstain from the legislatures or only a part? If only a part, will not the most reactionary Hindus get in and make things worse than now? And if you expect Congressmen to affect the Muslim mind from outside, why can't you do the same and perhaps more effectively by being inside?

A. I do not expect all the Hindus to abstain. I know that all Hindu seats will be filled by non-Congress Hindus. Congress Hindus, if they go in, will be ground down between the two stones of the communal *chakki*² without doing any good to anybody. I do not approach the question as a Hindu. I approach it as a Congressman seeking to represent equally all communities. But for the artificial system introduced in the composition of the Indian legislatures, all the members would be representing not communities but their parties grouped according to their non-communal shibboleths. As one representing all communities I would expect not only Hindus but Congress-minded Muslims and others too to avoid the legislatures and elective bodies. These abstainers will hold the scales evenly between all communities and seek to affect the legislatures from outside. Whether they are many or only a few, they will play the role of wise men. If all listened to me, the communal question would disappear from our midst. By entering the legislatures the Congress Hindus become interlopers, and act weakly for fear of offending one party or the other. This I know, that at the present moment the legislatures are, and must become, part of the war machinery. They have no choice. They will not be allowed to function, if they obstruct the war effort. How could the rulers whose sole occupation is to prosecute the war do otherwise?

WHY NOT IN HINDU MAJORITY PROVINCES?

Q. Why not advise Congressmen to withdraw from the provincial legislatures too where the Hindus are in a majority?

A. Because I do not want the non-Muslim minority parties to act as if they were the majority and carry on the government in these provinces. It would be a false position to which the Congress would be

¹ *Vide* "Communal Unity", 20-1-1942.

² Grinding-stone

a willing party, if the Congress members withdrew. In these provinces, therefore, abstention cannot solve the communal tangle, and will bring about an unintended and undesirable state of things.

TORTURING THE LANGUAGE?

Q. Surely you are torturing the language when you use the word “unitary” in the place of ‘unilateral’.¹ For that is obviously what you mean.

A. I must plead not guilty. ‘Unilateral’ has a definite legal meaning which does not fit in with what I am struggling to convey. It is not onesidedness. It is no-sidedness. It has impartiality implied in it. But it is not the method of impartiality. It is something more. I represent a party, say, the Congress. For the solution of the problem I apply a method whereby I seek to affect those who are estranged from me. I am not merely impartial, because I may or may not please them. Impartiality has to be felt by the aggrieved party. I go the utmost length to placate the offended party, and trust my out-and-out pure conduct to affect them. I may not succeed at once. But if there is a real sense of justice in the method, it must succeed. For want of a better word I have called the method “unitary”. The dictionary meaning satisfies my test which I have imperfectly described here.

SEVAGRAM, February 3, 1942

Harijan, 15-2-1942

747. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 3, 1942

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Sailendra has many complaints. He says he does not get the *bhaji*² soup regularly, and that there is nobody to help him in preparing the *bhaji*. Have a talk with him and make the necessary arrangements.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8479. Also C.W. 7164. Courtesy : Munnalal G. Shah

¹ Vide “Unitary Method”, “Question Box”, 27-1-1942.

² Leafy vegetable

748. *DISCUSSION AT ALL-INDIA GOSEVA SANGH
CONFERENCE*¹

February 3, 1942²

Did Gandhiji mean to say that even as khadi saved the Indian mill-cloth, the protection of the cow would mean the protection of the buffalo?

Gandhiji said :

Yes, but I mean something more. I have often said that I should not shed a single tear, if all the mills were to be destroyed. I would never say this regarding the buffalo.

Explaining the matter at greater length he said :

No, my point is that, unless we protect the cow today, we will fail to save both the cow and the buffalo. And it is not possible to make a combined endeavour to save both. The combined endeavour will result in the buffalo devouring the cow. The cow is the more neglected animal, and that is why we should concentrate on the cow. But not even if Jamnalalji got a few crores of rupees can we achieve our object until we have converted the people to our view—especially the people who run goshalas and pinjrapoles.

There is no question of ‘boycott’, much less of the killing of buffaloes. Slaughter is a thing that suggests itself easily to Western economists. That is why they cut the Gordian knot by slaughtering the inferior breed of cows and bulls. But that solution is not good for me. It is my firm conviction that, if we master the real science of saving the cow, the science of saving the buffalo and other animals would automatically be revealed to us.

[Q.] But, supposing you were to boycott all the buffaloes in Sevagram, what would happen to them and their owners?

I promise to take charge of the buffalo in case you succeed in your mission of the cow to that extent. If the mill-owners voluntarily

¹In his article “Goseva Sangh—II”, from which this is reproduced, Mahadev Desai gives the following introduction : “. . . no one seemed to be clear as regards the attitude to be adopted regarding the buffalo, and no one seemed to see how, if we saved the cow, the buffalo would also be saved.”

² From *Bapu-smaran*

close down the mills, I shall dance with joy, but not if the owners of the buffaloes were to slaughter them. Western economics is divorced from ethics; our ethics and economics coincide or should, if they do not. My exclusive emphasis on the protection of the cow is due to the undue neglect of the cow although she in my opinion is a sound economic proposition. I do not need the aid of the Vedas to show me this, and this is a matter in which I would test the Vedic precept on the anvil of reason. Reason convinces me that if I save the cow I save the cow and the buffalo both. If anyone can convince me that the cow is dead beyond redemption, and that the buffalo alone needs to be protected, I am quite prepared to organize a 'Buffalo Protection Association'. But the reverse is the case. The buffalo needs no special protection, the cow needs it. The buffalo and the goat are as much my mothers as the cow. But I know that the poor goat cannot be saved, that the cow badly needs to be saved, and when we have saved the cow the buffalo will be automatically saved.¹

Gandhiji tentatively suggested that co-operative owning of cows and co-operative owning of pasture for them would go a great length in improving both the breed and the milk yield and in helping to solve the question of grazing.

For the next year the Goseva Sangh should, suggested Gandhiji, concentrate on making cow's milk available throughout Wardha and its neighbourhood, on sending experts to pinjrapoles in order to collect material, throw out suggestions, and help in making them approximate to the ideal pinjrapole contemplated by the Sangh, and on having a laboratory in Wardha for the testing of milk and ghee, and so on. The Sangh will also try to enlist at least a thousand members.

Harijan, 15-2-1942

¹ Various other questions were then discussed, the most important one being that of grazing-areas.

749. TO CORRESPONDENTS

Correspondents will please note that I neither open nor read all the correspondence that comes to me. And now that I have taken up the care of the three weeklies, the fewest possible letters are put before me, and even those I often do not get the time to read. Correspondents should regard the weeklies as my public letter to them. Therefore they may not as a rule expect personal replies. Many apply for admission to the Sevagram Ashram. For one thing there is hardly room for further admissions. Some insist on replies in my own hand. It is not possible to satisfy this desire, much as I should like to. I would therefore request all correspondents to spare me and my overworked assistants as much as possible.

SEVAGRAM, February 4, 1942

Harijan, 8-2-1942

750. BASIC CURRENCY

Bharatanandji's active brain, having approved of my note¹ on hand-spun yarn as a measure of value, has produced the following note². Let knowing workers study it and see if they can improve upon the scheme propounded by the author.

SEVAGRAM, February 4, 1942

Harijan, 15-3-1942

751. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

February 5, 1942

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. I do not like it at all that you are accepting defeat. You will become fully qualified if you devote one more year. Why should you become a coward after having spent two years? Hence, you must complete the term and gain whatever knowledge you can even if you are not appearing for the examination. Knowledge thus gained will never go waste. You must become proficient in physics, which is an interesting subject. And chemistry is a very useful

¹ *Vide* "Hand-spun as Measure of Value", 13-1-1942.

² Not reproduced here

subject. If you acquire a good knowledge of it, it will be very useful in the Ashram. Hence my advice is : Never give up even unto death.

It rained here one day. it is biting cold. The Goseva meeting took my time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

752. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[After February 6, 1942]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

Pyarelal is very much puzzled. Everything is going wrong with him. Take pity on him if not on me and come here for a couple of days. You may talk to me only if you feel like it. Otherwise, at least meet the others. Look into the hospital affairs. Give necessary instructions to Shankaran. Examine my health so that you may know. Otherwise at the moment we are oscillating between yes and no. Let it be so. If you come only for a day or two, you may not like to interfere in the routine fixed by me. If you decide to stay on here, you will consider my conditions and I shall consider yours. We shall try to find some solution or shall put up with our differences. You could attend to my work from a distance. For the moment I would only ask you to come here without any protest. You may then go back to Delhi whenever you wish.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

753. ASHRAM NOTES

February 7, 1942

I think it is very good to eat raw vegetables at least once a day. The vegetables may include spinach or *luni* as also turnip, carrots, cauliflower, radish and tomatoes. They give us the salts, strengthen the teeth and help digestion. Raw vegetables are four times as valuable as the same quantity when cooked. They lead to better mastication and

¹ The sheet of paper on which this letter is written carries on one side some writing bearing the date February 6, 1942.

taste better than when cooked. I have tried them for two months. Those who have no special objection may try this experiment.

Everyone should be more alert in his or her work. The work hitherto has not been as systematic as it should be. Our standard of cleanliness leaves much scope for improvement.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 387

754. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,

February 7, 1942

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have been intending to write to you for some time, when, lo and behold, today I got your letter. Do try and arrange to get uncooked vegetables from somewhere. The experiment has benefited me greatly. I have, therefore, advised Ghanshyamdas to make the same experiment and have him put on four ounces of butter. This has increased his energy and strength. Please do not, therefore, give up the experiment. If you keep the leaves immersed in salt water solution, they will remain fresh. It will be enough if you eat only four or five of these. But you can eat onions, carrot, knoll-cole, radish, etc., even after two or more days. You need not take more than two ounces in all. The rest is all right.

I am writing to Prithvi Singh.

You may send . . .¹ over here. I will train him further here and then let him go. He may then utilize your help. He is indeed a good man. He is a little immature, but will learn here. You may send for him if you need him again.

Please take it that the adhesions in your intestines can be cured only through a carefully selected diet. You should not strain at all when passing stools.

I understand your eagerness to get Mahadev over there. But he cannot look after *Harijan* properly from there. He would naturally like to show me what he writes and I to see it. After reading what he writes I often find it necessary to make some essential, though only a few, changes. I have asked Narahari to go over there.

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

Ghanshyamdas is staying in the room which you used to occupy. If he were to stay in Wardha, I would not be able to treat him. I would not be able to judge clearly what to do.

Ba is not keeping quite well. When your planned stay at Hajira is over, please remember you have to come here. You may go out from here only when necessary. You must have read my suggestion regarding spinning in Gujarat.¹ See that it is fully implemented. And collect some money for the Spinners' Association.

Blessings from

BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

HAJIRA, *via* SURAT

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2 : Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 266

755. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

February 7, 1942

CHI. PRABHA,

I have your letter. I am writing to Mathura Babu regarding the honey. There is no stock here just now.

There is no harm in adding salt to vegetables, but it would be better not to. Or you may add just a little. There is no need to add salt to uncooked vegetables.

Ripe tomatoes should never be cooked.

When you get honey, you need not eat palm *gur*.

Sushilabehn's address is : C/o Dr. Gopichand², Lajpat Rai Bhavan, Lahore.

Ba's health is not quite good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3570

¹ *Vide* "To Gujaratis", 25-1-1942.

² Gopichand Bhargava

756. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 7, 1942

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Read both your letters. What you say is quite correct. Advance notice about [the arrival of] guests must be sent. But extraordinary situations will always arise. We should be prepared for that—whether as regards utensils or accommodation. If you have none, you should send word that the guests would be called in as soon as accommodation becomes available. If the food is not enough you will make do with whatever you have. If we have some we should serve it to the guests and ourselves go without any. This will be an emergency decision. If you do not get proper notice owing to carelessness, you will warn those responsible for the confusion. What more can we do?

As for the plates, do this. Collect all the utensils. The new ones should be withdrawn. So many new utensils have come and still there is shortage ! What could be the reason?

Collect all the spoons; they should be given to those who need them.

If you find any difficulty in doing either of these things, take my help.

The rest later.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4413

757. LETTER TO PUSHPA SUNDARAM

February 7, 1942

CHI. PUSHPA,

Father¹ has to give another twenty-five years to the Kashi Vishwavidyalaya. Who is going to be satisfied with twenty-five years?

Why do you write in English?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3189

¹ V. A. Sundaram

758. *DISCUSSION WITH DR. JOHN*¹

[Before *February 8, 1942*]²

Gandhiji laughingly said :

I will not accept the messages, unless Dr. Carver³ comes and delivers them himself.

Dr. John said Dr. Carver was too old now to come to India. But he . . . remembers Gandhiji whenever he has an Indian visitor. . . . The very first question that Gandhiji asked Dr. John about Dr. Carver was :

But even this genius suffers under the handicap of segregation, does not he?

Oh yes, as much as any Negro.

And yet these people talk of democracy and equality ! It is an utter lie.

But Dr. Carver is never bitter or resentful.

I know, that is what we believers in non-violence have to learn from him. But what about the claim of these people who are said to be fighting for democracy?

Harijan, 15-2-1942

¹ Reproduced from Mahadev Desai's "British and American Nazism", dated February 8, 1942

² *ibid*

³ Dr. George Washington Carver, Professor of Botany at Tuskegee, had sent through Dr. John messages and pamphlets for Gandhiji.

759. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

5.45 a.m., February 8, 1942

MY DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

I have decided to drink the cup to the full. I become President of the A. I. V. I. A.

I would like Jairamdas¹ to come on the Executive if it is at all possible.

You may occupy a column of *Harijan* every week.

You should give me a plan for the use of the threatened plot of land. The quicker the better.

You all three must do your Hindi as quickly as possible.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10162

760. NOTES

MISBEHAVIOUR OF TROOPS

I have piteous letters from correspondents complaining of misbehaviour by troops, white and Indian. There are detailed letters from Dohad and Rutlam stations and others too. The troops are said to have molested the hawkers on the platforms, helped themselves to eatables and hit the salesmen who protested. The station-masters were powerless to afford protection. I do not know how much credit is to be attached to the descriptions I have received. The evidence is so detailed and given with so much moderation as to command belief. Anyway I draw the attention of the authorities to the complaints. Any such misbehaviour should be put down summarily and repetition made practically impossible, If panic is to be prevented and bitterness avoided. I would advise the aggrieved parties to lodge their complaints to the proper authorities with authentic evidence in support.

HYDERABAD STATE

Swami Ramanand Tirtha of the banned State Congress has issued the following sober statement² :

¹ Jairamdas Doulatram

² Of which only extracts are reproduced here

Some of the workers of the Hyderabad State Congress which was banned on 2nd March, 1940, offered individual satyagraha in the month of September 1940. . . . The Government of H.E.H. the Nizam released them unconditionally on 16th December, 1941. Immediately after the release, I issued a statement saying. . . that it was incumbent upon us to continue the satyagraha till our demand for lifting the ban was conceded by the Government. After our release we consulted Mahatmaji and. . . he advised us to abstain from re-offering satyagraha at this hour, and directed us to concentrate our energies wholly on the constructive programme. . . . We therefore appeal to the people in general and workers in particular to devote their energies to this programme. . . . This suspension, however, does not mean any alteration in our goal which is the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of H.E.H. the Nizam and the Asafjahi Dynasty.

How I wish the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam would remove the ban. They cannot wish to prevent people from carrying on a constitutional movement in favour of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam. The recent release of the satyagrahis loses all grace if the ban on the State Congress is not removed.

SEVAGRAM, February 8, 1942

Harijan, 15-2-1942

761. NOT NECESSARILY IMPURE

Thus writes Shri Shankerrao Dev:

In the last issue of *Harijan*, in your article “A Deplorable Incident”¹ you say to the rich: “Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society.” When I read this, the first question that arose in my mind was: ‘Why first earn crores and then use them for society?’ As society today is constituted the means of earning crores are bound to be impure; and one who earns crores by impure means cannot be expected to follow the *mantra* तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा— because in the very process of earning crores by impure means the man’s character is bound to be tainted or vitiated. And moreover you have always been emphasizing the purity of means. But I am afraid that there is a possibility of people misunderstanding that you are laying an emphasis here more on the ends than on the means.

I request you to emphasize as much, if not more, on the purity of means of earning money as on spending. If purity of means is strictly observed, then, according to me, crores could not be accumulated at all and the difficulty of

¹ Vide “A Deplorable Incident”, 25-1-1942.

spending for society will assume a very minor prospect.

I must demur. Surely a man may conceivably make crores through strictly pure means, assuming that a man may legitimately possess riches. For the purpose of my argument, I have assumed that private possession itself is not held to be impure. If I own a mining lease and I tumble upon a diamond of rare value, I may suddenly find myself a millionaire without being held guilty of having used impure means. This actually happened when Cullinan diamond, much more valuable than the Kohinoor, was found. Such instances can be easily multiplied. My argument was surely addressed to such men. I have no hesitation in endorsing the proposition that generally rich men and for that matter most men are not particular as to the way they make money. In the application of the method of non-violence one must believe in the possibility of every person, however depraved, being reformed under humane and skilled treatment. We must appeal to the good in human beings and expect response. Is it not conducive to the well-being of society that every member uses all his talents, only not for personal aggrandisement but for the good of all? We do not want to produce dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent. Such a society must ultimately perish. I therefore suggest that my advice that monied men may earn their crores (honestly only, of course) but so as to dedicate them to the service of all is perfectly sound. तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा— is a *mantra* based on uncommon knowledge. It is the surest method to evolve a new order or life of universal benefit in the place of the present one where each one lives for himself without regard to what happens to his neighbour.

SEVAGRAM, February 8, 1942

Harijan, 22-2-1942

762. INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE? ¹

Shri Jamnalal Bajaj has bravely taken the burden of the great work of cow service (in other words, cattle preservation) on his shoulders. The most important question for consideration before the recent Goseva Sangh Conference² was whether cow-farming should be in the hands of individuals or done collectively. I myself had no hesitation in saying that she could never be saved by individual

¹ The Hindi original of this appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 15-2-1942.

² Held on February 1, 1942

farming. Her salvation, and with her that of the buffalo, could only be brought about by collective endeavour. It is quite impossible for an individual farmer to look after the welfare of his cattle in his own home in a proper and scientific manner. Amongst other causes lack of collective effort has been a principal cause of the deterioration of the cow and hence of cattle in general.¹

The world today is moving towards the ideal of collective or co-operative effort in every department of life. Much in this line has been and is being accomplished. It has come into our country also, but in such a distorted form that our poor have not been able to reap its benefits. *Pari passu* with the increase in our population land-holdings of the average farmer are daily decreasing. Moreover, what the individual possesses is often fragmentary.² For such farmers to keep cattle in their homes is a suicidal policy; and yet this is their condition today. Those who give the first place to economics and pay scant attention to religious, ethical or humanitarian considerations proclaim from the house-tops that the farmer is being devoured by his cattle due to the cost of their feed which is out of all proportion to what they yield. They say it is folly not to slaughter wholesale all useless animals.

What then should be done by humanitarians is the question. The answer obviously is to find a way whereby we may not only save the lives of our cattle but also see that do not become a burden. I am sure that co-operative effort can help us in a large measure.

The following comparison may be helpful:

1. Under the collective system no farmer can keep cattle in his house as he does today. They foul the air and dirty the surroundings. There is neither intelligence nor humanitarianism in living with animals. Man was not meant to do so. The space taken up by the cattle today would be spared to the farmer and his family if the collective system were adopted.

2. As the number of cattle increases, life becomes impossible for the farmer in his home. Hence he is obliged to sell the calves and kill the male buffaloes or else turn them out to starve and die. This inhumanity would be averted, if the care of cattle were undertaken on

¹ The Hindi here adds: "This burden is no doubt beyond the strength of an individual farmer."

² The Hindi here adds: "And whatever little he has only adds to his problems."

a co-operative basis.

3. Collective cattle-farming would ensure the supply of veterinary treatment to animals when they are ill. No ordinary farmer can afford this on his own.

4. Similarly one selected bull can be easily kept for the need of several cows under the collective system. This is impossible otherwise except for charity.

5. Common grazing ground or land for exercising the animals will be easily available under the co-operative system, whereas today generally there is nothing of the kind for individual farmers.

6. The expense on fodder will be comparatively far less under the collective system.

7. The sale of milk at good prices will be greatly facilitated, and there will be no need or temptation for the farmer to adulterate it as he does as an individual.

8. It is impossible to carry out tests of the fitness of every head of cattle individually, but this could easily be done for the cattle of a whole village and would thus make it easier to improve the breed.

9. The foregoing advantages should be sufficient argument in favour of co-operative cattle-farming. The strongest argument in its favour is that the individualistic system has been the means of making our own condition as well as that of our cattle pitiable. We can only save ourselves and them by making this essential change.

I firmly believe too that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture until we take to co-operative farming. Does it not stand to reason that it is far better for a hundred families in a village to cultivate their lands collectively and divide the income therefrom than to divide the land anyhow into a hundred portions? And what applies to land applies equally to cattle.

It is quite another matter that it may be difficult to convert people to adopt this way of life straightaway. The straight and narrow road is always hard to traverse. Every step in the programme of cow-service is strewn with thorny problems. But only by surmounting difficulties can we hope to make the path easier. My purpose for the time being is to show the great superiority of collective cattle farming over the individual effort. I hold further that the latter is wrong and the former only is right. In reality even the individual can only safeguard his independence through co-operation. In cattle-farming the individual effort has led to selfishness and inhumanity, whereas the

collective effort can abate both the evils, if it does not remove them altogether.

SEVAGRAM, February 8, 1942

Harijan, 15-2-1942

763. ASHRAM NOTE

February 8, 1942

My advice is that no one should keep with him more utensils than required and those who have the new utensils should exchange them for old ones, so that we can keep the former for our guests.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 387

764. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 8, 1942

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,

As I have suspended civil disobedience, I make bold to write this letter for humanity's cause.

The statutory law says that charitable institutions, though they make profits, are free from income-tax. I am the founder and President of the All-India Spinners' Association. I can give you my word that it is a purely charitable association. It exists to serve the poorest in the land through hand-spinning and hand-weaving. But simply through legal quibbles, disbelief of the evidence tendered and, I apprehend, for its connection with the Congress in that it got its charter from the Congress, the officials have decided do levy the income-tax. The profit are not denied but they have never been used for private or personal gain. The whole of the Executive of the Association is honorary. The Association has gone to the High Court of Bombay which has thrown out its petition on a legal flaw. It is appealing to the Privy Council. I do not know what will be the result. Meanwhile the Association has already paid a certain amount of the tax and is likely to be called upon to pay up to five lacs. They will not stay the levy pending the proceedings. But my request is for you to intervene and save the five lacs for the poor. Let me tell you that during the past 20 years of its existence the Association has distri-

buted among the poor nearly four crores as wages.

I am not burdening you with further facts or any papers. You can have these for the asking.

You will forgive me for inflicting this on you when every moment of yours is pre-mortgaged for winning the war. Though I cannot sympathize with your enterprise, much less help in the manner you would wish, you will believe me when I say that I am as much today a friend of your people as I ever have been. Hence I understand what a strain it must be for you and Lady Linlithgow.

When you write to Lady Anne¹ and Southby² please send my love to them. I have purposely refrained from acknowledging their letters in answer to my congratulations. I hope they with the baby are faring well.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Transfer of Power, Vol. I, pp. 135-6

765. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,
February 8, 1942

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

The thorny crown that I wanted to put upon your head has come upon me. The Executive won't have you or anybody else but me. They want the same man for the sun and the planets.

But you must be in the A.I.V.I.A. as also in the A.I.S.A. if you are not in the latter.

Hope you are flourishing and following what I write in *Harijan*.

I wish you, Devi³ and Premi⁴ will make up your Hindi and Urdu. How high would Premi have gone if she had given one quarter of the years to Hindi and Urdu just as she has given to English. The knowledge then gained would have flown to the masses. Now it is dammed and damned too.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 11054. Courtesy : Arjun Jairamdas

¹ Lady Anne Hope, addressee's eldest daughter, and her husband Patrick H. J. Southby

² *ibid*

³ Addressee's wife and daughter respectively

⁴ *ibid*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION¹

December 30, 1941

The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhiji and recognize the validity of the point he has raised and therefore relieve him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay Resolution referred to by Gandhiji. But the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence adopted under his guidance for the attainment of swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assure him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in free India. The Committee hope that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of civil disobedience.

A.I.C.C. File No. 1375. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX II

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION²

December 30, 1941

Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self-destruction. The members of the Committee have met again on their release from prison and given earnest thought to all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical stage, when old problems assume a new significance and war approaches the frontiers of India bringing new problems in its train, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder worthily with the full co-operation of the people of India. The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world conditions and world freedom. The Committee are convinced that full

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Abul Kalam Azad", 30-12-1941 and "Statement to the Press", 7-1-1942.

² *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 30-12-1941; "Speech at Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee Meeting", 4-1-1942; "Speech at A.I.C.C. Meeting", 15-1-1942 and "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari" 12-1-1942.

freedom for the people of India is essential even, and more especially, in the present state of world turmoil, not only for India's sake but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endured on the basis of world co-operation between free nations.

The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards the war in their statement issued on September 14, 1939,¹ wherein they condemned Nazi and Fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and acted upon, in so far as was possible, in the present. If freedom and democracy were those objectives, then they must necessarily include the ending of imperialism and the recognition of the independence of India. Subsequent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government and their reactionary and oppressive policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people. British policy was one of deliberate insult to Indian nationalism of a perpetuation of unrestrained authoritarianism and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. Not only has every offer made by the Congress for an honourable compromise been rejected, but public opinion voiced by organizations regarded as moderate has also been flouted.

The Congress was, therefore, compelled, in order to defend the honour and the elementary rights of the Indian people and the integrity of the nationalist movement, to request Gandhiji to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhi desirous of avoiding embarrassment to his opponent as far as possible, especially during the perils and dangers of war, limited the satyagraha movement which he started to selected individuals who conformed to certain tests he had laid down. That satyagraha has now proceeded for over fourteen months and about twenty-five thousand Congressmen have suffered imprisonment, while many thousands of others who offered satyagraha in the Frontier Province and elsewhere were not arrested. The committee desire to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhiji's leadership and of the response of the nation to it, and are of opinion that this has strengthened the people.

Throughout this period the attitude of the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has functioned in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. Neither the professions of freedom and democracy nor the perils and catastrophes that have come in the wake of war have affected this attitude and policy, and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse.

The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance, and the circumstances attending it, and official pronouncements made,

¹ *Vide*, Appendix "Working Committe Manifesto", 14-9-1939.

make it clear that it is not connected with any change of policy. Large numbers of detenus, who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial, and whose only offence seems to be that they are ardent patriots impatient of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country, still remain in prison. Recent arrests of prominent persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before.

While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India, the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of the Congress must inevitably lie with the people who are the subject of aggression and who are fighting for their freedom. But only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war. The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government and not even the most far-reaching promises can alter this background, nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from Fascist authoritarianism.

The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the resolution¹ of the A. I. C. C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940, holds today and defines Congress policy still.

A. I. C. C. File No. 1375. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX III

*CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S INSTRUCTIONS*²

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. endorses the following instructions issued by the Working Committee and calls upon all Provincial and other subordinate Congress Committees to give effect to them within their respective areas. The Provincial Congress Committees are authorized to supplement them wherever necessary. The Committee expects every member of an elective Congress Committee to devote himself actively to the execution of some item of this programme, and to send periodical reports of the work done by him to his Committee :

Recent developments in the world situation have brought war near to India's frontiers. This may lead to internal dislocation in certain parts of the country and

¹ *Vide* "All-India Congress Committee Resolution", 22-9-1940.

² *Vide* "Speech at A.I.C.C. Meeting", 15-1-1942 and "Question Box", 19-2-1942.

there is a possibility of some cities being subjected to aerial attack. Whatever dangers and difficulties might arise, the real antidote to them is to remain cool and collected and on no account to give way to nervousness and excitements. Congressmen must remain at their posts and continue their service of the people; wherever necessity arises they should yield places of safety to those in greater need and be ready to render aid to those who may require it.

The Congress can help and serve the people in the difficult times ahead only if its organization is strong and disciplined and Congressmen individually and Congress Committees are able to command confidence in their respective localities. Congress Committees and Congressmen should therefore address themselves immediately to the task of strengthening the organization and reviving and maintaining contacts with the people in the villages and towns. Every village should, as far as possible, receive the message of the Congress and be prepared to face such difficulties as might arise.

The constructive programme adopted by the Congress, and explained from time to time by Gandhiji, is of particular importance at this juncture. It is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the co-operative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contacts with the people and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence. The Working Committee therefore call upon Congress Committees and workers to further this programme intensively, and thus exercise a steadying and strengthening influence in times of dislocation and uneasiness.

During such times there is always a possibility of trouble being created by un-social elements in the country. To avoid the emergence of such a situation and to meet it when it arises, volunteers should be organized in both the urban and rural areas. Such organizations should be formed on the basis of strict non-violence, and it should always be remembered that the Congress adheres to this principle. These volunteers may co-operate with other organizations working for other ends, this volunteer organization is meant for rendering service to the people both normally and in the event of possible internal commotion. It should therefore avoid conflict with the authorities.

Prices of commodities have already risen and are causing distress among the people and no adequate steps have so far been taken by the authorities to meet this situation. These tendencies are likely to be accentuated in the future, and dislocation

of trade and transport, due to stress of war, may lead to scarcity of the necessities of life as well as of many other things which are of everyday use. Big-scale industries in other countries have suffered heavily on account of the war, and transport of goods has become difficult on account of military requirements. China has largely overcome these difficulties by a widespread development of village industries. India may have to face similar problems, and village and cottage industries afford a solution, desirable in itself, and more particularly, suited to the needs of the moment. Such industries can escape to a large extent the effects of dislocation of trade and transport. It is therefore necessary that this item of the constructive programme should be widely taken up and worked up with vigour and earnestness so that the countryside may be rendered, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to the necessities of life. The Committee would specially recommend to the villagers the growing of food crops at least to cover the needs of the village and appeal to the grain dealers not to hold up stores for profit but release them for consumption at fair prices.

In cases of emergency, when instructions are issued to the public by the authorities for the preservation of life and property and the maintenance of public order, Congressmen should avoid conflict with the authorities. They should carry out such instructions, unless they are contrary to Congress directions.

Harijan, 25-1-1942