

1. LETTER TO ARTHUR MOORE

December 28, 1940

DEAR MR. MOORE¹,

Many thanks for your reasoned letter. I see that we cannot agree as to facts and, where we agree, we view them from different angles of vision. Therefore we must for the time being agree to differ. 'We shall know each other better when the mists have rolled away.' I know that our friendship can easily bear the strain of our differences.

With compliments of the season.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

2. LETTER TO K. SURYAPRAKASA RAO

SEVAGRAM,

December 28, 1940

DEAR SHRI SURYAPRAKASA RAO,

Your postcard dated 24th instant. You must spin, wear khadi, learn Hindi and do some constructive work while retaining your present job.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10275. Courtesy: K. Suryaprakasa Rao

3. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

December 28, 1940

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have just finished your convocation address which you so kindly sent me. I liked it very much. Your language is all your own.

¹ Editor, *The Statesman*

You will, however, let me say that I miss the strength which I would expect from your pen or speech. The message of non-violence demands the utmost strength without sting behind it.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 6, between pp. 8 and 9

4. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

December 28, 1940

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

Why do you complain about my dealing directly with the Presidents and issuing Press notes? There is nothing irregular in this. And how cumbersome to do all these things through you? Mahadev might have sent you copies. But you will pity him if you saw him at work. And if and when he too goes!

You are overdue. I sent you a wire in reply to your letter. No reply and no Kripalani!

I hope you found Sucheta¹ in g[ood] he[alth].

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 10877. Courtesy: Girdhari Kripalani

5. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

December 28, 1940

CHI. PREMA,

I got your fine letter. I will forward it to Dhotre² and others and then to Narandas.

¹ Addressee's wife

² Raghunath Shridhar Dhotre, Secretary, Gandhi Seva Sangh

I have heard that Sushila¹ visited you. You must, therefore, have come to know everything. Bhagavat² also had written to me.

Sarojinidevi³ also had told me that spinning, prayers and so on were going on regularly. I hope that all the women will come out [of jail] with good health after having acquired great skill in constructive work.

Prabhavati is here. She travelled a lot with Jayaprakash. She has been here for three days. Jayaprakash will come either today or tomorrow and take her away. She has benefited by your teaching and your guidance. She will start her work from January 1. She had gone out taking one month's leave.

Don't be guided by newspaper reports about my health. I am quite all right. I am taking care of my health. So long as God wishes to take work from me, He will keep me in health.

Ba is with me. She is calm. Lilavati is restraining her desire to come here.

Mahadev and others are fine.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10416. Also C.W. 6855. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

6. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE⁴

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

December 29, 1940

MY DEAR SUBHAS,

You are irrepressible whether ill or well. Do get well before going in for fireworks.

I have not been in consultation with Maulana Saheb. But, when I read in the papers about the decision, I could not help approving of it. I am surprised that you won't distinguish between discipline and indiscipline.

¹ Sushila Pai

² Manager, Saswad Ashram

³ Sarojini Naidu

⁴ This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated December 23; *vide* "Letter From Subhas Chandra Bose", 23-12-1940 Mukundlal Sircar, with Gandhiji's approval, released the correspondence to the Press.

But I quite agree with you that either of you is more than a match for the Maulana Saheb as far as popularity is concerned. But a man has to put conscience before popularity. I know that in Bengal it is difficult to function effectively without you two. I know, too, that you can carry on even without the Congress. But the Congress has to manage somehow under the severe handicap.

Suresh¹ wrote to me that Sarat was coming. I have been waiting. He can come any time he chooses, and so can you too. You know, you will be well looked after here.

As for your Bloc² joining civil disobedience, I think, with the fundamental differences between you and me, it is not possible. Till one of us is converted to the other's view, we must sail in different boats, though their destination may appear, only appear, to be the same.

Meanwhile let us love one another, remaining members of the same family that we are.³

Yours,

BAPU

The Hindu, 24-2-1941

7. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,

December 29, 1940

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letters. It is enough for me that you understand my love. If you are ignorant, you alone are not to blame. I am equally to blame, am I not? Has not the education of all you brothers remained incomplete? I do not regret that. I am aware of it. You too have been

¹ Suresh Chandra Banerjee

² All-India Forward Bloc

³ In his reply dated January 10, 1941, Subhas Chandra Bose said: "I am glad to receive your letter . . . not so much for the contents, as for the clarification of your views. . . . It is not merely my personal desire to offer hearty and sincere co-operation, but it is the desire of many who stand with me. For doing this, it is neither necessary nor desirable to surrender or abandon our political principles and connections. . . . In the previous struggle, many worked shoulder to shoulder with ardent Gandhi ites while differing from them on several important questions. Why should not this happen again? I beg of you to reconsider your decision. . . ." *Vide* also "Letter to Mukundalal Sircar", 16-2-1941.

the victims of my experiments. But is not that true of the whole of India? Critics say that I am destroying the country.

Pyarelal's statement contains pure truth. It was not drafted to prove anything.

The letter¹ to Hitler also was prompted from within. There is no bitterness in it at all. But it certainly states what I believe to be truth. Your scepticism in this regard does not pain me. It is a virtue to see only the good in others. But if we see the bad and still cover it up, isn't that a vice? Was it not I who used to sing 'God Save the King'? After much experience, I have come to see the darker side.

I have received the Government's reply². I am sending you a copy of it. It is poisonous. I am in no hurry to see the letter to Hitler published. It is enough for me that you are ready. I will write to you when the time for you comes.

What you have said in the letter to Mahadev about your policy is correct. There is no need for you to stand alone. It is better to take a stand which others can share. I cannot send Mahadev to take your place. My suggestion was quite different. But that also cannot be done now. You may play whatever part you can. This is but the beginning of the country's fight. The worst is yet to come. Let us see how long God keeps me. God knows what work He wants from me. I merely dance to His tune.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2023

8. LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

December 30, 1940

DEAR MR. LAITHWAITE,

I thank you for your letter³ of 27th instant, received yesterday.

Your letter raises a fundamental question. I can fully appreciate the fact that His Excellency could only hold the view he does. The

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Adolf Hitler", 24-10-1940

² *Vide* footnote 2, "Telegram to Sir J. G. Laithwaite; also the following item.

³ *Vide* footnote 2, "Telegram to Sir J. G. Laithwaite", 24-10-1940

despair of Indian nationalists like me has been that British functionaries could not be persuaded to see the other side of the shield. And so the distance between them and nationalists is growing in spite of all efforts to the contrary. The present struggle is the latest attempt among many to induce the makers of the British Empire to see things through nationalist eyes. Such attempt must be continued till the truth is brought home to them. Why should they constitute themselves the judges of their work among and on us? The ordinary rule is that those should be the final judges who are the beneficiaries and not the self-styled benefactors. But I must not enter into the interminable discussion of a question on which the British rulers and we must for the present differ.

But that difference can be no reason for gagging me. I sought for the assistance because all the means of communication are under the Government control. I was unprepared for the prohibition against the Indian Press. I was prepared for the gag outside. His Excellency must be the sole judge of the effect on the *bona-fide* war effort of my letter to Herr Hitler being published in the world in the manner I had intended. But I observe from your letter that the gag has been placed not for reasons of high policy but because, in His Excellency's opinion, my characterization of British rule is not true to facts. This is a dangerous doctrine of which the logical result would be suppression of all honest opinion except at the will of the executive head of the State or his deputy or deputies. This has evidently no bearing on the war issue. I may draw His Excellency's attention to the fact that the sentiments expressed by me in the open letter to Herr Hitler are those I have expressed often enough in the columns of *Harijan* and elsewhere. My booklet called *Hind Swaraj*¹ or *Indian Home Rule* contains similar sentiments.

I should like to know, if I may, whether my interpretation of your letter is correct.

I may mention that I had copies of the letter prepared for distribution to the Press. But owing to the Press Adviser's note I refrained from distributing the copies. I have sent a copy only to my son forbidding its publication for the time being. I do not want surreptitious publication, nor do I want to resort to open defiance, so

¹ Vide "Hind Swaraj", 22-11-1909

long as it is at all possible consistently with the interests of the national cause as I conceive it. I shall, therefore, anxiously await a line from you.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

9. LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
December 30, 1940

MY DEAR GLADYS,

Your letter. Though we are crowded, I shall squeeze you in. Do come on the 5th whenever you like.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 6197

10. LETTER TO LAKSHMI SATYAMURTI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
December 30, 1940

MY DEAR LAXMI,

I must forgive you for writing in English. But you must hurry up with your Hindi. Tell Father², it will be a shame if he does not fully recover during the rest he has imposed on himself.

Love.

BAPU

KUMARI LAKSHMI
C/O SHRI S. SATYAMURTI
TYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS

From the original: S. Satyamurti Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also C.W. 10276. Courtesy: Government of Tamil Nadu

¹ For the addressee's reply; *vide* "Letter From Sir J. G. Laithwaite", 4-1-1941

² S. Satyamurti, a political prisoner, undergoing treatment in General Hospital, Madras

11. LETTER TO MOHAMMAD DILAWAR KHAN¹

December 30, 1940

DEAR FRIEND,

Yes, Shri Khurshedbehn² talked a great deal about you and your kindness. May I send a Copy of your letter³ to your friends?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

12. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
1940⁴

CHI. MANILAL,

Sister Mary Barr is one of our hard working co-workers. Take her home. Give her whatever help she needs.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4916

13. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

Silence Day [1940]⁵

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Did you send for Mathuradas⁶ to explain to him his work? If not, when do you intend to send for him?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10662

¹ Deputy Commissioner of Bannu, North-West Frontier Province

² Khurshed Naoroji, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

³ In this, dated December 24, the addressee had complained about the unhelpful attitude of the local Congress Committee members in restoring law and order in the area.

⁴ As in the source

⁵ In the G. N. series, the letter has been placed last among those of 1940.

⁶ Mathuradas Purushottam

14. LETTER TO KRISHNA CHANDRA

[1940]¹

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

A measuring-tape is a good thing. We do not want to give up everything modern. The tape needs some improvement. Assign the work to Bharatanandji² [for making] improvements in order to facilitate its use by the rural folk. The rest will be done by Sushilabehn. If it is possible it might perhaps be better to have all water boiled. It is good to follow the rule to the extent possible. According to the analysis of the experts the wells here remain polluted throughout the year. That is another reason why there has been no case of typhoid ever since boiled water began to be used.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4409

15. LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI

Tuesday, [1940]³

BHAI KASHINATH,

Received your letter. I am sending this much today. The booklet is all right but the absence of the table of contents is a great fault. Let Ramnarayan look after the *Hindi Navajivan* and you join the Ajmer struggle. I would like that arrangement. You should not go till it becomes absolutely necessary. At present, men are required there also. Mahadev has gone.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 5287

¹ From the contents; *vide* letters to the addressee in "Letter to Krishnachandra", 1-6-1940 and "Letter to Krishnachandra", 1-6-1940

² Maurice Frydman, a Polish engineer who became a follower of Gandhiji

³ From the reference to the Ajmer struggle; *vide* "Danger Signal", "Letter to Haribhau Upadhyaya", 21-4-1940, "The Ajmer Trouble" and "Ajmer"

16. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA¹

[On or before *January 2, 1941*]²

No quantity please. I can assure victory, if the quality is assured.
The battle has just begun, and it will be a long and arduous affair.

The Hindu, 4-1-1941

17. LETTER TO K. SURYAPRAKASA RAO

January 2, 1941

You need not join the Society referred to in your letter. You can remain independent and do some constructive work without joining any society.³

With blessings.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10384. Courtesy: K. Suryaprakasa Rao

18. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 2, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I was very happy to read your letter. Be careful about your diet and safeguard your health. I am certain you will pay the money.⁴ How is Kanti?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 9744. Also C. W. 724. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

¹ The letter was in reply to the one from the addressee, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, in connection with the preparation of a list of satyagrahis in the province. The letter was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, January 2".

² *ibid*

³ *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Margarete Spiegel", 9-7-1940

⁴ The addressee had contracted tuberculosis and was sent to Mysore Sanatorium for treatment.

19. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

January 2, 1941

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your two quite lengthy letters together. It is of course commendable that you two are holding out by yourselves. He who is on the side of truth, though alone, is in company, and those who oppose truth, though millions in number, count for little.

Tari is with me for the last three days. She is pretty ill. She will leave for Delhi on the 5th, the fourth day from now. She will go with Dr. Sushila, who is here. Most probably Tara's friend will also go with her. Manudi is still here. Her daughter¹ is a very active and playful child. With Sharda's son and Nirmala's daughter, thus there are three children.

Ba is fairly well. She keeps on working.

There is hardly standing room in the Ashram, so to say. It remains overcrowded.

Yesterday I called over Janakidevi here. She has got piles. She has started fasting from today.

Kishorelal is all right at present.

What need I say about myself?

There was a letter from Schlesin². There has been none from Kallenbach³ for some time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4919

20. LETTER TO SATHYE

January 4, 1941

DEAR DR. SATHYE,

Your yarn [is] excellent. I hope you will keep good health in the Liberty Hall.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7919

¹ Urmila Mashruwala

² Sonja Schlesin, who was Gandhiji's secretary; *vide* "Satyagraha in South Africa", 22-11-1925

³ Hermann Kallenbach, German architect, who was an associate of Gandhiji in South Africa

21. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 4, 1941

CHI. AMBUJAM¹,

I got your letter and the book. The book is fine. It is good you are continuing Hindi and spinning. You have to give up grief. Leave all joys and sorrows to God. Ranganayaki is all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also C.W. 9616. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

22. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

WARDHA,
[January 5, 1941]²

CHI. AMBUJAM,

Your letter. I am getting a regular supply of fruit from you. You must let me know the price. If the fruit is dear, must get it from where it is cheap even when it is a gift. I have three sick beds just now.

Your argument is both sound and unsound. I would have the hospital in preference to superstition. But there is a middle way—to have intelligent home treatment and then await the result with confidence. Even kings have to die. Thousands die in hospitals. It is all a toss. The key to life is in God's hands. We can but explore His laws and obey them. And I do not expect a time when every villager who wishes can have good hospital treatment. But I do expect a time when he can have at his door competent advice. But even that time is far off.

I hope you are all well.

Love.

BAPU

SRI AMBUJAM AMMAL
AMJADBAG
LUZ, MYLAPORE
MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 9615. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

¹ Daughter of S. Srinivasa Iyengar. The source has this in Devanagari.

² From the postmark

23. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS¹

[On or after *January 5, 1941*]²

A satyagrahi, man or woman, once started on satyagraha, if unarrested, shall not return home but shall go from village to village reciting anti-war slogans and addressing anti-war meetings where necessary and doing constructive propaganda.

If, on any account, he feels obliged to return home, he must seek special permission for offering satyagraha again.

Satyagrahi once unarrested need not issue a fresh notice to the District Magistrate.

Satyagrahi shall not use any conveyance on his campaign. He need not be in a hurry. He may proceed slowly and travel a short distance. He may, if necessary, stay more than one day at one place.

Satyagrahi must not stop any person or conveyance against their wishes nor must he enter anyone's compound to recite slogans unless invited to do so.

A satyagrahi shall not recite slogans in an authoritative tone but in a persuasive way.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-1-1941

24. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

SEVAGRAM,
January 6, 1941

BHAI TANDONJI,

I am writing this letter early in the morning before four o'clock prayer. Yesterday I had a talk with Shriman, Nanavati³, Perinbehn⁴, Dikshit⁵ and Kakasaheb. Now Maulana is not coming. I feel that now I should get out of the Sammelan. A policy which I got accepted has been practically destroyed in Poona. The Sammelan had full powers to change it. The only question that remains is that of my duty. I am

¹ According to the source this was "issued to satyagrahis in Nagpur District by the President of the Nagpur District Congress Committee, under instructions from Gandhiji".

² Satyagraha was resumed on January 5, 1941, after its suspension during Christmas; *vide* "Draft Resolution for the Working Committee", 3/7-7-1940

³ Amritlal Nanavati

⁴ Perinbehn Captain

⁵ Sitacharan Dikshit

in a dilemma. Please come and help me in arriving at a decision. I do not want to run away from the Sammelan. But how do I stay in? I am for a composite language. The name does not matter. To me work is everything. If I stay in the Sammelan, I become a partner in retrogression. If I leave I may probably become the root cause of dissension. Come over soon, if you can.

Come, but take care of your health.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10997

25. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

January 6, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA¹,

Why do you worry? Rajkumari had a talk with me. You need feel no shame in returning, nor will that do you any harm. It is folly to cling to a mistake after realizing it. Wisdom lies in rectifying it as soon as it is discovered. To one who loves a quiet life, the type of motley crowd we have here can be unbearable. You may prepare yourself better in Bombay and then come over. If, having realized your mistake you immediately go back to Bombay, you may be able to come back after some months or after a year. In the mean time, whenever you wish to come for a few days, you will always be welcome. After hearing everything, I feel that you should leave right now and not let your health suffer. I want you to attain complete peace of mind so that you can serve to the best of your ability. You will be doing my work even in Bombay.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5742

¹ An eminent pathologist

26. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA¹

[After January 6, 1941]²

I am in no hurry at all. If and get well and come back after some time with the whole family. But this is only by way of suggestion. Your wish will be my wish.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5743

27. LETTER TO SIR ROBERT E. HOLLAND

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 7, 1941

DEAR MR. HOLLAND,

I thank you for your letter and the important information contained therein. You may depend upon my taking the necessary steps.

I shall be very happy to meet you, should you find it convenient to alight at Wardha on your way northward.

You will be sorry to learn that Manilal Kothari³ is no more.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5666

28. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM,
January 8, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

I have your letter Jajuji⁴ has written something. I have not read it. Whenever Annadaji wants to see it, show it to him without

¹ He died in Ahmedabad on October 11, 1937.

² *ibid*

³ To Bombay; *vide* the preceding item.

⁴ Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association

hesitation. I am sending these two slips of paper for perusal. They are not to be returned.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2738

29. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS

SEVAGRAM,

January 10, 1941

A very serious question confronts me in connection with the struggle. In many places magistrates; have been imposing heavy fines on civil resisters, in some cases without option of imprisonment. Civil resisters must not and cannot complain of whatever penalty is imposed on them, and Government will always take advantage of weaknesses of human nature. Hitherto I have advised that fines should not be voluntarily paid but that authorities must be left to collect fines by distraint. The result during the last struggle was a great deal of heart-burning and bitterness. Those who bought movables or immovables for a song incurred popular ill will. I hope that if Government wish to touch immovable property, they will not sell but confiscate it. For, whenever the struggle ends, immovable property is bound to be restored to the original owners—the resisters. The late Bombay Government knew how difficult it was for them to restore to the resisters the immovable properties that had changed hands. I have, however, discovered what may be termed a flaw in the reasoning that I had applied to the infliction of fines. I now feel that even as a resister courts imprisonment, he is expected to court any other form of punishment, i.e., fines. Punishment courted has to be joyfully suffered. Therefore when fines are imposed and the person fined is able to pay he must do so willingly. The result may naturally be that such a person will be fined again and again. If he persists in his resistance, he may have no property left. This is nothing to be wondered at. As a matter of fact it is the essence of civil disobedience that the resister becomes indifferent whether the authorities take away all his property or not. Therefore all propertied persons who wish to join the struggle should do so well knowing that the whole of their property may be taken up by the Government. This is a struggle which has no ending except in success. Therefore those who may be

fined should pay cash if they have it. If they have no cash and the Government attach their property, it should be open to their friends to buy the same. This will be an effective check on the cupidity of those who would profit by exploiting others' loss and there will be no bad blood. One corollary to this reasoning is that even as I had declared that every inch of immovable property sold or confiscated by the Government would have to be returned to the resisters, so will every rupee taken in fines have to be returned to them on the struggle ending. It follows of course that those who pay the fines will have to offer civil disobedience till they are safely lodged in jail. It follows also that those propertied persons who do not wish to run the risk of losing their property must not join this struggle. I hope however that patriotic people who believe in the efficacy of civil resistance will not fight shy of losing all their possessions. Let them remember the words of Sheth Jamnalal:

I have long since come to realize that much too heavy a price has been and is being paid by the few for the enjoyment of wealth and for the apparent safety of life. The price paid is the blood of the famishing millions and the manliness of those who should be ready to shed their blood for the defence of themselves, their families and their country.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. Pile No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

30. LETTER TO JAGANNATH¹

January 10, 1941

I note your name. When your time comes I shall certainly send you. For the time being I want you to do constructive work.

BAPU

From a photostat: C. W. 986. Courtesy: Jagannath

¹ The addressee, a member of the Servants of the People Society, Lahore, in a letter dated "Sevagram, January 10, 1941" had requested Gandhi to include him "in the list of satyagrahis from the Punjab".

31. MESSAGE TO THE PUNJAB CONGRESSMEN¹

[On or after *January 10, 1941*]²

Surely there is no cause for depression. I have never condemned Punjab Congressmen. I have faith that the average Congressman in the Punjab is as good as the average in the other provinces. Let the Punjab Congressmen take heart and qualify themselves by spinning, and regarding Harijans and other Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, etc., as blood-brothers. Let them have a living faith in the virtue of non-violence, and they will all be chosen for civil disobedience.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 988. Courtesy: Jagannath

32. INSTRUCTIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY³

January 11, 1941

I hope that every man and woman in India, whether Congressman or other, will realize the gravity of the struggle and will resolve on the forthcoming Independence Day upon dedicating himself or herself to the service of the country in terms of the millions. Swaraj based on non-violence does not mean mere transfer of power. It should mean complete deliverance of the toiling yet starving millions from the dreadful evil of economic serfdom. This can only be attained by the propertied few identifying themselves with the millions and by their readiness to sacrifice their all for the latter's sake. It must be a day of fraternization, abolition of untouchability from our hearts, giving up spirituous liquors, self-spinning, and sale and spread of khadi and village industries. There is to be no civil disobedience that day. For, we must not invite disturbance of our

¹ The message was sent through Jagannath who, in his letter dated January 10, requested: "A friend from Lahore who is a responsible and well informed Congress worker and who is in constant touch with Congressmen all over the Punjab writes to me that the recent occurrences in the Punjab have depressed the hearts of Congressmen there and have created confusion in their minds and they are feeling that they may have fallen in your estimation and you may have despaired of them. A word from you will cheer them up. . . ."

² *ibid*

³ Celebrated on January 26

meetings, processions and *prabhat pheries*¹ on that day. The day may begin with *prabhat pheries*, followed by flag-hoisting and flag-salutation. In the evening there may be processions terminating in public meetings where the pledge² may be explained clause by clause and administered by the Chairman and solemnly accepted by the audience. Where there are already restrictions they must be obeyed. From such voluntary obedience comes the strength for the right of civil resistance.

PLEDGE³

In view of the fact that individual civil disobedience has already commenced and that a large number of Congressmen have already been imprisoned all over India, it becomes the special duty of every Indian to concentrate with redoubled zeal on the constructive programme, without the fulfilment of which no civil disobedience, mass or individual, can help us to win and retain swaraj. Concretely expressed, constructive programme means the universalization of hand-spinning and khadi and popularization of village industries and village products. We recognize that effective spread of non-violence must bring communal harmony and complete eradication of untouchability in every shape and form.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

33. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your wire has come in. I had fully intended to write yesterday. But it was no use. The interviews which began at 3 p.m. ended after the second dinner bell. So you were crowded out. But you had some

¹ Literally, 'morning round'; parties going round early in the morning singing patriotic songs

² Of which only the last paragraph is reproduced here. The pledge was originally drafted by Gandhiji in January 1930; *vide* "Hindi or Hindustani", 9-5-1936. It was amended in December 1939, by the Congress Working Committee to which this paragraph was added.

³ *ibid*

letters redirected to you. That must have been some consolation.

I hope you are having a profitable time there¹. You will insist on seeing Ambujam and on going to the Hindi Prachar Office.

Ascertain the prices of the fruit you bring. You will bring coconut of course. But bring lemons (sour) too. They are scarce in the Wardha market. Das's experiment is spreading. I have joined it with greater zeal than when you were here. I have given up cooked vegetables and the blood-pressure has dropped in a phenomenal manner. All the three times near or under 150 systolic and 100 diastolic. The reason is absence of gases.

The note² I was drafting was finished today. You may see it there or on your return journey.

Shastriji is better. Remember me to your hostess.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C. W. 3996. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7305

34. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

January 12, 1941

Long before his unexpected arrest³ Maulana Saheb had announced that before offering civil disobedience he would visit Sevagram and discuss with me important matters affecting the communal questions as also such other matters. But it was not to be. Non-popular rulers do not disclose their intentions to the people. They allow them to be inferred from their acts. Perhaps it is a legitimate inference to draw from Maulana Saheb's premature (from the Congress standpoint) arrest that they did not want him to meet me. There can be no cause for complaint in this. They may not be expected to consult Congress convenience. But it is proper for Congressmen to realize that the rulers have no faith in Congress non-violence. Probably they do not consider me to be a knave, but they do consider me to be a fool. In so doing they only follow many others who think that Congressmen fool me and that the latter's

¹ In Madras

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ On January 3

non-violence is but a cloak for hiding their violence, if it is not a preparation for it. Our struggle, therefore, consists in showing that our non-violence is neither a cloak to hide our violence or hatred, nor a preparation for violence in the near or distant future. Therefore our success depends not upon numbers going to jail but on the sum total of the purity and non-violence we are able to show in all our activities. Numbers can count only when they are of the right type. They will positively harm the movement, if they are of the wrong type.

For me there is no turning back, whether I have many or very few satyagrahis. I would far rather be regarded as a fool but strong, than as a knave and a coward. Though the whole world may repudiate my claim, I must repeat that the struggle is God-guided. I am but a humble instrument in His hand. Without His guidance, real or imaginary, I should feel utterly impotent to shoulder the burden I am supposed to be carrying.

Let me now say how I visualize the struggle. Maulana Saheb having gone, there is to be no successor appointed. Every acting President in a province must be approved by me. It is not necessary that there should be one. All representative Congressmen from members of village to provincial Committees are expected to be in jail if they are fit and approved by me. If they are not, by reason of health or otherwise, they cannot be expected to function except in rare cases and that too under my approval. No fresh elections are to take place to replace those who will have gone. The idea is ultimately for every Congressman to act on his own and be his own president but nobody else's. That is the conception of a completely non-violent institution or society. Not much direction is required by those who have learnt the art of suffering. Everybody knows the conditions he has to fulfil for acquiring fitness for offering civil disobedience. They can be easily complied with by any adult who is sound in body and mind. No difficulty as to action arises so long as I am left free. For nobody can resort to direct action without my consent. My intention not to court arrest abides, but the rulers may have a different plan. If it comes, it will be the real time of freedom from external control be it ever so non-violent as also of true test for everyone. I am not to appoint a successor. Thus if I am arrested, everyone will be under the discipline of his or her own conscience. In theory, therefore, a time may come when millions will be judges of their own fitness to offer civil disobedience.

This is not a struggle which can be ended quickly. We are resisting an authority that is in itself struggling to fight for life against a stubborn foe. The authority is related to a nation which knows no defeat. Those whose life is in danger either readily yield on what they regard as non-essential, or fight to the end on what they regard as essential. Its refusal to concede our demand shows that they think that our struggle comes under the latter category. Therefore our struggle must be coterminous at least with the European. Hence everyone who offers civil disobedience and gets a short term should know that on every release he has to repeat civil disobedience till the end of the struggle.

There are two tactics demanding attention. I have already issued a note¹ about fines without the option of imprisonment.

The other is that of not arresting civil resisters at all. In each case the resisters should march on foot in easy stages in the direction of Delhi. It may be even two or three miles per day. The resister will march taking such food as the villagers may provide.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

35. LETTER TO KRISHNANATH SARMA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 12, 1941

MY DEAR SARMA,

Please give my blessings to your bereaved daughter and tell her not to grieve over the inevitable. I am glad you are bearing the loss bravely. You should delay offering civil disobedience till your daughter has cal[med] down.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI K. N. SARMA, M.L.A.
BAR ASSOCIATION
JORHAT, ASSAM

From a photostat: G.N. 8233

¹ *Vide* "Mysore Justice"

36. LETTER TO KRISNACHANDRA

January 13, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA.

As I sat down to reply to your letter of the 9th, I saw your letter of today. You have replied in this to your own previous letter. Ahimsa does not work in any other way. The defects that you have pointed out are there, but our Sangh is a mixed crowd. All sorts of people are there. If we can put up with them, we can bear with the world. If by keeping them with us we live happily, we can then some day hope for a complete non-violent order.

But there are certain rules we have to observe. The question is how to put these rules into practice. As long as I live, the way I put them into practice becomes our rule. Look, patience will solve all problems. Don't take to heart our shortcomings. It is enough if you know that they exist. You are trying to remove them. You are bound to succeed.

Even then speak out your mind.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 4368

37. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM¹

[Before January 14, 1941]²

DAUGHTER,

Why should you write a letter to me? If you keep well I shall value it more than a letter from you. I received Wahid's angry letter. If you saw it you would be able to judge his pain. I have not felt hurt on account of his anger. He has a right to be angry. I would now advise you to make all arrangements for Mother and return only after getting well yourself.

I am all right. Kanchan sleeps on one side and Abha on the other. Khan Saheb has written about you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 598

¹ This was in reply to a letter from the addressee's brother, Abdul Wahid Khan, asking Gandhiji to send the addressee to look after her ailing mother.

² Inferred from the reference to ailing mother in this and the following item

38. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 14, 1941

DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

Of course I did hurt you, but I think what I did was right. There are letters to you from Rameshwar¹, Deva² and Anand³. I hope Mother is all right and that you had a comfortable journey. You must have met Sushila. I had sent a wire.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 465

39. CABLE TO CARL HEATH⁴

WARDHAGANJ,

[January 15, 1941]⁵

HEATH

FRIENDS HOUSE

LONDON

M.P.S' LETTER⁶ IGNORES FACTS. FRANK OPEN COMMUNICATION
MADE IMPOSSIBLE. GOD BETWEEN US ALL.⁷

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1048

¹ Rameshwardas Poddar

² Devdas Gandhi

³ Anand T. Hingorani

⁴ This was in reply to the addressee's cable (G.N. 1047), received on December 22, 1940, which read: "Profoundly glad your truce. Think spontaneous unofficial document Members Parliament despite inadequacies deserves careful consideration and response as indicating deep desire break constitutional deadlock."

⁵ From the postmark

⁶ According to *Gandhi—1915-1948: A Detailed Chronology*, the letter dated December 23, 1940, from members of the British Parliament to the people of India said: "We are determined to give you full independence preceded by Dominion Status and in the mean time we shall have to make some temporary arrangements." *The Indian Annual Register, 1941*, Vol. I, p. 30, explains that a statement, signed by prominent Indian Liberals, the signatories to which included V. N. Chandavarkar, P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, was sent in reply to the letter on January 17, 1941. They held that "the British Government had so far failed to unify British and Indian interests and to inspire zeal for the British cause among the people of India." The signatories, however, hoped that the situation "could be improved beyond recognition if the British acted with vision and courage."

⁷ Vide also "Letter to Carl Heath", 25-1-1941.

40. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 15, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your two letters to hand. You should take as much distilled water as you need. You should also take fruit liberally including prunes. The box-charkha was in your list. But you may let Kanaiyalal take it. Your letters give rise to many reflections. Mountains are not for us to live in. We can live on the plains by the riverside or the seaside. The hills are for the wealthy. You can surely find an abode (secluded) on the seaside or riverside.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6468. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9863

41. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

January 15, 1941

I agree with you in all the propositions you have laid down—neither¹ wants to be married just now. I have discovered the mutual attraction. The question is whether it may go on or whether the two should be separated. My opinion is there is no harm. If they remain unmarried, that is ideal. But if they cannot restrain themselves they should think of no one else. Your conditions are solid.

As to your son's books, I do not want to shoulder an indefinite responsibility.² You and I will be misusing public funds if we go beyond lawful bounds. The two households are a burden. You may discuss the whole thing with me.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1454. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ The reference is to Abha, the addressee's daughter, and Kanu Gandhi, son of Narandas Gandhi. They were married on November 7, 1944; *vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 5-3-1941.

² *Vide* also "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 22-1-1941.

42. LETTER TO SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

January 16, 1941

DEAR SIR GILBERT,

Many thanks for your letter¹ of the 4th instant.

I am not going to write a serious reply to your extra serious letter. My letters are not written either for publication or for propaganda. They are written in pursuance of the effort to act non-violently. Nor are they written to a stranger. So much by way of preface.

The language of officialdom is evidently a thing to be learnt specially. Your letter is an instance in point. In my own plain English I resolve your language thus:

I forgot to tell you that His Excellency's disagreement with you as to the estimate of the British connection was not the only reason for not complying with your request. It is inconvenient to give you the real or the whole reason. So please regard this correspondence as closed.

Putting this interpretation upon your letter and reading it together with the last paragraph in it, I have finally decided not to contrive to secure publicity of the open letter² to Herr Hitler. I have accordingly asked my son not to make any use of the letter but to destroy it.

I had told³ you that I had not shown the letter to anyone else except my son. I have since shown it to an English friend⁴ who believes in my method. She is not to make use of her knowledge except among friends such as the Bishop of Calcutta. My hearty co-operation with His Excellency in preventing publication does not mean admission of the validity of the prohibition. It is an earnest of my desire not to embarrass authority wherever it is possible for me to avoid embarrassment.

¹ *Vide* "Statement made by the Viceroy on August 8, 1940"

² *Vide* "Is Islam Inspired"

³ *Vide* "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", 11-7-1940

⁴ Agatha Harrison; *vide* the following item

But the action of the Censor in prohibiting the enclosed¹ passes comprehension. I entertain the fond hope that His Excellency knows nothing of the Censor's action. I would like you very kindly to let me know whether it commands His Excellency's approval. If it does and if I am to fall in with it, it will stop all open communication with the public. That would constitute an undue interference with the liberty of the Press, and would raise a grave issue. I shall hope that if it is at all possible, this will be avoided.

As the matter is very urgent may I expect an early reply?²

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

43. LETTER TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, WARDHA

January 16, 1941

Shri Vinoba Bhave, who was discharged yesterday from the Central Jail, Nagpur will offer Civil Disobedience again from Sevagram Chowk at 9 A.M.³ tomorrow by addressing a meeting on the duty of carrying on anti-war propaganda within the limits prescribed by the law of non-violence as I understand it.

From the India Office Library and Records : IOR R/3/1/341, p. 12

44. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

January 17, 1941

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have before me your letter of 30th October received yesterday. I do not write because I know not whether my letters will reach you at

¹ *Vide* "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 10-1-1941 and "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 12-1-1941

² For the addressee's reply, *vide* "Letter from Sir J. G. Laithwaite", 28-1-1941

³ Civil Disobedience which had been suspended from December 24, 1940 to January 4, 1941 was resumed on January 5, 1941. Individual satyagraha had been begun by Vinoba Bhave on January 17; *vide* also "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 5-1-1941

all. When they do they may be even out of date. And now one never knows what one may write. I do not mind the Censor reading what I write but I do mind his suppressing what one writes. And yet war is war. One must not grumble. Warriors want to win and they will not tolerate what in their opinion hinders their efforts. Knowing this, I am patient. I do not know what you can do. Here I am hampered at every step. I wrote what I thought was a good letter¹ to Herr Hitler. It has been suppressed. Of course I could secure publication at once. But I do not want to do so. I must bow to the Viceregal judgment. Evidently, he thinks it will interfere with their war-effort. Since open publication is possible only by their permission, I have deemed it proper not to seek publicity through defiance which must be initiated surreptitiously.

But they have gone a step further. They are interfering with local publication of my statements which are necessary. I am, therefore, devising a method of securing publication. But no matter what hindrances are put, the struggle will continue. I can give you this assurance, if you need it, that nothing unworthy, nothing that may be even remotely called violent will be knowingly done. I have absolute faith that this non-violence will finally triumph. It must not be allowed to be suppressed. The M.P.s' appeal has fallen flat.² It takes no note of the truth. Hindu-Muslim differences do not stand in the way of an honourable agreement. The will is not there. The old custom will not give way. They need not be blamed. They go on and, if they can, they do not stop to consider whether it is right or wrong. That is not rulers' way. Theirs is but to rule.

Love

BAPU

[PS.]

I am attending to your advice about Andrews's sisters.

From a photostat: G.N. 1517

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Adolf Hitler", 24-12-1940

² *Vide* also "Cable to Carl Health", 15-1-1941 and "Letter to Carl Health", 25-1-1941

45. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 17, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

I got both your letters. You are invariably forgiven. If you insist I will allow you to go. You had better be patient since you are already engaged in work there. But still if you are restless, I am prepared to send you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*,
p. 295

46. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 18, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have read your letter very carefully¹. Why are you afraid of talking to me?

I do not want to keep you here perforce. I can only be happy if you can live here willingly and in perfect peace. But I feel so long as you do not become one with Ashram life, your living here is useless. I also realize that he who has given up all fear has nothing to gain from the Ashram. So you have a full right to go where you wish to and do whatever you want to do. You always have my blessings. I know for certain that wherever you go and whatever you do ahimsa and truth will always be there. Keep writing to me, and give your address. And, if possible, keep me informed of your activities. Whenever you want to come back, do come. If you want to talk to me about this, do so. Why grieve, when we part with goodwill? Joy consists in performing one's duty.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2645. Also C.W. 2956. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

¹ The addressee had written that he wanted to leave the Ashram on account of differences of approach between him and other inmates.

47. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

January 20, 1941

BHAI TANDONJI,

Please read the accompanying wire from Malaviyaji Maharaj and do what you think right. There was a wire from Prayag saying that they wish to oppose Radhakant¹. I have already given my opinion, but all of you there should decide among yourselves. I am totally ignorant of the situation there.

Yours,

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

48. LETTER TO NILA NAGINI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

CHI. NILA²,

I do hope you received my letter in reply to yours some days ago. Now I have another from you through Mr. Whittamore. He is a most lovable man. We all had a very profitable time with him.

You are doing good work there. Do ask Sirius³ to write to me. Where do you propose to put him?

You will be welcome whenever you can come.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1218

49. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

January 21, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

How is it that there is no letter from you? Is it a case of 'out of sight, out of mind'? I will not, of course, take it in that light. I know that you are not writing because you do not want to waste even a

¹ Radhakant Malaviya, son of M. M. Malaviya

² Nila Cram Cook, an American, who after her divorce came to India, adopted Hinduism and was doing Harijan work. The superscription is in Devanagari.

³ Addressee's son

single minute of my time. But I cannot forget you. How are you? Please write and tell me what you are doing. What about the laboratory¹? How is Ambu²?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5744

50. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

January 22, 1941

MY DEAR C. R.,

This is not to please you but Narasimhan³. I know you do not need a formal or other letter from me. Letters are meaningless when hearts can speak to each other. I know you are doing your duty there⁴ as we are trying to do ours outside. Do keep yourself well and complete your Hindi learning.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10879. Courtesy: C. R. Narasimhan

51. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

January 22, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

The son of Amrita Babu, Ramendra Nath, is studying there. He has joined the ninth class and needs some books. Please send for him and ask what books he wants and what they would cost. He is a 'free' student. His address is: 4/1 Sham Charande Street. They say it is a

¹ At Pant Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay

² Addressee's daughter, Amba Jugatram Vaidya

³ Addressee's son

⁴ In jail; the addressee was arrested on December 3 and sentenced to a year's simple imprisonment.

minute's walk from Pratishthan office. Every week I read *Rashtravani* attentively.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI SATIS BABU

KHADI PRATISHTHAN

15 COLLEGE SQUARE

CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2734

52. LETTER TO A JOURNALIST¹

[Before January 23, 1941]²

Non-violence is an active force. Do you not realize that when non-violence reigns, materialism takes the back seat, avenues are changed; and in a non-violent war there is no waste of efforts, property or the moral fibre?

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-1-1941

53. MESSAGE TO GUJARAT COLLEGE STUDENTS

[Before January 23, 1941]³

The action of the Principal, if it is such as you describe, calls certainly for a protest. You should negotiate with him respectfully; you should seek the assistance of leading citizens and you should cultivate public opinion. Still if you do not obtain justice you have the right to strike. To exercise that right or not is dependent upon the strength of the students.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-1-1941

¹ The addressee had written to Gandhiji "questioning the efficacy of non-violence in the establishment of peace in materialistic world". The letter was reported under the date-line "New Delhi, January 23".

² *ibid*

³ The message was reported under the date-line "Ahmedabad, January 23".

54. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

January 23, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. My reason does not tell me that the gifts we make in the name of the dead benefit the dead. But thereby we show our loyalty towards them. I hold the same view about prayer. But in such matters it is better to rely on faith rather than on reason. At least there is no harm in doing so. Charity must be prompted by knowledge. I do not feel particularly tired. Whatever fatigue I feel should now be accepted as inevitable in old age. There is a good deal of illness here. Manu is having fever.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI VIJAYABEHN

GRAM DAKSHINNAMURTI

AMBLA, *via* SONGADH

KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N 7136. Also C.W. 4628. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

55. ADVICE TO CONGRESSMEN

SEVAGRAM,

January 24, 1941

I observe that in the Punjab people pay for and wear paper [or] metallic tricolour badges. Now the tricolour has merit because of the material, that is, khadi, of which it is made and is a symbol of identification with the masses and of non-violence. Therefore badges must be made of khadi. Metal and paper badges have no value for Congressmen save as superfluous decorations. At this time of trial for us all I would expect Congressmen and those who are in sympathy

with it to observe the necessary rules of conduct. No detail can be regarded as too trifling for attention. For, an aggregate of details makes a principle.

M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1362,1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

56. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

January 24, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your second letter just to hand. If finally it is decided that you should come to Varoda, I shall bear your wish in mind. But my presentiment is that you won't be happy there for any length of time. If you keep your health, you need not disturb yourself until you are quite clear in your mind that you can have your peace in the haunts of mankind.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6869. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9864

57. *LETTER TO CARL HEATH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

January 25, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very kind letter. In it there is no acknowledgement of my cable reply¹ to your cable referred to in your letter. My reply cabled 28th² October, 1940, was as follows:

All effort failed. Indian condition wholly different and unique. Press gagged. Have stopped *Harijan* weeklies. Restricting civil disobedience minimum requirements of non-violence.

Since then I have sent you the following cable³ in reply to yours of the last week of December:

¹ *Vide* "Cable to Carl Health", 28-10-1940 and 15-1-1941.

² The source, however, has "27".

³ *ibid*

M.P.'s letter ignores facts. Frank open communication made impossible. God between us all.

I understand your argument. The Quaker attitude is individual. The Congress attitude has reference to a big organization. The Congress, as an institution based on non-violence, cannot distinguish between one species of violence and another. I do not think that the world will be any better if British arms are victorious over the German through the means employed by the latter. In the ultimate, the question before the Congress is how to do away with the use of arms as between man and man or nation and nation for the vindication of justice. The universal proposition is implicit in India's fight for freedom through non-violence.

You have rightly detected the flaw in the Congress attitude as reflected in the Poona resolution. That was when and why I had ceased to guide the Congress or take part in its deliberations. I withdrew my opposition when the Congress retraced its steps through the later resolution at Bombay. In my opinion it reflects no discredit on the Congress that it could not abide by non-violence in all circumstances. Its policy is truth and non-violence. Above all else, therefore, it must be honest. When, therefore, it found the Poona demand flouted, it came round to its original position and invited me to lead the battle of civil disobedience. I had no hesitation in responding as I knew that the mass mind in India was by instinct non-violent. You seem also to have missed the fact that the Poona resolution would not have been passed at all but for my weakness of which I made ample confession¹ in the pages of *Harijan*.

My experience is that the Congress has grown progressively, though slowly, in non-violence. And I would have proved an unworthy exponent of non-violence if I had failed at the right moment to express it through the Congress.

The Congress is as much anti-Nazism as anti-imperialism. If the Government had not thoughtlessly forbidden the anti-war activity of the Congress and had not proclaimed it as pro-Nazi, they could easily have claimed the whole of India as anti-Nazi—both that part which followed the Congress non-violence and the other which believed in the use of violence. Had it not done so, much bitterness would have

¹ Vide "I was Unjust Because Weak"; also "Is Non-Violence Impossible" and "Moral to Sir. Syed Mahumud", 11-8-1940

been avoided and the world would have profited by the lesson of tolerance and its moral opinion would have been on the side of Britain. It is never too late to mend one's error.

Whether, however, the error is admitted and mended or not the course of the Congress is clear. The conviction being purely moral it should be pursued irrespective of the immediate result. A moral means is almost an end in itself. Is not virtue its own reward?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

FRIEND CARL HEATH
WHITE WINGS MANOR WAY
GUILDFORD, SURREY

From a photostat: G.N. 1049

58. *LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

January 25, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I have just finished reading your article¹ in the *Twentieth Century*.

I quite agree with you that we have to settle our domestic troubles ourselves and without thinking whether the rulers will accept our joint demands or not. Having that belief you should know that I specially went² to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah in Bombay and had several talks, and then Subhas Babu went but we could make no headway. You perhaps know why. Then again, determined not to go to the Viceroy as strangers, I invited myself to his house in Delhi³ and from there we went together in his car but only to show our differences to the Viceroy. I would go again and again if I had not the knowledge that my going would cause irritation to him. I cannot crack a joke without exposing myself to being misunderstood. My impression is that he does not want a settlement till he has so consolidated the League position that he can dictate his terms to all the parties concerned including the rulers. I do not blame him for having taken

¹ Under the title "The Need of the Hour"

² "In April 1938"

³ "In November 1939"

up that position, if he has. But with this impression it is useless for me to approach him. I often feel like writing to him but lose courage when it comes to the point of taking up my pen. But if you have faith why don't you see him without being asked by anybody?

I hope you are keeping very good health.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7584. Also C.W. 10339. Courtesy: National Library

59. LETTER TO VEERBAL H. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

January 25, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter². I have followed the memorial movement with interest. But I could not enthuse over it. Shri Natarajan I have known for years before he knew me. I am a hero worshipper, and he was one of my heroes as a social reformer. Then we began to know each other and became friends that we are today. But I have never known him as a journalist. He became an Editor because he was a reformer. I do not believe in scholarship in journalism. I would like Shri Natarajan's name to be associated with a rise in the status of women or Harijan uplift or some such social reform dear to his heart. But I have no desire to affect the course the Committee has adopted especially if it has met with Shri Natarajan's approval. Only you should quietly forget me.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ For the addressee's reply, *vide* "Letter from T. B. Sapru", 28-1-1941

² In this, dated January 23, the addressee, who was honorary Secretary of the Natarajan Committee, had sought Gandhiji's blessings to an appeal for funds to raise a suitable memorial to K. Natarajan, who was the Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

60. A LETTER

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 25, 1941

BHAI,

If it had been possible, I would have found some solution long ago. I smell some sort of a threat in your letter. If you wish to recover it through a court, why do you need my help? I have already written and told you that I have done all I could. I am helpless. You may do what you think best.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Bhavnagar Samachar, 17-12-1955

61. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO M. L. SHAH¹

[Before *January 26, 1941*]²

I am fighting the country's struggle. The country includes students as much as other parts of the body politic. I have, however, a special claim upon the students and they upon me, for I regard myself still a student and also because, from the very commencement of my return to India, I have been in close touch with them and many of them have served the cause of satyagraha. Therefore, even if the whole of the student world were to repudiate me for causes which in their very nature must be temporary, I am not going to be deterred from tendering my advice for fear of rejection. Students cannot afford to have party politics. They may hear all parties, as they read all sorts of books, but their business is to assimilate the truth of all and reject the

¹ The addressee, in a letter to Gandhiji, said that "he would still maintain that the policy of the Students' Federation was that all their actions for the achievement of the rights and redress of their grievances should be peaceful. If the communists can prove otherwise, I am amenable to any disciplinary action. We Congressmen, Socialists, Forward Bloc and others, except the communists, believe that the students' platform should not be turned into a tail of any political party. It must be kept aloof from party politics."

² From *The Hindu*, 27-1-1941, in which the letter was reported under the date-line "Bombay, January 26"

balance. This is the only worthy attitude that they can take. Power politics should be unknown to the student world. Immediately they dabble in that class of work they cease to be students and will, therefore, fail to serve the country in its crisis. And you as General Secretary would be ill serving the cause of the students if you take part in power politics.

All communists are not bad as all Congressmen are not angels. I have therefore no prejudice against communists as such. Their philosophy, as they have declared it to me, I cannot subscribe to. I have great regard for Dr. Ashraf's abilities. I have never questioned his love of his country but I am positive, he will one day be sorry for the wrong guidance he is giving to student world. But, inasmuch as he is enamoured of his views, as I am of mine, and we are equally obstinate, I despair of convincing him of his error and, therefore, never enter into argument with him. And he returns the compliment by avoiding me. But let the students remember that at the present moment I am fighting the country's cause. I am not an inexperienced general, but a seasoned soldier of 50 years' standing. Let them, therefore, think 50 times before rejecting my advice which is that they must not dabble in strikes without reference to me. I have never said or suggested that they may never resort to strikes. They should not forget my recent advice¹ to the Christ Church College students. I do not repent of that advice. Let them take full benefit of it.

In the first place you gave me none² on behalf of the Federation. In the second place, even if you had given any, I would not have taken it from you because you had no authority to give me assurance in advance.

The Hitavada, 29-1-1941

62. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 26, 1941

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I had your messages about the hospital³. Dr. Mehta⁴ has been to Allahabad and he is of opinion that it should be opened by me on

¹ *Vide* "Message to Students", 14-11-1940, "Interview to M. L. Shah", 24-11-1940 and "Statement to the Press", 29-11-1940

² The report said that Gandhiji was "referring to the assurance alleged to have been given by Mr. Shah". *Vide* also "Interview to M. L. Shah", 24-11-1940

³ Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital

⁴ Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta

28th February. All things considered, I agree with him that I should open it and that too on 28th February at the earliest. If I go, the balance of the contemplated sum is likely to be collected and the hospital inaugurated without much anxiety as to the future. I know you will all be with us in spirit. I think we need not wait for Sarup¹ and Indu².

If you are permitted to wire your opinion, please do. I shall then go to Allahabad with a lighter heart.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1951. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

63. LETTER TO RAMBHAU B. TILAK

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 26, 1941

DEAR RAMBHAU,

I did send you a message asking you to give up the fast. I have read your papers and I am of opinion that you should not resist the trustees. And in any case there is no case for a fast.

I hope you will break the fast.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RAMBHAU B. TILAK

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

64. LETTER TO GOPALRAO³

[Before *January 27, 1941*]⁴

Do not be in a hurry to conduct the campaign; have as many stoppages as are needed for efficient working.

The Hindu, 29-1-1941

¹ Vijayalakshmi, addressee's sister

² Indira, addressee's daughter

³ According to the source, the addressee, President, Nagpur District Congress Committee, had "requested Gandhiji to allow him to suspend satyagraha in the Nagpur District from February 1 to February 4". The report also said that according to the Secretary, Nagpur District Congress Committee, "the decision was taken for the purpose of scrutinizing satyagraha forms, already approved by Mahatma Gandhi, in view of the fresh instructions issued by him"; *vide* "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 5-1-1941, "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 10-1-1941, and "Instruction to Satyagrahis", 12-1-1941

⁴ The letter was reported under the date-line "Nagpur, January 27".

65. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 27, 1941

DEAR MAHMUD,

I am delighted that you are out of bed. Do please give your-self complete rest before moving about. I am likely to be in Allahabad about 28th February.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5087

66. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

January 27, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

I got the draft ready for you. Then at night I started thinking. First of all I did not like the name. Find some other name. Then consider whether such a Sangh is very necessary just now. Come tomorrow at four. Today the Ashram is full. Enclosed are Bal's letters. They are very fine indeed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10939

67. A LETTER

January 27, 1941

BROTHERS,

I have not seen the circular. But I have no objection to what you say. The Congress has given the name Hindustani to the *rashtra-bhasha*. A mere change of name will not destroy our language. But it will certainly perish if we prove ourselves unworthy. I advise you not to get involved in argument over the name. Let us carefully consider what our task is.

Yours,

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

68. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 27, 1941

DAUGHTER,

I did not get your letter this time. I do not know whether or no you got my letters. But it is good that you went and brought Mother to Bombay, and that you too are keeping all right. This is what Kanu told me regarding your telephone call. I would advise you to improve your health still further. Serve Mother and come over afterwards. Whenever you come you will of course do all sorts of Ashram work but not any special service to me. You would do what others do. I would be glad if you come after careful thought. I am quite all right. Manubehn's and Ramnarayan's fever has come down a bit, but it still persists.

Blessings from
BAPU

BIBI AMTUSSALAAM
C/O MAULVI BAGI KHAN SAHEB
EASTER VILLA, 7TH ROAD
SANTACRUZ, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 466

69. TELEGRAM TO SARAT CHANDRA BOSE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
January 28, 1941

SHRI SARAT BOSE
WOODBURN PARK
CALCUTTA

STARTLING NEWS ABOUT SUBHAS.¹ PLEASE WIRE TRUTH.
ANXIOUS. HOPE ALL WELL.²

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Hindu*, 30-1-1941

¹ Subhas Chandra Bose disappeared from his house in Elgin Road, Calcutta, on January 17, 1941.

² According to the report in *The Hindu*, the addressee's telegram in reply to this read: "We are as much in the dark as the public about Subhas. No whereabouts and intentions and even the exact time of his leaving. No news in spite of the best efforts for the last three days. Circumstances indicate renunciation."

70. LETTER TO NEWSPAPER EDITORS

SEVAGRAM,
January 28, 1941

DEAR EDITOR,

We have become so used to the Press gag that we hardly know that there is a partial paralysis of the Press. In the name of “war effort” all honest expression of opinion, if it is opposed to war effort as conceived by the official world, is effectively suppressed, unless an enterprising editor or publisher risks the loss of his Press. Thus my own effort, if my honesty be not questioned, is the true effort to end all war and therefore in no way anti-British or pro-German. If public opinion desired suppression, the Press would on its own initiative exclude news and opinions disliked by the public. But in India the majority of Indian Editors would gladly publish all the news about satyagraha if there was no gag.

I wish to use my case by way of illustration. For the conduct of the campaign and for the sake even of keeping it within restraint, I have to issue statements from time to time. During four days two out of three such statements were suppressed. The reason assigned was as follows:

1. January 16, 1941. I am writing this to inform you that Mahatma Gandhi’s statement of January 12¹ regarding continuance of the Civil Disobedience Movement was submitted for Press advice by two of the Press agencies but was not passed for publication. I am accordingly bringing the above fact to your notice.

2. January 28, 1941. I am writing this to inform you that Mahatma Gandhi’s statement of January 10² regarding payment of fines by satyagrahis, which was submitted for Press advice by two of the Press agencies, was not passed for publication, as being a prejudicial report containing incitement to carry on anti-war civil disobedience. I am accordingly bringing the above fact to your notice.

¹ *Vide* “Instructions to Satyagrahis”, 12-1-1941; the source, however, has “January 13”.

² *Vide* “Instructions to Satyagrahis”, 10-1-1941; the source, however, has “January 9”.

I used to send my statements through the usual news agencies. But when I found that they were censored, I had to send my statements to selected newspapers and so they found place in some of them. You can judge for yourself whether they were objectionable news. This method of sending statements on chance publication is precarious. As I had no intention of extending civil disobedience to the special Press laws and ordinances, I stopped¹ the three *Harijan* weeklies whose chief aim was to propagate non-violence and what is known as the constructive programme. I do not want so far as possible to extend the scope of civil disobedience beyond the present limit. But I do not know that I can exercise that restraint if the Press abdicates its function of publishing relevant news. I therefore appeal to the Press not to succumb to the gag but to assert its independence by publishing all the satyagraha news in its fullness. Of course it is open to the Editors to criticize and condemn the movement or the statements that may be issued. Editors can signify their disapproval of the gag by either publishing the offending statements and risking prosecution or even confiscation of the Press or by stopping publication of their papers altogether by way of protest. These are only two out of many ways for signifying your disapproval.

I observe that the Standing Committee of Editors is meeting on the 1st proximo². The Committee is expected fearlessly to vindicate the liberty of the Press. It must cease to be the power it should be, if it submits to suppression of free public opinion.

I need hardly draw attention to the fact that in a subject country like India, the liberty of the Press is doubly precious. And your responsibility, if you represent British-owned Press, is very great at the present critical moment in the history of this country.

I need hardly also draw attention to the fact that I represent unadulterated non-violence whose spread can do nobody any harm. It is false and cruel to suggest that I could have anything in common with Nazism or Fascism because I happen to oppose imperialism.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1362, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 24-10-1940, "To the Reader", 31-10-1940 and ; 2-11-1940

² The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met on February 1, 1941, in the premises of "The Hindustan Times". K. Srinivasan, Editor, *The Hindu*, presided.

71. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 28, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

I got your detailed letter. I do want you to give the people the full benefit of the knowledge you have acquired and, while doing so, to devote yourself to khadi. You will always find a home here. Come whenever you wish to. If you have any suggestion to make about anything here, please do so. Cannot Ambu's health be improved? I refuse to believe it. The miracle about Shastri is still continuing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5745

72. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 28, 1941

DAUGHTER,

I have your letter. I wrote three letters to you. You might have got my letter of yesterday. What will you do by coming here when you are ill? And now you are meeting Qaid-e-Azam and others. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 467

73. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

WARDHA,
January 30, 1941

MIRABAI
PALAMPUR
KANGRA DISTRICT

COME AT ONCE VARODA.¹ LOVE. WELL.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6470. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9865

¹ *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Mirabehn", 24-1-1941

74. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 30, 1941

DAUGHTER,

You have sent for Zohra to Bombay. This I consider a great mistake. Akbar showed me your letter. If Zohra does not go to Aligarh, she may come here. If she wants to stay in Indore, she may. She is sure to lose in Bombay. I am all right. Rajkumari is going to Benares today for Vidyarthi Sammelan. Manu is still having fever.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 468

75. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 31, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Mahadev has left.

I am reminded of you today because you are going¹ on a difficult task. Of course God is with you. Will remember the second. Ultimately Subhas Babu could not be arrested. Manu has fever today also. I am quite all right. It is pretty cold, so I slept under the roof. Kishorelal has come. Blessings to Maharani² and Maharaj Kumar³.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7873. Also C.W. 4240. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

¹ To attend the Vidyarthi Sammelan; *vide* also the preceding item.

² Addressee's wife.

³ Rajmata and Prince of Vizianagaram

76. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
January 31, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Get from here the money for your expenses. Or, shall I send you Rs. 15? It is suggested that Khadi Pratishthan should get certification. It is good for us to have it. I believe there would be no difficulty in getting it. Jajuji has sent me Hem Prabha's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2735

77. NOTE TO K. T. BHASHYAM¹

[On or before *February 1, 1941*]²

Rejection of so many nominations, on apparently the flimsiest grounds, is a serious matter. It has filled me with deep regret that this injustice should have been perpetrated in Mysore. You have done well to send a memorial to His Highness. I hope it will remedy what appears to me a manifest wrong.

The Hindu, 3-2-1941

78. TELEGRAM TO AMTUSSALAAM

WARDHAGANJ,
February 1, 1941

AMTUL SALAAM
CARE MADAM WADIA
ARYA SANGH, MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

I HAVE NOT ASKED YOU SEE ANYBODY. AM NO

¹ President of the Mysore Congress. The note was sent after Gandhiji heard from Dasappa, Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-committee, and ex-President of the Mysore Congress, "on the situation created by the rejection in several cases of nomination papers of Congressmen to the Mysore Legislature".

² The report was dated "Wardha, February 1".

REPRESENTATIVE HINDU NOR CAN SPEAK FOR HINDUS.
YOUR FIRST BUSINESS IS TO BE WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 469

79. *LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 1, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I thank you for your kind letter.¹ Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah says, I can only talk to him as a Hindu for Hindus. I cannot do it. If I write to him that I want to meet him, he won't decline to meet me. But I know the result. He will immediately distort our meeting. He thinks that I am the greatest stumbling block. I am, therefore, biding my time. As soon as I see my way, I would certainly seek an interview with him and everybody else. You may have seen how he has distorted the present civil disobedience as anti-Muslim²? But of course you should pursue the subject after your own style with whomsoever you may think fit.³

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7583. Also C.W. 10277. Courtesy: National Library

¹ Dated January 28; *vide* "Letter From T. B. Sapru", 28-1-1941

² Answering Lucknow University students on January 27, Jinnah said: "I hope that the Muslim students will not participate in any strikes, protest meetings or any other activities directly or indirectly to support the Congress, as the latter's objective is to force the British Government to surrender to their demands which are highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims in the country."

³ The addressee, in his reply (C.W. 10380) dated February 6, said, "After careful consideration, I have decided to write a letter to Mr. Jinnah and I am sending it today. . . . I have simply suggested to him that he should be prepared to meet you and to have a talk with you, if you should write to him to see him in Bombay or elsewhere. . . ."

80. LETTER TO MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 1, 1941

DEAR MANORANJANBABU¹,

I have your long letter. I am afraid I won't be able to help you. I cannot lead a movement of satyagraha as you suggest.² It has its limitations. And then very few, if any, members of the Hindu Mahasabha are believers in non-violence. Neither Shri Savarkar³ nor Dr. Moonje⁴ nor Bhai Parmanand are. No fault of theirs. They are entitled to hold the views they do. But they cannot lead a satyagraha movement. I think they will admit as much.

You draw too much upon our talks when you say that you would not have joined the Sabha without my blessings. All I said was that you had every right to join it, if you thought the Congress was impotent and the Sabha could secure relief.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SHRI MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI
211 BOWBAZAR STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 10438. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

81. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 1, 1941

DAUGHTER,

A telegram⁵ has been sent to you. What do you expect from me? You may not make use of my name for anything. You have not

¹ Secretary, Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha

² The donor of this letter, Amrita Lal Chatterjee who was an inmate of Sevagram Ashram, explains that the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha leaders had suggested a satyagraha movement against the Secondary Education Bill and Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act introduced by the Muslim League Ministry of Bengal.

³ V. D. Savarkar and Dr. B. S. Moonje, President and Vice-President of Hindu Mahasabha

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ *Vide* "Telegram to Amtussalaam", 1-2-1941

understood at all. So long as you are not quite healthy, you will not be able to do anything thoroughly. Just leave everything for the present. Get well first. Attend to other things later.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 470

82. *LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 2, 1941

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

Ramjibhai is full of praises of you. I am giving this letter for his satisfaction. What need I say to you on behalf of the Harijans? No service we render them can be enough.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2713. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

83. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

February 2, 1941

DAUGHTER,

I got your letter. I sent you a telegram yesterday and also wrote a postcard. I find I understand nothing.¹ I have faith in prayer. Get all right first.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 471. Also *Bapuke Patra-8: Bibi Amtussalaamke Nam*, p. 209

¹ According to the printed source, the reference is to the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League which demanded partition of India.

84. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
February 3, 1941

RAJKUMARI
CARE SIR MAHARAJ SINGH
MALL AVENUE
LUCKNOW

DELIGHTED SIGNED PHOTO. HOPE WELL. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3997. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7306

85. LETTER TO MOHAMMED NOMAN¹

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 3, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry for your illness. Hope you will soon recover. I shall be glad to give you another appointment, when you are restored to health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4091

86. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH²

*[February 3, 1941]*³

This must not be used.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7115. Also C.W. 8514. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ The addressee's name has been supplied from the G.N. register.

² The note is written on the one of even date from the addressee who wanted to know whether they could utilize the weevil-infected wheat grown on the Ashram farm or should buy a better variety from the market.

³ *ibid*

87. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 3, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Ramji Gope will arrive today. He will stay somewhere. For the last five days he has been living here and there. He appears to be a gentleman. With him is his son.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4369

88. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

February 4, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

You are the limit! I cannot believe that you get no time to write even a postcard. I did not at all like the statement Jayaprakash has issued to the newspapers. I wish he had not issued it. Tell him this when you meet him. Nothing can be done now, of course. Take care of your health. Manu is all right. Amtul Salaam arrived today from Bombay. Rajkumari is in Lucknow, Mahadev in Delhi. Mirabehn is arriving on the 7th. By that time everybody else will be here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3551

89. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO E. E. MACK¹

[On or before *February 5, 1941*]²

I would not regard it as a breach of discipline for a Congressman to subscribe to the Red Cross or take the necessary

¹ The addressee, District Judge of Nellore, was in correspondence with Gandhiji on "the aims and objects of the Red Cross organization". The letter was reported under the date-line "Wardhaganj, February 5".

² *ibid*

training. But it would be a different thing if a Congressman yielded to outside pressure and in order to avoid the displeasure of an authority and to gain a selfish end, subscribed to it.

The Hindu, 7-2-1941

90. LETTER TO SULTANA QURESHI AND KUSUM GANDHI

[On or before *February 5, 1941*]¹

CHI. SULTANA AND KUSUM,

I have the letter from both of you. There should be no friction between you two nor between others. It is all right if at present Sultana's Urdu is not up to the mark. How long will you be there? What do they give you for food?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10763. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

91. LETTER TO MANJULABEHN M. MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 6, 1941

CHI. MANJULA,

I got your letter. You did well in writing about Prabhashankar. I shall write to him.

You say that all of you will come over in May. Why so late? It is very hot in May. If you are not afraid of the heat, it is all right. It will take time for your quarters to get ready. But I shall be able to accommodate you in the quarters that are getting ready and make arrangements for a separate kitchen for you. A suitable building for that will be ready soon. I will let you know as soon as it is ready. Anyway you can come whenever you wish to. As you can put up with inconveniences, I do not worry about you.

Do observe the vow of *brahmacharya* which you have taken. I would be happy if you could observe it. After the birth of a certain number of children, everyone should observe *brahmacharya*. As this

¹ From the postmark

is not done, people resort to artificial means of birth-control. But the practice cannot but do harm in the end. It destroys morality. According to me life without self-control has no meaning. Without self-control no real service is possible. Those who wish to observe *brahmacharya* should lead a simple and disciplined life. They should keep themselves physically and mentally well occupied all the time. One's reading, too, should be such as will fill one's mind with good thoughts. Both husband and wife should devote themselves to public service, so that they might not even feel the desire for pleasure. If you want to ask me anything more, do so. You should, of course, do nothing beyond your capacity. Only rare persons succeed in observing self-control. If, therefore, you two cannot observe it for a long time, what need I say? Hence both of you should think over the matter yourselves and do what you think best.

Devdas told me that Magan was thinking of going to Poona. If you decide not to stay here, Poona would of course be better than Delhi.

Urmila is all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1613. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

92. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

February 6, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

What you say¹ is correct. I am working cautiously. If I die leaving the work half done, then my whole work will be criticized but if I die after completing it then all would appreciate it. I can say this much that I will not allow the manure to be wasted. Whatever I do is for the poor. But today I am unable to prove it in Sevagram. If you have faith and if you make your personal life simple and pure, you will then see that everything has been done for the best.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ The addressee said that Gandhiji had permitted the construction of a septic tank.

[PS.]

You did well in writing to me. It has neither tooth nor claw.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1940

93. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 6, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Never mind having written a long letter. My blood-pressure is not likely to shoot up because of it. Read the letter¹ to Balvantsinha. What you write is absolutely correct. Watch the result now. The seemingly royal life is in fact a very simple one. All this cannot be proved while the thing is still in an experimental stage. But try to find out, if everybody eats all things raw with the exception of *rotli*, how much will the expenditure come to? The quantity of milk would be reduced, less fuel would be consumed and, as for fruits, the fruits and vegetables grown in our gardens would be enough to meet our needs. This is my reason for plunging into this experiment with the enthusiasm of a young man. That we in the ashram are a motley crowd is of course a big handicap.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8513. Also C.W. 7119. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

94. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

February 6, 1941

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I have your letter. What connection can there be between Dr. Khare's episode and this? I still claim that no one has involved me in this nor do I want to shoulder the responsibility. From the very beginning I have been saying this. Didn't I have a share in building up the school? That is why I listened to you and Sahasrabuddhe as a friend. I can do something only if you two are with me. I will not act as a tribunal.

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

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

95. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM,
February 7, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

You have done well in writing as you have. The ferment will do good. You must wait and watch and you will say that no step will be taken that can possibly harm the village life conception.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1455. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

96. *LETTER TO KAMESHWARAMMA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 7, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I have your pathetic letter. For your husband's¹ sake you should refrain from offering satyagraha or doing any active political work. The constructive field is open for you. It is wide enough. If in spite of this forbearance anything happens, you should both be prepared for it and suffer joyfully.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10279

97. *EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO A CONGRESSMAN
OF DELHI*

[Before *February 9, 1941*]

Every satyagrahi will be his own leader and should shoulder the full responsibility of the national struggle in the event of my arrest. It is wrong to presume that only those serve the cause of the country who offer satyagraha and court imprisonment. In my opinion, people

¹ Prof. Karpurawami of Mysore University

devote every available minute of their time in spinning and other constructive programme of the Congress subscribe a lot towards the national movement.

He adds that no Indian should dream of this movement developing into a mass movement so long as the leadership is in his (Gandhiji's) hand. He calls upon every Indian to fulfil the conditions which are laid down for a satyagrahi.

The Hindustan Times, 9-2-1941

98. LETTER TO NIRMALANANDA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
February 9, 1941

DEAR NIRMALANANDA,

I hope all will be well during your absence. You have given me a good report.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1394

99. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 9, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

Your letter¹ has just reached me. It disconcerts me somewhat. I think I have told you that I am not going to write to him unless I know that he wants to come to some settlement. What I do know is all to the contrary. I wish I had a copy of your letter² to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. Of course I do not want you to do anything further so as to remove misunderstanding, if there is any.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7582. Also C.W. 10281. Courtesy: National Library

¹ Dated February 6; *vide* footnote 3, "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 1-2-1941

² For excerpts from this, as recorded by the addressee in his letter dated February 12 to Gandhiji, *vide* "Letter from T. B. Sapru", 12-2-1941. The addressee forwarded to Gandhiji on February 14 the reply received from Jinnah. *Vide* also "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 16-2-1941

100. TELEGRAM TO R. K. SIDHWA¹

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1941

ABOUT ELECTION² FOLLOW MAULANA'S DIRECTION. LOCAL
MEN MUST BE BEST JUDGES.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

GANDHI

101. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 10, 1941

SIR,

Your word to me written so earnestly in your issue of February 7, demands a reply.

In spite of your disbelief, I must adhere to my faith in the possibility of the most debased human nature to respond to non-violence. It is the essence of non-violence that it conquers all opposition. That I may not express myself that measure of non-violence, and the rest may express less is highly probable. But I will not belittle the power of non-violence or distrust the Fuhrer's capacity to respond to true non-violence.

The illustrations you have cited in support of your disbelief are all unhappy because wholly inapplicable. A man is not necessarily non-violent because he lays down his arms. The Czechs, the Danes, the Austrians, and the Poles may have all acted most wisely, but certainly not non-violently. If they could have put up successful armed resistance, they would have done so and would have deserved well of their countrymen. Nor is it for me to blame them for submission when resistance became vain. It was, however, order to meet such contingencies and in order to enable even the physically weakest persons not to feel powerless against physically strong persons fully armed with

¹ Rustomji Khurshedji Sidhwa; leader of the Congress party in the Sind Legislative Assembly

² The reference is to by-election in the Rohri Division of Sukkur District in Sind.

modern weapons of destruction that satyagraha was discovered and applied in South Africa in 1907¹. And it has since been successfully applied under varying and even baffling circumstances. You will please excuse me for refusing to draw a distinction in kind between the forces I have had to cope with hitherto and what I may have to cope with if the Fuhrer attacked India. The prospect of his killing every satyagrahi causes neither terror nor despair. If India has to go through such a purgatory and if a fair number of satyagrahis face the Fuhrer's army and die without malice in their breasts, it would be a new experience for him. Whether he responds or not, I am quite clear that these satyagrahis facing the army will go down in history as heroes and heroines at least equal to those of whom we learn in fables or cold history.

You are, however, on less weak ground when you doubt the honesty or non-violence of my companions. You are entitled to throw the Poona resolution in my face. I have already confessed² that the Poona resolution would not have been passed but for my momentary weakness. As to the want of honesty or defective non-violence, I can only say that the future alone will show whether satyagrahis were only so-called or as honest and true as human beings can be. I can only assert that every care has been taken in making the selection to ensure a fair standard of non-violence. I admit, however, that hypocrites have undoubtedly crept in. But I entertain the belief that the vast majority will be found to be true. The Congress President has been frank enough to define the limitations of his non-violence.³ But so far as I know his mind—and nobody does if I do not—his non-violence will be proof against any temptation within the limits defined by him. I should undertake to engage in non-violent resistance to the Fuhrer if I had companions with the Maulana Saheb's circumscribed belief. Whether such non-violence can stand the test or not, is a moot question. I have achieved success till now with such material.

You are incorrect in attributing to me a demand for unfettered

¹ In protest against the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act passed on March 22, 1907

² Vide "Letter to Carl Heath", 25-1-1941

³ According to *The Indian Annual Register*, 1940, Vol. II, p. 56, Abul Kalam Azad, in the course of an interview at Lahore on December 30, 1940, said: "If India is invaded tomorrow and there is no other alternative to defend my country, I will not hesitate to take up arms and fight."

liberty of the Press or speech.¹ What I have said² is that there should be unfettered liberty provided that it is not inconsistent with non-violence. I am not aware that Congress Ministers' restrictive action went beyond the proviso. If it did, it was certainly against the declared Congress policy and can be no guide or criterion for me.

The unkindest cut is contained in the insinuation that my demand for free speech, subject to the proviso mentioned, was "a device for squeezing political concessions from the British". There would be nothing politically wrong if political concessions were demanded even at the point of civil disobedience. But it is a matter of public knowledge that the Poona resolution has lapsed. And in so far as I am concerned, it remains lapsed so long as the war lasts. Civil disobedience would certainly be withdrawn if free speech is genuinely recognized and the *status quo* restored. I have never stated during previous movements that they were likely to be long drawn out. But I have done so this time because I believe that there can be no settlement with the Congress, short of complete independence during the pendency of the war, for the simple reason that the Congress cannot commit itself to active help in war with men and money. That would mean a reversal of the policy of non-violence which the Congress has pursued for the last 20 years. And independence cannot come through any settlement while the war lasts. Therefore so far as I know, the Congress will be satisfied with the fullest freedom to grow in non-violence. The Congress demand concerns all persons and parties.

You ask me in the face of all these facts whether it is "fair or morally right to pursue his (my) present campaign". You have answered the question yourself in the negative. But I may not accept your answer. In the first place, as shown above, I do not subscribe to your facts. Secondly, to accept your answer will be to declare my utter insolvency. I would be untrue to the faith I have unwaveringly held now for nearly half a century in the efficacy of non-violence. I may seemingly fail, but even at the risk of being completely misunderstood I must live and act according to my faith and belief that I am serving

¹ *The Times of India* had argued: "He demands the unfettered liberty of the Press and the right of the individual to say what he likes. These so-called rights do not exist anywhere in the world; they did not prevail when Mr. Gandhi's Congress Governments were in office in the Indian provinces. Bombay and Madras bear witness to that fact. Is Mr. Gandhi justified in demanding for himself and others a privilege which even Congress Ministers denied to the public?"

² *Vide* "letter to Newspaper Editors", 28-1-1941

India, Britain and humanity. I do not wish well to India at the expense of Britain as I do not wish well to Britain at the expense of Germany. Hitlers will come and go. Those who believe that when the Fuhrer dies or is defeated his spirit will die, err grievously. What matters is how we react to such a spirit, violently or non-violently. If we react violently, we feed that evil spirit. If we act non-violently, we sterilize it.

You ask me to devote myself to internal unity. Well, my passion for it is as old as that for non-violence. Indeed, my first non-violent experiment outside the domestic circle was to promote that unity. And I had considerable success. I ask you, therefore, to believe me that my effort for unity is not suspended but intensified by the present movement. The great beauty of non-violent effort lies in the fact that its failure can only harm those who are in it, while its success is sure to promote all-round good.

M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 15-2-1941

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

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 10, 1941

DEAR EDITOR,

You will please publish this¹ without alteration or reject it altogether.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 6, between pp. 16 and 17

103. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SEVAGRAM,
February 10, 1941

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

I was delighted to hear from you. I wonder if your companion recited the *Gita* correctly. You have attained very good speed. I hope your yarn is even and strong.

The Sardar is keeping very well and devoting practically the

¹ *Vide* the preceding item

whole of his time to spinning. He has induced his companions also to do likewise though not so long. They offer prayers together and are occupying their time quite usefully.

Do not believe the reports about my health. I am keeping very well and the blood-pressure remains under control if I do not work at night.

Jamnallalji is in the Nagpur jail with Vinoba and Pyarelal. They are a big company and all spinning regularly.

I have to go to Allahabad to open Kamala [Nehru] Hospital on 28th.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3780

104. LETTER TO ISWAR SARAN

February 10, 1941

DEAR MUNSHIJI,

If I come there, I must try to visit the Ashram. Please make no announcement or fuss.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN

HARIJAN ASHRAM

ALLAHABAD

From the original: C.W. 10282. Courtesy: Allahabad Municipal Museum

105. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 10, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I was glad to have your letter. Manu has left this place cured of her fever. If, therefore, she gets it again there, I will put the blame on

you all. Let me have the report after doctors have examined her. I am very glad to learn that now you are well. Do not let your health deteriorate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9745. Also C.W. 725. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

106. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 10, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Though Kanti's letter is simple, it is against our policy. So I did not like it. But how am I to check him? Your sending [money] is all right.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8041. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

107. LETTER TO P. KODANDA RAO

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 11, 1941

MY DEAR KODANDA RAO²,

You have no business to be ill.

When people are in need of blessings, they do not seek them by post. So Mary will have to come here and ask them with due supplication.

As for your suit, it has failed in spite of my pleading. My whole soul rebels against any speechifying. And about Gokhale³ I simply cannot do it. You will, therefore, have to do without me.

¹ The addressee, in his letter to Gandhiji, had written: "I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Kanti. I have promised to send him Rs. 50 a month and I have already sent him Rs. 150 for the first three months."

² Of the Servants of India Society

³ Whose 26th death anniversary fell on February 19

Lastly it is cruelty to animals to drag me from Sevagram except when duty makes a peremptory call.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6282

108. LETTER TO CHARUPRABHA SENGUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 11, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Gandhiji has your letter. You must not offer satyagraha, and put in your resignation also—unless the Provincial Committee people insist on your remaining in office. If people are arrested for prosecuting the constructive programme, they may defend themselves.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

SHRIMATI CHARUPRABHA SENGUPTA
32/5 BEADON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 8712

109. LETTER TO SURENDRA B. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 11, 1941

CHI. SURENDRA,

I got the letter from you two¹. Yesterday I replied² to Kunvariji's letter. Do not make Manu a slave of drugs. I think her stay here did her a lot of good. The improvement should be kept up. Let me know the doctor's diagnosis.

I think it is my duty to recover from you the expense incurred on Manu. I have of course not kept a separate account. In such cases I leave the matter to the persons concerned. I can get an estimate of the

¹ The addressee and his wife

² *Vide* "Letter to Kunvarji K. Parekh", 10-2-1941

expense worked out. If you agree with me, you may send me whatever amount you can afford. You will have fulfilled your dharma then. It is but proper, isn't it, that children who are earning should not depend on public funds? Your own health cannot be said to be too good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1576. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

110. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 11, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

Is what I have written¹ above all right? So long as you were unmarried, it did not matter if expenditure on your account was met from public funds. But don't you think it should no longer be so? If this hurts you, I do not want the money.

Get well soon.

Vinabehn² has arrived safely.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1577. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

111. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 11, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The example you cite is not good. Can it come under the rule? If so, the rule would be that you simply point out [the shortcomings of others]. We cannot talk of fine or rough [cloth] nor of [having] a collar. All this is to be said with love. Anyway he can always come to me, and then your responsibility ends. There is no room here for disappointment. Firmness is needed. To walk on the edge of a sword

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² A German

is now the highest duty for you. Give your *kurtas* to Sailen. If he still has some complaint, he may come to me. In future if anyone wants something, you can ask him for a note from me. Do what is convenient. If you frame the rules, I shall go through them and make the necessary changes.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4370

112. LETTER TO E. E. MACK

WARDHA,

February 12, 1941

DEAR MR. MACK,

I thank you for your letter¹. Of course I accept your word I never published anything. I must not be held responsible for things said to be [mine].

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

113. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

February 12, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I had fully expected to see you yesterday and today.² I would then have fixed up the day with you. You can have Wednesdays and Saturdays at 8.15 p.m., if that would suit you.³ You can start from tonight.

Love.

BAPU⁴

From the original: C.W. 6471. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9866

¹ Dated February 10, regarding the publication of his correspondence with Gandhiji about the Red Cross organization; *vide* also "Fragment of Letter to E. E. Mack", 5-2-1941

² Mirabehn explains: "I had returned from the mountains and was staying in my hut on the hill."

³ Mirabehn says: "For going to see Bapu, at which time I used to break my silence."

⁴ At the back of the letter Mirabehn had noted: "I am so sorry. If I had realized, I would have come for the answer."

114. LETTER TO GANDHI ANNAMALAI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 12, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 7th. He would ask you not to leave your job just now. The fight here will be a long-drawn-out affair, and you need not take the plunge just yet.

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

From a photostat: C.W. 10346. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

115. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA
February 12, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. Yes, Rajkumari has arrived. The Ashram is full. New rooms are coming up. As soon as they are ready, they will be full. The fact that you are keeping good health now, shows that you lacked occupation. You will have no difficulty at all in meeting Jayaprakash. I will have to go to Allahabad on the 28th and I will know more then. If you want to come over and see me, do so. I am going to open the Kamala [Nehru] Hospital. I am fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3552

116. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 12, 1941

BHAJ MALKANI,

When Kaka Saheb is coming there, why do you need my

message? Is he not himself my message? Hope the whole tour will be successful.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 941

117. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

February 12, 1941

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

I had already advised you to put the money in the name of a *panch* even though Sahasrabuddhe may not approve of it. I had understood that Sahasrabuddhe was prepared for this much. Now I don't know what can be done. I don't even know in whose name the money has been kept. I shall tell you if I can see more clearly.

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

118. INTERVIEW TO VAMANRAO JOSHI

[Before *February 13, 1941*]¹

I want quality and not number. I may get a few satyagrahis today but their number is bound to increase. I prefer five satyagrahis of quality to hundreds because these five will fight till the last. There should be no competition between provinces for number.²

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi has disapproved of the proposal of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee to start training camps for satyagrahis.

Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have told Mr. Vamanrao Joshi, President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, when he interviewed him recently, not to start such training camps as it might be banned by the Government and that he did not want to embarrass the Government.

Mahatma Gandhi had no objection for starting centres for training purely constructive workers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-2-1941 and 15-2-1941

¹ The first report of the interview had appeared under the date-line "Nagpur, February 13".

² This paragraph appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-2-1941; which reported that Gandhiji gave this answer in reply to "a question whether the province should give the best possible satyagrahis or should go without any if none came up to the prescribed standard".

119. MESSAGE TO PUNJAB CONGRESSMEN¹

WARDHAGANJ,
February 13, 1941

Have belief in service and work. This is a greater duty.

Mahatma Gandhi, it is learnt, has insisted on the necessity for intensifying constructive work which is as equally important as satyagraha.

Do not flatter your opponents but try to win them over by work and love and convert them to your view or bring them into the Congress fold as true believers in the Congress programme.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-2-1941

120. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 13, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your duty is to behave affectionately with all, and also not to allow breaches of the rule. It means that you are not to be a party, but should let me know when the rule is broken.² But what is the rule? *Ekadash Vrat*³ is of course there. From this subrules should follow. If I had time, I would frame them; but since I haven't I am passing the burden on to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4371

¹ This was sent through Ramnath Agarwal, Secretary of Moga (Punjab) City Congress Committee, who left Sevagram on February 13 after a fortnight's stay. The *Hitavada*, 14-2-1941, reported that satyagraha was being started in Moga on February 13, and that a centre for constructive work was to be opened there.

² *Vide* also "Letter to Krishnachandra", 11-2-1941

³ The eleven vows of non-violence, truth, etc., taken by the inmates of the Ashram; *vide* "Letter to Krishnachandra", 14-5-1935.

121. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter, and note what you have written about the students. Keep as much contact with them as possible, and influence them if you can.

Regarding your offering civil disobedience, I feel that you should stay out and do service. There is enough work outside. You should give up the desire of going to jail. No one is going to arrest me. But even if I am arrested, persons like you, if outside, would go on working with God's grace.

Yes, Rajkumari has done a great thing indeed. Everyone says that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7993. Also C.W. 3090. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

122. LETTER TO ADVAITA KUMAR GOSWAMI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

BHAI ADVAITA KUMAR,

Received your letter just now. My opinion is that you should not pick a quarrel over congregational prayer. It is a different thing if obstruction is put on individual prayer. Prayer should not be said loudly even in one's own room.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 150

123. LETTER TO RAMADEVI CHOWDHARY

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

CHI. RAMA¹,

I was very happy to read your letter. Congratulations to the teachers who have made up their mind. I hope that other teachers too will make a similar sacrifice and will not leave their schools. Congratulations to the villagers also. If this work succeeds, it will be a great service.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMADEVI
ASHRAM
BARICUT P.O.
ORISSA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9298

124. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 14, 1941

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. Your ears are getting worse and worse; it is not good. There is a place in Bombay where I want to send you for treatment. If you can come soon, write to me. Here are a few words:

I like the idea of collecting my writings under suitable heads as has been done by Anand Hingorani. The reader cannot but appreciate the labour he has given to securing attractive printing and binding.

M. K. GANDHI²

¹ Wife of Gopabandhu Chowdhary; the couple was running an Ashram in Baricut.

² According to the addressee, this "Foreword" originally written in English, was "intended for all the titles in the 'Gandhi Series' " edited and published by him. It was "modified by Gandhiji at Allahabad on March 1, 1941".

Have this set up in print; don't make a block.¹ I hope Vidya and the child are well.

How is Jairamdas? What does Premi do? Are you getting on well with Father?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

125. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

February 15, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have nothing to say about the rubbish. Such mistakes would go on. As long as we are alert it is all right. Munnalal's suggestion seems to me to be worth trying. It is to put the urine bucket elsewhere. Tell me the difficulty you have on account of Anjanadevi. I will try to remove it. Her sons are good, specially Pratap. I feel that even for his sake we should put up with their family.

The rules are lying with me. Whatever you wish to write, do write and do come over.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4372

126. LETTER TO MUKUNDALAL SIRCAR

SEVAGRAM,

February 16, 1941

DEAR MUKUNDALAL,

I have your letter². I had to delay replying to you because I got your copy of Subhas Babu's letter first and then his own letter.

¹ The Foreword did appear as facsimile block on all cover-jackets of the titles under "Gandhi Series". *To the Students* and *To the Women* were the first two books published under the series on October 2, 1941.

² According to the source, "the letter of Mr. Bose dated January 10 [*vide* footnote 4, "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj"] having remained unanswered, Mr. Mukundalal Sircar sent a telegram to Mahatma Gandhi on January 28, asking for a reply. When he learnt from Sevagram that Mahatma Gandhi did not receive the letter in question, Mr. Sircar sent a copy of the same on February 8 for ready reference."

The differences in our case are vital and fundamental. Subhas Babu knows them, and I expect you too know them. Independence secured through violence would have contents different from that secured through non-violent means. My notion of independence is independence of the poorest and the lowliest in the land. But in political language, all of us—Communists, Socialists, Kisan- Sabhaites, Labourites and others must think of independence though all will have different meanings for the same word.

So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to the whole of the correspondence being published.

You will please let me know as soon as news about Subhas Babu's whereabouts is known.¹

The Hindu, 24-2-1941

127. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 16, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I thank you for two letters². I need not now discuss the points raised by you. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's letter confirms my fear. He would see me if I go "on behalf of the Hindu community". This I cannot do. I do not represent the Hindu community. I am not even a member of the Hindu Mahasabha. But you may not now get out of the situation. You must not mind my warning³. I suggest your writing to Qaid-e-Azam that his position is unsound, if you agree with me. If

¹ The addressee's reply dated February 21, *inter alia*, read: "Though I consider the correspondence on this subject as closed, I feel constrained to say that the sentence in your letter with particular reference to violent and non-violent means, in my opinion, does not arise and is not relevant to the point of clarification sought for by Subhas Babu, because he is a Congressman and the Forward Blocists are Congressmen as well. As such Subhas Babu and his associates in the Forward Bloc had all along advocated the means of "non-violent" mass struggle as the only potential force to secure independence and, therefore, the independence thus secured is surely the independence through non-violent means."

² Dated February 12 and 14. For the letter dated February 12, *vide* "Letter from T. B. Sapru", 12-2-1941

³ In letter dated February 9, *vide* "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 9-2-1941

you do not, you should strive with me and persuade me that I should go on behalf of the Hindu community.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7581. Also C.W. 10285. Courtesy: National Library

128. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,

February 16, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

Let Ba get angry.² But we must do our duty. So ultimately you lost the purse containing eight rupees? Or did you find it afterwards? There was absolutely no need to give the pen to Vina. She handed it over to me. I have told her to keep it. Recover fully.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1578. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

129. LETTER TO SURENDRA B. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM,

February 16, 1941

CHI. SURENDRA,

What about the expenditure on medicine that was saved? If you take into account the money saved, your burden will increase. But I intend to waive all that. Ba was really very angry and said, "Why did

¹ In his letter (C.W. 10286) dated February 19, the addressee said: "... from the 15th of February, I have been down with high fever . . . I am not attending to any work at present. . . I have just written a letter to Mr. Jinnah, simply acknowledging his letter . . . Personally, I am not hopeful of success. I do not think I can persuade you to see him on behalf of the Hindu community, nor do I think I can persuade him to give up his point of view. Still I shall think over the matter and, if anything occurs to me which may be of any use, I shall act accordingly. Meanwhile, I am taking no action."

² *Vide* the following item; also "Letter to Manubehn S. Mashruwala", 11-2-1941

you send for the girl here if you were going to charge her?" Henceforth I will not send for her at all. Such is my life. But be that as it may, I must do my duty.

I hope there is no danger to the baby Manu is carrying.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1579. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

130. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

February 16, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

A little irregularity regarding the vegetables is worth putting up with.¹ Whatever we do not need in the Ashram, we should be able to sell. You should consult the doctor about the future crop. We should be able to produce fresh and good vegetables.

If wheat goes bad, it has to be thrown away. Even the poor should do the same. How did our wheat go bad?

This Ashram shows no signs of closing down. It may have to change. Whatever happens would be the result of our, or say, my actions. Have patience.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1941

¹ The addressee had complained that he was not able to assess the quantity of vegetables that was required at the Ashram and feared that the Ashram might close down owing to mismanagement.

131. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO P. NARAYANA¹

[Before February 17, 1941]²

In my opinion the Magistrate's remarks³ are libellous. There should be no appeal. I propose to take no notice of his remarks. He cannot harm the movement. He has harmed the Service he has disgraced.

The Hindu, 21-2-1941

¹ The addressee, a Congressman of Gudur, had drawn Gandhiji's "attention to the remarks made by the local Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Mr. R. Galletti, in his judgment in the cases against satyagrahis, and in his speech at the public meeting held in connection with the satyagraha offered by Enuga Narasa Reddi in Gudur, on February 1." The report appeared under the date-line "Gudur, February 17".

² *ibid*

³ According to *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, p. 265, "Galletti was not merely stating from the bench that it was wrong on the part of the police to prosecute the smaller fry, leaving alone the prime movers who were the arch conspirators . . . but by joining public meetings and arguing out with the people the pros and cons of the movement." The book explains that in one of his speeches, referring to Narasa Reddi's trial before him and Gandhiji's instruction to him to spin for fifteen days, subsequent to discharge order and to offer satyagraha again, Mr. Galletti "disputed the assertion of Mr. Reddi about spinning, and added that he would honour men of character though they were misguided, and expose those to ridicule who lacked it. Speaking on the war effort in his division, Mr. Galletti assured himself that the satyagrahis could not do anything 'prejudicial', even if Mr. Gandhi came and had his say." Referring to the correspondence between Gandhiji and E. E. Mack (*vide* pp. 315 and 329), Galletti is stated to have said that " 'Gandhiji, as everyone knew, would not go out of his spiritual determination.' He quoted the analogy of Quakers who had conscientious objection to war but at the same time came forward to the relief of the victims in war. The same was the view of Gandhiji. But what was the Provincial Congress Committee doing? There were a number of Congressmen who were angry with Gandhiji for his opinion on Congressmen's participation in Red Cross work. There were a few sincere Congressmen but most lacked honesty. Many of them . . . were inconsistent."

132. LETTER TO S. MALKINSON

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
INDIA,
February 17, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I have carefully read your letter. There is confusion of thought in it. My pacifism cannot aid the Nazis. India has two sections. One section Britain is exploiting to the full. I represent the dumb millions who have ever been peaceful. The Nazi spirit is not new, only the name is new. If it dies it will die only by my method and no other.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

S. MALKINSON, ESQ.
133 PRINCESS STREET
PORT ELIZABETH
SOUTH AFRICA

From a photostat: G.N. 2168

133. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 17, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I had replied to your previous letter. Now there is nothing for me but to wait. Rajendra Babu will go on like this. They will certainly send you the *Ashram Samachar* when it is published. But it is not published regularly. By 'Suraj Bhavan', I suppose you mean 'Swaraj Bhavan'¹ ? Don't you stay now with Jayaprakash's brother-in-law²?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3553

¹ Motilal Nehru's bungalow at Allahabad

² Brijbihari Sahai

134. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON¹

SEVAGRAM,
February 17, 1941

BHAI TANDONJI,

Make an inquiry into the matter and write to Abdus Samad Saheb also.²

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original: Purushottamdas Tandon Collection. Courtesy:
National Archives of India

135. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

February 18, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You did well in writing to me. It is your duty to draw my attention whenever my interference hurts you. There is no question at all of my feeling offended. If I myself break rules, who will observe them? Hence behind my seeming breach of a rule you will discover that I really observe it. If I had known about Kripalani, I would have stopped him. Nevertheless it is our duty when a guest turns up unexpectedly that we should spare for him some food even from the measured quantity that has been cooked. One should exercise one's discretion. The sparing of such food would be dharma only if it is willingly done by the person concerned. Ba's interference is of course to be regretted. But that is part of her nature. We have, therefore, no option but to put up with it. Ba has changed herself a great deal with patience. If I made more effort, she would improve still further. But I save my time. Yet I will see.

You must take charge of *datan*³. Anybody who uses one must pick it with his eyes shut. Nobody should select and choose. Those

¹ Gandhiji had written this on the margin of Abdus Samad Ansari's letter to him complaining of corruption and anti-Muslim prejudice on the part of Congress members in electing chairman to Sultanpur District Board.

² In his reply dated March 4, the addressee said that A.S. Ansari's report was true; but he could not find any proof for the charges of corruption and the anti-Muslim prejudice.

³ Babul stick for brushing teeth

that are altogether bad should be thrown away.

Personally I would certainly like your making a liquid solution of soap. I think we are using too much soap. I do not know how to prevent this. See if you can think of some way. The matter should be discussed with all. The use of 501 soap must be stopped. Why shouldn't we ourselves make soft soap? See if you can do something about it.

I approve of the other changes you have suggested.

I am not surprised to learn that the kitchen is working all the time. There should be some arrangement for looking after it. The persons in charge must be *sthitaprajnas*¹. If we have such persons, the whole set-up would function smoothly. If you need my help, ask for it. Do and persuade others to do everything with good humour. And be patient about what cannot be done.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8512. Also C.W. 7120. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

136. ABSTRACT OF LETTER TO ALI GUL KHAN

[Before *February 19, 1941*]²

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi has sent a letter to Ali Gul Khan, President of the Frontier Congress Committee, expressing his agreement with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's suggestion that satyagrahis should remain in the Frontier Province to finish constructive work and thus there need be no march towards Delhi for the present.

Referring to those satyagrahis who want to postpone satyagraha on some pretext or another, Mahatma Gandhi is understood to have advised that their names should be struck off the list unless their case is undeniable.

Ali Gul Khan is forwarding the letter to Abdul Ghaffar Khan who is at Utmanzai.

The Hindu, 21-2-1941

¹ Those of steadfast intellect

² The report appeared under the date-line "Peshawar, February 19".

137. LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY, ASSAM PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE¹

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

February 19, 1941

THE GENERAL SECRETARY
ASSAM PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CONGRESS HOUSE
GAUHATI
DEAR FRIEND,

I showed your letter to the General Secretary dated the 16th February, 1941, to Gandhiji who has asked me to reply to you as follows:

He sees no objection whatsoever to Congressmen helping in the prohibition campaign started by the present Government, provided it does not affect the satyagraha campaign. That is to say, those who have signed the satyagraha pledge and are due to offer satyagraha on the dates given to them may not allow their decision to be affected by the campaign. You say: "Some Congressmen, mostly active satyagrahis, have been enrolled as members of prohibition committees and, in some cases, they have assumed responsible roles." But Shri Chaliha in his letter to Gandhiji dated 15th February, 1941, writes: "Congressmen who are offering services for this work are almost (all?) non-satyagrahis, and out of 150 members there are only a few satyagrahis." What is the truth? However, our duty is clear. Those who have not signed the satyagraha pledge may offer full co-operation to Government, and those who have, may do so until the date on which they are offering satyagraha.

Yours sincerely,

MAHADEV DESAI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1294 a, 1941. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

138. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

February 19, 1941

CHI. PRABHUDAYAL,

Whatever you do you must do it with Kakasaheb's consent and

¹ A copy of this was forwarded to K. Chaliha, M. L.A., President, Jorhat District Congress Committee, and Krishnanath Sarma, Jorhat.

blessings. You may live anywhere you like but so long as you do not earn your bread through work, I shall not be satisfied.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11702

139. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO P. V. NAIDU¹

[Before February 20, 1941]²

If the Hindu Sabha was so inclined, it could partake in the reorganization of the Central Government, but the question of the Congress doing so would not arise so long as the Congress demand³ remained unconceded.

Mahatma Gandhi is said to have told Dr. Naidu that the reply⁴ given by him recently to an editorial in *The Times of India*, Bombay, fully represented the Congress position.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-2-1941

140. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

February 21, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I understand about Jayaprakash. What I meant⁵ was that as long as you did not get work of your own choice there, you used to remain

¹ According to the source, this was “stated to be the reply given by Mahatma Gandhi to the suggestions put forward by Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, General Secretary, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, with a view to bring about a settlement of the political deadlock”. According to *The Indian Annual Register*, 1941, Vol. I, p. 40, the addressee “had suggested from Madras that the Viceroy should invite a conference of the Premiers of the provinces and the Congress ex-Premiers, along with a certain number of leaders, nominated by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, Sikhs, Christians and the Depressed Classes”.

² The report appeared under the date-line “Nagpur, February 20”.

³ The reference is to the Working Committee resolution passed in Delhi on July 7, 1940; *vide* “Resolution Passed at Congress Working Committee Meeting At Delhi”, 7-7-1940

⁴ *Vide* “Letter to ‘The Times of India’”, 10-2-1941

⁵ *Vide*, “Letter to Prabhavati”, 12-2-1941

ill. Now your work has become your medicine. And that is how it should be. Our party will include Mahadev, Kanaiyo¹ and myself. We will reach [Allahabad] on the 27th evening. We may have to stay for a couple of days. I see that you also will reach the same evening.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3554

141. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

February 22, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I was sorry to learn about your illness.² Do please write only when you are quite well and strong.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

19 ALBERT ROAD

ALLAHABAD, U.P.

From a photostat: G.N. 7580. Also C.W. 10287. Courtesy: National Library

142. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND

February 22, 1941

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

At last God gave you the strength to fulfil the vow. Congratulations. May the bride and the bridegroom be happy.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 841

¹ Kanu Gandhi, son of Narandas Gandhi

² *Vide* footnote 4, "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 16-2-1941

143. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
February 22, 1941

CHI. ANAND,

I have your letter. Meet me at Allahabad itself. I was sorry to note the contents of the letter. We should accept the will of God.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and
Anand T. Hingorani

144. FOREWORD TO "STATUS OF INDIAN PRINCES"

The following seven chapters are a result of Pyarelal's deep study of the status of the Princes of India. They should have been published in pamphlet form long ago, and would have been, but for my pre-occupation. The writer is himself behind jail walls. Therefore they are being published as they were written. They are an evergreen. They give to the busy public worker or student, in a compact form, an idea of the status of the Princes of whom there are nearly six hundred. The chief merit of the pamphlet is that it contains nothing but what is taken from authentic records. The existence of this gigantic autocracy is the greatest dis-proof of British democracy and is a credit neither to the Princes nor to the unhappy people who have to live under this undiluted autocracy. It is no credit to the Princes that they allow themselves powers which no human being, conscious of his dignity, should possess. It is no credit to the people who have mutely suffered the loss of elementary human freedom. And it is perhaps the greatest blot on British rule in India. But we are too near the event to realize the falsity called "Princes' India" or "Indian India". The system will break under its own intolerable weight. My humble non-violent effort is to induce all the three parties to wash the triple sin. Even one of them can take the decisive step and it will affect all. But it will be glorious if the three together realize the enormity of the sin and by a combined effort wash it.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, February 23, 1941

Status of Indian Princes

145. ADVICE TO CALCUTTA SATYAGRAHIS¹

[On or before *February 24, 1941*]²

It would not be wrong if non-arrested satyagrahis tour the whole district for a month or two and then proceed to Delhi. Some may tour in the district and some may go to Delhi.

Referring to illiterate Harijan satyagrahis, Mahatma Gandhi says that if they do not march to Delhi or return after going half-way, they should do constructive work and may also learn reading and writing.

Mahatma Gandhi does not approve of the idea of batches of two, three or four satyagrahis proceeding to Delhi but wants everyone to go singly.

Answering another question, Mahatma Gandhi says that those not proceeding to Delhi should offer satyagraha in their provinces.

To another query, "When people are told not to give food to satyagrahis, what should they do?", Mahatma Gandhi replied that they should buy food if they have money or starve or proceed further; no hard and fast rule can be laid down.

The Hindu, 26-2-1941

146. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

February 24, 1941

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Those who have observed fast on *Shivaratri*³ night, should remember Siva and decide to become more pure and restrained.

Make this clear to all the children.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1456. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

¹ Gandhiji was "replying to satyagrahis from Calcutta, who sought his advice regarding their marching to Delhi". The report appeared under the date-line "Wardhaganj, February 24".

² *ibid*

³ The fourteenth night of the dark fortnight in *Magha* (January-February). In 1941, it was on February 24.

147. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 25, 1941

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got Sushila's beautiful letter. The description of the tour was good. I hope the collection also was good.

Here, at present, I am busy with the affairs of the struggle. By God's grace, I keep good health.

CHI. SITA¹,

I got your letter. Your English is still weak. But it will improve gradually. The handwriting is not bad. Do not forget Gujarati.

Taribehn's health has improved. She is in Delhi and will stay there for the present. I have forwarded your letters to her.

Manu is all right. Nanabhai² is thinking of settling down somewhere in Surat.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4920

148. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

February 25, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You do not write. How then do you expect me to write? Mahadevbhai will write to you about Manubhai. I am very glad that Nanabhai reads the *Bhagavata* regularly. I will procure the book about the marriage ceremony and send it to you. Shastriji had a copy of the very same book published by Kaka. Annapoorna has not yet come here. Shastriji is again suffering these days. I am going to

¹ Daughter of Manilal Gandhi

² Nanabhai Ichchharam Mashruwala, Sushila Gandhi's father

Allahabad tomorrow to open the Kamala [Nehru] Hospital. We shall return on Sunday.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VIJAYABEHN

DAKSHINAMURTI GRAMBHAVAN

AMBLA, *via* SONGARH, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7137. Also C.W. 4629. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

149. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM,

February 26, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I was more than pleased with what I saw yesterday. You may take the silence. I understand its value.¹ I shall inform Ashadevi.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6472. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9867

150. NOTE TO PREMABEHN KANTAK²

[Before *February 26, 1941*]³

Tell Lilavatibehn⁴ that she has to think of women as a class and not of herself. The rule should not be broken for the sake of a Congressman; nor should a woman be made a party to such breach. It is harmful for the woman too. But when it is the turn of a Christian,

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Mirabehn", 12-2-1941

² Lilavati Munshi who wanted to contest for the Mayorship of Bombay to put an end to the convention of elections by communal rotation.

³ *ibid*

⁴ The addressee was sentenced in the last week of November 1940 for three months' imprisonment. On her release, she went to Sevagram and asked Gandhiji several questions regarding women prisoners. Gandhiji wrote down the reply so that she could carry it with her during her second term of imprisonment, and in order that the women prisoners would not doubt its authenticity. Gandhiji left Sevagram on February 26.

a woman from that community should be given the chance, just as a Hindu woman or a Muslim woman should be chosen when it is the turn of that community.

Women satyagrahis who are weak and diseased should not go to jail again. Moreover no woman can go to jail with her child.

It is better if 'A' and 'B' class prisoners avail less and less of their special privileges. In fact our ideal is not to enjoy any additional facilities other than those enjoyed by 'C' class prisoners.

The purpose behind payment of fine is only to remove the fear of fine as we have already overcome the fear of jail. It does not mean that fine should be paid by borrowing money. But we should not lose valuable things for a negligible price.

We have to presume that the struggle will be a prolonged one. Talks of compromise only betray our weakness. Rest assured, ultimate victory is ours.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10417. Also C.W. 6856. Courtesy: Premabehn Katak

151. ADVICE TO SIND ASSEMBLY CONGRESS PARTY

[Before *February 27, 1941*]¹

The Azad Arrangement² should be adhered to, failing which the Congress members of the Assembly should help in dethroning the present Ministry³ and support Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, in forming a new Ministry.⁴

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi had earlier expressed the opinion that in case the Azad Pact was broken, the Congress members should resign and come out of the Assembly, but on a reference being made to him whether he was still of the same opinion, Mahatma Gandhi expressed the above view, having learned in the meanwhile Maulana Azad's mind in the matter.

The Hindu, 1-3-1941

¹ The advice was reported under the date-line "Karachi, February 27"

² According to *The Indian Annual Register*, 1941, Vol. I, p. 255, the "Arrangement" was that "Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh and Sir Ghulam Hussain should be brought in . . . and an all-Party Government should be formed".

³ With Bunde Ali Khan as Premier

⁴ Allah Baksh formed the new Ministry on March 7.

*152. SPEECH AT OPENING OF KAMALA NEHRU
HOSPITAL, ALLAHABAD*

February 28, 1941

Mahatma Gandhi, while expressing his delight at the completion of a great project¹ which was the fulfilment of the last wish of the late Mrs. Kamala Nehru, pointed out that the Kamala Nehru Hospital was one of the first of its kind from the point of view of architectural beauty, and the comforts provided for the patients might attract even maharanis. He, however, hoped that those responsible for running the day-to-day administration of the institution would not forget that the hospital was primarily intended for the poor whose interests should not be neglected, and service to the poor patients should be the motto of those in charge of the administration.

The Leader, 1-3-1941

153. A FOREWORD

[ALLAHABAD,
March 1, 1941]²

I like Anand Hingorani's idea of collecting my writings under suitable heads. The reader will not fail to appreciate the labour he has given to securing attractive printing and binding.

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani

154. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

March 1, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. My going there will serve no purpose and may even be harmful. Harmful because, if my visit results in failure, it may add to our disappointment. As it is, my meeting with Qaid-e-Azam appears to be an impossibility. But I have encouraged Rajaji to

¹ Its foundation-stone was laid by Gandhiji on November 19, 1939; *vide* "Speech at Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital Allahabad", 19-11-1939

² *Vide* footnote 1, "Letter to Aand T. Hingorani", 14-2-1941

a great extent. He will of course try. We shall see what the result is. I think an agreement is not likely. We should do what we can without it. Inaction on our part in the hope of an agreement may result in serious harm. I am of the opinion that fruitful efforts can be made outside an agreement.

I hear your experiment is progressing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8052. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

155. SPEECH TO UNITED PROVINCES STUDENTS' FEDERATION¹ ALLAHABAD

March 1, 1941

The students cannot offer satyagraha unless they are ready to suspend their studies during the period of the Movement.

Mahatma Gandhi added that those who could not go to that length might do constructive work, specially the promotion of khadi and communal unity. It was undesirable that communal virus should infect the brains of the students.

Gandhiji also emphasised the need for discipline, which was necessary in any organization. Even violence, he remarked, needed discipline as was obvious from the example of Hitler.

Regarding the strikes, Gandhiji reiterated his previous statements² and warned the students against entering into party politics prematurely. He urged that the students should keep an open mind and study ideologies. He stressed that the students could play an important part in bringing about communal unity.

The Leader, 2-3-1941

¹ About 19 members of the Working Committee of the Federation met Gandhiji at Anand Bhavan in the morning; Ram Naresh Shukla, Balram Srivastava, Siddiq Ahmad, Hit Narain Singh and Madan Mohan Prasad were among them. The report said: "Mr. T. K. Chaturvedi, Convenor of the U.P. Students' Federation of the rival group, submitted today to Mr. Mahadev Desai for Mahatma Gandhi a memorandum deploring the present 'unfortunate split' in the Students' Federation, and repudiating the allegation that his group was opposed to the present national struggle and requesting Mahatma Gandhi to help them in bringing about unity amongst the students by blessing the plan of 'democratic elections' suggested in the memorandum."

² *Vide* "Message to Students", 14-11-1940, "Statement to the Press", 29-11-1940 and "Fragment of Letter to M. L. Shah", 26-1-1941

156. LETTER TO SHANTI SWARUP

ON THE TRAIN,
March 2, 1941

BHAI SHANTI SWARUP,

I have your letter. Your argument is absolutely correct, and it should be acceptable to your relatives.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 567

157. LETTER TO ABDUL QAIYUM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 3, 1941

DEAR ABDUL QAIYUM,

It is good you have written to me. I was firmly of opinion that the report¹ should be published. But somehow or other it was not. I do not know that it will be wise now to publish it. But I shall consult Rajen Babu and Prof. Kripalani as also Sarojini Devi and see what should be done.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1010. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The addressee, Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, from North-West Frontier Province, in his letter dated February 26, had said: "In December 1939, I was ordered by Babu Rajendra Prasad, the then Congress President, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to proceed to Sind to hold an enquiry into the Sukkur communal riots and the Manzilgah dispute.... I gave my finding about the causes of the riot, and suggested the means of restoring communal harmony in that unfortunate province. As regards the Manzilgah, my finding was that it was a mosque, that it was undesirable to have a tribunal, that it should be restored to the Muslims who on their part should take their Hindu brethren back to the villages and should inspire confidence in them.... No doubt, in my report I have criticized our own organization in Sind with a view to reform it and make it more acceptable to the people.... Now that the judicial enquiry is also over and the Manzilgah has been restored by the Government to the Muslims, there is absolutely no justification for not publishing my report any longer. Let the people know what the findings of the Congress report are."

158. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

March 3, 1941

CHI. KUSUM,

How foolish you are! You are seriously ill and have not even informed me. You are still not well. Send your name¹ only when you are able to walk five miles daily without getting tired. Meanwhile do whatever service you can and get well. It will be better if you come over here and get yourself examined. Of course Mahadevbhai is always there. He has gone to Delhi today. Pyarelal will be released on the 6th.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KUSUMBEHN DESAI

MEHTA POLE, BARODA

From the Gujarati original: Kusumbehn Desai Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya

159. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 3, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I want Manubehn's account.² Expenses [incurred during her illness] have to be taken from her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What have you done about the rules³?

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4374

¹ For offering satyagraha.

² *Vide* also "Letter to Manubehn S. Mashruwala", 11-2-1941

³ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Krishnachandra", 13-2-1941

*160. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO KRISHNABAI
PANAJIKAR¹*

[Before *March 4, 1941*]²

I can assure you that if you will give all your time to touring and to seeing that the best quality of people are coming in as satyagrahis, you will have done more work for the movement than you would do by going to jail. I would, therefore, ask you to be patient.

The Hindu, 6-3-1941

161. LETTER TO FAREED ANSARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 4, 1941

MY DEAR FAREED³,

I was very glad to hear from you. I was unable to overtake your letter earlier. It was received when Kamala Memorial absorbed me exclusively.

Your speed is not bad. You must have gone up to 300 rounds per hour. Please congratulate Asaf Ali and Deshbandhu on their spinning.

I can well understand Brijkrishna taking the *Gita* class. I wish all of you will learn the two scripts—Urdu and Devanagari. It is a sad thing that Hindi and Urdu are going away from each other. It was not thus always. I wish you will all take common action in the direction.

I have not heard from Zohra⁴ for a long time now.

I had a letter from Satyavati sometime ago. She threatens to come here but never succeeds.

In spite of the heat I seem to be keeping well.

Love to you all.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 10372

¹ The Addressee, Acting President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, had sought Gandhiji's permission for offering satyagraha. The report appeared under the date-line "Hospet, March 4."

² *ibid*

³ Dr. M. A. Ansari's nephew

⁴ Daughter of Dr. M.A. Ansari.

162. INTERVIEW TO SANKARAN¹

WARDHAGANJ,
March 4, 1941

Door-to-door anti-war propaganda by Congress satyagrahis has been permitted by Mahatma Gandhi, provided the residents do not object. He added that this form of satyagraha would be resorted to from next week.

Mr. Sankaran said that Mahatma Gandhi approved another list of 1,607 Congressmen for offering satyagraha. He said that 140 satyagrahis from the South including five ladies, are now marching towards Delhi. Mahatma Gandhi has insisted that satyagrahis from the South should learn Hindi if they are to march towards Delhi.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-3-1941

163. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I liked your letter very much. Your ideal is fine indeed; but Kanaiyo will not be able to reach it. His mind was firm before Abha came into the picture. People have noticed that since then he has been unconsciously letting himself be drawn towards her. When I asked him, he felt that it was true. We can put off the engagement for the present, but that would only be like deceiving the people. The condition of Kanaiyo's mind, so far as I can see, is as follows: 'If I marry, it will be Abha, and if I cannot get Abha, I would prefer to remain unmarried.' My view is that Abha should wait for three or four years. Abha is of course growing fast. Even after my death, he will marry nobody but Abha. He is not of such an unsteady mind that he may change it any time. Besides, Abha seems to me to be a noble type of girl. Though she is not highly educated, she is lively. She understands Gujarati even today. She always talks with Ba in that language. If both of them stay there, she will not spare herself in service. She would willingly serve anybody she is asked to serve. I shared your keen desire, but Kanaiyo does not have the strength to

¹ The interviewer was the Secretary of Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee.

fulfil it. I now wish that both of you or Jamna¹ alone may come here and see Abha and meet her father. If Kanaiyo must marry, then from our point of view Abha is the chosen one. She possesses the ideals we look for.²

Blessings from

BAPU

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

164. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,

March 6, 1941

I must warn the public against journalistic flights of imagination. No importance need be attached to my visits to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and there meeting quite accidentally Kunver Sir Jagdishprasad, then Pandit Malaviyaji and the morning following Shri Vijayalakshmi Pandit and finally Maulana Saheb Abul Kalam Azad. They were all of them friendly visits wholly unarranged when I left Sevagram for Allahabad. I had gone for one mission and that alone. What little other work I did was purely accidental. I refer to my meeting some students and Garhwali workers. Sir Tej Bahadur I went to see because he was ailing. We are old friends. He was to have come to see me but when I heard that he was ill I insisted on going to him. No doubt, we talked about the political situation and even more about the Hindu-Muslim problem. Sir Jagdish who dropped in and who was to dine at Sir Tej Bahadur's joined the conversation. But not the slightest political importance attaches to these conversations. We talked as individuals and not with regard to any mission. Sir Tej Bahadur is anxious (who is not?) to end the present deadlock. He would give anything to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. He ascribes to me overmuch capacity for bringing about unity. Sir Jagdish is no less anxious. But the talks were no more than a friendly interchange of views. As to the visits to Malaviyaji Maharaj, the same thing happened. He has aged. He ought not to talk about current events. He is too weak. But the country's affairs are his daily food. He will cease to think about them when he ceases to read and think of the *Bhagvata*

¹ Addressee's wife

² *Vide* also "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 15-1-1941

and the *Gita*. These things are the breath of his life and they will stop with the stoppage of his last breath. Who knows but that he will take them where the disembodied spirit goes. It was a privilege to meet these friends but our talks have no bearing on the political situation in the country. And there could be none in the purely prison visits to the Maulana and Shri Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

I know that the imaginary descriptions of such visits and the eagerness with which the public devour them show their desire for communal unity and a solution of the political deadlock. But mere desire will take us no nearer its fulfilment. For fulfilment can only come through common action on the part of those who share the desire. All are searching for common action. Speculation interferes with the search. So far as the Congress is concerned, its policy and action based thereon are well known. It is gross misrepresentation to suggest that the Congress is out for securing terms for itself. Freedom of speech is for all even as independence will be for all. The contents of the latter will be decided not by the Congress but by the vote of all. And if it is to be achieved non-violently it follows that the mere vote of the majority will have little play. The charter of independence must be the product of the willing consent of the minorities and other relevant interests which are not in conflict with the interests of the vast mass of Indian humanity.

Be this as it may, in order that all the units may have full freedom of expression even against the war itself, the Congress has embarked upon civil disobedience. That is the contribution of the Congress to the fulfilment of the common desire. As an effort in direct action it must hold the field till a better is found.

Strong objection has been raised against my interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I regard it as a true interpretation. But it is that of an individual. I have no authority from the Congress to interpret or vary the Congress resolutions. That is essentially the function of the President, the Working Committee and finally the A.I.C.C. The only authority I have is to conduct the campaign of civil disobedience. But when the time for settlement comes it will be for the Working Committee to decide what the terms shall be. My contribution will be confined to advising the Committee. The Working Committee may reject the interpretation I have given. It or the A.I.C.C. may even alter the resolutions they have passed. Meanwhile let everyone whether Congressmen or others be guided by the Bombay resolution and not

by my interpretation. I have, therefore, failed to understand the consternation created by my statement¹ that there can be no settlement short of independence during the pendency of the war.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India.

165. LETTER TO SHERWOOD EDDY

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1941

DEAR DR. EDDY,

I thank you for your kind letter. It would be well if you make a general statement².

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHERWOOD EDDY
52 VANDER BILL AVENUE
N. Y. CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

166. LETTER TO SUSAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 6, 1941

DEAR DR. SUSAI,

Your case is hard. But the remedy is in your hands. If the Church is as bad as Hinduism, and if you have no conscientious scruples, you should revert to your original faith. If you do not, surely you should suffer the fate of reformers and purge the Catholic Church of the blot.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5739

¹ *Vide* "Letter to *The Times of India*", 10-2-1941

² The addressee misquoted Gandhiji in his book *I Saw God Do It*, saying that in answer to one of his questions Gandhiji expressed belief in favour of armed defence and that too with the help of America or some neutral army. Gandhiji expressed denial of the answer in *Harijan*, 28-7-1940 (*vide* "Impossible"), and suggested to the addressee to have the mistake rectified.

167. LETTER TO ISWAR SARAN

March 6, 1941

DEAR MUNSHIJI,

Your letter. It was not trouble but joy to visit the Ashram which you have built up with patient effort. I should repeat the visit whenever possible. Your institution is worthy of full public support. May you live long to serve this essential cause of humanity.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN

HARIJAN ASHRAM

ALLAHABAD

From a copy: C.W. 10289. Courtesy: Allahabad Municipal Museum

168. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL MAJMUDAR

March 6, 1941

BHAI PRAIKSHITILAL,

You have done nothing wrong in issuing the statement. Ambalalbhai has told me, though, that as long as Sardar is in jail, he will shoulder the responsibility. Please do not make public use of this fact. And let not his [willingness to do so] slacken our effort. On the contrary, we should intensify it. Collecting a pice each from the common people would be more befitting and yield fine results.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3967. Also C.W. 151. Courtesy: Parikshitlal Majmudar

169. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,

March 6, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I consider this a serious mistake. Regarding your honesty, have no doubt; but carelessness is a great defect. In accounts there should

not be a mistake even of a pie. A pie entered more or less in accounts can result in a mistake of a thousand, and it has happened before. Accounts should be written daily. Not only this, every item should be entered then and there, as is done in banks.

It is not good that you have given up [writing the accounts] What Chimanlal said was correct, but by asking his pardon you should have kept the work to yourself. This can be done even now if you wish. The atonement for this is that whatever the deficit make it up by getting the money from home. Clearly specify the reason for doing so.

There is no cause for shame. By accepting the fault publicly, your burden will be lightened, and others too will learn a lesson.

Ask anything more if you wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4375

170. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 7, 1941

DEAR SIR TEJ BAHADUR,

I hope you have kept free of fever. If you propose to invite Qaid-e-Azam and me, I shall of course present myself.¹ But I would urge you to think fifty times before issuing these invitations. Failure would be bad. And what I fear is that the time for communal settlement has not come. But you need not mind my caution, if you feel otherwise.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7579. Also C.W. 10291. Courtesy: National Library

¹ In his letter (C.W. 10290) dated March 2, the addressee had asked Gandhiji: "Supposing some of us, who are meeting in Bombay on March 13, decide to invite you and Mr. Jinnah and just a few other leaders at a conference to be held later on some suitable date and at a convenient place to talk over matters of difference, how will you view it?"

² In his reply (C.W. 10292) dated March 10, the addressee said: "You may be sure that I am in no hurry to invite you and Mr. Jinnah to a conference and shall never do so without first consulting you."

171. LETTER TO CHAMANLAL

SEVAGRAM,
March 7, 1941

DEAR CHAMANLAL,

I must look at your book¹ and send you something.

Yes, I would like you for the present to concentrate on Harijan work. Offer your services to Mohanlal of Lalaji's Society. He is in charge of that work on behalf of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. No one works separately in my name. Put yourself also in touch with Shri Rameshwari Nehru whom you must know. Later on, if all is well you will offer civil disobedience, if required. You should spin regularly, make your own slivers and learn the science of the charkha.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

172. LETTER TO LAKSHMI SATYAMURTI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 7, 1941

DEAR LAKSHMI,

Tell father he had no business to fall ill as he has done. He must learn to avoid anxiety and he will sleep well².

Love.

BAPU

From the original: S. Satyamurti Papers. Courtesy: Neheru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Hindu America?* The addressee had requested Gandhiji for a short message for its new edition. *Vide* also "Letter to Chamanlal", 22-3-1941.

² *Vide* also "Letter to Prembehn Kantak", 12-7-1940

173. ADVICE TO SYED MAHMUD¹

[Before March 8, 1941]²

An ailing satyagrahi is a liability for the Government. In jail, he indirectly embarrasses the authorities and as such it is against the spirit of the present satyagraha movement.

While not permitting him to offer satyagraha, Mahatma Gandhi is understood to have asked Dr. Mahmud to come to Wardha for recouping his health.

The Hindu, 10-3-1941

174. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON³

WARDHAGANJ,
March 8, 1941

AGATHA HARRISON
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON

STRUGGLE PROCEEDING STEADILY BUT VERY GENTLY.
GOVERNMENT STATEMENT PALPABLY MISLEADING INDEED
FALSE.⁴ BUT HAVE NOT LOST HOPE OF NON-VIOLENCE
BEING EFFECTIVE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1518. Also File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ The addressee, who had been ailing for some time, had sought Gandhiji's permission to court arrest in the second week of March. The report appeared under the date-line "Patna, March 8".

² *ibid*

³ This was in reply to the addressee's cable dated March 6, which read: "Your words in 'Andrews Legacy' are ever before me as I know they are before you. Would welcome informative cable." For the note referred to, *vide* "Notes", sub-title "Andrews' Legacy"

⁴ This sentence was scored out by the censor.

175. LETTER TO GURBAX SINGH SANT¹

SEVAGRAM,
March 8, 1941

DEAR DR. SANT,

All things considered you should adhere to the decision to offer civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

176. NOTE TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH²

March 8, 1941

Yes, do put Keshav on his own job, but give him whatever help he may need.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8511. Also C.W. 7126. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

177. LETTER TO KOTWAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 8, 1941

BHAI KOTWAL,

1. The better course would be for you to offer satyagraha in your district.

2. On the way to Delhi, in the territories of Indian States, you should not shout any slogans about the war but should do propaganda for constructive activities as you go along. You cannot travel by train.

3. There is no need to send any statement to the authorities It is

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated March 5, in which he had asked Gandhiji's opinion as to whether he should offer civil disobedience or do constructive work.

² This was in reply to the addressee's letter which sought Gandhiji's advice on giving the management of the Ashram kitchen to Keshav.

enough that you have sent it once.

4. If the residents of Indian States are brought back to their own States, they may start the march again. After reaching Delhi on foot, you may ask me [what to do next]. It will be a long time before you do that, and I cannot, therefore, say anything today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3603

178. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

March 8, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have your letter. We were all waiting for it. It is good that you have peace of mind. It is true that I no longer have faith in Amrita Lal. But how can I tell you to sever relations with him because of it? Yes, if you also feel that he is not trustworthy, it is your duty to break off with him.

Yes, Mirabehn has come. She remains cheerful. She is all right but she keeps harping on the same thing.¹ She is hopeful and does not worry. She passes her time in taking the name of God and spinning. She stays alone in Balkrishna's² hut. She comes to see me on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the evening.³ Rest of the time she observes silence.

Blessings from

BAPU

SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH

P.O. BOX 360

BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10862. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

¹ She wanted to marry the addressee whereas the latter looked upon her as his sister; *vide* also "Letter to Nrisinhprasad K. Bhatt", 9-8-1940

² Balkrishna Bhavé

³ *Vide* "Letter to Gandhi Annamalai", 12-2-1941

179. LETTER TO NIRMALANANDA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

March 9, 1941

DEAR BHIKSHU,

I have your letter. You should go on as you are doing. Why should anybody go to an ashram with a gold watch? However it would be good if your appeal bears fruit.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1395

180. LETTER TO ABRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA

March 9, 1941

DEAR SIR,

I was delighted to see your firm signature. I am running a close race with you but you can't be reached, I see. I shall make time to glance through your pamphlets. I hope you are keeping as fresh as your signature.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

181. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI PATEL

March 9, 1941

CHI. DAHYABHAI,

If the accompanying can be sent to Sardar, send it or hand it over unsealed.

I trust your family life is all right and Babu¹ is cheerful.

¹ Bipin Dahyabhai Patel, addressee's elder son

Remember that Shantikumar and you have to collect twenty lakhs.¹ I hope for the best.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY
[PS.]

If you see Manibehn, tell her that she must improve her health a lot.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 160-1

182. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

March 9, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I deliberately refrain from writing to you. Mahadev is in Delhi and I was, therefore, tempted by the sight of Dahyabhai's handwriting. Things are going well. There are bound to be a few black sheep among the good ones². But they are the fewest this time. The thing is bound to be protracted, but that is in our interest. There is no room for defeat. I hope everybody there spins with a living faith. My own faith in spinning, my nature being what it is, is becoming stronger. Bharatananda's³ little inventions make everything quite inexpensive. I keep excellent health.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
POONA

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 246

¹ Shantikumar Morarjee and the addressee had agreed to collect the sum for khadi production.

² Taking part in Individual Civil Disobedience movement.

³ Maurice Frydman, a Polish engineer in Mysore State, who gave up his job and went to Sevagram; he was the inventor of the spinning-wheel known as *Dhanush Takli*.

183. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 9, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Amrita Lalji says whoever wants fruits and vegetables takes them away. The key is not in the custody of one particular person. How is this? Satisfy Amrita Lalji and hand over the key to him.

Give this to Chhajuramji. Arrange his bed outside the verandah in the open.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4376

184. LETTER TO RAGHUVANSH GAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

March 9, 1941

BHAI RAGHUVANSH¹,

Rajkumaribehn went over to you on my instructions, and conveyed only my views. The letter written to . . .² behn is all right. Now you should go home. Whatever can be done from here will be done. Railway fare will be given to you, which you will send back on reaching Kanpur.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 139

185. INSTRUCTIONS TO CONGRESS COMMITTEES

[Before *March 10, 1941*]³

Mahatma Gandhi has issued instructions to the Andhra and the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committees not to bring persons from districts for the purpose of offering satyagraha in the city of Madras. He has also instructed that the

¹ Of Old Instructional Farm, Nawalganj, Kanpur

² Two words are mutilated in the source.

³ The report appeared under the date-line "Madras, March 10".

house-to-house satyagraha should in no way take the form of picketing and that satyagrahis should not enter houses where they would be unwelcome.¹

The Hindustan Times, 11-3-1941

186. LETTER TO SACHINDRA NATH MITRA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 10, 1941

DEAR SHRI S. N. MITRA

Your letter to Gandhiji has come. He is unable to attend to much correspondence these days. If you have read *Harijan* carefully, you would have known his views on the militarization of India or indeed any country. A satyagrahi who believes in out-and-out non-violence can never stand for militarization of India under any circumstances. But such are few and far between. The majority believe in non-violence for achieving our independence but cannot get as far as condemning war weapons and machinery for defence from external aggression. This, as you rightly say, requires boundless faith in non-violence as a living creed and the only way to save the world from destruction.

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

SHRI SACHINDRA NATH MITRA
5/2 KANTAPUKUR LANE
BAGHABAZAR
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 7184

187. INTERVIEW TO KANNAMWAR²

WARDHA,
[Before March 11, 1941]³

If any employee of a local body desires to offer satyagraha, he must resign his post first.

Mahatma Gandhi appears to have argued that an employee of a local body, who

¹ *Vide* also "Interview to Sankaran", 4-3-1941

² Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee; the interview was reported under the date-line "Nagpur, March 11".

³ *ibid*

wishes to offer satyagraha, could not look for support to the employing local body.

He should come in the field with clean hands, keeping full confidence in God.

Mahatma Gandhi added that a local body with a Congress majority should not resist the policy of the Government of withholding grant to that body if its employees were participating in the satyagraha movement.

The Hindu, 13-3-1941

188. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 12, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I have your letter. You need not feel sorry for Mirabehn. She believes that she had the same relationship with you in a previous birth and it will be the same in future also. That you have forgotten it in this birth is a matter both for sorrow and joy for her. Mirabehn has made this a spiritual thing and is doing *tapasya*. She reads Puranas and such other books and spins for hours daily. She spins at least 1,800 rounds and remains cheerful.¹

I have had a very bitter experience of Bhai Amrita Lal. But since your experience is contrary to mine, I do not wish to say anything. Follow the dictates of your heart.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10863. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

189. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 14, 1941

MY DEAR AMRIT,

These partings must come.² They must be cheerfully borne.

Your *gadi* is occupied by K³. Don't worry. Keep your times

¹ *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Prithvi Singh", 8-3-1941

² The addressee had left for Delhi.

³ Bharatan Kumarappa.

there as far as possible.

The library room is undergoing innovation.

Amtul Salaam is the same as when you left her. Sita¹ has fever.

My [blood-pressure] reading was 156/98. Heat has commenced today. I have a wet wrapper on the head.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3998. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7307

190. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 14, 1941

Leaving aside what I have deleted, the rest is worth taking. For the permanent residents of the Ashram the vow which I have drafted is essential, otherwise the Ashram cannot become stable.

For setting up the committee suggested in it, send immediately the list of rules after making the necessary changes.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4377

191. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 15, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I wrote yesterday. Herewith Bh[aratan Kumarappa]'s letter.

Padmaja² has arrived. Have not met her yet. Gosibehn³ goes today. Pyarelal came in last night. He has gone to Nagpur for his teeth. Mahadev Desai is still between Bombay and Poona. My blood-pressure: 156/90. All well otherwise. Sita out of fever today. Sharma leaves tomorrow. Amtul Salaam still on fast-diet. Shastri shows distinct progress.

I hope you are having good time. You were to have wired but there is none yet. *Ashirvad*⁴ to Nandan⁵ and Raksha⁶.

BAPU

¹ Wife of Bharatan Kumarappa

² Padmaja Naidu, daughter of Sarojini Naidu

³ Gosibehn Captain, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

⁴ Blessings

⁵ Raghunandan Saran and his wife

⁶ *ibid*

[PS.]

Your wire has come. Thank God.

From the original: C.W. 3999. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7308

192. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 15, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

Tari is of course lazy, but aren't you also like her? Why is there no letter of acknowledgement from you? How is Tari? What about your diet? How are you? Do you cook everything yourself? Help as much as you can in the Ashram. You can even take your meals in the Ashram kitchen. Take part in the prayers, etc. Teach them to make bread. How are you keeping there? Ask Tari to write to me, I am all right. It seems Shastriji's wounds are healing up. Mahadev has gone to Bombay. I still give Amtul Salaam only *bhaji* soup. She does take honey, of course. Munnalal is fine.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8275. Also C.W. 7127. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

193. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

March 15, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I was waiting for your letter. You have become lazy and then you ask for pardon. You should have immediately dropped a postcard. Jayaprakash is right in saying that just now you will be able to come only for a few days. You cannot of course cure his illness. Can you see him every day? When do they bring him to the hospital? How are the conditions in jail? Rajkumari has gone to Delhi. Mahadev is either in Bombay or in Poona. Gosibehn is here. Padmaja arrived today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3555

194. LETTER TO VITHALDAS V. JERAJANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 15, 1941

BHAI VITHALDAS,

Since the Gandhi Seva Sena is certified by the A.I.S.A., shouldn't the latter have a place in the *Khadi Patrika*?

Shri Gosibehn desires to work among Muslim women. She will work chiefly through khadi. Please, therefore, guide and help her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9798

195. FOREWORD TO "THE PARTING OF THE WAYS"¹

The Parting of the Ways should have appeared when it was finished, i.e., immediately after August 10. By some mischance it has escaped publication till now. It has just come into my possession. I understand that some portions of the article have already appeared in *Asia*. I think it is too precious a document to be withheld from the public. I have shown it to Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Acharya Kripalani who are in Wardha. They agree with me that it should be published on behalf of the A.I.C.C. I know that Sarojini Devi, if she was here, would also agree.

I believe that it correctly represents in moderate, though forcible language, the Congress position.

The passages quoted above² are key paragraphs. The first extract shows what might have been. The second declares the author's love for the British people. The third shows in the fewest possible words how the British Government in India is sustained by coercion pure and simple. The fourth paragraph shows that the independence India wants is neither exclusive nor antagonistic to any nation.

¹ Written by Jawaharlal Nehru, this article dated August 10, 1940, was published by the A.I.C.C. on March 18, 1941.

² Vide "Extracts from "Parting of the ways".

Though the author has said not one word about non-violence, he has led the reader to the inevitable conclusion that the independence of Jawaharlal's conception, nay, Congress conception cannot be won except through unadulterated non-violence, and the present struggle is an attempt to keep the spirit of non-violence alive in the midst of the fratricidal inhuman carnage. If it is a contribution to India's freedom it is no less contribution to world peace.

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, March 16, 1941

The Parting of the Ways

196. LETTER TO SACHINDRA NATH MITRA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

March 16, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Rajkumari is away. Digest my writings still further and if doubt still haunts you, write to me after two months.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7185

197. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 16, 1941

CHI. MRIDULA,

I have read your statement about Vikasgriha². Pushpabehn³ and you seem to be working hard and devoting yourselves to public service. You, therefore, desire to serve both men and women. Your institution is a valuable shelter for poor girls. You have the strength for such a tough job. May God increase it. The obstacles created by elders are a painful thing. But it is good that all are not of that type. If some of them obstruct your work, there are others who help you. You

¹ *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Interview to Kannamwar:", 11-3-1941

² Founded in 1937 at Ahmedabad

³ Pushpabehn Mehta, a social worker

must, of course, take the necessary legal steps. But the best remedy for the goondaism that you see is a vigilant public opinion. In order to cultivate it you should give publicity to incidents of that type.

Your scheme for a building for the Vikasgriha is a good one. Of course, the utmost simplicity will have to be observed. The building and style of living [of the inmates] should be such as will befit a poor country like India. You certainly deserve financial help for this building project. I hope you will get it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Gujarati: Report of Vikasgriha

198. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS¹

[Before March 17, 1941]

Don't bring persons from villages into towns for offering satyagraha.

Satyagrahis, if not arrested, may do house-to-house propaganda but it should not take the form of picketing. Satyagrahis should not enter the houses where they are not welcome.

Persons serving in local bodies should resign from the services before offering satyagraha.

When a Congress Committee is suspended, its work should be entrusted to an approved satyagrahi.

Lady satyagrahis, if unable to march to Delhi, may tour in their own districts and province.

Satyagrahis marching to Delhi should obtain a working knowledge of Hindustani.

Satyagrahis charged under the Nuisance Act may not offer any defence. They may make it clear that their sole intention was to carry on anti-war propaganda, and plead not guilty to the nuisance charge.

Harijan Congress workers should devote themselves to constructive work.

Satyagrahi prisoners may refuse food only if it is unwholesome and uneatable.

Satyagrahis who are let off with fines should continue the satyagraha without giving a fresh notice.

Satyagrahis able to pay the fine may not evade payment, but are not bound to

¹ Issued by A.I.C.C. as "instructions given by Mahatma Gandhi for the guidance of satyagrahis"

sell their property to pay it.

For the facility and convenience of village folk, non-arrested satyagrahis should be provided with a certificate or a badge on the authority of the Provincial Congress Committee, testifying to his being an approved satyagrahi. The badge may differ from province to province.

Satyagraha may not be offered in a place where Section 144 is in force.

Fetters and handcuffs, etc., should be borne cheerfully when being transferred from one jail to another.

Non-arrested satyagrahis marching to Delhi should, besides raising anti-war slogans and otherwise carrying on anti-war propaganda, propagate the constructive programme of the Congress. It must be explained to the masses that the best and most effective as also the easiest way in which they can help forward the struggle is by carrying out the constructive programme laid before the country by our leader.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-3-1941

199. ABSTRACT OF LETTER TO M. FAROOQUI

[Before March 17, 1941]²

The view that there should be no dissensions among students is expressed by Mahatma Gandhi. . . .

Mahatma Gandhi, in reply, has now suggested the acceptance of the proposal³³ that all disputes be referred to an impartial tribunal acceptable to both parties on whom its findings should be binding.

The Hindu, 19-3-1941

200. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 17, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Here are some enclosures. Do send your voting paper before the

¹The report said: "This proposal for a tribunal was first put forward by Prof. Kalelkar, who was of the view that it should examine all matters under dispute including primary membership of both bodies and then order fresh elections in provinces where such a course was deemed necessary."

² *ibid*

³ The addressee, General Secretary, All-India Students' Federation, "had informed Gandhiji of the developments in the controversy that followed among students, organizations after the recent conference at Nagpur when a split occurred". The letter was reported under the date-line "New Delhi, March 17".

due date. I won't guide you in your selection. Vote as you like.

I sent nothing yesterday.

Pyarelal offers civil disobedience tomorrow.

Mahadev returns not before Thursday. Probably *Harijan* will be out on 29th.¹ Shastri is getting on. Heat continues.

Blood-pressure is under control; not taken at the time of writing.

Your umbrella is being used.

Prabhavati came in yesterday. She goes back to Jayaprakash tomorrow, if I am ready for her.²

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Later your two letters have come in. I am writing³ to Mridula. Can't tell off-hand what to do. B. P. 138/90.

From the original: C.W. 3670. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6479

201. APPEAL FOR C. F. ANDREWS MEMORIAL FUNDS

WARDHAGANJ,

March 18, 1941

The handsome public response to the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital⁴, though late, yet not too late, prompts this appeal. Even as I had made that collection my special duty because of the promise made by me to Kamala when she went to Europe, as it turned out, to meet death, so is incumbent on me the duty of collection for the Andrews Memorial. I might have failed in collecting for the Kamala Memorial but for the tireless labours of Dr. Jivraj Mehta. I have no counterpart to Dr. Jivraj Mehta for the Andrews Memorial collection.

The first anniversary of Deenabandhu's death will be soon upon us. I am too weak and too occupied to travel about for collections. What is, however, tantalizing is the fact that the collections have not been coming promptly and spontaneously. Charlie Andrews was

¹ *Vide* "Mahadev Desai's Letter to Desmond Young", 22-3-1941

² *Vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", 15-3-1941

³ *Vide* "Letter to Mridula Sarabhai", 16-3-1941

⁴ Opened by Gandhiji at Allahabad on February 28; *vide* "Speech at Opening of Kamala Nehru Hospital, Allahabad", 28-2-1941

everybody's friend in need. He made no distinction between the high and the poor or Christians and non-Christians or Englishmen and others. He ungrudgingly assisted all who were in need of his help. He slaved night and day for humanity. He found his home and self-expression in Santiniketan. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was his guru and friend. He was the chief collector of funds for Santiniketan. No more fitting memorial could, therefore, be conceived than that his home should never be in want and that it should have additional funds for expansion. Indeed the Gurudev himself should command all the monetary help he needs. He has brought lustre to India. Many men have derived signal assistance from him and his institution. Their children are receiving instruction in Santiniketan. His art decorates many an Indian home. His poetry, his novels, plays and his art enrich the minds of thousands of boys and girls, men and women.

It is a problem why these two precious names have not brought forth spontaneous response. Why should there be special appeals made on behalf of a memorial which is its own compelling recommendation? A spontaneous response will delight Deenabandhu's spirit and put new life into Rabindranath Tagore. What answer have students and teachers, friends of labour and lovers of art to make? Among them they can produce the paltry Rs. 5,00,000 in a day. Will they produce the amount before the 5th April, the day on which Deenabandhu, that true friend of the poor, took sleep from which he never awoke?

The Hindu, 20-3-1941

202. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 18, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your two letters. Herewith copy [of] letter¹ to friend Farooqui.
Pyarelal was arrested today, judgment tomorrow.
In haste.
Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4000. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7309

¹ For an abstract, vide "Abstract of Letter to M. Farooqui", 17-3-1941

203. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

March 18, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I approve of your resolution. See that your health does not suffer. Make a trial. If you are not ready this time, then try again the next time. In this matter, of course, whatever you have learnt will prove useful. That you will have to strive so hard shows how weak we are.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8522. Also C.W. 7122. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

204. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO TILAK BAL MANDAL¹

[Before March 19, 1941]²

There are no personal disputes between me and Bose brothers. There is a difference of ideology and that cannot be helped.

I am as unaware of Subhas Babu's whereabouts as any man in the street.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-3-1941

205. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 19, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA³,

I must thank you for your most affectionate letter. I have never doubted your personal affection for me, I was going to say even partiality. These are things I treasure. They please me but what I want is true co-operation, if my mission of peace and goodwill is to succeed.

¹ Dewan of Mysore

² *ibid*

³ This was in reply to an appeal by the Mandal in Karachi requesting Gandhiji "to sink the differences and unite for the attainment of India's political freedom". The report appeared under the date-line "Karachi, March 19".

Since you would know what I would like, I reduce to writing my thoughts as they come to me.

I am quite clear in my mind that there is little real freedom of speech in British India, there is still less in 'Indian India' and there is no independent judiciary. Unfortunately you hold a different view. Hence there is not much prospect of co-operation. I am sure you will one day be convinced of this fundamental truth. Till then we must agree to differ. Your Chief Justice is wholly unfit for the post he holds. How can there be real justice ! I know that in British India too there have been unfit Chief and other Justices. My point is that they become worse on going to the States. I feel these things keenly because I am the only true friend among public men of the Princes. This is a high but true claim. You are about to leave. How I wish you can see truth as I feel it!

By way of palliative you can restore the *sanads* and redress the wrong done to those candidates who were rejected.¹ Such a step will be appreciated. It won't be of much use because the lawyers have turned the punishment to good account and they have become workers. The rejected candidates have reconciled themselves to the rejection. But as a gesture, if you can take the step, it will have a value.

Don't please expect Bhashyam or others to seek an interview with you but send for them as friends. Trust will beget trust. Surely the first step should be yours.

I am asking Pattabhi² to see you as early as he can.

I know that even in your retirement, you will be doing useful service. May you have many years before you and may you be an instrument for doing some truly big work.

Your sandal-wood box is always by my side and holds my odds and ends.

This is a personal letter. I am not copying it. I have not written it for any public use, nor do I expect a reply unless you feel like sending one. My love to all members of the family.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

¹ *Vide* also "Note to K. T. Bhashyam", 1-2-1941

² Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya; he was member of the Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples' Conference. He was authorized, along with Jawaharlal Nehru, to represent it before the Working Committee of the Congress.

[PS.]

Since writing this I have your letter regarding garlic for which many thanks.

From a photostat: G.N. 2182

206. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 19, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Here is letter about Gaur. What can be done?¹

Do you remember that little ointment-box that Radhakishen² brought for Janakibehn²? Where could it be? I think I gave it to you to put away in a place of safety. If you remember it, you may even wire or write just as you like.

Pyarelal has got six months.

Mahadev comes tomorrow.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3671. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6480

207. *LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 19, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I got your letter addressed to Ba. Manu's examination has lasted a long time, but it is better that she stays in the hospital till some definite treatment is decided upon. Tell Manu that she must not get

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Raghuvansh Gaur", 9-3-1941, and "Letter to Amrit Kaur".

² Nephew and wife of Jammalal Bajaj

³ Nilkanth Mashruwala

⁴ Spent on Manubehn Mashruwala's treatment; *vide* "Letter to Surendra B. Mashruwala", 11-2-1941

tired of the hospital. Ba goes on worrying. I don't. I know that only in a hospital can all the facilities be available. I am happy that you are keeping well.

Here it has started getting quite hot.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Today I got Nilubhai's³ letter. I will write to Brahmananda later. It is still not clear to me whether or no Chi. Surendra has paid the money⁴ to the Ashram here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9746. Also C.W. 726. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

208. LETTER TO GHULAM RASUL QURESHI

March 19, 1941

CHI. QURESHI,

I got your letter three days ago but failed to reply by oversight. I had taken the letter to Allahabad. I could not get a minute there. Then it was buried beneath other letters. Today on Amtul Salaam reminding me, I got it out immediately.

Compliments to you all for making good use of the time you have on hand. It should be so. Congratulations to all.

You yourself have got this valuable opportunity for clarifying your thoughts. It is but natural that people expect a lot from you.

Maulana has somehow not been able to go beyond two parts.

I am making Kishorelal responsible for the literature. He will send it.

Superficial non-violence is when a man is not killed or even attacked physically. The subtle kind is when no one is hurt in thought, word or deed and when the welfare of all mankind is at heart. In normal circumstances the idea of non-violence is limited to man only. But truly speaking there is no limit at all. It can be extended to animals and even germs. But one does not go that far nor can one do so. But non-violence is normally extended to animals. I do not talk of such non-violence in respect of the Congress. Nor can one do so. It

would not suit the Muslims. Nor would it suit Christians and countless Hindus. So the observance of subtle non-violence about which I talk is limited to man. I think it is enough if we reach that stage. Something is bound to come out of it in due time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10770. Courtesy: Ghulam Rasul Qureshi

209. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 20, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

By all means tour the Himalayas and collect medicinal herbs. Come over whenever you wish to.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy the Gujarati: C.W. 2913. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

210. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 20, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. It is good indeed that you went. Remember, you have to come here when your work there is over. The packet to Jawaharlal is being sent by book-post. Things are all right here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3556

211. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

March 20, 1941

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have heard from you after a long time. Aren't you with the Scindias? If not, what are you doing? Tell Harjivan¹ to take cod-liver

¹ Harjivan Kotak

oil. Let him not think it is objectionable. Let Mridula¹ cook and also study at the same time. Her education will shine all the better. Give up hopes of getting a good maid-servant. I understand about Abhechand.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

212. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

March 20, 1941

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter. You have walked much more with me than what you say. There is a gentleman here who is of the same age as you. He could not walk even a furlong. Now he is able to walk miles. What can I do if you are lazy? You will be allowed [to join] only after you get over your lethargy and shine in constructive work. For you that is the only rule. I saw your letter to Ba. Since I have written to you, Ba must have given up the idea of writing to you. She keeps well. I will make you all right, if you come here and get yourself treated.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Kusumbehn Desai Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya

213. APPEAL TO CONGRESS WORKERS

March 21, 1941

The National Week² will be soon upon us. Its observance has a double purpose: (1) to achieve self-purification through fasting on the 6th and 13th April, and (2) to increase mass consciousness by greater concentration on constructive work. The 6th of April 1919 saw exhibition of a sudden and unexpectedly high spirit of swadeshi and mass manifestation of communal unity and a determination on the

¹ Manu J. Gandhi, addressee's daughter

² Observed in commemoration of the total *hartal* on April 6, 1919, in protest against the Rowlatt Act (Bill No. 29, 1919) and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre on April 13 of the same year

part of Congress Hindus to get rid of the canker of untouchability from Hinduism. The spirit of swadeshi centred itself on khadi as it was the central village industry of a universal character. During the twenty years since 1919 the constructive programme has widened. The other village industries have found expression through the A.I.V.I.A.¹. Education has been linked with the villagers through Hindustani Talimi Sangh. There has been greater concentration on impressing women in the national service and, therefore, regarding them as valued co-workers on a par with men. The widening and working of the constructive programme is the only way in which active non-violence can express itself. Civil disobedience comes, if it must, at the end of the constructive programme, never in the beginning. We saw through experience that we had to retrace our steps in 1919 as civil resistance had been resorted to without preparation through constructive service. Disobedience of laws can never be civil unless the resisters have learnt the art of voluntary obedience. This is impossible without tangible co-operative work requiring exact discipline and voluntary and whole-hearted obedience to rules and regulations.

Civil resistance is merely lawful and obligatory only in some cases, whereas constructive work is obligatory on all who belong to a non-violent organization. And civil resistance can be effective only when it is backed by constructive effort on a mass scale. Success of civil resistance can be measured by the success of constructive effort. Therefore, I hope that all Congress workers will, during the National Week from 6th to 13th April, devote their time to the constructive programme. Khadi and other village industries have always played a prominent part in the programme. For, all young and old, men and women can take part in it and the work can be measured in arithmetical terms. It is to be hoped that the response will be much greater than ever before.

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1942. File No. 3/42/41-Poll. (I). National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 22-3-1941

¹ All-India Village Industries Association

214. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 21, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I missed yesterday. Your Hindi writing is perfect and composition very good. If you have as much practice there as possible, you will do well for Hindi. *Harijan* publication may be resumed on 29th.

Ramnarayan's letters I did not like. There is a desire to hide truth. I have written to him and asked him to send you my letter. I have not kept any copy.

About the Law Committee¹, I have already written to you. I am expecting a letter from Mridula.

Ba has gone to Delhi to have Sushila's treatment. Sushila wired that she would be able to give her better treatment in Delhi. Ba is very brave. She got ready in no time and she went without an escort.

I am glad you stick to the Indian style of living for the college. All unreasoning opposition will melt before your firmness.

I have got your textbook. I propose to read it. Send a copy to Sushila,

You will have seen my appeal² about Andrews Memorial.

I want you to collect as much as you can from all and sundry.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4001. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7310

¹ Of Lahore who took up the role of the *amicus curiae* and decided to bring before the High Court for revision, the cases of satyagrahis in which, in their opinion, obvious injustice was done. In her letter dated April 19, 1941, to Dunichand, Amrit Kaur said: "There have been some complaints regarding revisions undertaken by the *amicus curiae* Bar Association Committee in Lahore. Gandhiji's opinion is that the idea of such a Committee in itself is all right. But it should be allowed to function on its own, without any interest, instigation or interference in its work on the part of the satyagrahis. You should issue strict injunctions to the latter in this regard."

² Vide "Appeal for C. F. Andrews Memorial Funds", 18-3-1941

215. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 21, 1941

CHI. RUKMINI,

Your letter of February 24, 1941, is before me. Only today I could get time to write a couple of lines. I hope you have regained plenty of strength. The marriage must have passed off without any hitch. Today Ba has gone all by herself [to Delhi] to be treated by Dr. Sushila. She has piles.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RUKMINI DEVI
C/O SHRI BENARSIDAS BAZAJ
THATHERI BAZAAR, BENARES CITY

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 10128. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

216. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 21, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It was not proper to burden Mahadevbhai. What is to be done now? I will see to that. To burden Kishorelalbhai for such matters should be considered a sin. I understand about Akbar. Let me see what can be done.

If I am told what Chimanlal said, I shall be able to say something.

Blessings from
BAPU

From photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4378

217. LETTER TO CHAMANLAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 22, 1941

DEAR CHAMANLAL,

In spite of my best effort, I have not been able to read your book. But a cursory glance shows that some of your statements are

too startling to be true. If they are true, you have made no mean contribution to research work. If your thesis is accepted by Americans, there must be established a cultural bond between America and India.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Hindu America?*, facing p. xviii

218. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
[March 22, 1941]¹

CHI. AMRIT,

You will know this letter². I forget all about it.

Herewith Kamala's³ very interesting letter. Ten rupees are being sent to Chandel.

I understand what you say about the Law Committee⁴. Don't worry. You will go to Simla if you are at all pressed. Even a week there would do you good.

I have your wire.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4002. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7311

¹ From the postmark

² The reference is to a Hindi letter dated March 20 from Raghuvansh Gaur at the back of which Gandhiji had written to Amrit Kaur. Raghuvansh Gaur had written: "The file of the U.P. Agriculture Department which I had given to Rajkumari has been sent back to me without any intimation. I request you to let me know what is being done about it. . . ." *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 383, and "Letter to Raghuvansh Gaur", 9-3-1941

³ She had gone to Bombay for training in midwifery; *vide* also "Letter to Mary Barr", 31-3-1941

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to Rukmini Bazaj", 21-3-1941

219. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 22, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

What you said yesterday was correct, and was timely. If you are still not satisfied, ask again and again. The matter is important. Therein lies the test of ahimsa. Both were attracted towards each other. If this is considered a defect and they are turned out, their lives can be embittered. If we tolerate them, their self-control can increase, and they can progress step by step. Their progress depends on us. This line of thought is in favour of their staying [in the Ashram], and this should be sufficient.

We should put up with the temper of others to the extent that we ourselves are not weighed down by it. A proof of this is that others are influenced by us. This is an outward proof. Inner proof is the testimony of the soul. If our fearlessness goes on increasing, it is ahimsa, otherwise it is cowardice.

It may be said that in Kocharab [Ashram]¹ the whole work was in order. The other things were subject to it. In outward work there was there the same discipline that I had in South Africa. I used to engage the visitors in the Ashram work or they left soon after they came. My physique could bear the strain of laborious work, so I could take part in every activity; and it may be said that I was in constant touch with all. There was one big living room. So it was easy to come in touch with others. This is about the early stage. Whole work means to fill water early in the morning, to wash clothes, to cook food, to clean grains and vegetables, to serve food, to teach, and so on. These things being one after the other were not troublesome.

The rest of the questions were answered yesterday.

Your letter is enclosed. Ask, if anything still remains.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4379

¹ Started by Gandhiji on May 25, 1915, it was housed in Jeevanlal Vrajrai Desai's bungalow in Ahmedabad, where it continued till Sabarmati Ashram was founded in 1917.

220. LETTER TO SHRIRAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 22, 1941

BHAI LALA SHRIRAM,

I hope to have the utmost help from you for the Andrews Memorial.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 947

221. MESSAGE TO M. R. JAYAKAR¹

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
[Before *March 23, 1941*]²

Tell Mr. Jayakar that I should always be delighted to meet old friends. But while I may personally discuss every aspect with them, I could not, without consultation with the members of the Working Committee, give them any assurance, armed with which they might go to the Viceroy. For they would need the assurance on behalf of the Congress Working Committee and I have no authority to give it. There will be this obvious handicap, but otherwise I should be only too glad to meet them. They may come with great expectations and I may fail to satisfy them. Otherwise of course I could not have the slightest objection to meeting them.

From the original: C.W. 10387. Courtesy: National Library

¹ The message is extracted from Mahadev Desai's letter dated March 23 to Tej Bahadur Sapru, which read: "I dare say Mr. Jayakar has acquainted you with our talks in Bombay. He had asked me to get in touch with Gandhiji and get his reaction. This was the message [from Gandhiji] that I gave Mr. Jayakar.... Now I have a letter from Mr. Jayakar asking me to convey this message also to you, so that you may do what may be needful...."

² *ibid*

222. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON

WARDHAGANJ,
[On or before *March 23, 1941*]¹

AGATHA HARRISON
BRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON

BOMBAY SUGGESTIONS² NOT LIKELY RECEIVE CONGRESS
COUNTENANCE. AM REMAINING SILENT.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1519. Also C.W. 7862. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

223. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 23, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your wire was prompt and-useful. I know that you would remember the place where it³ was put. Amtul Salaam had suggested, and so also Lilavati, that I should look into the box. I pooh-poohed the idea. But they were right.

I thought my letter⁴ to Farooqui was just the thing. I have not answered all the impertinent questions. I am quite sure my answer cannot be exploited with any success.

I am glad you had a good report about your college.

Boiling here. You must take rest.

Love.

BAPU

¹ The cable is extracted from Mahadev Desai's letter (C.W. 7862) dated March 23 to G. D. Birla, in which it was quoted as Gandhiji's "reply" to the addressee who wanted to know "Bapu's reaction to the Bombay resolution". In the G.N. source, the postmark of the original cable bears the date "March 24".

² The reference is to the resolution passed by the Non-party Leaders' Conference held under the presidentship of Tej Bahadur Sapru in Bombay from March 13 to 16; *vide* "Letter from Lord Linlithgow", 30-9-1940

³ The reference is to the ointment-box; *vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Kunvarji K. Parekh", 19-3-1941

⁴ *Vide* "Absreact of Letter to M. Farooqui", 17-3-1941

[PS.]

Sorry for New Delhi address.
Herewith letter from Pyarelal. I asked him to write to you.
From the original: C.W. 4003. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7312

224. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM,
March 23, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

You are needlessly worried. Married people can live in the Ashram, if they lead the life of a *brahmachari*. If Kanu and Abha marry, they will not marry to lead the life of *brahmacharya*. Is this not clear?¹

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1457. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

225. *LETTER TO VITHALDAS V. JERAJANI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 23, 1941

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I hope your exhibition, etc., will be completely successful. The success of our struggle depends on the spread and success of such constructive activities.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9799

226. *LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 23, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I gave my opinion² to Kishorelalbhai yesterday. I don't think

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 5-3-1941, and letter to the addressee, "Letter to Samrita Lal Chatterjee, 15-1-1941

² Regarding Manubehn Mashruwala's illness; *vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Kunvarji K. Parekh", 19-3-1941, and "Letter to Kantilal Gandhi", 24-3-1941

there is any need to send for all family members. If the lady doctor also is of the same opinion, get the operation done at once. There is no danger at all in opening the abdomen. I think it absolutely necessary to find out about the tumour. Even if all of them come over, they will not be of much help. Why, then, incur expenses on travelling and so on? It is necessary to observe certain limits in every matter. Show this letter to everybody.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9747. Also C.W. 727. Courtesy: Navajivan Trust

227. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL AND MANJULA MEHTA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 23, 1941

CHI. MAGANLAL AND MANJULA,

The portion in pencil in the accompanying letter was returned because Urmi had written the wrong address. I did not like the pencil handwriting and so she re-wrote the portion in ink. Urmi is keeping fine and is becoming mature.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1614. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

228. *LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI*

March 23, 1941

CHI. PRABHUDAYAL,

Write to Shri Ramji Sharma that Mahadevbhai has already sent his opinion about *Sainik*. We are fighting on behalf of *Sainik* and do not want to publish it under any other name. The greatest need is for dharma and determination. Your article is worthless. It is grossly exaggerated. A considerable part of Shastriji's body is still very clear. There is not much of a stink. I do not spend hours on him. These days I don't even give him massage. I have already told you that your language is superficial because your thoughts are such. You do not honour truth as much as you should. If at all you wish to write

something, first ascertain the whole thing from Shastriji. There should not be a single sentence for which you have not made sure of the facts.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Returning the article and Ramji Sharma's letter.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11692

229. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your little note.

You never doubted the welcome you were to receive there. I did not. I hope Tofa¹ remembers us all. I know your love of flowers. But I cannot give you satisfaction here. The place is much too disorganized for sporting flower-beds.

Harijan will be out on 5th April unless some mishap prevents it.² Probably it will be Ahmedabad. Chandrashanker seems to have neglected his duty to an unforgivable extent.

I am hoping that he has not been wilfully dishonest. But neglect such as he seems to have shown produces almost the same result.

I am keeping well in spite of the heat.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Amtul Salaam is doing well. No asthma.

From the original: C.W. 4004. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7313

¹ Addressee's pet dog

² It could not, however, be resumed, and had to be again suspended; *vide* "Note on *Harijan*", On or before 28-3-1941, and "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 29-3-1941; also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 21-3-1941

230. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 24, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Is it not best that I send you Undhru back? He can be on guard between 12 and 4, and do all your work. The woman may be disposed of otherwise. Here is.¹

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6473. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9868

231. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 24, 1941

CHI, MIRA,

Your note. I did not even notice anything. It is enough that you are incapable of disrespect. If you take Undhru, all difficulty vanishes.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6474. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9869

232. LETTER TO RAGHUVANSH GAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

March 24, 1941

DEAR RAGHUVANSH,

Rajkumaribehn tried and failed. In the circumstances you should for the time being employ yourself in some paying work whereby your knowledge may not be lost, and cultivate non-violence.²

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 140

¹ One word is illegible in the source.

² *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p."Letter to "Raghuvash Gaur"; 9-3-1941 and "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 22-3-1984

233. LETTER TO VIJAYABEHN M. PANCHOLI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You are demanding too much. You write after a long time and then want an immediate reply. I will use the dhotis when I get them. Ba has gone to Delhi to take treatment from Sushila. There is nothing in particular. She is suffering from the same old complaint. But she wanted to be under Sushila's treatment. It was not possible for Sushila to come and stay here for a long time. I, therefore, sent Ba. Manubhai must have had some good experience. Does he take enough ghee? I hope Nanabhai is keeping well. Sharda is still here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7139. Also C.W. 4631. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

234. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 24, 1941

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. May Shanti¹ and you live long. May you bring credit to the family and society and be true servants.

Ba has gone to Delhi to have treatment from Sushila. She will stay there for a month or so. The piles had become painful. Manu has a tumour and she may have to be operated upon. Saraswati must be fine.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

From the photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7363. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

¹ Addressee's son

235. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

March 24, 1941

BA,

Either write or dictate a letter to me. A letter from Kanti is enclosed. On one side he has written to you and on the other to me. I get regular news about Manu. It looks as if she will have to be operated upon. I have written and suggested¹ that another doctor should be consulted and, if he also is of the same opinion, she should be operated upon. There is no risk at all in the operation. Do not worry. Now that you are there, go through the full treatment and get well.

Here it is quite hot. Do not worry about me. Things are all right. Lilavati² looks after my food, etc.

Blessings to Lakshmi³ and the children.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

A letter from Mani⁴ is enclosed. Reply to her at length. Lakshmi or Sushila will write it for you.

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

236. LETTER TO ADVAITA KUMAR GOSWAMI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

March 24, 1941

BHAI ADVAITA KUMAR,

I am replying to your letter belatedly as I could get no time. What can I write about the condition there? I cannot write to Baba Raghavdas, Mohanlalji and others. So try to do your best.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 151

¹ Vide "Letter to Kunvarji K. Parekh", 23-3-1941

² Lilavati Asar

³ Lakshmi Devdas Gandhi

⁴ Manibehn Patel

237. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
March 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have read the set of rules and regulations prepared by Bhai Kunder¹. It is good. If there is any need for making certain changes, please make them. otherwise get copies made on the office cyclostyle. We can always make some changes later.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4380

238. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You have not understood at all. If personally I had some inkling of it, I would have told you. As I was in a hurry I did not write. The underlying problem is that man is not so simple. If anyone tells as soon as passion arises in him, then this Ashram would become heaven. Afterwards it may or may not result in marriage. . . .² was able to hide his passion. When I asked him he admitted it. If their behaviour was not disapproved by others, who knows how far the two would have gone. So the correct rule would be that as soon as passion arises, one should let it be known. But who will do this? So I stick to the old saying that as we are and as we shall be so would others be.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4381

239. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 24, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Grinding, latrine-cleaning and so on were all there in Kocharab, and I used to do all these things.

¹ Kunder Divan, a khadi worker, brother of Manohar Divan

² The name is scored out in the source.

You have asked a proper question. This was only an example. To expel . . .¹ would be equally unjust. For disobeying the rules everyone should be dismissed. To expel a person who sincerely admits his mental attitude would be intolerance. Out of intolerance springs hypocrisy. The problem is complicated. If you think coolly over the matter, you would be convinced. Behind your question there seems to be some other question. I am thinking about it, you may also think over it.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4382

*240. LETTER TO SECRETARY, BENGAL PROVINCIAL
CONGRESS COMMITTEE, CALCUTTA*

[Before March 25, 1941]²

There is no absolute merit in jail-going. It is only a means. If you attain the end without it, we should welcome the opportunity.

Your difficulties I can well imagine, but the road to success is overlain with them. They need not baffle us. If our steps are firm and true, success is assured. I do not worry about their not arresting satyagrahis. You must turn this move of the Government to good account. Let the satyagrahis work in their districts and organize them, if they will not march towards Delhi.

In any event a vast majority will always be outside. If they are organized fully, none need court imprisonment.

The Maulana's arrest is of course unfortunate, but it had to come. Every one of the difficult tasks should put the, workers on their mettle.

The Hindu, 27-3-1941

¹ The name is scored out in the source.

² The letter was reported under the date-line "Calcutta, March 25".

241. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
March 25, 1941

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

JULLUNDUR CITY

ADDRESS ONLY WOMEN STUDENTS. VISIT GUJARAT
UNNECESSARY.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4005. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7314

242. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 25, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter. I have sent you the wire you asked for. I do not want you to be involved in men's meetings, etc. You must not be made cheap. Students, yes, if they behave and really want you. Women always. You may not go to Gujarat.

The ointment was in its place. It is for Janakibehn.

I am keeping quite well. 142/90¹ in the afternoon.

About women I have given no final opinion. You are not in a hurry ?

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Harijan on 5th April—Ahmedabad.²

From the original: C.W. 4006. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7315

¹ Blood-pressure

² *Harijan*, however, could not be resumed; vide "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 27-3-1941

243. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 26, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

You will care to read the enclosed. You may destroy it.

The weather is getting warmer though I remain unaffected by it.

Manu Trivedi's father¹ has come. He is one of the rare men I have met. He is a good man. He is suffering from blood-pressure and is under my treatment though living in Wardha.

Janakibehn is getting on. Madalasa is still causing worry. Amtul Salaam is keeping fairly well. All else is as when you were here. Do drop a postcard to Ba. She is to have an injection today. This is being written before 4 a.m.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4007. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7316

244. LETTER TO PATWARDHAN

March 26, 1941

BHAI PATWARDHAN,

How can I say whether going to the court is right or not ? This much I can plainly say that you have a full right to go to the court and it may be a duty to do so. But I am in no position to decide whether it is or is not a duty. You yourself should think over this. I tried to bring everyone together, but failed. Still if all of you come over, I will certainly give some time to you. But I have no courage to send for all of them.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Jaishanker Trivedi

245. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
March 27, 1941

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
JULLUNDUR CITY

ENOUGH IF YOU REACH DELHI FOURTEENTH MORNING.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4008. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7317

246. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
March 27, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I was pained to read about Jayaprakash. Let him have a cold water bath after the massage. The body should be massaged thoroughly. Uncooked tomatoes are all right. Remember you have to come here on your way back.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3557

247. LETTER TO RAMDAS AND NIRMALA GANDHI

[SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA, (C.P.)]¹
March 27, 1941

CHI. RAMDAS AND NIMU,

I received the letters from you both. I will not tempt you to come here in May. The best thing will be for you to go to a cool place and take rest. You may go to Maroli. Perhaps Chorwad. Next in the

¹ As on the letter-head

list is Ghogha. It will suffice if the place is on a sea-coast. If, however, you wish to have a taste of the hot air here, by all means come over.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI RAMDAS GANDHI

SHANTINAGAR SOCIETY

SABARMATI

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

248. NOTE ON “HARIJAN”¹

[On or before *March 28, 1941*]²

Under the circumstances we cannot restart. And even if we did so, I am sure we should come to grief in a month or so.

From a copy: C.W. 7863. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

249. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 28, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I could not write yesterday. I have your letters. I sent you a wire³ about not going to Delhi before 14th. I told A[mrita Lal Chatterjee] about Good Friday. He says he is himself a Christian and was even crucified because he was married on Good Friday.

You will find herewith my final opinion on the women’s part in the Law Committee. Mridula has made ample reparation to

¹ The note is extracted from Mahadev Desai’s letter dated March 28 to G. D. Birla, which read: “Man proposes, God disposes. I made the announcement yesterday that *Harijan* would be restarted on 5th April, but like a bolt from the blue came a letter from Tottenham today which decided Bapu against re-publication. . . . Perhaps *Harijan* cannot now be restarted until after the war or after a settlement, of which I see no hope whatsoever.” For the letter addressed to Mahadev Desai from Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary, Home Department, *vide* “Sir Richrd Tottenham’s Letter to Mahadev Desai”, 27-3-1941

² *ibid*

³ *Vide* “Telegram to Amrit Kaur”, 27-3-1941

Joshi.

Here is a letter from Zuberi. I think you have corresponded with him. Kripalani has said that the letter has been forwarded to you for disposal.

Your Hindi writing is daily improving.

Hope Shummy is better.

Ba had an injection, Bharatanand had the operation yesterday. Sailen is all right. Shastri's greed is on the increase, but he is well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4009. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7318

250. LETTER TO PRABHU DAYAL VIDYARTHI

March 28, 1941

CHI. PRABHUDAYAL,

I have your letter. Give up all needless talk and do only what Kakasaheb says. Consider it your dharma to do whatever work he gives and be fully engrossed in it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11693

251. THE ONLY WAY TOWARDS WORLD PEACE

Deep inside me I have an ever growing faith that in the midst of this universal destruction due to bloodshed, I am carrying on an absolutely innocuous struggle which, however, is pregnant with great potentialities.¹

The movement, for the conduct of which I am responsible, may prove a vain effort, if I represent no one but myself; and if I remain true to my faith, I may be satisfied, but so far as world peace is concerned, the effort will prove inadequate in terms of the present. For producing the desired result during the lifetime of the present generation, it will be necessary to give an unmistakable demonstration that a substantial part of the nation is behind the effort. Much more

¹ The following two paragraphs are reproduced from *The Hindu*, 6-5-1941.

has to hope before such a demonstration becomes possible. The present movement is a humble attempt in that direction.

Man can only make an honest attempt. In a satyagraha movement, the saying that God is the giver of the result is literally true. Therefore, it is faith that sustains me and it is faith that must sustain the other satyagrahis. We have only begun the battle. The real test, the real suffering, has yet to come. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that, in this long and arduous struggle, quality alone will count, never quantity. In this there is no room for hatred, certainly not for camouflage.

Despite my being the originator of this struggle, I venture to say that only through it can we hope for permanent world peace. Peace can never come through war.

SEVAGRAM, March 29, 1941

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, May 1941

252. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 29, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Man proposes, God disposes. Yesterday the announcement went that *Harijan* will be resumed on 5th April. Now a letter¹ from the Government has been received which practically amounts to prohibition from my point of view! I have, therefore, now announced² that *Harijan* will not be resumed on 5th April.

There is no post from you today. Of course I do not expect you to write every day.

I am keeping fit. In a way the re-suspension removes a burden from my mind.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3672. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6481

¹ *Vide* "Sir Richard Tottenham's Letter to Mahadev Desai", 27-3-1941

² *Vide* "Telegram to Amrit Kaur", 27-3-1941

253. LETTER TO CHANDRAGUPTA VARSHNEYA

SEVAGRAM,
March 29, 1941

BHAI CHANDRAGUPTA,

I got your postcard. owing to your brother's death, I can understand your difficulty in returning to Sevagram. Ashadevi will feel your absence. She got much help from your work.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Gandhiji aur Rajasthan, p. 261

254. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 30, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter today. Your suggestions are sound. I want to take no hasty step. I am not perturbed by the discoveries. But if what you have heard about Iftikhar¹ is true, it will be a grievous shock. I still feel that there is some serious misunderstanding. But you will make what quiet inquiry you can make and let me know.

Yes, Rs. 100 have been received from your college. I have sent a postcard. I have readdressed three or four letters including a *Patrika* to you.

You won't grieve over the suspension of *Harijan*. Good is bound to come out of this.

I am sorry about Shummy. I hope he will soon recover. I am A-1.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4010. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7319

¹ Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee; also "Statement to the Press", 6-7-1941.

255. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

March 30, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It is difficult to answer your question regarding the diary. Do as you think proper. Experience alone shows what is best. You had better write on a separate sheet anything which specially needs to be told to me. You should not have the burden of reading the diary.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4383

256. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 31, 1941

I have just read yours of 18th February. Heaven knows when this will reach you. I see you are having varied experiences. I hope you are keeping excellent health and so is Father.

Yes, you may write your book¹. It will remove some cobwebs.

It is very hot here. But there is no sickness just now.

Things are difficult here. I had announced resumption of *Harijan* but a letter² from the Government compelled me to countermand the announcement.

Kamala has got a good training-ground in a big hospital in Bombay and thanks to Dr. Jivraj Mehta. She is perfectly happy. Chandel is carrying on in Khedi. of course we all expect you to return some day.

The rest from Mahadev.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6081. Also C.W. 3411. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

¹ *Bapu-Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi*, International Book House Ltd., Bombay, 1949

² *Vide* "Sir Richard Tottenham's Letter to Mahadev Desai", 27-3-1941

257. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 31, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

I have your two letters today. That accounts for the absence of yesterday's.

I have given you a definite opinion about women.

Shah has not come near me yet. Farooqui won't be able to exploit my letter¹ much or for any length of time. The position I have taken up is sound almost in all such cases. There need never be any fear of going to arbitration. The choice of a judge or judges is always under one's control. I agree with you that the Congress should not seek to organize students as a party. But who can prevent individual Congressmen ? You must not take such things to heart. After one has done one's best, it is always wise to let events take their course.

About the Punjab Congress affairs, I am not so agitated as you are. In a big democratic organization, action cannot be taken all of a sudden. It must represent good men as well as bad men. If the sum total is bad, it will be utterly discredited. Therefore without in any way worrying yourself, you bring me all the facts you can and I will see what action is possible.

Not much money has come in, in reply to my appeal.² Malkani has gone to Ahmedabad and Delhi for the purpose. He will get some, I am sure. If nothing comes in, I shall have to go to some places myself. Let us see.

I am still fit. Amtul Salaam is decidedly better. So is Bhagawati. Janakibehn occupies Ba's seat and Madalasa yours. The former is taking normal food. The latter still requires care. There is no sickness worth the name.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3673. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6482

¹ *Vide* "Abstract of Letter to M. Farooqui", 17-3-19-41

² For the Andrews Memorial Fund; *vide* "Appeal for C. F. Andrews Memorial Funds", 18-3-1941

258. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL P. MEHTA*

SEVAGRAM,
March 31, 1941

CHI. MAGAN,

If you think the accompanying letter¹ is worth replying to, send the reply to me. In any case please return the letter.

Since you both are so keen, I will send Urmi back. I do not feel like doing so as she is progressing satisfactorily. I will be on the lookout for someone to send her with.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1616. Courtesy: Manjulabehn M. Mehta

259. *LETTER TO DINESH SINGH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 31, 1941

CHI. DINESH,

I was glad to have your letter. If possible, collect donations from students for the Deenabandhu Andrews Memorial [Fund] and send the amount.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8675

260. *CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON*

WARDHAGANJ,
April 1, 1941

AGATHA HARRISON
CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE
LONDON

ALWAYS READY CONSULTATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1520

¹ Written by Prabhashankar H. Parekh, father-in-law of the addressee's elder brother, Ratilal, complaining that the addressee did not fulfil the moral obligations to his family.

261. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 1, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

You must not upset your system. The contract is not to eat rather than eat hastily. You know, too, that you can live on fruit juices. Take a little longer rather than endanger your health.

No sign of Shah.

Don't worry if you can't collect for Andrews Memorial.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4011. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7320

262. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

April 1, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

You have to evolve order out of disorder. The list seems all right. It is always subject to change.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1458. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

263. LETTER TO MAGANLAL AND MANJULA MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 1, 1941

CHI. MAGAN AND MANJULA,

I talked to Urmi today. She would do whatever I ask her. She does not like giving up the programme here nor does she wish to disregard the wishes of you both. I suggest that you should come over here in May and let Urmi stay on. But if that is too much for you, send me a wire. I will do as you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 1617. Courtesy: Manjula M. Mehta

264. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
April 1, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. I have no objection if Bablo¹ and you go. I have my doubts, though, whether you will be able to preserve your health there. I am not prepared to send anyone else, for my idea is that the people here should prepare themselves [for the struggle] here. If that takes a little more time, it doesn't matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8521. Also C.W. 7123. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

265. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

April 1, 1941

BA,

I got your letter. It seems you will take some time to get well. Never mind the delay if in the end you are fully restored. I do not worry since you are under good care. Here everything is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

266. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 1, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

There are faults in your letter. It is good that you discovered some of them. As long as the devil possessed your mind, it was good that you wrote to me. That this happened was itself a fault. Someone

¹ Narayan Desai, son of Mahadev Desai.

has to be a manager, and he is entitled to decide things. The powers belong to the office and not to the man holding it. So nobody need worry what sort of a man the manager is. This means “No blame attaches to the strong, my Lord,” says Tulsidas. In English it is: “The King can do no wrong.” Among us Indians this fault-finding is almost universal. From where can we find a perfect manager ? It is needless to ask how Chimanlal is. His analysis of merits and defects was correct. If I can find time to go to that kitchen, I will certainly do so, and carry my milk with me, because I do not consider it second rate. That one is inexpensive and this one is costly. Perhaps there condiments are allowed and here they are not. In case no inconvenience is felt there, it would no doubt be good if anyone of us some time go there.

In view of his temperament what Chimanlal said to Sushila was proper. Now it is time to stop.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4384

267. REMARKS IN AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE'S DIARY¹

SEVAGRAM,

[April 1, 1941]²

Yes, it will be better if both Abha and Vina could be sent somewhere—perhaps both to Bari³. Suspicion is inevitable. To be exposed to the public gaze is part of the open life we live here.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10347. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, who was an inmate of Sevagram Ashram, in a letter dated January 8, 1941, he had “suggested to Gandhiji that the Ashramites should keep a personal diary of their work, thoughts and ideas that come in their way, and place them before Gandhiji for his perusal so that he could know the mind and work of each and every Ashramite, and make necessary suggestions. Gandhiji accepted the idea, and the system of keeping a personal diary was introduced from April 1.” In his diary dated April 1, Amrita Lal Chatterjee had recorded a talk between him and Kanu Gandhi, Gandhiji's personal attendant, regarding “a subdued suspicion and whisperings of two particular sisters in the Ashram about the friendly relation that was developing between Kanu Gandhi and Abha (now Abha Gandhi) daughter of Amrita Lal Chatterjee”, and had sought Gandhiji's advice.

² Supplied by Amrita Lal Chatterjee

³ Baricutt Ashram in Orissa

268. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

April 2, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

You have not understood my letter. There should be a manager. Whoever he may be, respect is due to the post. Victoria became queen at the age of seventeen. Old Palmerston¹ knelt before her. This is British etiquette. Victoria was immature. Still Palmerston did not hesitate. What have you to do with Chimanlal? I am in a delicate position. If in my presence only the will of the manager prevails, the order is maintained; if it does not prevail then there could be no order. If there were no order here then it would be nowhere, and then satyagraha would disappear.²

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4385

269. REMARKS IN AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE'S DIARY³

April 2, 1941

This is not right; contemplate:

जड़ चेतन गुण दोष मथ विश्व कीन्ह करतार |
संत हंस गुण गहहिपथ परिहरि वारि विकार ||⁴

¹ Henry John Temple Palmerston, third Viscount (1784-1865); Prime Minister during Victoria's reign in the year 1855, and from 1859 until his death

² *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Krishnachandra", 1-4-1941

³ According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, the remarks were made with reference to his diary, dated April 2, in which he had "candidly criticized the then prevailing system of management of the Ashram by a chosen Manager instead of a Committee of Ashramites, and also the then Manager with particular reference to a certain incident in which the said Manager gave quite a wrong decision against a fellow-Ashramite and induced another to support it."

⁴ Balkand *Ramacharitanasa*: Everything in the world, animate and inanimate, has virtues and defects; the saints who are like the swan, accept the good that is milk and ignore the evil that is water.

If you do not know the meaning, ask Ramdasji¹.

BAPU²

From a photostat: C.W. 10347. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

*270. REMARKS IN SAIENDRA NATH
CHATTERJEE'S DIARY*

SEVAGRAM,
April 2, 1941

I can send you to Calcutta³ if you give up the idea of examination. You will get a fair post and rise according to your merit.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10295. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

*271. REMARKS IN SAIENDRA NATH
CHATTERJEE'S DIARY*

SEVAGRAM,
April 2, 1941

Not bad. You can give the same information in two pages.

Try and you will succeed. Do you run to your work ? If you do, it is a good habit. I wonder if in your present state of health you can take exercise unless it is quite gentle.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10296. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

272. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your two letters came in today. How is this? This is the third time it has so happened.

¹ Ramdas Gulati, a retired Engineer, an old inmate of Sevagram Ashram

² The subscription in this and the following item is in Devanagari.

³ To work with Satis Chandra Das Gupta, *vide* "Note to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 5-4-1941

I could not write yesterday.

Your letter to Zuberi is all right and so are your suggestions and replies to Lala Dunichand. Let us see what happens.

If Mridula has her limitations, she has very great qualities. Her gate-keeper in her Ashram¹ was murdered. She has taken no fright. She is handling the situation in a cool and brave manner. You have to nurse such girls. She is a rare woman.

Mahadev has written to you fully about *Harijan*.

I hope Shummy is better, if not fully restored.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4012. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7321

273. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 3, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your writing to me was all right. Time will solve many of the problems. It is for you to find out a way of living that will satisfy you, for who else can understand what will satisfy you? There is always scope for independent work. And as for being released from me, that will be possible only when you ask for it. The game, therefore, is entirely in your hands. If you still feel troubled, what is to be done? But God is always there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8508. Also C.W. 7128. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

274. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 3, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I heard about the meeting held in Sevagram. My criticism is well-founded. We cannot ignore anything.

¹ Vikasgriha; *vide* also "Letter to Mridula Sarabhai", 16-3-1941

Yes, if you find any suitable village, you may stay there. But just now you should fulfil at least one resolution. You will then have taken one step. Your latest resolution was good. Take all the khadi examinations.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8510. Also C.W. 7124. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

275. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 4, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

I have not intentionally avoided answer to any of your questions. If I have, you will repeat the question or questions. The fact is I never have your letters before me at the time of replying. I have to rely upon memory.

I was afraid the letter was overweight. You have done well in telling me of the neglect.

Yes, the library has undergone the necessary change. I think you will like it. It has now become a proper room, the coolest in the Ashram. Madalasa rests there.

Mira can't bear the heat. She is off to Nasik¹ today. Sending you a copy of Pyarelal's pamphlet².

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4013. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7322

¹ On her way to Chorwad; *vide* also "Letter to Mirabehn", 6-4-1941

² *Status of Indian Princes*

276. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,
April 4, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Better is death in the discharge of one's duty; another's duty is fraught with danger.¹

You must, therefore, concentrate at present on your examinations. They will prove to be *kamadhenu*² for you. There are bound to be some defects in the examinations. Even to have these reformed, you have to appear for them. I see much good in your doing so.

That village may be regarded as reformed, where everybody wears khadi, which produces all the khadi it needs, in which every inhabitant spends some of his time in one or more processes relating to cotton, which uses only oil produced in indigenous oil-presses, which consumes only jaggery manufactured in the village itself or in its neighbourhood and only hand-milled flour and hand-pounded rice; the village, in other words, where the largest possible number of village industries are flourishing, in which nobody is illiterate, where the roads are clean, there is a fixed place for evacuation, the wells are clean, there is harmony among the different communities, and untouchability is completely absent, in which everybody gets cow's milk, ghee, etc., in moderate quantities, in which nobody is without work, and which is free from quarrels and thefts, and in which the people abide by the *sevak's* advice in all matters. This is possible in the existing conditions. I cannot of course say about the time required.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8507. Also C.W. 7130. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 35

² A mythical cow that was supposed to give whatever was asked of her

277. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 4, 1941

CHI. PRBHA,

I got your letter. I do not want to send for you specially nor have I anything important to tell you. But my condition is like that of a father who wants his daughter, without any reason, to be near him. But your first duty is to serve Jayaprakash. If, therefore, you cannot come over here, I will not mind. Keep on writing to me. Ba has gone to Delhi for treatment. She has piles. It will be some time before she returns.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3558

278. DRAFT CABLE TO LADY HARTOG¹

[Before April 5, 1941]²

NO END DEADLOCK POSSIBLE WITHOUT BRITAIN FREE-
ING INDIA FROM YOKE. THERE IS UNDILUTED AUTO-
CRACY REIGNING HERE. OUR STATE CANNOT BE WORSE
IN FUTURE HOWEVER BLACK. WE SEE NO WAY
OUT EXCEPT THROUGH COMPLETE TRUTH AND NON-
VIOLENCE. EARLY JOINT EFFORT FRUITFUL THROUGH
THIS METHOD.

Home, Political, File No. 3/33/40-Poll. (I). Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ This was drafted by Gandhiji for Rameshwari Nehru; *vide* postscript, According to an unofficial note dated May 3, 1941, by the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, "it appears that the cable was . . . abbreviated by the sender before transmission." It read: "Thanks message. Conference discussing next month will communicate result. Personally feel end deadlock impossible without Britain freeing India. (Undiluted autocracy reigns here.) Joint effort possible only through complete non-violent methods."

² *ibid*

279. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 5, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

Mahadev in Bombay, Mira in Nasik and Anand Hingorani in front of me pulling the punka. He will be here a few days. It is now 10.35 a.m.

Here are three letters. Haskell's I have read carefully. It is a good letter and requires a reasoned reply. Discuss the letter or the argument with Datta or any other learned Christian and send your answer. Even if you do not feel like sending it without discussing it with me, do have the discussion. See if you find a supporter for our position.

I hope you got Pyarelal's pamphlet.

The weather has become less unbearable. The nights are cool.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your letter. We shall discuss what should be done about the Punjab when you return. Did not Mahadev tell you that I had sent to Rameshwari my draft reply¹ to Lady Hartog's wire? You must have seen it. Your draft too is good but mine is probably better.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4014. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7323

280. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
April 5, 1941

1. Democracy based on non-violence cannot come out of your suggestion. It is too mechanical.

2. Your suggestion about my taking a personal interest in everyone and everything is sound but since the Ashram exists for the

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

development of national satyagraha, I have to fit in everything with the main idea. Remember that after all it is God who is guiding this as everything else.

3. I forgot to say that Mahila Ashram does not open before July, therefore, the girls cannot be sent there till then. What is wanted is their immediate withdrawal from the Ashram for their own good.

4. I have already told¹ Sailen, I would send him to Satis Babu if he throws in his lot with him.

5. All things considered, I think that for your own growth and that of the family it is worth considering whether you should not return to Bengal and reconstruct your life there. It is your natural place. With your temperament suffering jars in the Ashram at every step, my proposal is worth considering. Of course, in Bengal, too, I shall always be interested in your welfare. My sole concern is your all-round good.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1459. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

281. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 5, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What you say is correct. By all means go to Mool². There is only one condition: if you get ill, you must return immediately. Do not be eager to call Kanchan there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8505. Also C.W. 7132. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ *Vide* "Remarks in Sailendra Nath Chatterjee's Diary", 2-4-1941

² A town in Chanda District

282. MESSAGE TO BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE¹

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 6, 1941

I hope that the Conference will realize that success of the effort is dependent more upon self-help than upon Government, which must necessarily be cautious even when it is well-disposed. Our experiment to be thorough has to be at least somewhere made without alloy and without outside interference.

M. K. GANDHI

Two years of Work

283. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 6, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

We are all fasting today². Continuous spinning is going on. Hot wind is blowing.

All the news you give makes sad reading. But your account of the poor women is cheering.

Here is a letter from Cochin. I keep the original and send you a copy.

You asked me about extending the verandah and making another on the other side. It shall be done after your return.

I have let Mira take one of your Gujarati grammars. She will be careful about its use.

No more today!

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4015. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7324

¹ This was sent for the Second Basic Education Conference held in Jamia Nagar, Delhi.

² For the National Week; *vide* "Appeal to Congress Workers", 21-3-1941

284. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 6, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I was afraid you will suffer in the train. Yes, you can go to Chorwad.¹ Harakhchandbhai's² letter has been received. He is quite glad, you could go. I am not wiring because it is Sunday and a wire would reach you no earlier than this.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABAI

C/O SHETH JIVANLAL MOTICHAND, NASIK

From the original: C.W. 6475. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9870

285. NOTE TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 6, 1941

Non-violent conduct requires toleration of and even generosity towards the opponent whether he is father or any other. Contrary conduct is a species of violence.

Most of our difficulties arise from our ignorance. Unregulated sentiment is waste like unharnessed steam.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India, and Anand T. Hingorani. Also G.N. 472

¹ Mirabehn explains: "owing to the extreme heat in the hut on the hill, Bapu was sending me to Chorwad by the seaside in Junagadh State. I had halted at Nasik on the way." *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 4-4-1941

² Harakhchand Motichand Shah of Chorwad

286. REMARKS IN SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE'S
DIARY¹

SEVAGRAM,
April 6, 1941

I have never undertaken to read diaries word for word. I gave most attention to yours. To be read, you must be brief. You are prolix. You have written almost an essay. I have read all the marked parts. I can give no guarantee as to the pay. You will get what you are worth. Anything more will be charity. Today you are a burden and you will be still greater when you are studying. But if you begin to earn, you reduce the burden and will presently save. This means hard and honest labour. I hope you will do this.

You are not attending to your diet. You must control it or let Dr. Das control it. I am quite sure, I was right in stopping massage. You are becoming too soft.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10297. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

287. MESSAGE TO MYSORE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
MEETING²

[Before April 7, 1941]

I am firmly of the opinion that, if the constructive programme is assiduously and successfully worked out to its end, the helpless will find themselves possessing power they never had before, and that is the truest foundation for the swaraj of millions based on non-violence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1941

¹ According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, Sailendra Nath Chatterjee had noted in his diary, dated April 6, "that he was sorry that Gandhiji did not read his diary fully . . . that he was prepared to give up further studies and join service, if his father and Gandhiji desired so, and if it offered a decent pay and future prospects. Sailendra Nath had also mentioned about the trouble he had, because of his taking rather too much food after a long fast."

² The message was for its fourth session, held on April 7.

³ The reference is to the non-stop spinning performed in connection with the National Week observed from the 6th to the 13th April.

⁴ Hank

288. ASHRAM NOTE

April 7, 1941

In the *sutra-yajna*³ care should be taken to note the following:

1. Weight of the slivers of each of the spinners;
2. amount of yarn produced thereby;
3. amount of refuse; waste yarn to be collected; it has its own use;
4. count of the yarn produced, its tensile-strength and evenness;
5. every *gundi*⁴ should be accompanied by the spinner's name.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 383

289. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter I shall keep the recipe for *missi* chapati. There is not much in it. Ba often makes it. And it will be often made if I would allow it. Gram flour makes it too nutritious for all but the heavy-work labourers. The proportion of *bhaji* is not enough. Our bread is far superior and any day lighter.

I am glad you have been able to finish your Jullundur work.

Ba might have to give a month to Delhi. Sushila expects to cure her completely. She may drop in for two days.

I do not think I ever met Sardar Sunder Singh. I am, therefore, not writing.

I hope you are taking care of yourself according to our new discovery.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4016. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7325

290. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
April 7, 1941

1. I have said my say. You will grow only if you find that the plus side is greater than the minus side. It is strange but true that a person is affected by a thing as he imagines it to be not as it really is. Thus the two Sikh brothers who lived here told me that the shortcomings they saw they were prepared for, but the new and good things they saw in the Ashram filled them with admiration. The Bengali detenu who was here (I forget his name) saw nothing or little that was good. The truth no one knows, not even I the author. God only knows what this place is.

2. Of course Vina and Abha can stay here, if they know the art of living in the midst of suspicion.

3. Sailen is a tough problem. I fear he will be a burden to himself and to you and society.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1460. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

291. REMARKS IN SAILENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE'S DIARY¹

SEVAGRAM,
April 7, 1941

This is good.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10298. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, Sailendra Nath had noted in his diary, dated April 7, "that in obedience to the advice of Gandhiji he was prepared to leave his studies and join any service on whatever pay it might offer provided it promised future prospects, so that Gandhiji could be relieved of the burden and responsibility of helping Sailen's mother and younger brothers and sisters." *Vide* also the preceding item, and "Remarks in Sailendra Nath Chatterjee's Diary", 6-4-1941

292. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 7, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

It is good that you went there.¹ You will gain good experience. After the tour is over, if necessary, we will think again about your problem. Jivanlalbhai has not yet asked me anything.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2916. Courtesy: Vallabhram Vaidya

293. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 7, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. You are worrying needlessly. In fact, you are a fortunate woman. You are doing as much as you can. It is in God's hand to grant success. What is the harm if you get fewer opportunities of staying with me? It is but natural that you wish to come over. But are all our wishes always fulfilled? Your place is with Jayaprakash or wherever your duty calls you.

Therefore stop worrying and be engrossed in your duty. Ba is still in Delhi. It will take time for her wound to heal. There is no cause at all for worry. She is quite happy in Delhi.

Rajkumari is arriving on the 16th. Sushila is coming over here for a few days.

It is of course very hot.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3564

¹ The Himalayas; *vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Vallabhram Vaidya", 20-3-1941

294. SATATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
April 8, 1941

I have seen what purports to be a report¹ by some 'special correspondent' of an interview by Shri Mukundlal Sircar and Shri R. S. Ruikar with me. I have no hesitation in saying that it is a mischievous distortion of a friendly conversation.

I rarely give interviews. When I do, I insist on seeing the draft before publication. So far as I know, there was no one in my cottage who could send any reports. I should hope that none of the two friends has become a 'special correspondent'.

I repeat my request that Editors will confer a favour on me if, before publishing interviews with me, they will make sure that I have authorized them. I would not mind any amount of misrepresentation, if it did not injure a public cause.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-4-1941

295. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters. Dharam Yash Dev's is a strange letter. You will write to him plainly and strongly. He has been condemned by his own action.

Your Lahore programme is strenuous. I shall heave a sigh of relief when you are back in your corner. How nice not to have a room but a corner or even a part of a wall. Nevertheless when the hot wind blows as it is, while I am writing this, I feel tempted to say, pass a month or so at Simla. But I know you won't be happy anywhere else.

Ba is not likely to come back for a month though she is decidedly better. Sushila may come during Easter. Kanchan is back from Delhi.

Love

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4017. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7326

¹ Vide "Discussion with R. S. Ruikar", 30-3-1941

296. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 8, 1941

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

You have told me a sorry tale. Why don't you see the Editor?

I cannot issue any statement. Of course, if *Harijan* was published, I could deal with all such things.

Yes, Mahadev told me everything. When Rajkumari returns, I shall see what can be done.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10349. Courtesy: Jagannath

297. REMARKS IN AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE'S DIARY¹

April 8, 1941

1. I shall do what I can for Sainen.

2. The remedy is shut your eyes like the wise monkey towards the faults of others. They cannot hurt you. Why don't you try to write in Hindi and be brief?

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10348. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

298. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 8, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I am happy that you write to me regularly. You are working so

¹ According to Amrita Lal Chatterjee, in his diary, dated April 8, he "expressed his concern for his son, Sailendra Nath, who was then living in the Ashram with him, and also mentioned his own difficulty in living in the prevailing atmosphere of the Ashram, which was not congenial and helpful to social, moral and spiritual growth of a person."

hard that I am sure your efforts will bear fruit.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5646. Also C.W. 2957. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

299. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 8, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Kanchan arrived this morning. She is quite happy. There is no cause at all for worry.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MUNNALAL SHAH

KHADI KARYALAYA

MOOL P.O.

CHANDA DISTRICT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8501. Also C.W. 7133. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

300. LETTER TO DR. RAGHUVIR SINGH AGRAWAL

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

April 8, 1941

BHAI AGRAWAL,

Valjibhai¹ is an impecunious social worker. For years he has been working with me. How can his son be charged Rs. 3 daily? Can you give the assurance that his eyes will be all right? Perhaps you do not know Valjibhai. The boy's name is Mahendra. He keeps on asking me whether or no to go.

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

DR. AGRAWAL

15 DARYA GANJ

DELHI

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 9665 a. Courtesy: Dr. M. S. Agrawal

¹ Valji G. Desai

301. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 9, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your regular letter has come.

Here are three letters. Two I have read.

Ba is not likely to come for a month, nor is Sushila coming. She is wanted by Ba.

Mahadev will come probably on 11th.

Bhagawati has gone to Raipur for a change.

Shastriji is eating more and more daily and is yet improving.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4018. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7327

302. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Mahadev has come. He had an arduous programme.

How I have anticipated you! I suddenly remembered that you had written to me about the porch. The idea is sound. But the addition will be made after your return. In my case the workmen are few and the work much. Therefore nothing can be rushed. Nor is there any hurry. I am simply delighted with the change I have made in the library. It has proved a positive blessing to Madalasa. She rests there from 10 to 2.30 p.m. Amtul Salaam also often rests there and has her hip-baths. The door too opens.

Mira has gone to Chorwad, a seaside place in Kathiawar.

What an escape you had! But life is made of a series of escapes, living as we are in the midst of death.

Do avoid overwork.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4019. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7328

303. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 10, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your postcard. Here we are boiling but I hope you have an ideal weather in Chorwad and that everything else is well.

Mahadev has returned.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN

SHRI HARAKHCHAND MOTICHANDNI VADI

CHORWAD, *via* JUNAGADH, KATHIAWAR

From the original: C.W. 6476. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9871

304. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

April 10, 1941

I heard from Mahadev that you were quite seriously ill. Now take complete rest. I had warned you. One should never work beyond one's strength. But that is a thing of the past. If you take care of the present, everything will be all right. Mahadev says that your party has broken up and you are depressed about that; but that is unnecessary. You have done your best; why need you worry then? Many other factors and circumstances contribute to the outcome, and surely you cannot be the master of all of them? What you have done is enough. If you get well completely, you will again be able to influence the Corporation irrespective of whether you have a party behind you.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 180-1

305. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

[After April 10, 1941]¹

DEAR MAURICE,

I have your letter. I never thought of your fast. I was under the impression that you were fed here. I hope you were none the worse for it. I was painfully conscious that I could not give you any satisfaction for your theory. The worst of it is that those who seek support for their theories cannot be easily satisfied, if at all, except when you agree with them. This is no drawback. It often means strength. Where would all the discoverers and inventors have been, if they had given in at the first sign of opposition. Therefore you need not be disappointed if you have a living faith in your theory.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

306. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR²

[After April 10, 1941]³

CHI. KAKA,

Follow Koyaji's⁴ advice in regard to diet. Otherwise you will not be fair to him. If you get a secretary, you may go out slowly. It is good that Raihana is there now.

I understand about *Sarvodaya*.

Get well soon.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10948

¹ The letter was in reply to the one dated April 10 from the addressee.

² The letter is written on the one dated April 10 from the addressee.

³ *ibid*

⁴ Dr. Koyaji, a physician of Bombay

307. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 11, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Madalasa has torn a¹ bit from this. She holds her impromptu poem on seeing my trinity.² Here is the bit too.

Three letters accompany this. It is better to let you have such correspondence than to keep it awaiting you.

There is one defect in the otherwise beautiful blue paper. In this darkened room, it is difficult to read the writing. You will check this yourself.

I do hope you will not allow yourself to be overworked.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4021. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7330

308. LETTER TO R. K. NANDKAOLYAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 11, 1941

DEAR NANDKAOLYAR³,

Please convey to Shri R. Viswanatha Mudaliar and Shri Pachi Ammal my condolence on the death of the late Shri Ramalinga Mudaliar.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 1298, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ First Gandhiji had written 'the', and then as an alternative, 'a'.

² The reference seems to be to the statuettes of three monkeys.

³ R. K. L. Nandkaolyar, Inspector, A.I.C.C. Office

309. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

RAJRUMARI
50 EMPRESS ROAD
LAHORE
OMIT DELHI. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4020. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7329

310. TELEGRAM TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE¹

WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

GURUDEV
SANTINIKETAN
FOUR SCORE NOT ENOUGH. MAY YOU FINISH FIVE. LOVE.²

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10299. Courtesy: Visvabharati

311. LETTER TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, WARDHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
WARDHA
DEAR SIR,

Shri Ramakrishna Bajaj, ex-student, Son of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, will offer civil disobedience on Tuesday, 15th instant, at 8 a.m. from Gandhi Chowk, Wardha, by reciting the usual anti-war slogans.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 347. Also Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ For his eightieth birthday which was on April 14

² According to *The Hindu*, 15-4-1941, the addressee, in his reply, said: "Thanks for your message. But, if four score is impertinence, five score will be intolerable."

312. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your unfailing post. After all said and done, nothing like white or cream coloured paper.¹

I am glad you are meeting the people you ought to have. (I went so far and felt so sleepy that I dropped the pen and slept.)

I have your wire. Of course you will drop Delhi.² I trust you have informed Aryanayakam of your inability. Two additional days will give you more scope for work there.

Durga³ is a little better. Mahadev has gone to Bombay. He returns on Monday or Tuesday. You come back on Wednesday. This, therefore, is my last letter to you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3674. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6483

313. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
April 12, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I have your postcard. I am glad you like the place. I am sure you will have the solitude you desire. Harakhchandbhai is a pearl. His left hand knoweth not what his right gives. Give him my love.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6477. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9872

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 11-4-1941

² *Vide* also "Telegram to Amrit Kaur". 12-4-1941

³ Mahadev Desai's wife

314. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM,
April 12, 1941

CHI. PREMA,

I had your letter written from Saswad. Yesterday I got the one written from jail. I was delighted to read the account of conditions there. I am sure that, if all the women live in harmony and do constructive work with faith, they will bring swaraj nearer.

On the 6th everybody here, excepting the children and the sick, fasted for twenty-four hours. Today also we intend to do the same. Non-stop working of some charkhas, one carding-bow and several *taklis* is in progress. Babla and Kanu had a big hand in arranging this. All are working with zeal.

And now for your questions:

1. All that I can say about fasting is that it is part of my life. A fast may come any time. At the moment, however, I am not thinking of any. But my strength comes from the possibility of my undertaking one and from my faith in the method. In the last resort a satyagrahi vindicates his honour by laying down his life, as one who believes in violence does by killing. What a big difference! Let nobody, therefore, look upon the possibility of a fast by me as the sword of Damocles. If the fast does come, welcome it and pray that God may grant me the strength to go through it.

2. *Harijan* was stopped because of an unexpected letter¹ from Delhi. I could see from it that they were not well-disposed towards the paper, and I do not want it to be made an issue in this struggle.

3. The current political developments have had no effect on me, for I have realized that nothing is possible just now. That is why I have said that this is going to be a long struggle. On the whole our good lies in that.

Mahadev has again gone today to Bombay for a day. He has gone leaving Durga ill here. Both are courageous. They have willingly sacrificed themselves.

My blessings to all the women.

¹ *Vide* "Sir Richard Tottenham's Letter to Mahadev Desai", 27-3-1941

Ba is still in Delhi. She is improving, but will take time to get well completely.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10418. Also C.W. 6857. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

315. LETTER TO LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 13, 1941

DEAR LAKSHMISWAR,

I have read your letter very carefully.¹ It is difficult to give you an independent organization. You should be able to work in the existing organization and hope to carry your point with your colleagues. I would like you also to tell me what your requirements are.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

SHRI LAKSHMISWAR SINHA
13 LANSDOWNE TERRACE
KALIGHAT P. O .
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 1474. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

316. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

April 13, 1941

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I got your letter. Somehow obtain the certificate. Jajuji is not here. I will ask him when he comes.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI HEMPRABHADEVI
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR, *via* CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2736

¹ The addressee had given his own plan for implementing the scheme of basic education.

317. STATEMENT FOR RAMAKRISHNA BAJAJ¹

[On or before April 14, 1941]²

SIR,

Mine is a case somewhat out of the ordinary. I am an ex-student. It is necessary to mention this fact in these days of anarchy that prevails in the student-world. Though I am under eighteen, I have known enough of the student-world and the world outside to realize the necessity of discipline in everything. In the step I have taken I have, therefore, obtained the blessings of my parents and other elders. Under my parents I have had practical training in non-violence in every detail of life. I have just finished my matriculation examination. I began school work rather late in life. My parents had stopped our regular school work during the non-co-operation days of 1920 when I was not even born. My parents have brought us all up in a free atmosphere. And so when I was minded to go to school and go through the ordinary training, I was permitted to do so. When, however, the present struggle was started, my mind began to waver and I felt that the practical experience I should gain in the pursuit of freedom would be of far greater value than the ordinary schooling which every schoolboy knows is conceived not so much in the interest of the masses as that of the rulers. If in spite of that knowledge we go through that course, it is because it is the only one that has been in vogue for so many years and which serves the purpose of providing a status in life. Such is the fate to which we have been reduced through foreign domination. I have been attracted to the present struggle more for its moral worth than the political. I know that if India can present a completed example of non-violence, India will have made a unique contribution to human progress. It is a vision that holds my youthful mind and I would count no suffering too great to achieve an end so noble and glorious.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 347-8

¹ In the source, D. B. Kalelkar explains that this was drafted by Gandhiji for being read out by Ramakrishna Bajaj in the court. Gandhiji had explained the statement to Ramakrishna Bajaj at Sevagram on April 14, a day before he offered civil disobedience; *vide* "Letter to Deputy Commissioner, Wardha", 12-4-1941

² *ibid*

318. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 14, 1941

MY DEAR PRAFULLA,

I duly received your letter of 28th March last. I am somewhat late answering.

Yes, uneven and weak yarn is, like a counterfeit coin, useless. I have received some very fine specimens from the jails.

My health is quite good and so is Kumarappa's. Yes, I saw Maulana Saheb in Naini Jail. He was quite well, and so was Vijaylakshmi who has now been discharged. Sardar is keeping well and spinning during all his spare hours.

Kumarappa too is in good order and condition. He will leave today for Coonoor for a change. Rajen Babu is keeping well. He should be here in four or five days.

My regards to all there.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3781

319. ASHRAM NOTE

April 15, 1941

Neither boys nor elders should indulge in idle jokes either between themselves or with girls. While discussing work there is a place for innocent pleasantries. That is an art. But unless there is adequate reason for talking, observing silence is best.

This is the root of purity in speech.

There is much filth and refuse lying around the Ashram. Someone from amongst us should assume responsibility for keeping the surroundings clean. . . .¹ It need hardly be emphasized that cleanliness is an essential part of non-violence.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, p. 383

¹ Omission as in the source

320. LETTER TO PREMNATH BAJAJ

April 15, 1941

DEAR PREMNATH,

Your complaint is just. I have not replied because I could not apply my mind to the question and so I shirked a reply as I must do even now. I would not like to let my perfunctory note to go forth as my opinion. I fear you should do without it.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

321. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

[April 15, 1941]²

Perfectly desirable except what was kept for me. The mangoes were specially sent for as medicine for both Chimanlal and Munnalal. I come in by the side door. If I refuse, there will be terrible argument. The children here get much more than elsewhere. But you are right. Mango is a cursed fruit. It attracts attention as no other fruit does. We must get used to not treating it with so much affection. But they will all get some as we have three boxes.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1461. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

322. LETTER TO RAGHUVANSH GAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

April 15, 1941

CHI. RAGHUVANSH,

I got your letter. I have no doubt your writing to the magistrate was a mistake. Surely it is not a case for fasting. How can we force any college? Make use of the knowledge that you have acquired and earn your livelihood. If you will give up your insistence, I would be pleased. Rajkumaribehn has taken great pains for you.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI RAGHUVANSH GAUR

C/O KHAIR ASHRAM

ALIGARH

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 141

¹ *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Premnath Bajaj", 13-12-1940

² Supplied by the addressee

323. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
April 16, 1941

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

BAPU

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

324. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

April 16, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. How can writing to you be a trouble to me? I manage to write in the midst of work. If on occasion I cannot do so, I do not make any special effort to write. This happened yesterday. I apply mud-packs to the stomach. Then I feel sleepy. If the mail goes in the meantime the letter to you remains unwritten.

I would like it if Ba could stay with you, whether in your hospital room or at your house. The only thing is that she should not be a burden on Mother. Make that change if Ba is willing. Her staying with you is certainly a different thing from your occasionally visiting her.

Letters to Pyarelal have been received. I shall have them sent on to him if that can be done. He is not able to get over his touchiness. His touchiness has its reasons, if we look for them. But my teaching is that we must not be touchy even if there are reasons for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

¹ *Vide* "Remarks in Amrita Lal Chatterjees Diary", 8-4-1941

[PS.]

Durgabehn had pain again yesterday. But she is feeling better right now.

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

325. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

April 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Rajkumari gave me your letter. I have not yet received the things you sent for Devdas. Would it not have been better if those too had come with Rajkumari? But there is no hurry about it.

Ba will have arrived.

Days are pretty hot here. It is nice and cool later in the night. How shocking that your examination goes on being postponed! You have to get your degree in such chaotic conditions! But what can be done? Being in that set-up, you have got to face those troubles.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Your reply about doctors joining military service is correct.

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

326. *LETTER TO INDUMATI N. GUNAJI*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 17, 1941

CHI. INDU,

I have your letter. Restraint, to be natural, must have the co-operation of the mind, which again cannot be had without knowledge. If I have the clear knowledge that consumption of alcoholic drinks will harm me I will never touch alcohol, whatever its attraction. In your case the fact is that you do not accept abstinence a

hundred per cent. You think you have two different duties, in fact you have only one. But that is what I think. God alone can guide you in your dilemma. Make an effort. It will certainly do you good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10944. Courtesy: Indumati Tendulkar

327. TELEGRAM TO NIZAM OF HYDERABAD¹

[On or before *April 18, 1941*]

H. E. H. NIZAM

HYDERABAD

MY RESPECTFUL CONDOLENCES YOUR BEREAVEMENT.

GANDHI

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

328. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C. P.),

April 18, 1941

MY DEAR SINGER,

You are a finished diplomat. I am sending a wire of condolences. Herewith love letter for Lilamani. Sarup coming here on Sunday.

Hot winds blowing here all day. Hope you are better off.

Love to you all.

SPINNER

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

¹ The addressee, who had lost his mother, received the telegram on April 18, 1941

*329. LETTER TO MANUBEHN AND SURENDRA
MASHRUWALA*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA

April 18, 1941

CHI. MANUDI¹,

You are suffering very much indeed.² That is always so. Even if an operation becomes necessary, there is no need to get frightened. There is no risk at all in it. Keep Ba informed. I must have letters from you during your illness.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. SURENDRA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MANUBEHN MASHRUWALA

“BAL KIRAN”

SOUTH AVENUE

SANTACRUZ, BOMBAY

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

330. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

April 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Do I not know your condition? But why should I raise that issue now? You finish whatever work you have to do there. In a way of course no work can ever be finished. But what can be easily completed should be completed. Then the way will automatically be opened.

Have you given the papers to Devdas? Pyarelal's articles are among them. I shall have a look and decide whether they can be immediately used.

¹ Harilal Gandhi's daughter

² The addressee had a tumour in her stomach.

Brahm Dutt came yesterday after his release. He gave good news about Pyarelal. There will be more to know when Mahadev goes to meet Pyarelal tomorrow.

Durgabehn is doing quite well.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

331. STATEMENT TO “THE TIMES OF INDIA”¹

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 19, 1941

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

I adhere to all that I said at the initiation of the struggle². When I launched out, I had no foolish illusion about a sudden miracle happening. It was conceived to be, and it remains, a silent declaration of unquenchable faith in the power of non-violence even in the midst of circumstances so terrible and so baffling as face the world today.

I believe more in the efficacy of the incalculable force of inscrutable divinity than in the efficacy of the calculated and calculable forces that the combined powers of destruction can bring into play on this little planet. That incalculable force has somehow or the other to act through human agency. How and when I cannot say. Whether that agency is the Congress or not, I cannot say. I proceed upon the faith that today the Congress is the only organization, however imperfect, however wanting in faith as an organization, still the only organization that stands definitely for peaceful measures.

That being my position, so far as I am concerned, there is no drawing back. Whether civil disobedience is offered by one or many is of no moment. It must continue against all odds. Congressmen can

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

² In October 1940

certainly repudiate it in more ways than one. It will then cease to be an organizational movement, and therefore I will admit it will cease to be effective in any shape or form. But I would be content if I still retain the faith to be the solitary witness of the power of non-violence.

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

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

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

I make bold to say that when the clash of arms has ceased and we have settled down to peace, permanent or impermanent, history will record that the Congress fight in its totality was a supremely moral fight and free from any injury to man's dignity.

To conclude this very unsatisfactory reply, as it would appear, to a friendly gesture, I want to plead one thing. Would friends ask me at this supreme moment in the life of the world and my own life, to deny a faith that has sustained me for nearly half a century? And let me

interpolate one thought, however unwelcome it may be: I am convinced that if Britain will only be true to India, then, whether the Congress withdraws the struggle or not, everything can be settled satisfactorily. But unfortunately British statesmen have chosen the wrong path and have put imaginary obstacles in the way of India's freedom. But that is a chapter on which I have no desire to dilate.

The Times of India, 20-4-1941

332. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 19, 1941

DEAR LALA DUNICHANDJI,

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

1. In regard to M.L.A.s who in spite of reminders do not court imprisonment the question had better wait for an answer in view of Mian Iftikhar-ud-din's¹ pending early release.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee

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

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

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

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

[PS.]

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

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

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

333. LETTER TO SAMBHAJI

BHAI SAMBHAJI,

I have gone through the terms of the agreement. They are certainly harsh. I am considering the matter. What I would suggest is that an impartial arbitrator should be appointed and only such terms should be laid down as he accepts. Strictly speaking, of course, every employer has a right to fix his own terms for recruitment and every worker has a right to reject them. It is up to one's liking. But since I know the press authorities I have suggested the appointment of an arbitrator.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

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

334. LETTER TO KHWAJA

SEVAGRAM,
April 20, 1941

MY DEAR KHWAJA,

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

You will have no difficulty in believing me that I am the same confirmed believer in unity that you saw in 1919. Let me correct you about dates and facts. I presided at the Hindi Sammelan in 1918¹ and that with the deliberate intention of making Hindi inclusive, not exclusive. There was no criticism then of my presiding. Muslim friends were enthusiastic about my definition of Hindi. At that time it was only my definition when I presided. Again my definition was accepted by the Sammelan. How could there be criticism when I broadened the basis so as to give recognition to Urdu script on a Hindi platform? The first note of opposition was sounded when I attempted to use Hindi as a term synonymous with Hindustani. Again it was an attempt in the right direction. But I had lost caste by then and every act of mine had begun to be suspect. Into the causes for this phenomenon I need not go. But from the above narrative it is clear that nothing that I have done could possibly be a cause for the Hindi-Urdu controversy. But the controversy having arisen, I could not escape unscathed. I would not call the Sammelan² a communal organization any more than I would so call the Urdu Anjuman³. Both forms exist and votaries of both also exist. There need be no rivalry between the two but the wretched spirit which has nothing to do with the languages pervades every department of life. When it goes, as it will and must some day, the languages will remain what they are but they will provide us no food for quarrel. Meanwhile both are subserving the common cause. In the end the extreme forms which have no living reality behind them will disappear or will exist as corruptions of a past age. Be that as it may, let us few keep our heads cool and do the right, cost what it may.

¹ The source has "1917" *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", 16-7-1941

² Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

³ Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu

Your plan about the dictionary is good. I am discussing that and other points with Dr. Tarachand¹ and Pt. Sunderlalji.

My love to you and the whole family.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

335. *LETTER TO PURATAN. J. BUCH*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 20, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

I got your letter. The news that you give does not seem correct; but even if it is true, we must keep ourselves ready. I hope both of you² are quite prepared. You may write whatever you wish.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

336. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

April 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I just could not write to you yesterday. I had sent Mahadev to Nagpur. He had a very satisfactory meeting with Pyarelal. He will give you a full account of the meeting. Of course, today he has gone to Wardha to receive Sarupbehn. He may be quite late in returning, because Prof. Trivedi³ is very ill. He will have to tarry for his sake. I am writing to you only about one thing. Pyarelal says that you should definitely not appear for the examination without full preparation. Hence, he would rather that you did it either in October or April next. I feel that if you are confident, you should certainly appear for the examination in May. I for one believe firmly that medical service is a God-given gift in your case and hence you will easily pass whenever you sit for the examination. So far as knowledge is concerned you will go on adding to it all the time. You do not need anybody's

¹ Of Allahabad University

² The addressee and his wife Anandi

³ J. P Trivedi, father of Manshanker J. Trivedi

certificate for that.

Ba seems to have arrived there. You will of course inform me about her condition. We have started giving mango and milk to Sharda's son. Because of that his bowels are moving. Now Madalasa remains to be treated. I am giving the same things to her also. She does keep well because of it.

Durgabehn can be considered to be quite well. Today she is not having any fever either.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

337. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 21, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter full of beautiful description.¹ I am glad you are in such peace and you have the benevolent Company of Harakh-chandbhai. Durgabehn² is well now.

Love.

BAPU

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

338. *LETTER TO SACHINDRA NATH MITRA*

April 21, 1941

DEAR SACHINDRA BABU,

Your letter. I gave you the minimum.³ But a satyagrahi who has the call may go from one end of the earth to the other. So far as your forming a sevadal⁴ is concerned please see the Bengal Provincial

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

² Wife of Mahadev Desai

³ The reference, presumably, is to the instructions given by Gandhiji for the guidance of satyagrahis. *Vide* "Instruction to Satyagrahis", 17-3-1941

⁴ A voluntary service corps

Congress Committee people.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SACHINDRA NATH MITRA

5/2 KANTAPUKUR LANE

BAGHABAZAR, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 7186

339. LETTER TO DR. AMUTHU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 21, 1941

DEAR DR. AMUTHU,

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

Yours,

BAPU

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

340. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

April 21, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

Vasumatibehn¹ has given me your message. How can I forget Anandi or you? But Anandi seems to have completely forgotten me.

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Vasumati Pandit

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

341. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

April 21, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

342. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your postcard. A letter to Ba is enclosed. Give it to her. Durgabehn is doing very well. I hope when you come here you will find much improvement in her health.

I do not like your being burdened in any way at the time of your examination. But how can you consider Ba a burden? God alone is your saviour. You did well to deposit the fee.

I am well. Shastri is also keeping well. A specialist has come for Trivediji. He has introduced some important changes.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

343. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,

April 21, 1941

CHI. RUKMINI¹,

I got your letter just now. Indubehn is sitting beside me. She knew him². His ship had sunk, but he was in a small boat for a few

¹ Maganlal Gandhi's daughter

² Rameshwarlal Bajaj, addressee's father-in-law

days and finally reached Scotland. From there he took another ship and Miss Harrison¹ had heard that he had reached South Africa. After that Indubehn does not know anything. Let us hope he will arrive safely. Remain calm, all of you.

Ba is still in Delhi.

Blessings to both² from

BAPU

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

344. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 22, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I have made it a rule to have someone visit Pyarelal. Send me the address of P. Gupta. I shall give him notice when the next visit falls due.

I have understood about your examination. I do not worry at all. It may be held any time. If it is held in May, you will be able to give me time without any worry. From that point of view, I would rather that it was over in May.

Ba is keeping well and so I shall not be anxious about her at all.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

345. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA

SEVAGRAM,

April 23, 1941

DEAR GUHA³,

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

¹ Agatha Harrison

² The addressee and her husband Benarsilal Bajaj

³ Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

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

Yours sincerely,

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

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

346. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE ²

SEVAGRAM,
April 23, 1941

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

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

BAPU

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

¹ Communal riots had broken out in Dacca on March 18.

² The addressee was in charge of distribution of food in Sevagram Ashram.

³ Papaya or papaw

347. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 23, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

If one thinks deeply over it, the examination point of view, the knowledge point of view and the proficiency point of view, all are one and the same. A person takes an examination in order to become an expert, i.e., to acquire perfect knowledge. Kanchan¹ does become restless at times, but there is no cause for worry. She is under my constant observation. Do you write harsh letters to her? Ask her to show me all your letters, so that you may keep your pen under restraint and it will be easy for me to guide you.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MUNNALALJI

CHARKHA SANGH, KHADI VASTRALAYA

MOOL, DISTT. CHANDA

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

348. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. You will have received mine of yesterday.

Durgabehn is much better today.

I have two suggestions about Ba. She should have hip-baths and apply mud-packs to the lower abdomen at night. Both these things should have an effect on the rectum.

Today almost everyone is on fast.

How is Satya's life going on? How is Mother's health? Write a letter to Pyarelal and send it here. I shall try to have it delivered to him.

Urmila has gone there. I have told her that she should meet you.

¹ Addressee's wife

My health is fine. What would you say if Anand were unable to pass stool without enema?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

349. ADVICE TO SIND CONGRESS DEPUTATION

WARDHAGANJ,

April 24, 1941

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

The Hindu, 26-4-1941

350. NOTE TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM,

April 24, 1941

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

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

351. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I could not write to you yesterday.² And today I am writing this at bed-time, The whole day was spent in meeting people.

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

² This appears to be a slip; *vide* the preceding item.

Durgabehn is well. I am of course fine. Pyarelal is well.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

352. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I have received all your letters concerning Ba and I have replied to all of them. Since you had forbidden it, I have not written to Ba anything about her fever. I know that you would not regard Ba as a burden. Still, Ba does make demands on your time, does she not? It irks me that you have to visit her twice every day. Ba is only in your hands and so of course you will shower on her all you have. But what would be my own duty in the matter? And yet since Ba is there with you what more can I wish? Hence, what you write is absolutely correct.

I am observing fast today.¹ By the time this letter is in your hand, there will be hardly four or five hours left to end the fast. I am not feeling anything today. I am taking a lot of water. If tomorrow passes the same way, there will be no cause for worry. Even if not, no harm can come in just twenty-four hours. The fast is undertaken on moral grounds. I have been greatly perturbed that Sharad and Abha resorted to lying. My conditions are such that they are bound to be broken, and when they are broken, one cannot help telling lies. Therefore, I had no recourse except to observe a fast for my mental peace.

Give this information to Ba also. I have not let this get around. You too should tell no one except Ba. Do not mention this to Lakshmi [or] Devdas. I shall not be sending any telegram when the fast is broken. There is no cause at all for worry.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The fast was broken on April 27; *vide* "Non- Party Leaders' Conference Resolution", 14-3-1941

353. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

April 24, 1941

BHAI AMRITLAL,

Give to Vasumatibehn papaya or whatever fruit she wants.

BAPU

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

354. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

WARDHA,

April 25, 1941

I have read painfully the long report of the debate in the House of Commons on India. Distress has been known to have softened people's hearts and made them mindful of facts. But Britain's distress has evidently left Mr. Amery absolutely cold and untouched.¹ This callousness makes me more than ever confirmed in my opinion that the Congress must abide by its policy of non-violence in spite of the heavy odds facing it.

Mr. Amery has rendered no service to Great Britain by his contemptuous disregard of the situation as it exists in India and the facts that stare one in the face. He talks glibly of British rule having given peace to India. Did he not know what was happening in Dacca and Ahmedabad? Who was responsible for keeping the peace in these two places? I hope he will not throw in my face the fact that Bengal, at any rate, has self-government. He knows what a mockery that self-government is. He knows what little power for such emergencies toy Ministers have, whether they wear the Congress label, the League label or any other.

I ask the very pertinent question: Why has this long spell of British rule left the people so emasculated as to disable them from standing up against a few hundred goondas? It is a humiliating spectacle, more for the British than for us, to see thousands of people

¹ L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, moved a resolution in the House of Commons on April 22, 1941, to extend for another year the proclamation under which the Governors of Indian Provinces had assumed the powers of the Provincial Legislators.

running away from their homes through sheer fright, because a few hundred goondas have found a favourable atmosphere for resorting to arson, murder and loot. The first act of any government worth the name would be to teach its people the art of self-defence, but the foreign British Government had no concern about this fundamental welfare of India's citizens and so it deprived the people of the use of arms.

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

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

I admit that there is unfortunately an unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Why do not British statesmen admit that it is after all a domestic quarrel? Let them withdraw from India and I promise that the Congress and the League and all other parties will find it to their interest to come together and devise a home-made solution for the Government of India. It may not be scientific; it may not be after any Western pattern; but it will be durable. It may be that before we come to that happy state of affairs, we may have to fight amongst ourselves. But if we agree not to invite the assistance of any outside power, the trouble will last perhaps a fortnight and it will not mean even one day's destruction of human heads such as goes on in Europe today, for the simple reason that thanks to the British rule we are wholly unarmed.

Mr. Amery, in utter disregard of truth, misleads his ignorant audience that the Congress wants "all or nothing". Let me remind him that in order to placate British sentiment, the Congress descended

to the Poona Resolution¹ and when at Bombay it undid the Poona Resolution,² I authoritatively stated that the British Government could not at the present moment grant or declare India's independence and that, therefore, for the time being, we should be satisfied with the complete freedom of speech and pen. Was that "all or nothing"? With Mr. Amery's state of mind, I suppose it is too much to expect him to have the elementary grace to acknowledge the studied moderation of the Congress in its desire not to embarrass the British Government whilst it is fighting for its very existence. Not having that grace, he turns the Congress moderation against it and claims that the Congress civil disobedience has fallen flat.

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

But I must not carry any further the painful dissection of Mr. Amery's performance. It hurts me to have to undertake even this very brief analysis of his speech. But it is so amazingly misleading that I felt I would be failing in my duty if I did not point out at least some of the most glaring discrepancies in that unfortunate utterance. Surely he could have rested content with the undisputed sway that he exercises over the destinies of over four hundred million people.

The Hindu, 27-4-1941

¹The resolution, recommended by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on June 21, 1940, was passed by the A.I.C.C. at Poona on July 28, 1940. For the text of the resolution, *vide* "Letter to Premabehn Kantak", 18-10-1940.

²*Vide* "All-India Congress Committee Resolution", 15-9-1940 and "Speech at A.I.C.C. Meeting, Bombay", 15-9-1940

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

355. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS¹

[April 25, 1941]²

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

2. If the proposals⁴ of the Bombay Conference are accepted *in toto* I shall admit that though the proposals are likely to be unacceptable by the Congress, their acceptance will be some evidence of a desire to part with power.

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

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

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

² *ibid*

³ *Vide* "Statement to 'The Times of India', 19-4-1941

⁴ *Vide* "Non-Party Leaders' Conference Resolution", 14-3-1941

⁵ What follows is presumably the answer to question 5.

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

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

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

356. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

April 25, 1941

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I purposely write to you in English. Under my advice¹ Amrita Babu returns to Bengal. He ought not to coerce his family. He is therefore likely to take mental sannyasa and sever his connection with the family. His two boys² remain here for the time being. The two girls³ he takes with him. I think their place is with their mother with whom they have more in common than with Amrita Babu. I would like you to advise and guide the family. So long as they accept your guidance I shall continue to send the money I am sending. I would like both the sisters to do some national service and earn their living. But you will know better. Amrita Babu has high ambition in the shape of service. He would rather die in the attempt to still the rioters⁴ than anything else. You will guide.

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

Love.

BAPU

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

357. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

April 25, 1941

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

What is this? Why should exertion lay you low? You know the trick. When there is undue exertion fast partially or wholly. Partial fast means living on juicy fruit only. When there is fever fast is obligatory. I wish you would be soon in Coonoor.⁵

¹ *Vide* "Note to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 5-4-1941

² Sailen and Dhiren

³ Vina and Abha

⁴ At Dacca

⁵ The addressee was to go to Coonoor for a change.

I am glad you were able to go to Kodambakkam.
Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10152

358. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
April 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

My faith is well founded. It rests on direct experience. All learning is limitless. Fortunately, even the examiners cannot go beyond the limitlessness of learning. So, why should we be scared by it? You are of course not the type to be scared. So far, the fast has gone on all right. I have been able to carry on the daily routine. I am writing this to you at 6 a. m. I have been taking plenty of water.

It would be very nice if you could come here in June. Durga is well. Prof. Trivedi had blood-pressure. Now he is having difficulty in urination. He has diabetes. But his condition is fairly good. Durga is being given rest.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

359. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

April 27, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

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

[PS.]

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

360. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

April 27, 1941

BA,

Sushila will tell you everything about my ending the fast. Now there is no reason at all to worry. Durga's condition may be considered satisfactory. Trivediji is in midstream. I am not writing separately to Devdas and Lakshmi.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

361. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I just finished taking lime and water at 5.20 p. m. In the meantime the grapes have arrived, and I am writing this while eating them. My health is very good. I remained in bed the whole day today. They took me to the bathroom for the massage in an arm-chair. I am going to be on grapes and lime-juice for the day. There should be no cause at all for worry now.

I shall not write more today.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ It is likely Gandhiji undertook the fast in connection with the riots.

362. TELEGRAM TO MULKRAJ ¹

April 28, 1941

LALA MULKRAJ
SECRETARY, JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND
AMRITSAR

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

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

363. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

April 28, 1941

BHAI NANABHAI²,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

364. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I understand about Ba. You will know about me from my letter to Ba. I have not mentioned the blood-pressure in it. It was 132/86 in the afternoon. The fast will definitely do some

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated April 22, 1941, regarding reservation of Jallianwala Bagh for the different unions of Amritsar for observing May Day.

² Brother of Kishorelal Mashruwala and father of Sushila Gandhi

good. The weight has gone down from 105 lb. to 101 lb.

Madalasa can be said to have completely recovered. She walks for an hour morning and evening. There is a glow on her face. She is taking milk, fruit and vegetables properly. She is able to pass stool without enema or purgatives.

Janakibehn's wound looks tender. You will tell me after examining it whether or not it has healed. Otherwise, she eats and drinks well and moves about a good bit. She sits without a cushion.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

365. LETTER TO SHRIMAN NARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,

April 28, 1941

BHAI SHRIMAN,

Your suggestion is good. Today Rajendra Babu is coming. I shall see what can be done. You know perhaps that Madalasa¹ is making good progress. She walks a lot. I do hope she will be fully restored.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 300

366. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

April 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letter is full of love. I know that any time I happen to go on a fast, you will come flying if you can do that. I am sure that you will try your utmost to restore Ba to health and your joy at doing that will be a thousand times more than at passing your M. D. Today's letter from Ba is no doubt good. I am not worrying at all. Come when you can.

¹ Addressee's wife

Anand has now put on some weight. It is 19_ lb. He is keeping well. He has become very naughty.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I did not have here the pain from which I suffered at Rajkot. And I am well. I have taken 1 lb. of milk today.

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

367. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

[April 30, 1941]¹

CHI. KAKA, REBEL,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI KAKASAHEB

40—A RIDGE ROAD

MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY

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

368. LETTER TO URMILA M. MEHTA

[April 30, 1941]²

CHI. URM³,

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI URMILABEHN

C/O SHRI M. P. MEHTA

TOP FLOOR, 71 DARYAGANJ

DELHI

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

¹ From the postmark.

² *ibid*

³ Daughter of Maganlal P. Mehta and Manjula M. Mehta

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

May 1, 1941

DEAR SIR,

You write¹:

Mr. Amery may well retort that the "discrepancies" with which Mr. Gandhi charges him are also evident in the Congress leader's statement². Certainly the accusation that India has been "emasculated" because of the alleged British policy of keeping her "wholly unarmed" comes strangely from the arch-protagonist of non-violence.

In 1908³ when I first expounded the life-saving and the life-giving truth of ahimsa I wrote that disarmament was the blackest page in British history in India. I repeated the same thing in 1918⁴ when I was collecting recruits for the British army with a zeal that brought me serious illness and a fair measure of unpopularity. My statement passed muster then. But times have changed and I have become inconsistent for stating an unchallengeable fact. I suggest that non-violence cannot be imposed upon anyone. It has to come from within. The British measure was undertaken to make British rule safe, not to make the people non-violent. It has made them impotent even for mischief. Good, impotent persons⁵ can never do. It is no matter for pride or credit that one representative of the British power can hold in abject subjection, say, a village of 1,000 souls. My non-violence does admit of people, who cannot or will not be non-violent, holding and making effective use of arms. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that non-violence is of the strongest, not of the weak. It is a force mightier than violence, though radically different from it in quality and effect.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

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

¹ Under the column "Current Topics" in *The Times of India* 28-4-1941

² Vide "Statement to the Press", 25-4-1941

³ A slip for "1909". The reference is to *Hind Swaraj*;

⁴ Vide "Appeal for Enlistment", 22-6-1918

⁵ The source has "Good and impotent persons".

370. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 1, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

371. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You have done well to detain Ba. Her fever went down immediately, did it not? But you are right to say that Ba should not go anywhere at all.

I understand that you are definitely appearing for the examination. I have taken it for granted that you will pass the examination.

What you write about that girl is correct. You would have felt more satisfied if you had examined her yourself. But it is not always possible to keep that balance.

I am well. Durgabehn is well too.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

372. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 2, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I don't know what can be done about Jayaprakash¹. We have got to endure it. Continue to make inquiries from time to time. If I think of anything I will write. In any case go on doing your work. Do not worry about other things. Rajendra Babu had a talk with me. He will write about it himself.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

373. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. There is one from Lakshmi. Ba must have completely recovered by now. I am gaining more and more energy every day. The mind is greatly disturbed after the passing away of Prof. Trivedi. He had been helpful to thousands of people. I was instrumental in bringing him to Wardha. Manu and other doctors made all possible efforts; but what could be done when the string had snapped?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

374. FOREWORD

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 3, 1941

I have not read this collection. But it is enough for me that it

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

recounts the noble qualities of Deenabandhu and that the money it brings in will all go to the Deenabandhu Memorial [Fund].

M. K. GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Deenabandhu ko Shraddhanjaliyan; also G.N. 11694

375. TELEGRAM TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU¹

[May 3, 1941]²

AGREEABLE .

GANDHI

The Hindu, 5-5-1941

376. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 3, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

Yes, I had all your letters.³ I should have written earlier, but I

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

² *ibid*

³ Gandhiji had asked the addressee to send him a fortnightly diary while she was under training in midwifery. *Vide* also, "Letter to F. Mary Barr", 31-3-1941

could-not do so. I was glad you were doing so well, and were keeping to the simple life. Do continue to write.

Love.

BAPU

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

377. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 3, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I was distressed to see your pompous statement¹ to the Associated Press. I told you to work silently and under Satis Babu's guidance. You have taken no mission or authority from me. You know that you have been sent for a domestic reason.² You have therefore told a deliberate lie. Unless you somehow correct yourself, I shall have to repudiate you entirely. I am sorry. I had expected better things from you.

Here is a letter from Sailen.

Yours,

BAPU

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

378. COMMUNAL RIOTS

SEVAGRAM,

May 4, 1941

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

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

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

² *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 25-4-1941

from their homes for fear of their lives.

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

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

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

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

In Europe two forces, equally matched in destructive skill and bravery, are ranged against one another. The goal before both is domination. In spite of all the will in the world, I have found no difference in kind between the two. The difference in degree does not

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

Then what should a Congressman do? He must resolutely refuse to take sides and defend with his life and without the use of violence the person who is in distress as did for instance three women in Ahmedabad. I have no doubt there are many such individual instances unknown to me. Cowards will never bring peace or independence. He must therefore tell the masses never to fly from danger and that if they cannot follow his way they must defend themselves in the best way they can. What is required is a brave heart—a possession which is in nobody's giving and which therefore can never be taken away. He must instil into his neighbours the lesson that even violence can be both decent and indecent. It is no bravery to kill unawares an innocent person because he does not belong to one's religion or to burn his property. Those who do so disgrace their religion and themselves and positively mar the effort for independence.

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

A Congressman has no enemy. While he will not seek the protection of the police or the military, he will not interfere with them in the performance of their duty but he will not hesitate to lose his life

if need be in checking them when they are partial or exceeding their authority. This will appear a dangerous doctrine. But it is not if it is enforced fully. For if the Congressman concerned has erred, he will be the sufferer and not the police or the military. I know that a young man, because he was brave, by timely interference saved perhaps a hundred lives by simply holding the bridle of an officer's horse and telling him in firm accents, that he may not give the order to fire and that he—the young man—would reason with the crowd and disperse them.

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

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

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

Congressmen may gasp on reading this note and particularly the illustrations and say 'impossible'. Well, attainment of independence is still more impossible whether by violent or non-violent means. But what seems impossible to one lacking faith will become possible to those who have faith. And it is said that faith can move mountains. I know this, that neither independence nor communal unity is possible without ample sacrifice, bravery and self-confidence which is but another name for faith.

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

379. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 4, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

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

Yours,
BAPU

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

380. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 4, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. When will be your examination? How long will it go on? When will the result be known? I have taken it for granted that you are going to pass. Do not burden your mind with any worry at all.

My blood-pressure is behaving ideally for the present. I go to bed at about 9 p. m. The nights here are pleasantly cool. I think Durgabehn is improving day by day. It can be said that she is not having any illness at the moment.

Mahadevbhai will have to go to Bombay tomorrow in connection with the riots there.²

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ The addressee wanted to go to riot-affected Dacca. *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 3-5-1941

² For Gandhiji's article on the communal riots that had broken out at the time, *vide* "Communal Riots", 4-5-1941

381. LETTER TO PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS

May 5, 1941

Don't know what I can do.¹ You should seek out ways and means. You can have a Deoli Day. Perhaps . . .² might be helpful.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

382. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 5, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

383. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

May 5, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

Follow the example of Asquith³. When he fell ill he went on a cruise in the Mediterranean even while the War was going on. Why worry about Ahmedabad? Your job is to return completely restored. You may worry about all other things after that.

Blessings to both of you or all from

BAPU

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

¹ The addressee, General Secretary, Congress Socialist Party, had informed Gandhiji of the impending strike on May 4 by the Deoli Camp jail detenus if their demands remained unfulfilled.

² Illegible

³ Herbert Henry Asquith, Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1908 to 1916 and leader of the Liberal party

384. LETTER TO URMILA M. MEHTA

May 5, 1941

CHI. URMI,

I got your letter. Your description is good. You must leave a margin when you write a letter. Write a clean hand. Munno¹ should be made to sit in cold water. The prickly heat will subside. During the day I wrap a wet sheet even round my body, so that I do not feel the heat. In this weather one should give up pulses, and oil, too. You may add a little ghee to the vegetables, though there is no need even for that. Tell Manjula she may if she wishes eat these things in winter.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

385. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 5, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Lately I have not missed a single day. Never two days at a stretch. The case of Ba is delicate. You are doing your level best. You have even succeeded considerably. What else? Both of you will be coming here when this month is over. I do not have any doubt about your examination. You are of course gaining experience every day. Is it not increase in knowledge for you? And you have not completely stopped reading. Who will look after Ba in your absence?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

386. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

May 5, 1941

CHI. HEMPRABHA²,

I got your letters. Before me is your letter from a village which is 22 miles away [from Sodepur]. Yes, you get satisfaction in such

¹ Dharmapal, addressee's younger brother

² Wife of Satis Chandra Das Gupta

activities. I pray to God that He may give you health so that your strength to serve may grow.

How is Arun¹?

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

387. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 5, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Addressee's son

388. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 5, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

389. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 6, 1941

DEAR BARDOLOI,

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

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

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

As to Krishna's advice to Arjuna you should read my

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

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

introduction to *Anasaktiyoga*¹. If you have not read it, you will tell me and I shall send you a copy.

I would advise you all² to learn well both Urdu and Hindi. Then only shall we evolve an all-India speech.

Yours,

BAPU

(M. K. GANDHI)

From a photostat: G.N. 2

390. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

May 6, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

Now that Mahadev is there with you, this is not of much use. But I read your letter only last evening. As the matter is very important, I am giving a brief reply. Mridula³ is of course made of steel. God will protect her.

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

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ *Vide* "Anasaktiyoga"

² Some Congress M.L.A.s had also been imprisoned along with the addressee.

³ Mridula Sarabhai" daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai, who moved about fearlessly in the riot-affected areas in Ahmedabad

[PS.]

The enclosed letters are for Kaka and Babu.¹

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

391. LETTER TO SURAJRAM PUROHIT

SEVAGRAM,
May 6, 1941

BHAI,

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

You will be stronger if you leave your native place. Whatever the amount you may earn outside, you can give a good fight from there whether you are one or five. The vital thing is that you should go out and earn in a spirit of *yajna*. Then you will spend your wealth for the welfare of the people. have suggested. If you land in jail there, then that is indeed welcome. If you are guided by the considerations of safeguarding your body or wealth, it is a vain endeavour.

This covers replies to all your questions.

Blessings from
BAPU

SURAJRAM PUROHIT
THE OTHER WAY IS WHAT YOU
SANSTHAN RAJPIPLA LOKSABHA
136-140 MEADOWS STREET, 2ND FLOOR
BOMBAY

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

392. TELEGRAM TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

WARDHAGANJ,
May 6, 1941

DR. SUSHILA
LADY HARDINGE MEDICAL COLLEGE
NEW DELHI

DEVIDAS SAYS DESPITE YOUR EXTRAORDINARY DEVOTION
BA GETTING WEAKER AND RESTLESS. IF SO BETTER

¹ The letters are not available.

SEND HER BEFORE GOING LAHORE BUT YOU SHALL
BE FINAL JUDGE.

BAPU

From a photostat: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Dr. Sushila Nayyar

393. *LETTER TO VICHITRA NARAYAN SHARMA*

SEVAGRAM,
May 6, 1941

BHAI VICHITRA,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

394. *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

SEVAGRAM,
May 7, 1941

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

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

Situation improving but still panicky uncertain. Mathura Babu¹, Shah Sahib² touring. Myself proceeding with volunteers.³

¹ Rajendra Prasad's Secretary

² Shah Mohammed Uzair Munimji

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

I know that he will give a good account of himself. Peace will somehow be restored if it has not been already by the police and the military. But this can only be a superimposed peace. Rajendra Babu's as every Congressman's and for that matter every sane citizen's business is to find out the cause of the riots. Unless this is done, there is no likelihood of permanent peace. I observe that the riots started with the resentment over the observance of Anti-Pakistan Day¹. Pakistan and anti-Pakistan observances and the like have come to stay. As national consciousness grows and ambitions rise high, such observances will multiply. But why can we not conduct ourselves decently in spite of these? Why should we be so utterly intolerant as not to suffer one another's views? And then why should we show our intolerance as if we were savages?

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

At present Bihar is the province that can lead the way and set the example. Rajendra Babu has a gentle and unique hold in his province such as no other leader has. He is the hero of the earthquake² days when the whole of India put its trust in him. May he have too the privilege of being the messenger of peace in Bihar and through Bihar

¹ In protest against Pakistan Day which was observed on March 23" at the instance of M. A. Jinnah

² Of January 15, 1934; *vide* "Speech at Om Prakash Mutt, Ootacamund", 4-2-1934

maybe throughout India.

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

395. LETTER TO K. B. MENON

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 7, 1941

MY DEAR MENON,

I had both your letters. The first did not call for a reply.

I note what you say about the meeting.

As Seth Jamnalalji had a talk with Shri Vaze¹ and as the latter is understood to have undertaken even the editing of the paper² I have written to him and am awaiting his reply. I would therefore suggest your holding the meeting after I have had the reply.

I think your reply to Shri Jainarainji³ was correct.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PS.

I have your further letter today. If the Standing Committee ceases to function, J.N. also does likewise. But hand the enclosed⁴ to J.N. and show this letter too to him. I shall give you further instructions after I hear from J.N.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

396. LETTER TO JAINARAYAN VYAS

May 7, 1941

BHAI JAINARAYAN,

Menon saw me. Now I have three letters from him. Is there some

¹ S. G. Vaze

² *States' People*, an organ of the All-India States' People's Conference

³ Jainarayan Vyas, one of the three Secretaries of the All-India States' People's Conference. The addressee had written to J. N. Vyas that along with those of other members of the Standing Committee his powers also were suspended.

⁴ *Vide* the following item.

bad blood between you? I have expressed my view. You will have known about it. But now I feel that I ought to hear what you have to say and then make up my mind. Of course strictly speaking I have no right to interfere in the matter. But since Panditji¹ wants it I am giving my opinion to Menon. But if there is friction between you my position will become untenable.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

397. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 7, 1941

CHI. MANI,

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN PATEL

PRISONER

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

YERAVDA

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: *Manibehn Patelne*, p. 127

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru

398. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 7, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

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

I now feel like going on a tour somewhere. I will go where God leads me. I have in mind Ahmedabad, Bombay and Bihar I will see. We must find some way of reconciliation. Or the Congress must sacrifice itself in the attempt to find one. I cannot think of any other way. Can I? But such a way can be found only when God reveals it. I am thus neither panicky nor worried. I observe things and try to remain engrossed in my duty.

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

Blessings to all from

BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

POONA

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 247

399. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.

May 7, 1941

CHI. DAHYABHAI¹,

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

¹ Son of Vallabhbhai Patel

I trust everything is all right at home. Ask Baba¹ to drop me a few lines.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL
68 MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4 :Manibehn Patelne, p. 161

400. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 8, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I got your astounding wire² from Narayangunj to which I sent you a reply³. I hope you had my letters⁴. In them I have made it clear that you went with no authority from me. I merely gave you advice which you were free to follow or reject. Now my firm opinion is that you are wholly unfit for responsible work on your own. You have long neglected your domestic duty. You will serve the nation by bearing the family burden. If you can restrain your sexual appetite, you will create no progeny but do your duty by those for whose creation you are responsible. Your worth will be judged by what you are able to do in this direction. I shall continue to send money till the end of this month. Thence you will bear your own burden. Please remember that I was in no way obliged to spend any money on you. But thinking that you were a deserving national servant, I spent money on you.

I shall still try to train Sailen and Dhiren. I shall go on for a little time. If they prove worthy I shall continue, or else I shall send them on to you. I am intensely sorry for what has proved a disastrous

¹ Vipin, addressee's son

² According to the addressee, this was "regarding the riot situation and soliciting Gandhiji's instructions".

³ This is not available. *Vide* however letter to the addressee, 10-5-1941

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 3-5-1941 and "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 4-5-1941

experiment. But my sorrow will be turned to joy, if perchance you wake up, become humble and rebuild your ruined home.

You will see my letter to Vina.¹

Yours,

BAPU

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

401. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA

May 8, 1941

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I forgot to send you blessings for your birthday, didn't I? What can I do? But you know that you have them. All the same have them in writing too. Since you are getting them late, have them with interest. Anyway you know how things are. I have Narandas's² letter. If it needs a reply, I will send it by and by.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

402. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL K. CHHAYA

May 8, 1941

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The letter is not available.

² Addressee's father

403. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have sent you a telegram.¹ I had been waiting for your reply and so did not write to you yesterday. I do hope that Ba is really all right. So that is not the reason why I have sent the telegram. I feel perturbed that just when you are having your examination you have to be worrying about Ba. But I know God will save you.

I am doing very well. Doctor and Sankaran together had removed Lilavati, Rajkumari and Amtul Salaam from the proximity of my bed. Das slept on one side and Sankaran on the other. This went on for five or six days. Lilavati created a row and so she came back last night. Rajkumari and Amtul Salaam were in agreement with the plan. Lilavati was not aware of it. Even so she slept at some distance. She did not even protest when Dr. Das made other suggestions. The whole change was with a view to giving me rest.

I forgot to write to you that I had read your article in *Hardonian*². I thought it was good.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

404. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

May 8, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

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

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

All that you told Seth Rameshwardas was correct. I shall not be able to guide you much, because in a gymnasium you have to teach the use of weapons for self-defence and defending others. So act according to your own lights. Rameshwardasji cannot at all mean that

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Presumably the Lady Hardinge Medical College journal

non-violent exercises should be taught. Now it is to be seen how far you can take up responsibility for training in violence. In this everything depends upon your attitude. Consult Nathji¹; nowadays Kishorelalbhai is also in Bombay. This is a complicated question. What your conscience prompts you to do should be considered proper.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

405. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

SEVAGRAM,

May 9, 1941

MY DEAR VAZE,

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

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

406. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 9, 1941

CHI. LILA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Kedarnath Kulkarni

407. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 9, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. We have a number of different methods. One is yours, the second Lakshmidas's¹, the third Vinoba's, the fourth (perhaps) Jajuji's², the fifth that of the Meerut Ashram (that is, Kripalaniji's), the sixth Mathuradas's³, the seventh Diwanji's⁴. Still more names can be added. None of these methods is perfect. If any of them was, it would have been universally adopted. But only a creation of God can be perfect. Since I have faith in you, I did not permit the formation of the committee which you could not join. Now that you are ready, you may certainly form one along the lines you have suggested and intensify your work.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

408. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI

May 9, 1941

BA,

I got your letter. The fast was for 72 hours.⁵ I didn't feel it at all. I am regaining strength. Whenever you are ill I get worried. Get well soon. I am having my normal food now.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

¹ Lakshmidas Asar

² Shrikrishnadas Jaju

³ Mathuradas P. Gandhi

⁴ Dilkhush Diwanji

⁵ Vide "Letter to Munnalal G. Shah", 27-4-1941

409. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

May 9, 1941¹

CHI. LAKSHMI²,

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

I hope the children are all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

410. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I had been expecting your wire. It has not come. If Ba has to come before you do, she must have an escort. That is why I am sending Lilavati. There is also the wish that while Ba is bed-ridden, this will mean less burden for Lakshmi. Now Lilavati is going there. If she has to stay on there, you will of course be showing her around the college, etc. Entrust that job to someone else. I do not wish to take your time.

I am returning the papers you had sent for Pyarelal. He does not want them.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The source has these in Gujarati.

² *ibid*

411. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I received both your postcard and letter together.

I understand about Ba. I feel relieved after sending Lilavati. The burden on Lakshmi was hurting me. Lilavati will give you all the news from here. It is really strange about your examination. What kind of a university is it that cannot fix even the dates till the very last moment? What can you gain out of it? Be that as it may, you have to go through the ordeal.

I shall await your arrival on the 2nd or 3rd of June.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

412. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 10, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your letter.¹ Evidently you did not attend to what I said. I told you, you were not to use my name about anything you did. You were sent because Vina and Abha had to go and for that matter even Sailen and Dhiren had to go. I did advise you to go to Dacca but not as my agent or messenger, You needed no introduction. You know that I have no confidence in your judgment. I merely suggested what you might do, if you cut yourself from your family. But I must not labour the point. If you will let friends know that you were acting under an obvious misunderstanding and that you were in no way my representative it would be enough. My Dacca wire stands. If you work in the limelight you will fail. If after telling Annada or whoever is in

¹ According to the addressee" this was written on May 7, from Dacca, in order "to dispel misunderstanding", and to seek "Gandhiji's permission to carry on the peace effort".

charge that you are acting on your own, they keep you for Dacca work, you may stay provided they pay your full expenses. If they do not you must go to the family and attend to that primary duty. I shall not be responsible for your expenses after May for which month I now understand you have already taken the money in advance. I was sorry to hear that you had taken away the things you had got from others as for instance the blanket from Chimanlal.

Surendra¹ has left the Ashram without telling anybody.

Yours,

BAPU

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

413. LETTER TO DR. NATHUBHAI D. PATEL

May 10, 1941

BHAI NATHUBHAI,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. N. D. PATEL, M.D.

BACKBAY VIEW, BOMBAY

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

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

414. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 10, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

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

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

It seems I must now stop issuing statements to the Associated Press. The U[nited] P[ress of India] has stopped on its own. Several papers have published my statement¹ in full. You fought quite well. But I think by and by even that will not be possible. Or you people will have to. . .² I see that you have published my statement minus the portions censored.³ This was not right. It would have been much better if you had not published the statement at all. In any case you should have said "censored" at places where some portions are omitted. *The Hindustan Times* will come out poor in comparison with other papers. It wouldn't have mattered if such an impression had no foundation in fact. But here it will be well-founded. But what is done is done. Henceforth I should like my statements to be published in full, if they are to be published at all.

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

Mahadev will be here on the 13th.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

415. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

May [10]⁴, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I have written one letter⁵ to you. You will get it in the jail. This is

¹ Vide "Statement to the Press", 25-4-1941

² The source is illegible here.

³ The addressee was Editor of *The Hindustan Times*.

⁴ The source has "20", evidently a slip, since Gandhiji mentions Lilavati being sent to Delhi the previous day. Lilavati left for Delhi on May 9. Vide "Letter to Lakshmi Gandhi", 9-5-1941

⁵ Vide "Letter to Manibehn Patel", 7-5-1941

in reply to your letter. I got it yesterday and could read it only late at night.

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

Manubhai¹ is showing great courage. The whole family was present at the prayers yesterday.

Ba is in New Delhi just now. She is laid up. She is having fever. She writes and says there is no cause for worry. Yesterday I sent Lilavati to Delhi. Janakibehn's² health is very good indeed. Why did Nandubehn say it was bad? These days she is taking long walks as she never used to do before. And she eats well.

Kanu's betrothal has been put off for the present. It may be assumed that it is not coming off in the immediate future. The girl³ also has gone home to her parents.

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. DAHYABHAI,

To be handed over to Manibehn when she comes.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI PATEL

68 MARINE DRIVE

BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn - Patelne, pp. 128-9

¹ Manshankar Jaishankar Trivedi, whose father J. P. Trivedi had passed away

² Wife of Jamnalal Bajaj

³ Abha Chatterjee

416. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

May 10, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI VAIDYAJI

A.I.S.A. KHADI BHANDAR

396 KALBADEVI ROAD

BOMBAY

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

417. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. But there is one from Devdas. I understand from it that Ba's health is improving. I hope that improvement will continue and as you expect, she will return here in better health than when she left.

You will receive this on the 12th. Your examination also will commence on the 12th. Which of these statements is going to be true? Durgabehn is fine. So am I.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

418. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 11, 1941

CHI. PREMA,

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

I do get reports about that place.

I keep excellent health.

Everybody is being severely tested.

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

419. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL

May 11, 1941

BHAI RANCHHODLAL,

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

Vandemataram from

M. K. GANDHI

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

420. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

May 11, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

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

Blessings from
BAPU

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

421. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 11, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from anybody today. You may have gone to Lahore. Still I am sending this letter. The enclosed cutting may be useful to you. It had been crossed, but when I noticed it, I cut it out for you. Ba must be well.

Things are going on well here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I hope you are regularly guiding Tari. She has chronic indigestion. She says she keeps writing to you.

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

422. LETTER TO RAMMANOHAR LOHIA¹

May 11, 1941

BHAL RAMMANOHAR,

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

Vandemataram from

M. K. GANDHI

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

423. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

May 11, 1941

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

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

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

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

I got Bhai Farid's² letter. I am not replying separately. His speed has improved. It is good that all of them are learning both the scripts—Devanagari and Urdu—and also Hindi and Urdu styles. I find its result very heartening. We should be so equipped as to read and write with ease both Hindi and Urdu. Congressmen in particular ought to do this much.

As for Behn Satyawatiji³ it is as usual. She wrote that she would come to Sevagram some time. I hope she will do so after summer.

I am quite all right.

Vandemataram or blessings to all.

¹ The addressee was in Bareilly Central Jail.

² Farid Ansari

³ Grand-daughter of Swami Shraddhanand

I hope you are keeping good health.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

424. LETTER TO S. N. CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 12, 1941

DEAR SAILEN,

Your letter¹. You write very carelessly. You make avoidable mistakes. You even omit your pronouns. If you are as slovenly in your work as you are in writing to me, you will fail. Janaki Devi is in Nagpur at Shri Mehta's. You may give the book to her to be sent to me. I shall then see what other book to send you.²

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

Love.

BAPU

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

425. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 12, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I have not yet received Jayaprakash's. Have you seen the resolution passed by the Socialists? Who were they? Why do you worry? Whatever is to happen will happen. We can only do our best. I am all right. The fast has no after-effect. Ba is better. She is still in Delhi. I have sent Lilavati there.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ From Nagpur where he had been sent for training

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

426. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your perfect letter. The letter from Devdas scared me so much that I sent a telegram leaving it all to you. Even though I had not asked for a telegraphic reply, I did expect one. But now it is an old story.

Now you alone will bring Ba.

But what about your examination? What utter chaos! I have not seen such a thing anywhere. On what basis did Lazarus say that the examination would be held on the 12th? Even if the examination is not held this month, will you be able to ask for long leave in June?

Tell Lilavati that I have received her letter. Coax her to study. I do not like that she should lose three months without study.

Jamnalalji has fallen ill. I have sent Das. He was under Das's treatment. He has difficulty in passing urine.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

427. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 12, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

About the guests, what you say is correct.

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

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

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

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

Show this to Chimanlal¹ and also your letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

428. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 13, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your plan of disbandment reads well but means little. The cowshed is separate but Balvantsinha is not. The dairy is separate but Parnerkar² is not. The thing is that the world is inseparable from me. There are more Bhansalis than one. They all do not behave so handsomely as he³ does. But there they are. You have not gone deeper into the thing. It is not the kitchen that is worrying me. The growth has been spontaneous and the destruction or the reshaping will have to be likewise. I can only help the process. Everywhere I have been overwhelmed. The Rajkot home gave place to the Bombay home. That to the Natal Home, the latter again to Bombay, then two in Johannesburg, then Phoenix, Tolstoy Farm, back to Phoenix, then Kochrab, Sabarmati, Maganwadi and Sevagram. I have omitted the intermediate shifts. All came in their due course. Heaven only knows

¹ Chimanlal Shah, Manager, Sevagram Ashram

² Y. M. Parnerkar, a dairy expert at Sevagram Ashram

³ J. P. Bhansali

where I am to be flung again. No, my safety lies in praying and waiting. "Lead Thou me on."

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

Mahadev returns tomorrow.

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

Love.

BAPU

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

429. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,
May 13, 1941

MY DEAR 'SLAVE',

'Handsome is that handsome does'. J. H. has gone by the appearance of the exterior. The imposing case was nonsense. Remove the nonsense and the bare *dhanush takli* is the cheapest and the most efficient thing going. It is cheaper than the original *takli*. It cannot easily go out of order and is so incredibly simple that the spinner can adjust it, not so the vertical wheel or the horizontal. I touch no other. After having said this, let me admit that the solid charkha has its special merits. But putting all things together, the *dhanush takli* I consider the best.¹ You will pass on this to J.H.

These riots are a wicked thing.² Evidently we have to go through the purgatory.

How is the old dame? And how are you?

Love.

SLAVE-DRIVER

SHRI PADMAJA NAIDU
ZAHEER MANZIL
RED HILLS
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

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

¹ *Vide* also "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 17-6-1941

² There had been communal riots in Dacca, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Bihar.

430. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,

May 13, 1941

CHI. LILA,

You were supposed to write to me daily. Would it be futile to hope for this from you?

Among the fruit you have sent, the apples are no good. Half of them are rotten. Who bought them? Surely Janakibehn would not have had them sent if they were not good?

Termites had invaded your clock. A. S. has removed the termites and put the clock in your suitcase after cleaning. Did you leave your suitcase open?

What about tea?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

431. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 13, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Enclosed is a letter from Balkrishna. It deserves to be given thought. If you have something to suggest, do so.

It seems Tari's affair is not fully settled.

Everything is all right here.

There is no news from you today. I do not remember to have received your letters on two consecutive days. It is futile to ask you about your examination. Let us see when it is held.

Mahadev will come tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

432. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

May 13, 1941

CHI. KISHORELAL,

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

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

433. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

May 13, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Satyagraha Brotherhood

434. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 13, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

435. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 14, 1941

CHI. LILA,

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

Tell Lakshmi that I got her letter.

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

436. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 14, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

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

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

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

437. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. It is all right. Let Devdas bring Ba when he comes. About the same time you will be having your examination. You will come as soon as the examination is over.

Durgabehn is fine. What should I say about myself?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

*438. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, BENGAL PROVINCIAL
CONGRESS COMMITTEE*

[Before *May 15, 1941*]¹

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

Really speaking, it is not unfortunate; for, we expected such arrests². They test our strength and solidarity.

The Hindu, 16-5-1941

439. LETTER TO SARANGADHAR DAS

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

[Before *May 15, 1941*]³

DEAR SARANGADHAR DAS ,

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

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

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

I know there is trouble outside. Rajen Babu cannot leave Bihar for the present. As I have already told Padhiary⁴ we have all to learn the art of solving our own difficulties. . . .⁵

BAPU⁶

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

¹ The letter was reported under the date-line ‘‘Calcutta, May 15’’.

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

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

⁴ Pran Krishna Padhiary, President, Orissa Provincial Congress Committee

⁵ Omission as in the source

⁶ The source has ‘‘Bapuji’’.

440. "KHADI JAGAT"¹

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

The wheel is the centre of this activity because it alone can give employment and living to the millions of women. The wheel includes the *takli*. It is not to be taken merely as the widow's mainstay. It has been conceived as a symbol of India's economic uplift,

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

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

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

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

appropriated is so much taken out of the mouths of the poor. It will be well if it can also awaken the guilty person to a sense of his duty. It will comfort Shri Shankerlal Banker who in his simplicity had put too much trust in this man.

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

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

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

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, May 15, 1941

[From Hindi]

Khadi Jagat, 25-7-1941

441. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You have given very good news. Here also everything is fine. But Balkrishna's health is not good.

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

442. DISCUSSION WITH D. K. GOSAVI¹

May 15, 1941

Q. Very few names from the third list of satyagrahis from Maharashtra (193 out of 1,072) are approved and permitted to offer satyagraha. This permissionbusiness seems to be unduly delayed, and the satyagrahis are thus put to much inconvenience.

A. I propose to introduce a change in the technique about the passing of these lists of satyagrahis.² From the date on which the name of a prospective satyagrahi is forwarded to me for sanction by the Provincial Congress Committee the satyagrahi concerned has to stop his private activities and has to devote himself wholly to the working out of one or more of the items of the thirteenfold constructive programme, which expression is to be understood in the widest sense as explained in my article³ headed "Implications of Constructive

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

² For instructions issued by J. B. Kripalani "for the guidance of satyagrahis and Congress Committees in consultation with Gandhiji", *vide* "Instruction to Satyagrahis", 17-6-1941

³ *Vide* "Implications of Constructive Programme"

Programme” in the issue of *Harijan* dated 18th of August 1940.

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

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

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

Don't you feel that you are unfair to the prospective satyagrahis in prescribing such a severe preliminary test to them only, while you allowed their predecessors in on a comparatively simpler test?¹

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

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

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

How long will this process go on?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Congress being largely suspended as an organization, what should be our policy this year as regards the annual enrolment of membership?²

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

² This and the following three paragraphs are reproduced from *Congress Bulletin*.

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

Do you desire the starting of peace-brigades?

Certainly I do. Some time ago (*vide Harijan* 18th June, 1938) I made certain concrete suggestions¹ in that respect. I know very few will be found, at least in the beginning, to enlist in such an organization. A beginning may however be made by any small number or even singly. Such an organization cannot be conducted on the lines of democracy. It can only be a body of persons with a definite purpose. If the pioneers are the right sort of people they may gather followers in due course.

What should be our attitude towards elections to local bodies?

As a rule, elections to such bodies should not be run in the name of the Congress. There may be no objection to Congressmen fighting the same on their individual responsibility. But this is a question which can be authoritatively decided only by Rajendra Babu and Acharya Kripalani².

Can enrolled satyagrahis fight such elections individually?

No. I am quite clear on this point.

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

They have either to withdraw from the election or from the satyagraha pledge³; they cannot retain both.

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

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

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

¹ *Vide* "Qualifications of a peace Brigade". 18-6-1938

² General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee

³ *Vide* "Satyagraha Pledge"

443. LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA SENGUPTA

May 16, 1941

DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

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

Love.

BAPU

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

444. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

May 16, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

I have your letter¹. You do not even read my letters fully. I have told² you that you are free to do what you like so long as you do not act as my agent or in my name or under my instructions. I have no confidence in your judgment. But if you have and if people want you, you would be wrong not to go.³ I have also told you that I shall be no longer responsible for your expenses. It is no use your returning to Sevagram. If no public body will have you or pay for your keep, you should quietly settle down and earn your livelihood and reconstruct your broken home. Please read this carefully and act according to your own judgment.

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

Yours,

BAPU

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

¹ Dated May 13

² *Vide* "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 3-5-1941, "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 4-5-1941, "Letter to Amritlal Chatterjee", 8-5-1941 and "Letter to Amritlal Chatterjee", 10-5-1941

³ According to the addressee, he had returned to Calcutta from Dacca "under protest, in obedience to Gandhiji's direction".

445. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 16, 1941

CHI. LILA,

You never write after careful thinking. I have taken care to write to you nearly every day, and still you ask how you can hope for letters from me! And what a funny spelling you have adopted for your name? Are you Leila¹? The word is pronounced 'Laila'. Do you know who Laila² was? But you are 'Lila'³. What a difference between the two. In writing and in speaking, in general bearing and in thinking, in every detail of one's behaviour some propriety must be observed. I have told you to write or speak every sentence after due thought. But to whom may I complain about all this? You are deliberately blotting out your virtues. Be warned. Mahadevbhai has forwarded your application.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

446. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 16, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The examination has come at last. You are sure to pass. I expect you to arrive on the 3rd.

Yes, it is true. Ba will certainly be uneasy in your absence. You should therefore send her early if you can. You may do what you want.

Balkrishna is running temperature. Tari is worried. You have rightly written that Tari will have to decide her own diet. But it is difficult. If it could be done what would be the need for persons like you? It is quite possible that you may have to go to Panchgani for a

¹ The name is in English.

² Heroine of a Persian romance

³ The name is in English.

day or two. I do wish that both of them would recover by that time, because till June the weather is cold.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

447. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 17, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

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

Yours,

BAPU

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

448. LETTER TO ANNADA SHANKAR CHOWDHARY

SEVAGRAM,

May 17, 1941

MY DEAR ANNADA,

I have not written to you as I promised. As a matter of fact I discovered that I did not want to say anything beyond what I said in my letter to Guha² and what he has published. It is not enough that we give relief. That work many can do and are doing, But who can give courage to those who are frightened and who can avoid hatred in spite of things happening which must generate hatred? Surely that is

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

² Arun Chandra Guha; *vide* “Letter to Arun Chandra Guha”, 23-4-1941

primarily Congressmen's work. I hope you are applying your mind to that problem.

Now about Amrit Babu¹. He has been riding the high horse. I never asked him to act as my agent or in any way to represent me.² Since his daughters had to be sent away to Bengal and since I had no particular use for him I asked him to return to Bengal and advised him if he wished to go to Dacca and immolate himself as a silent worker without fuss and without in any way using my name. Instead he has appeared in the limelight as a star of the first magnitude. It has pained me much. If I can, I want to avoid having to repudiate him publicly. Please talk to him if you think it worth while and wean him from his vanity and falsity. In any case warn those who should be warned. Do you know anything of his work in Dacca?

Yours,

BAPU

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

449. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letter of the 11th arrived today. How is that? Mahadevbhai went and met Pyarelal today. He is all right, but he is almost observing silence. The gland in the neck is of course visible. He does not write any letters at all. I shall send your letters today. You must now be preparing for your Lahore visit. Everything is fine here. I shall wait for you on the 3rd.

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 Amrita Lal Chatterjee

² *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Lal Chatterjee", 4-5-1941 and "Letter to Amrit Lal Chatterjee", 10-5-1941

450. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 17, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

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

Is it all right now?

Blessings from

BAPU

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

451. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SEVAGRAM,

May 18, 1941

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

Better late than never.

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

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

452. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

May 18, 1941

CHI. VALJI,

I got your letter.

Durgabehn's health is improving.

When you come here I shall be prepared to hear whatever you have to say about Gopalan. By patience I did not mean waiting for

years and months. I only meant that after you had all the facts of the case and were ready, you might come, accompanied by the witnesses. Asking me questions, piecemeal, will not help. For my part I will not delay. I will be ready to give two hours daily to the matter till it is finished.

Blessings from

BAPU

PS.

I had Mahendra's¹ letter.

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

453. *LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR*

May 18, 1941

BAPA,

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

Jainarayan came and saw me. I accepted Vaze's suggestion and so I told him to go to you and do nothing else. I have already communicated my view to you, namely, that the Standing Committee stands suspended and during the struggle the Emergency Committee should function. I certainly should not like the whole organization to remain under Amritlal Sheth's² control. I do not even like that the paper should run with his money. Jainarayan thinks that the Emergency Committee was a private body. There was no report about it in the papers nor is it likely to do any work. It is the Standing Committee which must have the sole authority. I had asked Jamnalalji. He says that the Emergency Committee was formed with the consent of Jainarayanji and others, and, therefore, the Standing Committee remains suspended at present. It was Balwantrai, and not J., who was keen on the States' People's [Conference]. Jawaharlal has conveyed to Menon that he should abide by my advice. That is why I have taken interest in the matter. My opinion is as above. If you also agree with it there will be no need for you to come. If you differ, however, then it is desirable that you should come here. I think there will be no difficulty if the States' People's [Conference] is run independently. I

¹ Addressee's eldest son

² Owner of the *Janmabhoomi* group of papers

think we should meet and decide about that. I leave everything to you. I would certainly like your coming here. If you feel that anybody else should be present, you may arrange accordingly. Do you find it difficult to decipher my handwriting? I ask the question this time because I have had to write a rather long letter.

BAPU

[PS.]

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

BAPU

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

454. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 18, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I have written to Jayaprakash. You can certainly write to Jamnalalji He does get letters. He is better now. Durgabehn is all right. So also is Ba. Perhaps she will return on the 25th. Sushila is going to Lahore on the 20th. Her examination commences on the 26th and will go on for six days. I take it that she will pass. Mridula and Gulzarilal¹ are here just now.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

455. LETTER TO GULAB CHAND JAIN

May 18, 1941

BHAI GULAB CHAND,

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

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

¹ Gulzarilal Nanda

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

456. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

May 19, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. VAIDYA

SHRIPAT BHUVAN

SANTACRUZ

BOMBAY 7

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

¹ Cleanliness

² "Full of admiration", literally, "infatuated", also "naive"

457. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

May 19, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I got your letter today. I hope you will get this in the jail itself. I sent one letter¹ to Dahyabhai to be passed on to you. I was happy to learn that you had been taking care of your health.

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

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

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

458. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

May 19, 1941

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

Munnalal says that things are no better even after you have asked for pardon. You reprimanded Vithoba² by saying that even though he had betrayed a trust, you were asking for pardon. If this is correct, the plea for pardon is meaningless. The complaint of betraying a trust is very serious. I do not see betrayal of trust. You may call it lack of courage. This should be set right.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen, pp. 286-7

¹ Vide "Letter to Manibehn Patel", 10-5-1941

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

459. LETTER TO SHAKUNTALA

May 19, 1941

CHI. SHAKUNTALA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

460. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 20, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

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

You need not return anything you have taken away.¹

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

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

Yours,

BAPU

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

461. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You are right. I really do not get any time at all these days. Mridulabehn and have Gulzarilal come, and so I have to devote most of my time to them.

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Lal Chatterjee", 17-5-1941

I go on thinking about your examination. When will you know the result?

I shall send the letter to Pyarelal.

I am fine.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

462. LETTER TO BHOGILAL LALA¹

[On or before *May 21, 1941*]²

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

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

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

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

² *ibid*

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Congress will not claim compensation for losses sustained during the riots. That is not its concern. The people had to sustain losses as they lacked the capacity to defend themselves; and so they

must bear them. I go so far as to believe that Government could not, even if they would, secure adequate compensation to those who have sustained losses.

I think it is terrible to think of protecting ourselves with the help of the Bhaiyya, the Sikh or the Thakurda. To engage an ordinary *durwan* or gate-keeper is a different proposition. There should be no young man among the mercantile middle-class community who hasnot gone through training for self-defence, violent or non-violent. Engaging these foreign elements for defence, far from putting an end to *goondashahi* will put a premium on it.

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

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

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

The Hindu, 25-5-1941

463. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

May 21, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have sent Mahadev today to Ahmedabad. There is much fear there. Most probably Mahadev will reach Simla. If you can stay here till the 27th, he will meet you here itself. Otherwise you will meet direct in Simla. Most probably I will have all of you here in Sevagram

on the 24th. But I shall see. Ba must be fine. Tell Lilavatibehn that I have her postcard. I got Ramdas's letter also. All will meet here on the 24th. Durgabehn has gone to Bombay to undergo clinical examination.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

464. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 21, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

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

Ask Kanchan to write to me sometimes.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

465. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

May 21, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

466. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You will certainly pass. And if there is only one candidate who passes, you will be the first as well as the last.

I do not recollect that I wrote in Hindi nor why. It is the speed at

which I have to dispose of the work these days.

Mahadevbhai, Mridulabehn and Gulzarilal have gone to Ahmedabad today. There is still the danger of riots in Ahmedabad. Durgabehn has gone to Bombay for medical observation. Nathubhai¹ insisted. Hence the house is quite empty.

Devdas and his big crowd will be arriving on the 24th night.

I shall of course await your arrival on the 3rd, but if you have to go out to help, do go. Let us see what happens. Inform me if there is to be any delay. You will of course go to Bombay for the sake of Prakash if it is necessary. We shall think about it when you come here. We shall see about Panchgani also then.

You must write to me regularly. I shall be worrying about your examination.

Otherwise everything is fine here.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

467. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

[On or before *May 22, 1941*]²

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

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

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

The Congress has no other value and no other influence. Whilst it is true that moral values are the first victims in war, in the end they will emerge triumphant if there is any body of people ready to represent them. And I have every hope that the Congress is at least

¹ Dr. Nathubhai D. Patel

² The interview was reported under the date-line: "Nagpur, May 22".

one such body to represent moral values. If I am asked for proof, I can't give it. Time alone will show.

When I drew Gandhiji's attention to the remark¹ he made in the course of his statement on communal riots that mischief-makers and their victims who failed to stand up to them were all untouched by Congress and yet these are the men who form the bulk of Congress meetings, Gandhiji replied:

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

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

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

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

The Hindu, 23-5-1941

468. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
May 22, 1941

DEAR BHARATAN²,

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

¹ *Vide* "Communal Riots"

² Brother of J. C. Kumarappa

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

Love

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10154

469. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 22, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter.

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

As you say if something drastic has to happen, it will do so even on some pretext appearing altogether flimsy.¹

You should pick up good *bhajans* from Purushottam². You know that he is almost as good as the late Panditji³. It would be good if Narandas goes to meet you.

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

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

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

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

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

Love.

BAPU

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

¹ The addressee explains: "We were still corresponding on the subject of the Sevagram Ashram and what could be done about it."

² Purushottamdas Gandhi

³ Narayan Moreshwar Khare

470. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

May 22, 1941

CHI. MITHUBEHN,

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

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

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

471. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 22, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

How is it there is no letter from you at all? I am enclosing letters from home. You must write to them. You must also write to me. Without that how would your going to jail do you credit? Should you not maintain all proprieties of conduct, all courtesies?

I keep getting news about your health. But it is one thing your giving the news yourself and quite another thing my getting it. Now write to me in detail.

Sushila is having her examination from the 26th. It will conclude on the 31st. I have given her full encouragement to appear for the examination. There are strong reasons for it. By the grace of God she will pass.

Ba, Devdas, Lakshmi, etc., will be arriving on the 24th. Lakshmi will be going to Madras. Ramdas will also be coming. Mahadev has gone to Ahmedabad today with Mridula and Gulzarilal. Durgabelon and Sushila have gone to Bombay for Durgabehn's medical check up. They will be returning in about a week's time.

Amritlal, Veena and Abha have gone to Calcutta. They turned out to be worthless. Surendra has run away. It is not known where he is. He has misappropriated quite a sum. My health is very good. A. S. is the way she always has been. That is how things are. Munnalal had gone to learn the work of the Charkha Sangh. He fell ill and came back.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

This letter could not be sent on the 21st as nobody left that day. You must write to your people and to me. No service is to be had from Jamnalalji.

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

472. LETTER TO SUSHILA NANYAR

May 22, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter.

You do not have to worry about the opposition from your brother. He did not have the background to form an opinion. And then does he also not think that my decision should be taken as final? He told even Mahadev: "What have I got to say when Bapu has made the choice?" Moreover, at the root of his opposition is his love or attachment. He wishes to see you at the top in everything. He would certainly not tolerate that you should fail. I would give no importance to your failing at all. The value of examination lies in giving prestige to a person. But those who fail do not lose their prestige, do they?

There are many reasons for one's failing. Many clever persons are also known to have failed. But I for one cannot believe that you can fail.

Both Durgabehn and Mahadevbhai will have arrived here by the time you come. Munnalal has already come in a sick condition. It is only malaria and he has been given cinchona and quinine. He is better today.

I expect that Ba will be arriving the day after tomorrow. Lilavati writes that she may delay her coming by a couple of days because Ramdas has arrived there.

Do not worry about Ba. I shall continue your treatment here.

I shall be in trouble if Tari and Balkrishna fall sick again. I hope they will be out of danger by the time you come.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

473. LETTER TO DHIRENDRA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 22, 1941

BHAI DHIRENDRA,

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

M. K. GANDHI

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

474. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*¹

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

May 23, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I see that you took nothing from Surendraji. Did the girls take anything? If you would now take to private life, you need not make any public statement. I have sent you Copy of my letter to Annada Babu.²

Love.

BAPU

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

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

475. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

May 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I am sending the letter to Tari. It could have gone today. But I just could not attend to it. That shows how overworked I am! For this reason I am late by a day.

The riots in Bombay and Ahmedabad are causing anxiety. Let us see what God wills. I am keen at the moment that you should finish your examination soon.

There is no time to write more.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹According to the addressee, this was in reply to his letter dated May 20, in which he had “repudiated the allegation of having taken anything through Surendraji as stated by Gandhiji”; *Vide* letters to the addressee, “Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee”, 17-5-1941 and “Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee”, 20-5-1941

² *Vide* also “Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee”, 30-5-1941

476. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

May 23, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

477. SPEECH AT NATIONAL YOUTHS' TRAINING CAMP¹

WARDHA,

May 23, 1941

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

But then I thought to myself that so many boys are coming to

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

Wardha and I wouldn't like it if I am not able to mix freely with them or crack jokes with them. So I myself agreed to come and attend the Camp.

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

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

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

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

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

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, June 1941

478. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 24, 1941

DEAR ANNADA,

I have your letter. My sending Mahadev there¹ would-be of no use. He can do no effective work there. He cannot secure the co-operation of all Congressmen. So far as the reports are concerned I have ample material to judge for myself the extent of the damage done. How to combat the disease is for Congressmen to find. If you can tackle that proposition it will be worth while.

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

479. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Ba has now arrived. She is fine. Devdas, Lakshmi and Ramdas have come too. Today only this much. You will have got over your first day of the examination by the time you receive this.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

SOHANLAL COLLEGE

16 LAKE ROAD

LAHORE (PUNJAB)

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

¹ To Dacca and other riot-affected parts of Bengal

480. LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE

May 25, 1941

DEAR TULPULE,

So far as I know the Poona resolution¹ is dead for ever.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7920

481. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

[May 25, 1941]²

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I got your letter, as also Dhiren's. All of you take care of your health and acquire sound knowledge and get through the examination. Munnalal's fever has come down. Ba, Lakshmibehn, Devdas, Ramdas and the children arrived here yesterday. Lilavati is of course here. Akbarbhai left for Ahmedabad yesterday to be of some help following the riots. Tari's³ and Umia's⁴ keys have been found.

Blessings from

BAPU

ANNAPURNABEHN
KHADI KARYALAYA
MOOL

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

482. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your postcard from Lahore. Can they not prepare for you vegetables without chillies? If that is not possible, you should be satisfied with salad.

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 25-4-1941

² From the postmark

³ Tara Mashruwala

⁴ Urmila, wife of Shankerlal Agrawal

You will have received the postcard I wrote last night saying that Ba had reached here. Ba is still very weak. But there should be no trouble if she is careful. Now that she has come here, she will not keep herself away from work. I shall see that she takes as much care as possible.

When your examination ends, you will have conquered the world. It is extremely hot here. But I have been able to maintain good health. I am also working quite hard.

Devdas will leave the day after tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

483. LETTER TO AGNIHOTRI

SEVAGRAM,

May 25, 1941

BHAI AGNIHOTRI,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

484. LETTER TO ATTA MOHAMMED

SEVAGRAM,
May 26, 1941

DEAR ATTA MOHAMMED,

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

485. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

May 26, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

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

Love.

BAPU

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

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

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

³ *Vide* letter to the addressee, “Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee”, 16-5-1941

486. LETTER TO URMILA M. MEHTA

May 26, 1941

CHI. URMI,

I got your postcard. All of us were hoping that you would all arrive here on the 28th. But of course Kashmir is better than this place. Here it is still very hot this year. Now the nights also are hot. Enjoy the cool air of Kashmir, therefore. Whenever you come, you will find the house ready. I will not put up other people in it. Magan¹ is determined to pass the examination. That is good.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

487. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 26, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Maganlal P. Mehta, addressee's father

488. *LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH*

[May 26, 1941]¹

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I got your postcard after a long time. Do not worry about the loss of a few pounds if otherwise you keep good health. I received money sent by Jugatrambhai. I expect Rami² is with you. The children must be fine. Ba arrived the day before yesterday. She is all right. Devdas, Ramdas and Lakshmi also have come. Lakshmi and the children are going to Madras. Devdas will leave for Simla tomorrow. Ramdas will go to Ahmedabad.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI KUNVARJI KHETSI PAREKH
ZANDU PHARMACY
DADAR, BOMBAY 14

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

489. *LETTER TO RISHABHDAS RANKA*

SEVAGRAM,

May 26, 1941

BHAI RISHABHDAS,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ From the postmark

² Addressee's wife, Harilal Gandhi's daughter

490. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 26, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

491. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 26, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

492. LETTER TO SAVITRI BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 26, 1941

CHI. SAVITRI¹,

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

Here it is terribly hot.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

493. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no news from you today. Ba is also counting days for the end of your examination. Today is the second day.

There is a letter from Balkrishna today. Read it and give your comments if you have any.

Devdas and Mahadev have gone to Simla. Lakshmi has gone to Madras. Ramdas has gone to Ahmedabad.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Wife of Kamalnayan Bajaj

494. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
[May 28, 1941]¹

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You are well out of this sweltering heat.

I was afraid of a bad journey² for you and so it has proved to be. Never, so far as I remember, have you had to send such a wire as today's. Hope you were quite well after settling down in Bombay.

Here are four letters. I am writing to Shivaji³. Metcalfe's⁴ letter is quite good. You may write to Cunningham⁵, if you know him.

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

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

Love.

BAPU

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

495. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 28, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ From the postmark

² The addressee had gone to Bombay to attend a women's meeting.

³ Brother of Vinoba Bhave

⁴ Herbert Aubrey Francis Metcalfe

⁵ George Cunningham, Governor of North-West Frontier Province

496. LETTER TO PRABHULAL

May 28, 1941

BHAI PRABHULAL,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

497. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. You will have received the one I sent yesterday. It is your third day today. You will receive this letter on the 31st morning. That will be your last day. Send a telegram when the examination is over. When will the results be known?

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
SOHANLAL COLLEGE
16 LAKE ROAD
LAHORE (PUNJAB)

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

498. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 29, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

Yours. Strange no letter from you today. I do hope you have no more bad jaw. If it is not good, you must consult Jivraj¹.

¹ Dr. Jivraj Mehta

Mani¹ coming here tomorrow.
Ba is keeping well.
I [am] first class.
Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

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

BAPU

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

499. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

May 29, 1941

MY DEAR MUNSHI,

I have your transparent letter². I don't mind your having written it in English. I would not for a moment tolerate your suppressing your thoughts or simply parroting my views. It would not become either of us.

You have the fullest liberty of thought and expression. If there is an error, there is nothing to prevent us from correcting it. But do remember that non-violent resistance is far superior to violent resistance. And if that is so, how can a votary of non-violence resort to violence? I have already made it absolutely clear that violent resistance becomes the duty of those who have no faith in non-violence.³

But I would ask you not to worry about these things while you are there. Go to Kausani and soothe your eyes with the sight of the Dhavalgiri snows. Do stay there longer, if you must, for the sake of your eyes. There is no hurry at all. This work will be there awaiting you, no matter when you return after full recovery. Do come, on your return to Bombay.⁴

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Manibehn Patel

² *Vide* "Instructions to Satyagrahis", 17-6-1941

³ *Vide* "Letter to Bhogilal Lala", "Letter to Bhogilal Lala", 21-5-1941

⁴ The addressee met Gandhiji on June 12/13; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941.

500.. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

May 29, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

501. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

May 29, 1941

CHI. PURATAN,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

502. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

May 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your two postcards today. I have written to you daily. I shall wait for your letter every day. Ba is well. I am also well.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
LADY HARDINGE MEDICAL COLLEGE
NEW DELHI

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

503. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

May 29, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

If you have understood my letter¹, then the other two [questions] need no reply. The pity is that both [you and Chimanlal] are ready to give up work. What would you give up? Duty or right? Duty cannot be given up and there is no right. You cannot give up what forms a part of duty, what is left is only a burden. This applies to both you and Chimanlal. If Chimanlal does not enjoy the privilege of a manager, then he is free, but what remains as part of duty has got to be done. For example, if Surendra steals, then power has to be exercised to stop him from doing so. But if he insults anyone, the use of power should be shunned. Both of you should read this. Perhaps many things will then get solved by themselves.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

504. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

[May 30, 1941]²

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note.

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

I hope you got my letter of yesterday.

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

Here everything goes well.

Love.

BAPU

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

¹ Vide "Letter to Krishnachandra", 26-5-1941

² From the postmark

505. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

May 30, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

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

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

You may send your draft² of what you will say and I shall see if I can correct it.

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

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

Love.

BAPU

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

¹ *Vide* also letters to the addressee, "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 20-5-1941 and "Letter to Amritlal Chatterjee", 23-5-1941

² The addressee had proposed to make a public statement on the Dacca riot; *vide* letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrita Lal Chatterjee", 23-5-1941

506. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

May 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Just a postcard will have to do for now. I have nothing to say except that you should pass. There is no letter from you today.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR

L. H. M. COLLEGE

NEW DELHI

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

507. *LETTER TO VINA CHATTERJEE AND
ABHA CHATTERJEE*

May 30, 1941

CHI. VINA AND ABHA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

508. *LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

May 30, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have read your letter. The difficulty is there. The test of your intelligence would be in getting things done with whatever means you have. The work should be so divided that it can be taken from casual

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

workers not recruited for it. In wars this is done. Everyone gets such training that he can do any work with ease. I do not find anything wrong in it. If necessary, talk it over with me.

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

509. LETTER TO LAKSHMI SATYAMURTI

May 31, 1941

MY DEAR LAKSHMI¹,

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

Love.

BAPU

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

510. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES²

May 31, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

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

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

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

¹ Daughter of S. Satyamurti

² F. Mary Barr explains: "In May, Kamala wrote to say that she was having some skin trouble, and also to ask Gandhi's advice as to whether she should visit people whose addresses had been given to her by friends, but with whom she had had no previous contact. After one such visit she had doubted its value. Gandhi replied through one of his secretaries." *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Margaret Jones", 3-5-1941

³ Omission as in the source

511. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

May 31, 1941

DEAR KAMALA,

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

Love.

BAPU

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

512. LETTER TO CHANDEL

May 31, 1941

BHAI CHANDEL,

You have done well to tell me the news of Kamala's accident¹. I am glad to know that your work is progressing. . . .²

Bapu Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 195

513. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEVAGRAM,

May 31, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

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

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

¹ *Vide* also the preceding item.

² Omission as in the source.

you can, through judicious intervention, get things improved. Mani says what Hansabehn¹ has written is not enough.

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 248

514. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 31, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

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

Mahadev will be reaching Delhi.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Hansa J. Mehta

515. LETTER TO ABRAHAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[May/June 1941]¹

DEAR DR. ABRAHAM,

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

516. LETTER TO D. K. GOSAVI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 1, 1941

DEAR GOSAVI,

Our talk² was not for publication. Something has already appeared. It should not have. I do not understand Marathi well. But as far as I understand your notes, they faithfully interpret my answers. It would be however better for me to put forth the whole thing in a form fit for publication.

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

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

² *Vide* "Discussion with D. K. Gosavi", 15-5-1941

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

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

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

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

M. K. G.

From a photostat: G.N. 9232

517. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 1, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

518. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

June 1, 1941

BHAI VEPARI,

When is the inspection of *Harijan* accounts likely to be

finished? If your health permits, I should like you to finish it as soon as possible.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

June 2, 1941

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

BAPU

NATVARLAL J. VEPARI
361 HORNBY ROAD
BOMBAY 1

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

519. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

June 2, 1941

MY DEAR KAMALA,

Having heard about your accident I wrote to you¹ at your hospital, but I see you are at your old place. Yes, come when you like and you will stay as long as you can. You will have all the help you may need.

Love.

BAPU

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

520. LETTER TO MAHENDRA PATEL

June 2, 1941

BHAI,

I have your letter. I hope the 4th will pass off peacefully. The duty on your part and on the part of persons like you is clear. You

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Margaret Jones", 31-5-1941

have to persuade both sides to restrain themselves even at the risk to your life. Then alone shall we be on the right lines. One thing is clear. No one must be a coward.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Keep me fully informed.

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

521. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 3, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

Keep an account as far as you can of the fruit sent by Janaki-behn.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

522. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

June 4, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

The letter has had no effect on me because I did not find anything new in it. If I had written anything about that, I would have given them another chance to tell lies, and it would have been of no use. The principle is that except for doing our own duty we should not bother about anything else. But my unwillingness had nothing to do with the principle.

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

would do no good to the country. From today there is a change in the weather. A cool breeze has started.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

523. LETTER TO FAREED ANSARI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.,

June 4, 1941

MY DEAR FAREED,

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

The fact is he² was a selfless friend and guide to so many. Such was his goodness. May his spirit sustain us and enable us to so conduct ourselves as to prove worthy of him.

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

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

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

Is Shaukat³ still in the same place? Please send me his address when you next write to me. Both he and Zohra have been naughty. For they have never written to me. I hope S. has been doing well.

¹ Apparently some portion is missing here.

² M. A. Ansari

³ Shaukat Ansari, Zohra's husband

Dr. Gopichand¹ is likely to come here soon.

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

My love to you all.

BAPU
(M. K. GANDHI)

[PS.]

June 5, 1941

This letter was written last night, and Brijkishen's sorrowful message came in this morning. I have sent you a wire² which I hope you have received. Such is life. No life without death. We have to obey the law that admits of no exception. May God give you complete peace and strength.³

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 10373

524. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 5, 1941

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

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

¹ Gopichand Bhargava

² The wire is not available.

³ The postscript is from a photostat of the original in Brijkrishna Chandiwalla Papers.

⁴ *Vide* "Communal Riots", 4-5-1941 and "Statement to the Press", 7-5-1941

At first I had thought of writing simultaneously to Zakir¹ and Khwaja. But as I began to write, I thought to myself I would first confine myself to you.

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

Love.

BAPU

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

525. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

June 5, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Zakir Husain

526. ANSWER TO “THE HINDU” CORRESPONDENT¹

June 7, 1941

After Tagore’s reply², should I say anything? Nothing.

The Hindu, 9-6-1941

527. LETTER TO D. K. GOSAVI

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

June 8, 1941

DEAR GOSAVI,

I have your clear and unequivocal letter. It was not a question of suspicion. But as you had not made your position clear in your letter or during our talks³, I was bound to find out where you yourself stood. I well remember your being with Prof. Limaye and others. I do not need to refer to the friends you mention for confirmation of your assurance which I accept at its face value.

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

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 9233

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

² Dated June 4, 1941; *vide* “Rabindranath Tagore’s Reply to Eleanor Rathbone”, 4-6-1941

³ On May 15; *vide* “Discussion with D. K. Gosavi”, 15-5-1941

528. LETTER TO KANWARLAL SHARMA

SEVAGRAM,
June 8, 1941

DEAR KANWARLAL,

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

529. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
June 9, 1941

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

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

a confession, if it is frank and wholehearted, may also serve as an example and possibly prevent a recurrence of such savagery.

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

530. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

June 9, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10120

531. LETTER TO YUDHVIR SINGH

June 9, 1941

BHAI YUDHVIR,

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

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

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

532. NOTE TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 9, 1941

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

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

533. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 10, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

534. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

June 12, 1941

MY DEAR AMALA,

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

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

Love.

BAPU

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

535. LETTER TO DR. ABRAHAM PAUL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, (C. P.),

June 13, 1941

DEAR DR. PAUL,

Your letter to Gandhiji has come today. He desires me to write and ask you what in your own mind you regard as a 'modest' salary.

Yours sincerely,

AMRIT KAUR

From a photostat. C. W. 10979. Courtesy: Dr. Abraham Paul

536. LETTER TO WALCHAND HIRACHAND

June 13, 1941

BHAI WALCHAND¹,

I am in receipt of your letter. As Rajendra Babu² is going [to Vishakhapatnam] there should be no necessity of a message from me. In view, however, of my old association with the late Sheth Narottam³, I can quite understand that you would expect my blessings on this occasion. May your enterprise succeed and may it benefit the whole country.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

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

¹ Chairman, Board of Directors, Scindia Steam Navigation Company

² Who was to lay the foundation-stone for the first India-owned shipbuilding yard on June 21, 1941

³ Narottam Morarjee, father of Shantikumar Morarjee

537. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

June 14, 1941

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I have your descriptive letter. I can well understand your and Mother's grief.¹ Have I not personally known what a domestic man Father was? His love for you all was boundless. His love of the country was a later growth. But it never diminished the family affection. Do I not remember how for your sake he came to Wardha²? It showed to me too that although our politics differed, the personal bond between us never snapped.

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

Do come when you can.

Love.

BAPU

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

538. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL V. SHAH

SEVAGRAM,

June 14, 1941

BHAI CHIMANLAL,

Received your letter. Do defend yourself by all legal means.³ Don't submit. Let them fine you if they choose. Undergo imprisonment if they offer it. Let the press be closed down if there is no one to run it after you go. Or let the magazine⁴ run only as a newspaper. If that too is not possible, then let things take their own

¹ The addressee's father, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, had passed away on May 19.

² In 1934

³ The addressee was sentenced to six months' imprisonment or to pay a fine of Rs. 2000.

⁴ *Bharat Samachar* which was asked to stop publication

course. I will only insist that you should not do anything under pressure. But since Munshiji is there, there is no need to consult me. Be guided by his advice.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

539. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,

June 15, 1941

Shri K. M. Munshi wrote to me the enclosed¹ from Nainital to which I sent a reply² in Gujarati of which the original and translation are herewith enclosed. In pursuance of the correspondence, Shri K. M. Munshi came to me³ as soon as it was possible after his return to Bombay. In the course of the discussion, I discovered that whilst he accepted in the abstract the principle of ahimsa with all its implications, he felt the greatest difficulty in acting upon it, the more so as with his intimate knowledge of Bombay he was sure that he could not carry the Hindus with him, much less the Muslims. He knew that the numerous Hindus who were under his influence would look to him for guidance and would seek his advice. He saw no way of convincing them that they could defend themselves through ahimsa. As a political weapon and therefore of immediate use in the midst of the riots which looked more like a miniature civil war, he could not make any effective use of ahimsa. With him the question was not one of interpretation of Congress resolutions but of being truthful to himself and to the country. In view, therefore, of the following resolution⁴ by the A.I.C.C. explaining the Wardha statement, I advised that the only dignified and brave course for him was to resign from the Congress and attain freedom of action unhampered by restrictions entailed by the Congress non-violence.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to K. M. Munshi", 26-5-1941

² *Vide* "Letter to K. M. Munshi", 29-5-1941

³ On June 12, 1941; *vide* "Discussion with K. M. Munshi and Others", 12-6-1941

⁴ Passed at Poona on July 28, 1940.

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

I told him that there came a time in every Congressman's life when being a Congressman dragged him down; that was when there was conflict between thought and action. For the spring of non-violent action was non-violent thought. If the latter was absent, the former had subjectively little or no value. Therefore it was good for him, the Congress and the country that he should resign and mould his action from moment to moment as he thought proper. And by his action he would open the door for those Congressmen to resign whose practice could not accord with their thought. The Congress was conceived to be a non-violent and truthful organization in which there should be no place for those who could not honestly conform to these two conditions. Strange as it might appear, the practice of non-violence seemed more difficult than of truth. For the fruits of untruth were more indetectable than those of violence.

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

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

¹ For K. M. Munshi's statement, *vide* "K. M. Munshi's Statement"

540. *REPLY TO BRITISH WOMEN'S APPEAL*¹

SEVAGRAM,
June 15, 1941

DEAR SISTERS,

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

It is scarcely necessary to tell you that we appreciate the sincerity of your appeal. But we are amazed at the ignorance betrayed in it of the realities. Indeed your Prime Minister² by contrast shows a grasp of realities which is refreshing, however painful it may be. He has no misgivings about the status that India occupies in the British mind. It is a dependency which can and is being utilized at the British will. He knows that he does not need the consent or co-operation of India's thinking sons and daughters in anything that Britain wants for fighting her war. He takes care to pay tribute to the valour of the Indian soldiers who are part of the army of occupation in India. These soldiers you should know are wholly unconnected with the national life and activities. They may not freely see any nationalist without incurring heavy penalties, nor has your Prime Minister any difficulty in raising either by taxation or so-called voluntary contributions the money he wants. We cannot complain of this helplessness but we must not be blind to the facts. How can there be the association, in such a situation, of the India that is impatient of the foreign yoke with the forcible aid we have adverted to?

The fact is that you are wholly wrong in your estimate of things. We are surprised at your quoting the untruth contained in President Roosevelt's pronouncement. You quote: "Today the whole world is

¹ Drafted by Gandhiji, this was signed by Sarojini Naidu, Rameshwari Nehru, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Amrit Kaur, Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Ammu Swaminathan and Radha Subbaroyan on behalf of the All-India Women's Conference and sent on June 21, 1941.

² Winston Churchill

divided between human slavery and human freedom.”¹ The fact is that there is no such thing as human freedom for Asiatic races, certainly not for India, nor is there for the virile Africans. The result, whatever it may be, of the war will not alter their condition for the better, save through their own efforts. As we see the reality, it is this. It is a war between the British Empire and Nazis and Fascists for world domination, meaning in effect exploitation of the non-European races.

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

Now perhaps you will understand why we as women are against all war. Women’s part is just now to stand up for truth and non-violence as against the untruth and violence which surround us. We admire the self-sacrifice of the British women of which you write with just pride. Here we wish you could have taken a braver and prouder part by telling your men to wash their hands clean of human blood. You might not have succeeded all at once. But you would have led the way to the establishment of permanent peace. We take leave to doubt the wisdom of women aping men in the black art of human slaughter on a scale hitherto unknown.

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

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

From a photostat: C.W. 10360

541. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 16, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

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

¹ The quotation is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 23-6-1941.

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

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

This covers everything.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

542. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

June 16, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

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

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

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

543. LETTER TO GANESHDUTT SINGH

June 16, 1941

BHAI GANESHDUTT SINGHI,

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

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

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

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

544. LETTER TO VIDYAVATI

June 16, 1941

CHI. VIDYA,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

545. LETTER TO JIVKRISHNA SHARMA

June 18, 1941

BHAI JIVKRISHNA SHARMA,

Your intention to hold an exhibition of the products of khadi and village industries and to give away the total profit to the Kamala

Nehru Hospital¹ is indeed praiseworthy. I wish you success in the effort.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

546. LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 19, 1941

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

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

Though there is no connection between what I did during the last war and what we are doing now, I quite agree with you that those who offer their services now need have no fear of any vindictive action by any Congress government.²

Please tell Lakshmi that I am quite well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 10202

547. LETTER TO S. RANGANAYAKI ³

June 19, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

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

Ambujam has given me her costly jewels which you have permitted her to donate in the sacred memory of the deceased patriot.

¹ At Allahabad

² The addressee had asked Gandhiji to encourage medical recruitment on humanitarian grounds.

³ S. Srinivasa Iyengar's widow

I have decided to devote the proceeds to founding Harijan scholarships.

Love.

BAPU

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

548. LETTER TO VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

June 19, 1941

BHAI VALLABHRAM,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI VALLABHRAM VAIDYA

SHANTISADAN

MOUNT ABU

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

549. TELEGRAM TO OBEIDULLAH

WARDHA,

June 21, 1941

OBEIDULLAH²

CONGRESS OFFICE

TRICHI

EXEMPTION VENKATACHALAM³ GRANTED.

GANDHI

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

¹ Penance

² President, Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee

³ A released satyagrahi who was seeking election to Presidentship of the Trichinopoly District Board

*550. DRAFT LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE,
WARDHA¹*

June 21, 1941

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of 16th instant, I have to state that my sons are no longer members of a joint family. Each has his own means. But since there are funds with me belonging to my son Ramakrishna², I send you herewith notes for Rs. 300 being the total fine inflicted on him.

From a photostat: G.N. 3064

551. NOTE TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ³

[June 21, 1941]⁴

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

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

552. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL V. SHAH

June 21, 1941

BHAI CHIMANLAL,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ On behalf of Jamnalal Bajaj; *vide* also the following item.

² Who had offered satyagraha on April 15, 1941, at Wardha

³ Gandhiji wrote this on the margin of the English letter drafted for Jamnalal Bajaj; *vide* the preceding item.

⁴ *ibid*

553. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM,
June 21, 1941

BHAI HARIBHAU,

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

554. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALAJA

[On or after *June 21, 1941*]²

CHI. BALI³,

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

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

Blessings from

BAPU

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

555. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Monday, June 23, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I have read the enclosed. It is a good collection⁴. All these verses

¹ The letter is not available.

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

³ Sister of Harilal Gandhi's wife

⁴ Of hymns from the Rigveda

have more meanings assigned to them than what you have found. But for us the literal meaning is enough.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6481. Courtesy: Mirabeau. Also G.N. 9876

556. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,

June 23, 1941

DEAR LOTUS-BORN,

Here is work for you and for which you are eminently fitted.

It is reported in the Press that in Tandur 30 miles from Wadi, 3,000 pilgrims suddenly took ill after drinking water from a certain well about the beginning of the month. They had drunk from this well before with impunity. It is suggested that the well was deliberately poisoned by somebody. Whatever the cause, have the authorities remained indifferent over the tragedy? Or is it all a hoax?

Hope you and the whole family are well.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI PADMAJA NAIDU

RED HILLS

HYDERABAD

DECCAN

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

557. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

June 23, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter. I don't think Ba is likely to go there at present. She is all right. We will manage to get mangoes from somewhere. I was glad to learn that Ranjit had recovered. Would it not have been a discredit to you if he hadn't? So in the end you also had to seek mother goat's help. But Kalyanji is a farmer, and he must drown

himself for being unable to keep a fine cow and to have her breed calves even if he has to undergo some hardships. Pragji should share the same fate.

Blessings from
BAPU

MITHUBEHN PETIT
MAROLI, *via* NAVASARI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2717

558. *LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI*

June 23, 1941

CHI. MAHAVIR,

How is it your fever still does not leave you? Are you sufficiently careful about your diet? Such fever cannot be the result of simple fatigue. Whatever the cause, get rid of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6243

559. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

SEVAGRAM,
June 23, 1941

CHI. LILI,

You will have reached safely. Concentrate fully on your studies. I do miss you. Had I permitted M., he would have come at 8.15 and wasted valuable time.

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

560. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[After June 23, 1941]¹

CHI. MIRA,

Your troubles are many. You have chosen the path.² I am trying to send Munnalal and possibly Ozaji with him. The use of the well is the most serious matter. Let us see what happens. Yes, Asha³ is a good friend.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Here is what [I] have finished of the selections.

From the original: C.W. 6482. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9877

561. TELEGRAM TO ISHWARLAL G. VYAS

WARDHAGANJ,
June 25, 1941

ISHWARLAL
ASHRAM
BHADRAK

CONSIDER JIVRAMBHAI'S⁴ DEATH BLESSING. NATHIBEHN⁵
SHOULD REJOICE HIS FREEDOM FROM PAIN. REPORT FULLY.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5060

¹ The addressee places the letter between those dated June 23 and July 1.

² Mirabehn explains: "I had returned from Chorwad and was living in a cottage by a well in a newly-planted *bagicha* about half a mile from Sevagram."

³ Ashadevi Aryanayakum. The addressee had gone to stay with her in order to revise with her assistance the English rendering of her selections from Vedic hymns.

⁴ Jivram Kothari; *vide* also "Bhakta Jivram"

⁵ Wife of Jivram Kothari

562. *LETTER TO D. P. KARMARKAR*

June 25, 1941

DEAR KARMARKAR¹,

As I know so little of municipal affairs they are all referred to Rajendra Babu and Acharya Kripalani. Both are just now away. Either follow the existing rule or write to Rajendra Babu at Patna.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: A.I.C.C. File No. 1293-A, 1940-41. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

563. *TELEGRAM TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI*

SEVAGRAM,

June 26, 1941

I AGREE.² HOPE HEALTH IMPROVING.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

564. *LETTER TO KANHAIYALAL*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

June 26, 1941

BHAI KANHAIYALAL,

I hope Chi. Kumari Vidyavati's wedding will pass off without any hitch. May both of them have a long life and serve the country. Mirabai has returned from Chorwad. She is happy.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10052. Also C.W. 6457

¹ President, Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee

² The addressee had sought Gandhiji's advice on offering satyagraha immediately after his release.

565. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 26, 1941

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I hope your health is improving there. Chi. Radha and Bindu are here at present. Bindu has been mixing with everybody here and has become adjusted to the food and other things here.

Of course the purpose of writing this letter is altogether different. You had suggested to Radha to come there. She did not realize that you desired her presence for your sake. I told her that whether you wanted is or not, her duty at the moment was to be with you. Radha is willing to do that. As soon as you get this letter, send me a telegram indicating whether Radha should come or not. If her services are useful even in the slightest degree, send a telegram without hesitation asking her to come.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Radha is going to Bombay. So send a telegram to Bombay too.

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

566. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 27, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your letter was a painful one. But perhaps your good lies in your leaving. I fear you will return after a bitter experience. I will be only too glad if the fear is proved false and if, like Janaki Prasad, you are able to settle down somewhere. I have suggested Pondicherry or Ramana Ashram. But if you cannot settle in peace anywhere you have of course a place here.

Jawaharmulji's advice regarding Hiramani is the best. Let her get trained slowly.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8493. Also C.W. 7143. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

567. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 28, 1941

DEAR AMRITLAL,

It is clear to me that I can do nothing for you. You must now come down to mother earth and do as other men do—labour to earn an honest cowrie and subsist on it. You will then be able to learn what self-respect is.¹

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10314. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

568. *LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA*

June 28, 1941

CHI. MANUDI,

There have been no letters from you recently. But I learn that you keep good health. Write to me. Grandmother is all right. I am also quite well. Manojna and Krishnadas² have arrived. Prabhudas³ also is here at present. He will soon be leaving.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1581. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

569. *BHAKTA JIVRAM*

Jivrambhai is no more. In my view he was a true *bhakta* and a *bhakta* lives all the more after death. I refuse to believe that he is dead. Of course his ailing body has perished, it has turned into ashes. His radiant soul is immortal and pervades every particle of the

¹ The addressee had expressed his reluctance “to take a merely mercenary work to the exclusion of social service”.

² Sons of Chhaganlal Gandhi

³ *ibid*

province of Orissa.

Jivrambhai was rich. According to me he was an ideal trustee. He gave his money for the spread of the charkha among the poor of Orissa. He himself lived like the poor of Orissa and all the twenty-four hours his thoughts were full of the welfare of the people of Orissa. Shri Ishwarlal describes his last days thus:

He suffered from diarrhoea for nearly three months. He stopped taking medicines from the 18th June, 1941. He said: "I have been taking medicines for the last three months and there is no improvement. So now let it be as God wills." He was using mud-packs. He had completely given up food. He took *mosambi* juice which also he gave up later. Since the morning of the 23rd he did not take even water. He used to rinse his mouth when his throat went dry. I told him: "Please take some water". He replied: "Don't you see I am losing my breath?" This he said in the morning and till ten minutes to three he was fully conscious. Within ten minutes all of a sudden he was unconscious and lay stiff. Without any movement, slowly the breathing stopped.

Let us all become like him. May God grant us such a noble death.

SEVAGRAM, June 29, 1941

[From Hindi]

Sarvodaya, July 1941

570. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
June 29, 1941

DEAR MOTI BABU,

Shri Jajuji has sent me the file regarding Prabartak Sangha. I was distressed on reading it. The A.I.S.A. is a huge concern which has the poorest of the land as its only concern. It must put all its transactions on a sound legal footing. Then only can it be morally sound. I therefore do not understand the hesitation to give the required promissory note. Indeed, the debt should have been paid off long ago. And why this hesitation to get the certificate? If you cannot accept the requirements, surely the least you should do is to stop khadi work altogether.¹

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Motilal Roy", 18-7-1941.

I am sure I have but to draw your attention to things to set them right.

I hope your eyes no longer trouble you and that otherwise too you are well.

Love.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 11054

571. LETTER TO DR. ABRAHAM PAUL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, (C. P.),

June 29, 1941

DEAR ABRAHAM,

Rajkumariji has gone to Simla. I have seen your letter to her. I would like you personally to visit Sevagram and pass about a week and see things. I could then decide if I can make use of your services. And you would also be better able to judge whether you would like the work here.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

DR. ABRAHAM PAUL

THOPPAL HOUSE

P. O. PARUR

TRAVANCORE

From a photostat: C. W. 10980. Courtesy: Dr. Abraham Paul

572. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

June 29, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI¹,

I had replied promptly to Bhai Motichand Kapadia's letter. I have mentioned it in my note, too. Unfortunately I didn't keep a copy. But I remember the reply, which I enclose with this.² Read it and

¹ Son of Bhulabhai Desai

² Kanu Gandhi has added the following note to the letter: "A copy of the earlier letter to Motichandbhai has since been traced but since it is the same as the enclosed one I am not sending it."

give it to Bhai Motichand.

Your previous letter did not call for a reply. For after that Bhai Munshi resigned¹ and Mahadev also met him.

I hope you and Madhuri are keeping fine.

How is the atmosphere there?

Give the accompanying² to Bhulabhai if you can.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

573. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

June 29, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I learn from the office that this is the third or fourth letter from you [though] containing fewer criticisms. Please warn your men.

I am sending your letters to Mahadevbhai. Since he has had a talk with you, you should write direct to him at Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati. He will reply to you. The point is that it will be enough if you give a report on the basis of the material you have received. For finally I myself will have to look into everything. I will, therefore, take your [help]³ if I particularly need it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 10121

574. LETTER TO ZOHRA ANSARI

June 29, 1941

DAUGHTER ZOHRA,

I was delighted to have your letter. Faridbhai writes and says that you looked after his mother very well. God will look after your

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941

² In another note Kanu Gandhi here says: "He will write this letter later, so I cannot enclose it with this."

³ One word here is illegible.

well-being. Have some patience. One day I shall certainly let you go to jail. I hope Shaukat is all right. Love to the children.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

575. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

June 30, 1941

MY DEAR BARDOLOI,

I replied to your wire there and then.¹ I had a note from the Telegraph Office that you had left and that the wire was posted to you. You must have got it. In view of the notice given by you, I suppose you must court imprisonment, but if the Government had good grounds for releasing you, it would be violence to court imprisonment. But you are the best judge. Please keep me informed of your movements and doings. This is a long-drawn-out struggle in which there would be no haste. Everyone will have all the opportunity he needs to show his mettle.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3

576. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

June 30, 1941

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have your letter introducing Mr. M. Lancaster. I have already given him an appointment. I do not know that I shall be of any help to him.

Yes, I did receive your letter about Andrews' sisters. Amrit it was who sent an acknowledgement. But who knows what letters reach addressees. The wonder is that in the midst of the terrible slaughter there is still so much order.

I have not yet been able to do anything about the sisters. Even

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Gopinath Bardoloi", 26-6-1941

the memorial is hanging fire. If I live long enough I shall collect the money.

The riots, floods and the struggle have upset all my plans. The riots this time have no resemblance to the former ones. This time it is a rehearsal for a civil war. My faith in the authorities is daily receiving rude shocks. It seems they will never learn, never forget.

The Secretary of State never speaks but to irritate almost everybody. The breach is widening. There is much make-believe. In spite of all this, I do not despair of my ahimsa working. Its effect is silent, torturingly slow, but sure. You may therefore be sure that no stone will be left unturned on this side to promote understanding and friendliness.

You must have seen India's women's answer¹ to the British women's appeal. I wonder if Ch. keeps up sending you cuttings.

Mahadev is in Ahmedabad and Amrit in Simla.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1521

577. LETTER TO FARID ANSARI

June 30, 1941

MY DEAR FARID,

Whatever I do is spontaneous and natural to me. A votary of truth cannot do otherwise. No appreciation is therefore needed for doing what is natural, even as there need be none for a man being what he is.

Yes, Zohra has written. She asks for permission, but I have asked her to wait.² I do not wonder at Zohra having served mother well. She would have belied Dr. Ansari's teaching if she had done otherwise.

I am quite well. There was nothing but a passing distemper. I admit even that should not have been. I regard every distemper as a breach of nature's laws. That we are often unconscious is no excuse.

What is Satyawati's address?

¹ *Vide* "Reply to British Women's Appeal", 15-6-1941

² *Vide* "Letter to Zohra Ansari", 29-6-1941

I hope things are going well with you all.
Love.

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

578. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

June 30, 1941

BHAI BHULABHAI,

Bhai Munshi had given me the substance of your talk with him. You must have seen from my statement¹ that the Congress policy is quite clear. The clarity was achieved after a long discussion. Hence those who do not accept that particular portion of the Poona resolution have no option but to leave the Congress, and that is why I persuaded Bhai Munshi to take the step he has taken. Now if what I understand about your views is correct, your path is clear. You should come out openly with your view and try to cultivate public opinion in accordance with it. This is an age of action. All of us will be judged by our actions. A heavy responsibility rests on the Congress. It can be discharged only if there is perfect correspondence between our views and our actions. We claim to represent the 35 crores. I am addressing this to you personally, but I should like all of you to think over it. It is going to be a long and a hard struggle. What is going on at present is but a preparation.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

579. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

June 30, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

I got your letter. You must have received my letter² of yesterday. Send me other cuttings from time to time like the one you

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941

² *Vide* "Letter to Dhirubhai B. Desai", 29-6-1941

sent regarding Bhai Munshi. I expect nothing but good from Bhai Munshi's step. Much will depend on his future course of action. Encourage others also who think like him to leave. Now it is going to be a time for real action, when half-hearted people will prove a burden. The path of ahimsa can lead to success only if all those who adopt it believe in it whole-heartedly. Nobody can be non-violent merely by professing non-violence.

I will send Chi. Kanu after his account work is finished.

Yesterday I could not write to your father. Please find the letter¹ enclosed.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

580. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

June 30, 1941

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Please answer this². I hope you arrived safely.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

581. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 30, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

I had your cheering wire from Delhi. There should be one from Simla. Not yet received at 3.30 p.m.

Do you know anything about a cheque for Rs. 251 from Khambhatta?

Here is a letter from Rameshwari. I am fasting for 24 hours in compliance with the wish expressed by Osman Sobani for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity. The fast finishes at 5.20. Seven have joined me

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² The reference is to a letter from Annada Babu about working in Kalimpong.

of their own accord. The rains have set in properly. It has been raining the whole night. It has stopped just now.

I have been working full speed, none the worse for the fast. Sushila has gone to Nagpur to accompany Usha for medical examination of her womb by Dr. Martin. She will see Pyarelal too.

Mahadev will be leaving Ahmedabad tomorrow for Dehra [Dun] to see Jawaharlal¹. He returns here 9th. From Dehra [Dun], he will go to Bombay, thence to Panchgani to see Mathuradas².

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4025. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7334

582. *RENTIA BARAS*³

Along with his success, Shri Narandas's ambition and enthusiasm go on increasing from year to year. So should it be with all those who have faith. The scope for khadi is as wide, at least, as the boundaries of India. This terrible; suicidal war may perhaps show that khadi, i.e., the principle of self-reliance for meeting one's needs, is of universal application. Be that as it may, for India, at any rate, the spinning-wheel is the sole means of ending simultaneously both poverty and unemployment. I, therefore, hope that Kathiawar will completely fulfil Narandas's ambition.

It should be remembered that the use of khadi is spreading in Kathiawar. It should, therefore, produce locally all the khadi it needs. This will necessarily require more money. In view of this, all the money received this time will be used for production of khadi.

Narandas hopes to collect at least one lakh rupees in the coming 72 days. May this hope be fulfilled!

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, July 1, 1941

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8583. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ He was in Dehra Dun jail,

² Mathuradas Trikumji

³ This note was appended to an appeal issued by Narandas Gandhi in connection with the celebration of Gandhiji's 72nd birthday according to the Gujarati calendar.

583. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SEVAGRAM,
July 1, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Ramdas says at present he has not a man to spare. Can Undhru do the job under your directions? Can you procure labour from Varoda? Your difficulty is real. But I am helpless. Experiences like this show that labour is more than money. Many moral problems arise from your letter but these I must not discuss here. You will tell me what you will have me do. Will you like me to procure labour from Wardha?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6483. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9878

584. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

July 1, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I had your wire from Simla and now I have your letter from Delhi.

Here is Balkoba's letter to you.

It is still raining. Your Hindi writing is almost perfect.

I have a batch of cuttings about Munshi. They make interesting reading. I may issue a statement.

I have advised Nandan¹ to accept Prof. Indra's² resignation. The more the merrier. The atmosphere will be cleared.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4026. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7335

¹ Raghunandan Saran, President, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee; *vide* also "Letter to Raghunandan Saran", before 16-7-1941, and "Statement to the Press", 5-8-1941.

² Indra Vidyalkar

*585. DRAFT STATEMENT FOR AMRITA LAL
CHATTERJEE*

[July 2, 1941]¹

For domestic reasons in which the public is not interested I had to come back to Bengal leaving my two elder sons under Gandhiji's care. On arrival in Bengal I proceeded at once to Dacca as I had thought under Gandhiji's instructions. And I made a long statement about my going to Dacca. On seeing the statement Gandhiji in a telegram² repudiated it and said that he had never given me any instructions but that he had said that if I felt like it I could go to Dacca on my own responsibility and without fuss immolate myself there whilst trying to serve both the communities. I am sorry I misunderstood his instructions. I well recall his repeatedly saying to me as to all workers that we had to work silently and selflessly. But in the impulse of the moment I forgot myself and was betrayed into making a long statement up to which I could not live. In Dacca I was in need of directions without which I could not do work. I wired to Gandhiji for them and he wired³ saying he could issue none and that I should come away and work for my living which I am trying to do.⁴

From a photostat: C.W. 10361. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

586. LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 2, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL

I am sorry I was unable to send you my draft. I now send you one⁵ in the place of yours. If you do not like my draft, you need not publish anything. The matter has become stale.

I hope Abha has become strong now.

¹ The draft statement was sent along with a letter of this date; *vide* the following item.

² The telegrams are not traceable.

³ *ibid*

⁴ Amrita Lal Chatterjee disapproved of this Statement and it was not published.

⁵ *Vide* the preceding item.

You should find some work in a private firm and gradually earn your living. I regard your life as wasted in the manner you have lived. And you should make both Vina and Abha too earn whatever they can. You must not be ashamed of labour.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10315. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

587. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

July 2, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are two letters. I hope this will reach you safely.

Not a day has yet passed but I have written to you.

It is blowing cold. For the moment it is like Simla. It should delight S's¹ heart. I hope he was not shocked by your appearance.

All well here

Sikandar is coming here today. I shall be at sea without you. But Damodar has made friends with him. He has promised to look after him.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Written amidst interruptions.

From the original: C.W. 4027. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7336

588. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

July 2, 1941

CHI. LILY,

I got your letter. It will never do to lose heart so soon. You should try to read with concentration and understand what you read. Take somebody's help if necessary. Never mind if your weight increases, but do include enough ghee and milk in your diet. It will do you no harm if your weight remains at 105 or even 110. If you do

¹ Kunwar Shamshere Singh, addressee's brother

not eat nourishing food, your health will suffer and your mind will not keep fresh. It has been raining hard here for the last four days. It is very cold, too. I hope you make the tea light, as you told me you would.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Rajkumari has gone to Simla. Sushila is all right. Your expenses have been guaranteed by Shantikumar.

SMT. LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI

KANJI KHETSEY KANYA CHHATRALAYA

65 MINT ROAD

FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10109. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

589. *LETTER TO SATIN SEN*

SEVAGRAM,

July 3, 1941

DEAR SATIN,

Your letter just to hand. Though local factors ultimately determine the situation, I think if the division of opinion among you is not on communal lines you should accept earmarked donations, if you receive from both communities. If the Muslims are over-whelmingly opposed, you should not undertake communal distribution.

I do not wonder at the Marwadi Society's answer. You should do what you locally can.

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

590. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

July 3, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here is Jhind's reply. It is bad, it is evasive. But what can you do? I am glad they were all agreeably surprised to see you looking so

well. I am glad, however, I got nervous and packed you off. It was necessary for you to go to Simla, well or ill.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4028. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7337

591. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 3, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

Your note. I missed you last night and yet was I wishing that you would not come. When I learnt that Undhru was sent to you, I thought you were being attended [to]. On inquiry just now, I find that only Undhru was sent. I hear just now that Undhru was sent with full instructions. Nevertheless I am sending Puri to see how you are faring, You will break your silence to speak to him.¹

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6484. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9879

592. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

July 3, 1941

DEAR BARDOLOI,

Your letter. I am quite clear that you must not court imprisonment till you are cured of all your illnesses. Please show this to the President.²

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 4

¹ In *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, in a note placed before a letter of September 7, 1940, the addressee explains: "The inner struggle had come to a crisis and such bewildering and delusive mists and fogs had enveloped my path that, in my anguish, I went into silence and seclusion that I might the better pray to God for help. The silence, with a few days' breaks for travelling, lasted 15 months. For part of the time my rule was to speak once a day for half an hour, if necessary, and for the rest of the time when I was in a cottage in the Sevagram fields, I spoke twice a week in the evening when I went to see Bapu."

² *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Gopinath Bardoloi", 30-6-1941

593. *LETTER TO DILKHUSH B. DIWANJI*

July 3, 1941

BHAI DILKHUSH,

I got your booklet. I will try to read it, and if I feel that I should write something, I will do so.¹ Since you are all coming, I would naturally like to have a special word with some of you but I have to restrain myself.

Blessings from

BAPU

DILKHUSH DIWANJI

“GANDHI KUTIR”

KARADI, *via* NAVASARI

B.B.&C.I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2648

594. *LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA*²

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 4, 1941

DEAR ARUN BABU,

It was delightful to hear from you from the old haunt. The wonder is that you were not taken there earlier. You serve whether in or out. Yes, I had all your letters and dealt with them. Our work is undoubtedly hard but simple. We know what we have to do at a given moment. We are in no hurry for we are sure of success.

Perhaps no one will need to come to me from Bengal because Rajen Babu and the Professor were there and had a heart-to-heart chat with the workers.³

We shall some day play a decisive part in the solution of the communal question, if we remain strictly non-communal and

¹ *Vide* letter to the addressee dated 21-7-1941.

² This was withheld by the censor and later allowed to go on July 22.

³ On June 23, Rajendra Prasad and J. B. .Kripalani discussed the communal problem with Bengal Congress workers in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee office in Calcutta.

non-violent. Do you not agree that without non-violence we cannot be wholly non-communal?

I hope all of you are keeping well.

With kind regards to all of you,

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI ARUN CHANDRA GUHA
SECURITY PRISONER
C/O ADDITIONAL SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE
MIDNAPUR
HILTI CAMP

From a photostat: G.N. 8668

595. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 4, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here are your letters. Yours has duly come. I am in no hurry about Jamnalal Bajaj.¹ And if you experience the slightest difficulty you will tell me without the slightest hesitation.

It is a grand thing to feel that your movements are fixed for you without taxing you. If servants do so they are faithful, if friends do so they may at least get that much credit. And imagine what opportunity you get for doing your work! But we are living in an ungracious world. What is to be done? Sikander is here feeling lonely without you. He goes to Hyderabad and will come later.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4029. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7338

¹ The addressee had sent a telegram to Gandhiji requesting him to send Jamnalal Bajaj to Simla to regain his health.

596. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[After July 3, 1941]¹

CHI. MAHADEV,

Puri cannot continue with Mirabehn. She is now coming there.

She will go to Nalwadi tomorrow. She has taken Vinoba's permission.

Isudas had got the permission to go to Nalwadi. If he has not gone there, let him go tomorrow. Let him abide by the rules there. Let him learn all the processes of cotton. I have talked to Krishnadas.

Amtulsalaam says she will spend the night today with Kaka. Kaneba has been informed.

Lilavati should not take more than two cups of tea. If she cannot at all manage with *gur*, she may take only the absolutely necessary quantity of sugar.

She should not engage you or anyone else in talk. She should quietly carry on with her work.

Let her write to me daily in ink and in beautiful handwriting. She must give me full details.

She must go to bed and get up punctually. She must write and send to me daily two stanzas from the *Gita* with their meanings. . .²

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

597. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 4, 1941

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

I am quite clear that an individual Congressman cannot offer violent resistance in a public brawl. I say public because Congress cannot govern private conduct.

¹ From the contents; *vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 2-7-1941 and "Letter to Gopinath Bardoloi", 3-7-1941

² The letter is incomplete.

It is astonishing K. B. Allahbux can accept any invitation without reference to Mian Saheb¹.

I have the Punjab statement in mind.² I sent Mian Saheb a letter I had promised.

Yours,

BAPU

From the original: Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

598. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

July 4, 1941

CHI. PREMA,

The letter which I said I had not received, I got later.

What you say is true. Sometimes, while trying to rush through work, I do forget to reply to some letters and I reply to some twice over, as it happened in your case. Is it not better to reply twice rather than not reply at all? Even as I was writing to you I felt that I had replied to that letter earlier. As a rule, I reply to your letters by return of post. But in this case I did not note on the letter the date of my reply and hence the mistake. But all this is idle talk.

Sushila's³ typhoid seems to have been quite serious. Radhabehn⁴ gave me some more details about it. I am writing to Sushila today. Jamnadas⁵ looked after her with great care indeed.

Appa⁶ has certainly been doing very fine work. This time I do hope you will come here direct [from jail].⁷

You must have received the *dhanush takli*. If it is well made, it gives excellent speed.

Improve your Urdu to a good enough level. You must know both to read and to write.

Increase your weight.

¹Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee

²*Vide* "Statement to the Press", 6-7-1941

³Sushila Pai

⁴Daughter of Maganlal Gandhi

⁵Jamnadas Gandhi

⁶Appasaheb Patwardhan, popularly known as the Gandhi of Maharashtra

⁷One sentence following this was scored out by the prison authorities.

I thought Kanu's betrothal was about to take place, but it is no longer so. The future is in God's hands.

Rajkumari has gone to Simla for a change of air.

Ba's health is fine, and so is mine. Mahadev has gone to Dehra Dun. He will return after meeting the people there today. He did excellent work in Ahmedabad.

Blessings to all sisters from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10420. Also C.W. 6859. Courtesy: Premabehn Katak

599. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 4, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

As usual, I am sending you Premabehn's letter. You must have duly received my note¹ on your statement. I had a note from Jamna. There was nothing in it which called for a reply.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8584. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

600. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

July 4, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I had written to the Rao Bahadur even before he got your letter.

I felt your reply to Dr. Khare was lacking in spirit. How dare he compare himself with you? There is a lot of difference between you

¹ On *Rentia Baras*; vide "Rentia Baras"

two. He violated all the principles of the Congress,¹ whereas you observed them in an ideal way and left the Congress in obedience to them. Nothing that anybody says or wishes can create a rift between us two.

I hope you are all fine.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7664. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

601. LETTER TO MADHAVDAS G. KAPADIA²

[July 4, 1941]²

Are you doing something or are you still without an occupation?

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MADHAVDAS GOKULDAS KAPADIA

1ST FLOOR, SHYAMJI SHIVJI BUILDING

MANOHARDAS STREET, MODIKHANA

FORT, BOMBAY

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

602. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

July 4, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your postcard. You must now be getting ready to go to Deoli. I am sure you will come here on your way back. I had a letter from Jayaprakash. He seems to be somewhat dissatisfied with what I am doing. But then was he ever satisfied? I am going to reply to him. Tell him that, though he remains dissatisfied [with me], I will be fully satisfied [with him] if he improves his health. Rajkumari has gone to

¹ In July 1938 the Congress Working Committee had found Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-Premier of the Central Provinces; “guilty of gross indiscipline” and held him “unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organization.”

² This is a postscript to a letter of this date by Kasturba Gandhi to the addressee, her brother.

Simla for a change of air. Rajen Babu must needs fall ill the moment he arrives there. Ba is fine. I am quite well. Sushila is still here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3561

603. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHA,

July 5, 1941

SETH JAMNALALJI
BIRLA AROGYA MANDIR
NASIK ROAD

SIMLA WIRE RECEIVED WELCOMING YOU.¹ COME.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 236

604. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Personal

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 5, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter and wire reached me today. According to your letter your wire should have reached me at the latest on 3rd. You will inquire how this discrepancy arose.

I have now wired² Jamnalal at Nasik. You may expect him there next week. I have kept your letter for showing it to him. All other letters are destroyed as soon as I have read them.

Your letters show at what tremendous sacrifice you live in Sevagram. It is clear to me that you have to pass all the hot months in the hills. You must not do violence to yourself. I quite believe with Shummy that violence will result in a sudden breakdown. Self-suppression ceases to be good when the saturation point is reached. I would like you to take your bearings in Simla this time.

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 4-7-1941

² *Vide* the preceding item.

Deprivation to be healthy must bring joy within. It is good you will have Jamnalal with you.

Here is Shummy's letter. Let us see how fat you become by the stay in Simla.¹ When you return, you must not lose what you bring.

Amtul Salaam continues to be a difficult problem. She is uncanny. Her asthma is not gone altogether. She is very weak. Her temper is just the same as it was..

Mahadev returns on 9th.

Of course the weather is quite cool. It is still raining though not incessantly. I sleep in our room instead of verandah. It is required for the inmates. Last night I slept between the two doorways. That produced a fresh breeze. Of course my companions were with me including Sankaran who slept on the *pat*² behind the wall on Pyarelal's side.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3675. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6484

605. LETTER TO MARGARET JONES

July 5, 1941

DEAR KAMALABEHN,

Your note to Bapu. He is well now and attending his work and moving about as usual. Bapu says that you are there to train yourself and you should persevere with it, unmindful and undistracted by what may be going on around.³ Yes, events in Europe are moving faster and faster day by day, and one does not know where we will be in the world events. But God knows it. Let us have faith that He will put us where we ought to be, whether that place brings us for the time being pain or pleasure. . . .⁴

With Bapu's love, . . .⁵

Bapu Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, p. 195

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 17-7-1941.

² Wooden cot

³ The addressee had written about "the general unsatisfactoriness of the atmosphere" in Bombay, where she was undergoing training in midwifery.

⁴ Omissions as in the source

⁵ *ibid*

606. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
July 6, 1941

When Mian Saheb Iftikhar-ud-Din, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, and Dr. Gopichand were with me the other day, Mian Saheb told me that there was some misunderstanding among some Congressmen about certain things which required clearing. I should have dealt with them earlier. But pressure of work and my limited capacity for disposal are responsible for the delay. I take them up now.

When the Punjab Bar patriotically took up the honourable role of *amicus curiae* and decided to bring before their High Court for revision the cases of satyagrahis in which, in their opinion, obvious injustice was done, I was delighted, not for the sake of the relief such revision might bring, but for the sake of the Punjab Bar and of purity of justice. Whilst satyagrahis must be indifferent to the sentences pronounced against them, they must welcome exposure of injustice especially when it is brought about at the instance of disinterested parties. When, therefore, Ismet Begum wired and wrote to me that her husband was much displeased and disturbed over the prospect of revision, I urged her not to interfere and asked her to tell her husband that there was nothing wrong about the revision and that if he was discharged it would be open to him to offer civil disobedience again. Of course the matter wears a different and ugly aspect when satyagrahi prisoners request the *amicus curiae* that they should take up their (prisoners') cases. Such conduct would be quite contrary to the satyagraha code.

Complaints are being made in several parts as in the Punjab that the new lists of satyagrahis are not being passed as fast as they are sent. There is no lack of despatch in the Punjab or any other province as to the lists. But I am in no hurry to pass them. I repeat for the thousandth time that the present civil disobedience is not only not designed to embarrass authority but care is being taken as far as possible to avoid all embarrassment. The merit as also the strength of the struggle consists in reducing embarrassment to the minimum whilst the British are engaged in a deadly life-and-death war. Moreover, since our struggle is going to be indefinitely prolonged—I

give no less than five years—there need be no hurry to fill the jails. Mere filling of jails can bring us no nearer our freedom than we are now. The virtue lies in the people learning through the restricted civil disobedience the necessity of discipline, suffering and self-sacrifice. Every true example of satyagraha acts as a leaven working itself in the mass mind. During the initial stages I was purposely lax in scanning the lists. The result was that many crept in who had done no constructive work. Some had even no faith in it. These are a burden on the organization and positively hinder the march to freedom. I have said repeatedly that constructive work is the foundation for civil disobedience. It promotes discipline and conduces to the growth of non-violence in the worker. As time advances Congressmen must therefore expect increasing stiffness on my part. The conditions will be the same. Strictness will be confined to the enforcement. This is but natural if we are to grow from strength to strength and if we are to make the struggle increasingly purer. I can conduct it on no other terms.

Then Mian Saheb mentioned to me that some Congressmen had adversely criticized his move for achieving among all parties in the Punjab agreement about eschewing goondaism in the pursuit of their respective programmes. When the Mian Saheb told me that there was just a possibility of such an effort succeeding, I at once told him to make it and suspend for the time being his own civil disobedience and of those whose assistance he might consider necessary for the arduous task. Some Congressmen seem to have taken exception that Mian Saheb had invited to his meeting non-Congressmen and even communal leaders. The objectors forget that it is the essence of Mian Saheb's move to bring together all the opposite elements and see whether they could agree to eschew goondaism for the achievement of their respective purposes. Nor could there be in such a meeting decisions by counting heads. The end contemplated could only be achieved by the willing consent of the parties. In any event Congressmen should know that Mian Saheb has undertaken this difficult mission in consultation with me and with my whole-hearted consent. I hope that he will receive the closest co-operation of all Congressmen.

He is impatient to offer civil disobedience. As the head of the Congress in the Punjab, he thinks that his primary duty is to offer civil disobedience. I have told him that there is no such universal

rule. On the contrary it is his clear duty, and of those whom he may select, to refrain so long as he and they feel that they can contribute their mite to the attempt to eradicate goondaism.

There remains the question of those who were prematurely released owing to the Punjab High Court decision about the insufficiency for the purpose of conviction of mere notices to offer civil disobedience. When I learnt about the decision, I had informed Mian Saheb that he should not be in a hurry to send them to jail and that when he paid his contemplated visit to Sevagram I should discuss the question with him and decide. He came and I advised that those who were not wanted for the peace move should re-offer civil disobedience.

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

607. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Personal

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 6, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your letter.

I have never missed a day. So you must get the missing letter.

I forgot to tell you about Farooqi's visit. We passed an hour in exchanging views. But it was only a preliminary talk. He said he would come again. I do not think anything is lost by having met him. Nandan ought to give me his opinion about Farooqi especially as he is a Delhi man.

Yesterday we had Purshottam Trikamdas here. Khan Saheb is arriving on the 9th. Jamnalal may be coming tomorrow or Wednesday for certain.

What business have you to develop headache?

Raja¹ has been released for the sake of the child. I had a note from him. Dhiru had asked the Police Commissioner for Raja's discharge.

Since when have you learnt the science of reading your past? How do you know that in your millions of previous births you were

¹ Gunottam Hutheesing

not worse than a Bania? In any case did I not suggest that if you would ask the paperman not to render any bill at all, he would accept your request? And I had told you that I would not feel at ease using that paper. His bill, as it was, was a true bill. He would exact that price from any other customer. But there is no hurry about a final decision. You will appeal to my reason and if you satisfy it, I would gladly use the pads.

The rains have been violent everywhere. Let us hope that it does not mean dry season hereafter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4030. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7339

608. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

July 6, 1941

CHI. LILY,

I got your letter. I did not like it. Your hardships are nothing to speak of. Many other women study under still greater hardships. Does it befit you to remain restless and to be unable to concentrate on your studies? Play well the part which you have accepted. Forget Sevagram for the present. I like your firm determination not to trouble Shantikumar. But your studies ought not to suffer for want of money. You must resolve to work hard and pass the examination. If you cannot do that, I will think that the three months you spent here were wasted and will feel sorry for having let you come.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9381. Also C.W. 6656. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

609. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

July 6, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter today, and the telegram also I got only yesterday. So, though it was nobody's fault, Shakaribehn here felt very much worried. I did not worry at all. It was a fine test for you. Here

the sky is clear today. Take care of your health. Khan Saheb is arriving on the 9th. Cart-load of good wishes to Anandaghan!¹ I have arranged about your book. I trust Chokhawala is keeping good health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10032. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

610. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

July 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letters have come unfailingly except once. But mine don't reach you, strange.

Here are three letters and your wire which I forgot to send you yesterday.

I shall send you intimation about Jamnalal's food when he is here. But nothing special. You have everything he can need. Fresh vegetables, fruit and milk.

Mahadev says he reaches on 10th. With the breaches on the railway lines, nothing is certain.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4031. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7340

611. LETTER TO LAKSHMI BHARATI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 7, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Regard being had to your poor health and other circumstances,

¹ Addressee's son

you should not re-offer civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI BHARATI, M.L.A.
C/O SHRI L. K. BHARATI
PASUMALAI
MADURA (S. INDIA)

From the original: C.W. 9269. Courtesy: L. Krishnaswami Bharati

612. LETTER TO D. K. GOSAVI

July 7, 1941

MY DEAR GOSAVI,

Rajen Babu's return date is uncertain. He won't come before the middle of July. Deokinandan's argument is plausible but not convincing. You may anticipate Rajen Babu's return and come and bring D. with you.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI D. K. GOSAVI
CONGRESS HOUSE
POONA 5

From a photostat: G.N. 9235

613. LETTER TO KANCHAN M. SHAH

July 7, 1941

CHI. KANCHAN,

I had your postcard, and today there is a letter. It cannot be said that you have been lazy. You may come whenever you wish to, but without displeasing anybody there. And, moreover, it is your duty, when you come here, to resolve not to go on crying but to live cheerfully all the time. Yes, there has been heavy rain everywhere. Let us hope there will be no unduly long break later. Munnalal keeps fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. KANCHANBEHN
C/O SHAH MAGANLAL KALIDAS
VALOD, STATION MADHI
(SURAT), T. V. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8274. Also C.W. 7145. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

614. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Both the language and the writing are good. And if you write your Hindi as quickly as English, the progress is marvellous.

Jamnalal came in today. He looks very healthy. He wants to stay till 15th at the latest. He wants to finish certain things. I do not want to rush him.

You must not become cheap. I do not like the officers always sending you a polite 'No'. It is a hint that you must not expect anything now that you have openly come over to me. From their standpoint I would justify their conduct. You cannot blow hot and cold. All this would be sound argument from their standpoint. They can have no other. But if you think otherwise, you should act accordingly. For there would be nothing inherently wrong in your writing to officials, The same argument applies in Bul's¹ case. After her notice they have asked her to await instructions from them. She has consented to wait till 10th. There too you should use your independent judgment.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4032. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7341

615. A NOTE

July 9, 1941

I have read both the letters. Cariappa's fault is clear. It is also proper that Munnalal has begged for pardon. But Munnalal's views are wrong on many things. No one can be unworthy of living in an institution. The world itself is an institution. Can anybody stay outside it? The family is also an institution. It is a sub-institution; and in between the world and the family are institutions like ours. All are imperfect. The world is also imperfect. There is no such thing as a perfect institution because every institution is made up of imperfect

¹ Khurshedbehn Naoroji. *Vide* also "Statement to the Press", 4-8-1941

human beings. Only God is perfect. Hence Munnalal cannot run away from an institution; he has to live in one or another.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8492. Also C.W. 7144. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

616. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL G. VYAS

July 10, 1941

BHAI ISHWARLAL,

I have read your very vivid letter. Let me know what arrangement has been made there now. Jivrambhai's money has been lying in different places. What do they propose to do about it? Who will manage the Ashram? I should like it if Nathibai came here. Give her the letter meant for her. Some memorial ought to be erected at the spot where Jivrambhai was cremated. Let me know if you have thought about anything. Where was he cremated? Have you preserved any portion of the ashes, or did you immerse the whole of them into the sea? We whom Jivrambhai has left behind will have been worthy of him when the seeds which he sowed grow into big trees.¹

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5059

617. LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
July 11, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 9th. You ought not to think of going to jail until you are completely free from the complaint.² In the mean while, you will do what constructive work comes your way.

Yours sincerely,

MAHADEV DESAI

SJT. C. A. TULPULE, ADVOCATE
TILAK ROAD
POONA

From the original: C.W. 2902. Courtesy: C. A. Tulpule

¹ *Vide* also "Bhakta Jivram"

² The addressee was a heart patient.

618. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 11, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Even a person who becomes perfect as a man does not become God. Even Krishna the man died a miserable death.¹ He may have been the best among men but was not God. Just as a frog may become the highest among frogs, so a man may be the highest among men. Any institution, therefore, created by man is bound to be imperfect.

If, however, you feel unhappy in this institution, you must leave it. I merely wanted to say that what you had stated about all institutions was based on ignorance.²

I would certainly welcome your staying in another institution, namely, the family. That is what poor Kanchan wants. She has not known the joys of family life. Make her happy and let her feel satisfied.

Here we do have freedom. I am certain that you will enjoy nowhere else the freedom that you do here. If you reflect over the matter, you will see that you cannot tolerate in others the freedom that you want for yourself. Cariappa was certainly at fault in refusing to do anything, but you should have respected his freedom to do that. Likewise, you should respect Chimanlal's freedom not to keep Nimbarkar, just as he should respect your freedom to express your opinion. Whether justice or injustice is being done to Nimbarkar is for me to see. I shall look into the matter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8518. Also C.W. 7147. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

619. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 11, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I could not write anything yesterday. I did get your letter. What reply can there be? What is there to forget? In my view summer lasts

¹ Lord Krishna was accidentally killed by a hunter's arrow while resting under a tree.

² *Vide* "A Note"

for two or three months only. Yes, I do believe that we should not worry about the body. For individuals it is quite all right, but at times people staying in the neighbourhood are forced to worry.

This [letter] is from Sailen. Do write to him from there. Sushila has left for two weeks to gain some medical experience. Dr. Jivraj stayed back yesterday. Today he left for Calcutta. Khan Saheb has arrived. The rains have again started today. Nature is behaving in a strange way this season.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7874. Also C.W. 4241. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

620. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,

July 11, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

How can you have any cowardice in you? Prison is not for you. You are doing so much work outside that you should not even think of going to prison abandoning that work. Moreover, all those who have to go to jail will have their chance. This will be a prolonged struggle. Hence, patience.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 11214. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

621. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 11, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I hope you have reached there safely. Also that you have gone to Sushi's place if you did not feel comfortable at Prahlad's house. All those places are like your own home. But you know Sushi very well and so staying with her may suit you better. You are completely free to do anything you think right. I have found your pen-knife. It is not worth while sending it there. It seems you forgot your umbrella with Ba. How will you manage without the umbrella? Do buy a

raincoat. Here it has been raining with strong winds since 3 o' clock in the morning. It is still continuing. Khan Saheb has not been able to come.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

622. LETTER TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, WARDHA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 12, 1941

THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

WARDHA

DEAR FRIEND,

This is to confirm the phone message of Sjt. Jamnalalji to you that Sjt. Vinoba Bhave who was released today is to re-offer civil disobedience at Nalwadi on Monday the 14th instant at 6 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

623. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 12, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

The enclosed¹ is the last. It is very interesting. The gods and men share the same virtues and vices and are familiar friends who often quarrel among themselves. The one invisible Power stands supreme and unbound.

You are cutting your way through difficulties. You can easily make chapatis of *juari* flour. Try and you will succeed.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6485. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9880

¹ Selections from Vedic hymns which the addressee had been sending to Gandhiji. *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Mirabehn", 23-6-1941

624. LETTER TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

July 12, 1941

CHI. DHIRUBHAI,

Appasaheb writes and tells me that he is restraining himself because you do not let him move out in Bombay. I feel, however, that you should let him move freely. There are very few persons like him and it is not proper that we should hold him back. Never mind if he is killed. He is gaining invaluable experience, which he will not get in any other way. If this reasoning appeals to you, permit him. You must have received my letter¹ of yesterday.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

625. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

*[After July 12, 1941]*²

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters after a long time. If you are happy I do not have to worry at all. Let me see when Sita comes. She should study there and grow as well. Let her stay with you. She can be of some help to you, too.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]³

Here also the leaders are rotting in jails. Vinoba was released and arrested again.

Where is Medh⁴? Instead of you and Medh both staying together in Johannesburg, shouldn't one of you go and stay in

¹ This is not available.

² From the reference to Vinoba Bhave's release and re-arrest. Vinoba Bhave was released on July 11, 1941, and re-arrested the next day. Also, Mahadev Desai was continually on tour from May to August, 1941.

³ The postscript is from the C.W. copy.

⁴ Surendra Medh

Phoenix? Sushila writes and tells me that you send the material for the paper¹ to her, or rather pass it on to her through somebody. She also says that there might be a revolt. I personally advise you to stay with Sushila.

Mahadevbhai is touring all over. The sporadic outbreak of riots in Bombay and Ahmedabad continues. Moreover. . .²

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4917. Also C.W. 1330. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi

626. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

July 12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I had been expecting your letter. Prabhavati has come today. Both your rosaries are with me. I hope you have settled down properly.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
C/O ASSTT. DOCTOR
K. E. M. HOSPITAL
BOMBAY

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

627. *LETTER TO DR. ABRAHAM PAUL*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, C. P.,
July 13, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter to Gandhiji. You need not be worried for having troubled him. It has helped clarification of the situation. He regrets it is not possible for him to find a

¹*Indian Opinion*

²The letter is incomplete.

place for you, which will meet your requirements. He does not interfere in the internal administration of any hospital of the kind mentioned by you.

Yours sincerely,
K. G. MASHRUWALA
FOR GANDHIJI

DR. ABRAHAM PAUL
THOPPAL HOUSE
P. O. PARUR
TRAVANCORE

From a photostat: C. W. 10981. Courtesy: Dr. Abraham Paul

628. *LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
[*July 13, 1941*]¹

CHI. AMALA,

Mahadev is quite well. He has gone to Gwalior. Today he is in Delhi. He may be back tomorrow. The day after for certain.

You must get rid of your illness. Of course, you will drop in here when you can and wish.

Love.

BAPU

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

629. *LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH*

July 13, 1941

CHI. NARAHARI,

Mahadev is in Delhi. I read your letter. It is the deluge. There can be no question whatever that all the resources of the Congress should be used to help the people. We will of course have to consider what help to give and where it should be given. We should decide that with reference to the circumstances of each place and bearing in mind our limitations. You can certainly utilize the permanent [relief] fund there.

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Margarete Spiegel", 14-7-1941

I hope the people have forgotten about the riots just now. Mahadev will come here on the 17th. Only then can we think and decide whether or no he should go there. Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9123

630. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 14, 1941

MY DEAR AMALA,

You are foolish. Mahadev is in Delhi. He has to wander about just now. Why this hankering? True friendship does not require meeting or even letter-writing. Why not just treasure silent love? Or must you for ever remain mad?

Love.

BAPU

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

631. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

July 14, 1941

BHAI VAIDYA,

Your certificate is fine indeed. Did it have any effect on your mind? Did the charkha give you any peace of mind in the midst of the prevailing atmosphere of violence? I suppose you have kept up your practice.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5751

632. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

July 14, 1941

BHAI BAPA,

Your ambition is boundless. By all means satisfy it. Your being the Secretary¹ will not come in your way. Ghanshyamdas and you have come together as co-workers and this union cannot be dissolved except by death. He needs—and so do I—your moral strength and your dedication. Your Secretaryship is but an indication of that. I don't think you will want to give up the Secretaryship even when you are free to give to the *Adivasis* as much time as you wish despite your being the Secretary. For your sake we held back Vaidyanatha Iyer with just a line. Surely it was not as if the others would not have worked. But we want the moral strength of saintly men for washing off this sin. Please do not forget that the evil of untouchability is being practised in the name of religion. The *Adivasis*, however, suffer from no such bar. I have no objection, of course, to your dedicating your life to the cause of *Adivasis*, too, but not at the cost of your connection with the other cause.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1188

633. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The weather has cleared today. There is no letter from you. My two (or is it three) letters sent to the hospital address must have reached you. Do take the things for the hospital. Ultimately it is all meant for you. I have taken it for granted that you will pass well and will come here the very next day. I do need you. I shall not collect the things that will be put to use only after you arrive here. Who knows what will happen in one year and how much they will cost then?

Right now I wish that you should be able to study well without any obstruction. I do hope the responsibility of Tarabehn will not be an obstruction in this. She will never respond to anybody's treatment

¹ Of the Harijan Sevak Sangh

except yours. The climate there after August-September will be very good. Kishorelalbhai has written to you in detail yesterday. Hence I am not elaborating here.

You did well to stay on at Prahlad's place. He is a fine young man. We should become like family members wherever we stay. Radha is quite close by. If possible, go and meet her on your return. But I do not wish to burden you even with the suggestion to meet anyone.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am well. Ba also is well. Manojna did not have fever again. Jamnalalji will leave for Simla tomorrow.

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

634. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

July 15, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I got your letter. Today I have no time at all. Jamnalalji must have reached safely. I hope he is all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7875. Also C.W. 4243. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

635. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your two letters came together. Today also I am so busy that I cannot write to you. I do not think I am going anywhere from here. You do come here after completing your two weeks. You will

certainly learn a lot there. I for one wish that you should gain experience in different hospitals.

Blessings from

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
490 MULJI MANSION
EDENWALA ROAD
MATUNGA (G. I. P.)

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

636. LETTER TO RAGHUNANDAN SARAN

[Before July 16, 1941]¹

You should invite primary members such as you have mentioned to withdraw. If they do not listen, you can take action; but you need not, for the simple reason that the organization is not functioning fully. But you should take public notice of their indiscipline.

The Hindu, 18-7-1941

637. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[Before July 16, 1941]²

You cannot return the (present) like this. It is gift of love. It will always be so. You can pass it on to others.

What is all this you have written? You are stupid and will remain so.

Why harbour such thoughts in your mind? What does it matter even if I get annoyed? But since I know you, you may take it that my anger is already gone. You may not reform yourself, old as you have grown !!! But I am reforming myself and shall keep on reforming till I

¹ This was reported under the date-line "New Delhi, July 16"

² Presumably written before the addressee appeared first for her M.D. examination in 1941; *vide*, "Letter to Prabhavati", "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 16-7-1941 and "Letter to H. L. Sharma", 25-8-1941. The date has been inferred from "Letter to Amrit Kaur" (*ibid*,)which has reference to the addressee having failed in this examination.

die. Why have any doubt at all? Why do you not listen? There is no question at all of your moving from here. How can you leave what you have built yourself? You are not going to stay anywhere else at all. I am beginning to believe that whatever is to be done by you will be done only from here. After me some at least will carry on my work. One of them would be of course you. Now drive away all doubt. Pass your examination soon and come and sit in my lap.

BAPU

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

638. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 14/16, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Your questions are good. In non-violent war, to mix poison in water or to burn grains, oil, etc., are forbidden, and should be so. It is one thing to non-co-operate with the enemy and quite another to stop water, etc., to harm him. The non-co-operator accepts suffering for himself. For example, a lawyer will starve because of non-co-operation. Motilalji¹ sacrificed lakhs of rupees. Students gave up their studies. Men working in offices gave up their jobs. We are not going to run away from the invaders and if we do so, unable to bear the sufferings, we would leave our property as the Dukhobors² had done in Russia. In following ahimsa there is no question of ever doing what Stalin was obliged to do.

A satyagrahi is not to protect his property, instead he may give up his life. A satyagrahi should be a non-possessor and he can defend others by being so. That is why I said that Englishmen may lose England but not their self-respect. To save his self-respect while doing no harm to his enemy, a satyagrahi has, for the time being, to allow his property to be looted. Anyway in a violent war too he would, on being defeated, lose his property.

The habit of getting help from the police has got to be tolerated

¹ Motilal Nehru

² A religious sect of Russia, first known in the 18th century, now settled in Canada

even though it is against ahimsa. To control a madman by force would not be wrong if the man who holds him down has no self-interest in it. All such cases should be examined independently.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7998. Also C.W. 3095. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

639. TELEGRAM TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WARDHA,

July 16, 1941

GURUDEV

SANTINIKETAN

PRESS REPORTS DISTURBING. WIRE EXACT CONDITION.

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 10317. Courtesy: Visvabharati, Santiniketan

640. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 16, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yesterday I was able to give you only a postcard. Here are two letters from your pupils. They would have been written earlier, if I had remembered your message. But your instructions to destroy your letters make it difficult for me to carry things in my head and reproduce them at the exact moment.

Khan Saheb has returned from Nagpur less all his teeth. Some were too strong for removal but Bareto was determined to remove all. He suffered much pain. He is better today. He will go to Bul as soon as he is better.

Mahadev returned with Ghanshyamdas yesterday. Ghanshyamdas goes to Nasik on Saturday for a change. He is not overwell.

White ants have invaded our hut and so Ramdas is digging up everything for tracing the mother. It means rebuilding walls, etc. More money. Terrible to contemplate!

Prabha is here and will be for a few days. She has to go to Jayaprakash again.

You need not bother about Sushila's exam. Col. A. has written to her how she failed, why and what she should do to ensure success. Her clinical experience is not up to the mark. And so she has gone to Bombay for a fortnight. That is the beginning. It is a difficult job to earn and study. She has got to do the trick. For she will take no scholarship. She is very wonderful in this as in other directions. And she is growing. Amtul Salaam is better.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4033, Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N, 7342

641. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

July 16, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I will keep worrying about you. If you get the expected benefit there, I will feel greatly relieved. Much will depend on Rajkumari's selfless love. But your firmness of mind also will have a share. If you wish to make any change in diet or anything else, please write or send a wire to me.

Madalasa has stayed on with Mirabehn today. Her aspirations are very high. If her health improves and if she delivers without any complication, I think she will make good. Vinoba's training is bound to bear fruit.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Khan Saheb's teeth have been removed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3016

642. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

July 17, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Yes, you should go to see Jawaharlal on 24th. Mahadev says Nandan is not going on 29th.

I hope Jamnalal reached there safely. Though I asked for no

wire, I do expect.

The summer months you now understand. I have anxiety about you which I have not about others because I have a responsibility about you towards Shummy who does not fully approve of your staying with me. My anxiety arises from the fact that I am not always clear about my duty regarding you at a given moment. But that is nothing.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4244. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7876

643. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

July 17, 1941

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

In the circumstances you mention, I agree you have no option but to give up all the responsible positions in the Congress. You deserve rest after 40 years' unbroken service.

As to your views on non-violence, satyagraha, etc., we have to tolerate one another's differences of opinion.

As to the incident referred to by you, there is no question of untruthfulness. It is at bottom a question of interpretation of your own actions. I had forgotten it all. Of course, your wife must remain by your side.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5593

644. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 17, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I could reach your letter only today. I did not like your draft. I have, therefore, written to Jivanji in the way I thought fit. A copy of the letter¹ is enclosed. If it has any effect, it will serve the whole purpose.

My spinning is going on ceaselessly. I try to spin a minimum of

¹ This is not available.

75 rounds. I will keep up the effort for these 72 days. I do not have the courage to go beyond that.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Your statement will certainly be published in the *Khadi Patrika*. My note¹ also.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8585. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

645. LETTER TO SURESH SINGH

July 17, 1941

BHAISURESH²,

You have asked a proper question. I do not feel like saying anything. In such matters I have always given the first place to Jawaharlal's views and he is not here. His policy has been the policy of the Congress. Since he is in prison my mind does not work at all. Russia is not a country like Spain or China. The English are even now giving [them] help. I find a great difference between Lenin and Stalin. Lenin's Russia is no more. But this is going into the merits and shortcomings. I may be wrong in my observation. As long as I am not able to do something with all my heart, it is my nature to keep silent. I hope your ulcer is cured by now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8692

646. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 18, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

As far as possible I want to send you a daily line. But at times it becomes physically impossible.

I have your wire about Jamnalal's safe arrival. I do hope it will

¹ *Vide* "Rentia Baras"

² Uncle of the Raja of Kalakankar

be all well.

I am 99_, blood-pressure 160-94. It has a tendency to rise at night. But I am quite well.

The rest from Mahadev.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4245. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7877

647. LETTER TO VIJAYARAGHAVACHARI

July 18, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Of course, I want to know all about your health. For I want you to live the full century in good order and condition. But please don't expect my co-operation in anything to perpetuate the memory of anything done by me. If the things I do have no vitality in them, let them perish. If they have any, then what need of any prop?

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

648. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 18, 1941

DEAR MOTI BABU,

I was delighted to have your prompt reply. The legal advisers of the Sangha insist that a promissory note is necessary. You will therefore please send the promissory note.

I am telling Shri Jajuji that you are and have been willing to be certified by the A.I.S.A. and to that end to conform to the usual conditions.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Motilal Roy", 29-6-1941

[PS.]

I hope your eyes may be restored. You are so identified with the Sangha that your nominal withdrawal will mean no change.

From a photostat: G.N. 11055

649. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

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

July 18, 1941

MY DEAR SINGER,

I have been too busy seeing people to overtake even important letters like yours.

As to Mr. Munshi¹, my position is clear. When he could not conform to the explicit resolution² of the Congress on internal disorders, I had no option but to advise him to leave.³ I cannot be held responsible for what he does after severing his connection with the Congress. Those who know me understand that such influence as I can exert on Shri Munshi must still be on the side of non-violence. Those who do not trust me impute motives to me which I can only disprove by my conduct.

As to the workers, they are bound by the Congress resolution I have quoted in my letter to Shri Munshi. The Congress policy binds them to non-violence in the struggle with the Government as also in dealing with communal riots and the like. Is not this crystal clear?

Love.

Yours,

SPINNER

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

¹ K. M. Munshi

² Passed at Poona on July 28, 1940

³ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941

650. *LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU*

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

July 18, 1941

DEAR SINGER,

I agree that I should move about if I can. But I must repudiate the charge that my judgement goes astray by my being cut off from outside contact. I have breathed not a word about the undue deaths. And in my letter to Padmaja, I simply told her what the papers had suggested. Mark my extraordinary care in avoiding all public reference without testing the truth of the allegations through no less an authority than sober Padmaja. I therefore accept your apology in anticipation.

Love.

SPINNER

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

651. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

July 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have told Prabha to write you a long letter today and it will be going with this. Now you have to spend only six days there. Yes, if you have a chance of gaining experience in different hospitals during this year I should like it, that is, if you are able to get away from Delhi for a few months. If you can have a month in Bombay, a month in Calcutta and a month in Madras, your experience would be enriched. The necessary arrangement can be easily made. I expect you to be so well prepared this time that there will be no doubt at all about your passing, and you will have also gained a lot of experience. Kishorelal has already written to you about Tari¹ yesterday.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Tara, daughter of Kishorelal Mashruwala

652. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
July 19, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your brief note.

You have your mouthful. May you have full success. I hope your tooth trouble will be completely dealt with. Mahadev is preparing to go to Bombay. No more possible today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4246. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7878

653. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 19, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You must put your health before everything else. The programme for training in village service is all right. But you must make a beginning with the resolve to be methodical and firm.

By all means study the Vedas, etc. Real study, however, consists in knowing and practising the mission of service.

As regards the question where you should stay, I have told you that I will arrange wherever you wish. Are you worried about the expenses?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8520. Also C.W. 7116. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

654. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You will not be required to go to Panchgani. Taribehn is welcome. But I think she may as well go

to Delhi. Just across there is a hospital with air-conditioning facilities. Ghanshyamdas¹ has drawn my attention to it.

Das's patient is doing quite well. He is taking 2 lb. of milk. Khan Saheb is still running a slight temperature. He is taking milk and Ovaltine. Today he was also given some soup.

Mahadevbhai is going to Bombay today. He will no doubt meet you.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

655. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TRIKAMDAS

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA (C.P.),

July 19, 1941

BHAI PURUSHOTTAM,

These days all my time is taken up with meeting people. As a result I am only today in a position to deal with five or six days' accumulated post. Your letter forms part of it.

The question of the Soviet Union is too deep for you to understand. In this matter I have appointed Jawaharlal my captain. What you say is perfectly true. Had he been a free man he would certainly have taken some steps. Today's Russia is not the Russia of Lenin. And Russia is not a small country. Vanquishing Russia will be an arduous task. Russia has no use for mere lip sympathy. Moreover England is already assisting her and when England is there, India which is England's slave is also there. How can those who stand for a free India speak in the matter? Such are my difficulties. Therefore in this regard you may as well forget me.

Now about Salivati. It is good you had her message conveyed to Jawaharlal. The Poona resolution is as good as dead. But I am not going to answer any questions from reporters. My silence is dear to me.

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

From the Gujarati original : Purushottamdas Trikamdass Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Ghanshyamdas Birla

656. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

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

July 19, 1941

CHI. LILI,

Your complaint is justified. I was caught in a very heavy schedule of work. Now there is hope of a little respite. You have deliberately spoilt your health. You used to have a sense of balance. Now eat well and improve your health. Keep me fully posted. Mahadev will have given you the razor. Clean it by applying oil on it. Now you may have to give up tea. I shall not be able to tolerate even slow or any other type of fever or ailment. Your good health should never be spoilt. If necessary, take some leave and come here.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
MINT ROAD
BOMBAY FORT

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

657. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 20, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your first letter after Jamnalal's arrival there. Let us hope the climate of Simla won't worry him.

All well here. Kanchan and Kusum arrived here today. More from Prabha.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4247. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7879

658. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 20, 1941

What you say in your letter¹ is true. Don't be eager to go to Wardha for marketing. You may do that when you are all right, for you have a special aptitude for it. For the present, follow my advice and confine yourself to work in the farm— within the limits of your strength. That will restore your health. Give up all worries. Live chiefly on milk and curds. Eat whatever fruit you can get. Eat very little of bread, but eat greens in plenty.

Your second letter is fine. The best way of winning people's trust is through selfless work and service. The secret of this lies in "seeing oneself in all creatures". If this truth abides in your heart, nothing will make you unhappy. My plan regarding your expenses is this. I wish to draw from the money lying in your name for all extraordinary expenses till the amount is exhausted. You two will begin to progress rapidly only when it is fully exhausted. As long as the money is there, interest in possession will remain and you will continue to harbour the sense of proprietorship. Though it is true that both of you have practically gifted away the money, the knowledge that you own it does you harm. If you do not understand this distinction, ask me.

Let not the arrival of Kanchan disturb your peace of mind in the least. It is indeed a good thing that she has come. Stop regarding her as your property. You may start living as husband and wife after some time, but if you accept her right to enjoy the same freedom that you do, you will not get angry with her for anything she does. You may let her serve you, but you must not feel in the least offended if she does not do that to the extent you would like her to do. You wish to win her trust, too, don't you? Please remember that unbroken cheerfulness is the most important condition for your keeping good health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8519. Also C.W. 7117. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

¹ Of July 19, below which this letter appears

659. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

July 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no post from you today. Taribehn must have arrived there. Examine her and let me know.

You had mentioned something about breaking a glass. How crazy you are! If you go on paying every time something breaks, all your funds will be exhausted. Hence, give up that idea Kanchan and Kusum Desai have come today.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

660. *LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 21, 1941

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN¹,

I see that in your deep and extensive studies the art of begging formed no part. Malaviyaji is unequalled in that art. You will be begging in his name. Do you suppose that my recommendation can carry greater weight? Your innate modesty disables you from seeing that you cannot need any introduction from me. Some of the friends you mention I have probably not even met. Anyway, if my recommendation is of the slightest use, please use this letter and tell the friends whom you meet that I regard it as the duty of monied men to free Malaviyaji Maharaj from the anxiety about the B.H.U. by subscribing liberally towards the payment of the debt referred to by you. I do hope that your mission will be wholly successful.

You know that you will be welcome whenever you can come.

Sundaram has been the University Collector. Why not make use of him?

¹ Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University

Many thanks for your inquiry about my health. I am well.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

661. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 21, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

*Tu*¹, *tum*² and *aap*³ are one and the same if they convey the same feeling. If the attitude is otherwise, the particular form of address has no meaning. Am I not barred from speaking and writing in Hindi? If the correspondence is allowed freely in Hindi *tu* would become natural. Wouldn't it?⁴

I have wired you today to wire U.P. Government, i.e., Mudie⁵, about Agra prisoners.⁶ They ought not to be unreasonable or stingy.

Here Bhansali⁷ is down with gout. He is fasting, and so better today. Veeramma was cross with her would-be husband and drank permanganate. It was known in time and she was saved.

J. should have the simplest vegetables, no starchy things, no fried things.

I had given you one month. You thought two were the least. So you may stay there till end [of] August. But if Jamnalal makes good progress and it becomes necessary for his sake to stay longer, of course you will stay. If he becomes strong physically, mentally and spiritually, it will be worth while prolonging the stay.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4248. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7880

¹ "Thou", generally used to convey extreme intimacy or contempt

² "You", used in addressing equals or juniors

³ A third person plural pronoun used in second person also for expressing respect

⁴ This paragraph is in Hindi.

⁵ Sir Francis Mudie, Chief Secretary (officiating), United Provinces

⁶ Who were on a hunger-strike which was called off on July 23

⁷ Jayakrishna Prabhudas Bhansali

662. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

July 21, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter. My prayers are continuing, and I have faith that you will do your best. You have the benefit of Rajkumari's company and in other ways, too, the atmosphere there is clear. I am, therefore, expecting much from your stay there. Madalasa is in very fine spirits and eats well. She likes the sweet made from *kunvar*¹ and I have permitted her to have as much as she wants. She relishes whatever she eats. Janakidevi also keeps cheerful. So everything is all right here.

Ghanshyamdas left the day before yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3018

663. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 21, 1941

Regarding the village people, the last course is the best. If we take interest in their local affairs, we shall not be able to serve them. You should, therefore, render to the poorest among them whatever silent service is possible. Such service is bound to bear fruit. It was with this idea that I made the suggestion about one or two boys. While training them, you also will get trained and will learn the art of serving people.

Let our way of living produce whatever effect it can on the *panchayat*. I shall certainly talk to Krishnadas and Chimanlal, but everything will depend on your being frank and gentle. If you mix with the people here as sugar dissolves in milk, your work will progress very fast.

What you say regarding possessions is correct. Land and other things also are included. If you can skilfully free yourself from

¹ Aloe Plant

the possession and the whole business, you will feel as light as a feather.

I think I have answered all your questions.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8516. Also C.W. 7148. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

664. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

July 21, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have already replied to your letter. The work is going on beautifully. It is bound to bear fruit.

Regarding Chi. Chhaganlal¹ we all feel that his staying on in Vijapur will do nothing but harm. Now he need not do any fixed work. He may, therefore, stay either with Krishna[das]² here or with Prabhudas³ or with you at Rajkot. Kashi⁴, too, will be able to live independently. And Chhaganlal himself will not feel lonely. Prabhudas, Krishnadas, probably Kashi also, and I, have all independently felt that Vijapur is not the right place for him now. If, however, Chhaganlal does not like the plan, I certainly would not force him to go elsewhere.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8586. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

665. *LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 21, 1941

BAPA,

We may receive help from or give help to the Mysore Congress as much as we like. Its policy will still remain what it is. Here also we

¹ Chhaganlal Gandhi, addressee's elder brother

² Chhaganlal Gandhi's sons

³ *ibid*

⁴ Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

help the Congress or receive help from it whenever necessary. I am thus happy that it is Congressmen who have been helping us most. It should be enough if we do not get involved in their other activities. Do you feel otherwise?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1189

666. *LETTER TO DILKHUSH B. DIWANJI*

July 21, 1941

BHAI DILKHUSH,

I have carefully gone through *Kantan Praveshika*¹. The title is not appropriate. The book is not a *praveshika*. It offers useful suggestions to those who have become acquainted with the subject. I would, therefore, call it *Kantanarne Upayogi Soochano*² or simply *Kantanarne*.

Your instructions are incomplete in some ways. You have assumed that the spinner can tell when a spindle is bent or can judge about the point. My experience is that 95 spinners out of a hundred cannot do that. You should, therefore, explain what a bent spindle and a good point are. You should similarly explain about slivers, etc.

The third and easiest method of determining the count of yarn is not what you have suggested. The count is equal to the number of rounds in one-anna weight of yarn. The method you have explained does of course include this, but a beginner will not be able to see this. I found from experience that the method suggested by me was the best. I hit upon it while trying, day after day, to determine the count of my yarn in Yeravda.

You have suggested the use of cocoanut oil. My experience is that it smells and also attracts ants. I used to mix with cocoanut oil one-fourth or a little more of kerosene. This keeps away ants and less of dirt gets mixed with the oil.

From the above you will be able to think for yourself about other revisions. I had noted other points in my mind, but I don't

¹ Introduction to Spinning

² Useful Suggestions for Spinners

remember them now. After saying all this, I do hold the booklet to be a fine one. I have made the above suggestions because I wish to see it perfect.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2649

667. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have of course been writing to you at the hospital address as you desired. It is surprising that you have not received the letters. This letter is also being sent at the same address. I hope your going to another hospital will not make any difference.

Enclosed is a letter from Dr. Gopichand addressed to you. Here too the rains have stopped, and hence the days are hot. The nights are lovely.

Khan Saheb runs temperature between 99 and 89.4 . The temperature is normal in the morning. Bhansali has fallen ill. He has gout in the legs. He has been fasting since yesterday and has taken saline.

Veeramma drank potassium permanganate in a fit of anger.¹ It was immediately discovered. She was given lime to drink and made to vomit. She became all right.

Soon it will be the 25th !

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Vide also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", July 21, 1941

668. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM,
July 22, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have another full letter from you. I have faith in your wisdom and discretion. In spite of Shummy's laugh, I persist in my advice about tennis. He won't have the professional touch but he can hit the ball to the amusement of all of you. It is a question of his passing 30 minutes in idle amusement in the open air.

Don't bring him many visitors on business.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4034. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7343

669. *LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
[*July 22, 1941*]¹

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

If the measure is compulsory, your school has to submit. If it is optional, you may ignore it.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAJPATRAI BHAVAN
LAHORE, PUNJAB

From the original : Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

670. *LETTER TO ANANTRAI THAKKAR*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 22, 1941

BHAI ANANTRAI²,

I am certainly against your writing in English, just as I would dislike an English youth writing in Gujarati. Both of them can be said to have forgotten their duty. Anyway all this is over now. But

¹ From the postmark

² A theosophist

onreading your letter, I almost felt like weeping. You started writing by dipping your pen into a cup of venom and poured out the whole of it in the end. Why all this? I was sure that Dr. Arundale would come over. Had he come, he would have certainly spoken in English. It was with hesitation that I permitted Vishwanathdas to speak in English but I would have gladly permitted Dr. Arundale. You just cannot have any concrete reason to doubt this. I have no hostility towards Dr. Arundale nor towards any Englishman. I had none against General Dyer and I was a worshipper of Mrs. Annie Besant. Perhaps you might not have been born when I began to idolize her. This was in 1889-90. I beg your pardon if you were born about this time. I do not remember at all about the meeting where Shri Iyengar was present. Why should I oppose putting up a statue of Mrs. Annie Besant? I do not remember anything at all. I shall be obliged if you will give me the evidence you have.

In the end you have exceeded the limits. You have insulted the English language the way you have abused your own people. Perhaps you could not have poured out so much venom in Gujarati. As I have good relations with your family, your letter has shocked me. Your letter is full of rudeness and ignorance. Go through my letter carefully and pray to God that He may remove your ignorance.

Blessings from

M. K. GANDHI

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

671. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 22, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Whatever the cost of the glass, you have to bear it. But you must definitely have stamps in your pocket. You could have taken them from Dr. Gilder. Right now you are excused even for that.

I think whatever may have been decided about Pyarelal's stay there, etc., is appropriate.

Now I shall be writing you only one letter.

You have quite a few patients to handle. Kunvarji¹ is causing some anxiety. You did well in going to Jugatram².

Now there is not much time. You should receive all my letters.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

672. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA³

SEVAGRAM,

July 22, 1941

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I finished reading *Bapu* Just now. At two or three places the facts are wrong though they do not detract from the views expressed. I have marked the passages. Of course you can always put forward your own arguments about the calf incident⁴. But I find some fundamental defect in it. The killing of the calf has no similarity with the killing of Ravana and so on. I had no self-interest in killing the calf, the only motive was to free it from pain. Primarily there was self-interest in the killing of Ravana and so on. There was burden on the earth and it had to be lightened. His destroyer was God in the form of Rama. Here the destroyer was no supposed incarnation. I hold that everyone in my situation can do what I did. Inspired and encouraged by me, Ambalal killed forty dogs. There was however some material advantage. But there is a lot of difference between the killing of Ravana and so on and this. And I have given a special meaning to these things. A discussion of it was necessary there. More about it on another occasion if considered necessary. The language is sweet. At some places the argument is repeated. This could have been

¹ Kunvarji K. Parekh

² Jugatram Dave

³ This letter is included in the revised edition of *Bapu* with a note from the publisher.

⁴ *Vide* "The Fiery Ordeal", 4-10-1928

corrected in proof-reading, and the flow of the language would not have suffered. Perhaps others may not have even noticed this repetition.

I hope you are well now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8046. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

673. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

July 22, 1941

When I asked Gandhiji, who was at work on his charkha when I called on him, whether he had read the communique¹, he said he had not and asked me to read it. With his hands busy operating his charkha, stopping only now and then to wind the thread, Gandhiji listened as I read the communique including the personnel of the National Defence Council. When I concluded reading, Gandhiji looked up and, laughing loudly, asked whether I had finished. I said I had, and asked him whether he wished to say anything. Gandhiji said that he had no statement to make and added:

I would rather observe silence, Monday silence, whatever it may mean and you can say so in the papers.

When I asked him whether it could be taken that he was not interested in the announcement, he said:

I can't say so. That will be pedantic.

Then I handed him a sheet of paper containing a few questions drafted by me earlier. Gandhiji read the questions and remarked:

I can answer some of these questions. But I don't know what purpose it will serve.

Pressed further to say whatever he wished, Gandhiji replied to my first question, whether the Government of India's announcement affected the stand taken by the Congress and whether it met the Congress demand to any extent.

The announcement does not affect the stand taken by the Congress; nor does it meet the Congress demand to any extent.

To my next question whether the members of the A.I.C.C., if released from jail, will be permitted to consider the present situation in the light of recent

¹ Issued by the Government of India on July 21 from Simla announcing the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the formation of a National Defence Council.

developments in the country, Gandhiji replied:

I understand you to mean whether I shall permit A.I.C.C. members, if they are released, to consider the present situation. If that is the meaning of your question, I can at once say that I have no authority to prevent members of the A.I.C.C. from doing anything they wish. The authority given to me by the A.I.C.C. does not permit my interference with the fullest freedom of its members. And in any case the body that gave me the authority can at any time refuse it or withdraw it.

I certainly consider the demand made by the Mysore Legislative Council¹ as not only modest but any day opportune.

When I asked him whether the present situation in the country was an opportune one for embarking on the programme, Gandhiji added:

As a matter of fact it should have been made long ago. The present situation in the country cannot be allowed to interfere with elementary justice being done to Harijans.

When I asked him whether non-arrest of satyagrahis shouting anti-war slogans can be construed, as some people seemed to, as amounting to grant of liberty to preach against war, Gandhiji said:

There is no warrant for the belief implied in the opinion. Some Provincial Governments have clearly stated that they do not want to arrest unimportant members. But they are arresting those whom they consider important enough if they recite anti-war slogans.

The Hindu, 24-7-1941

674. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,
July 23, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA²,

Mahadev is in Bombay. I have read yours to him. Why “Mr. Mahadev”?

I have no faith in conferences at the present moment. We can do nothing when people come with mental reservations. Nevertheless I do

¹ For the appointment of a committee to ascertain public opinion on the question of allowing Harijans to enter temples and other religious institutions in the charge of the Government.

² Ex-Dewan of Mysore

not dissuade those who believe in them. Therefore, if you or Sir Tej convened one¹ and wanted me to come, I should gladly come in my individual capacity. But I am more likely to become a cause of discord than otherwise.

More love to the whole family.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2183

675. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 23, 1941

CHI. AMRITLAL,

You are fast leaving the years behind you and I still believe that you are the same today that you were when I knew you first. How can I shed this illusion? Remain the same that you were and put time to shame.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10801

676. INTERVIEW TO A. S. N. MURTI²

SEVAGRAM,

4 p.m. to 4.20 p.m., July 23, 1941

After the usual salutation, I waited just a minute when Mahatma said that he was [all] attention to me. And I began referring to the Poona resolution of the Congress, and invited his opinion to the possibility of arriving at an understanding on the basis of that resolution, if a way could be found for reconciliation. To this, Mahatmaji replied that the Poona resolution would not be revived. The psychological

¹ The Non-Party Political Leaders' Conference met at Poona on July 26 and 27 under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

² Enclosing this with his letter dated July 27 to A. S. N. Murti of Sarvodaya Bhavan, Chatrapur, Kishorelal Mashruwala wrote: "Thank you for your letter dated 24th instant. Please find herewith your memo of the interview with Gandhiji as corrected by him. It is common ground that it is for personal record." Kishorelal Mashruwala was present during the interview.

time is gone. I mention to him the restlessness that is becoming evident in the country, and if the Congress were not to revise its stand, it may lose ground. To this he said that even if the Congress were to find itself in the desert, it would prefer to be there, to sacrificing the country's interest and humorously said that sometimes the desert air did good. I mentioned to him that by the withdrawal of the Congress ministry, the little good that was attempted to be done had to be given up. He replied that weighing matters in the proper way, it was not worth while to put much emphasis on the attempted progress, when considerations far weightier were at stake. When Congress was out to put down imperialism, all these things were insignificant. Even if the Congress gave up non-violence, it had been found that as a purely political measure, the Poona resolution could not be revived.

From a photostat: G.N. 154

677. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

This is just for the sake of writing. I hope Jamnalal has recovered all the lost ground. I know that he will have all the loving care bestowed on him. He says the attention he is receiving is embarrassing.

Give a cart-load of love to Jawaharlal. You should try to see Anandmayi Devi who is somewhere near Dehra Dun. She was Kamala's¹ guru.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4035. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7344

678. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

This is about your letter of 14th. I have found you to be weak in action and that out of your overgoodness. Overgoodness leads to

¹ Kamala Nehru

weakness. It means a disposition not to offend people even at the cost of suppression of truth. My firm advice to you is that you should talk to Mian Saheb¹ with the utmost candour and he will respond. If he has suspicion he will tell you so. He is young and in experienced but straight and brave. This is my analysis of him. You should have gone to Solan and Simla. When he definitely asked you not to go to Manorlal, it was well to respect his wishes. But you were not bound always to carry out his wishes except in strict Congress matters. You must build up your opinions and enforce them when enforcement becomes a duty. It is wrong to seek imprisonment in order to gain relief from squabbles or suspicion fancied or real of one's chief. Such imprisonment is harmful.²

I refrain from guiding you in the matters referred to by you, till you have become even with Mian Saheb. If you have really forfeited his confidence, my advice would be for you to retire from the Congress activities without any fuss. You have ample other useful work. Men like you cannot work half-heartedly or under shadow of mistrust or suspicion.

I have not heard from Mian Saheb at all for weeks now. I do not think I had anything from him save one letter to Rajkumari after the last visit.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat : Jayaprakash Narayan Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Mian Iftikhar-ud-din

² *Vide* also "Statement to the Press", 6-7-1941

679. LETTER TO H. R. STIMSON¹

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

DEAR MR. STIMSON,

Here are my answers :

1. No modification necessary. My advice to the Russians would be precisely the same as to the British. It is a cruel misrepresentation of my advice to the British to say that it was one of non-resistance. I suggested non-violent resistance which is any day superior to violent, blood-thirsty resistance.
2. I am entirely satisfied with the progress and achievements of my limited non-cooperation campaign as you call it and which I describe as civil disobedience.
3. It is a difficult question to answer definitely. But I do not mind it being said that the majority are non-violent only out of policy. That is the weakest part of my campaign but it is inevitable. In spite of the appearances to the contrary it is my belief that true non-violence is growing among the people.
4. I have no doubt whatsoever that in spite of the riots, etc. India will have the moral strength and unity to forge her own destiny in her own way. Twenty years of solid work cannot be a waste. I hope you can decipher my writing and that if you publish my reply, it will be published as it is, in toto.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : Jayaprakash Narayan Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

¹ An Associated Press correspondent had sought Gandhiji's views on the following points :

(i) whether Gandhiji's policy of non-violence advocated to the British would apply to Russians also, or would it need any modification; (ii) whether Gandhiji was satisfied with the progress of non-cooperation; (iii) how many of his followers really believed in non-violence; (iv) whether in view of the widespread rioting in the country, India could still have the unity and strength to forge her own destiny.

680. *LETTER TO SHEIKH MOHAMMED ABDULLAH*

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

DEAR SHEIKH SAHEB,

You have my apology. You had, I thought, always told me that you were a soldier and I was your general. I see I misunderstood you. I now understand your complaint about Kashmir. I asked Badshah Khan who is with me and he supports me. He vividly recollects the grief he in common with me felt over your obstinacy in opposing my wish to be the state guest not for my pleasure but for the sake of the people of Kashmir.¹ You should know that I cancelled the visit to Kashmir simply to please you. I changed overnight for I learnt that if I came as the people's guest the Durbar would take it amiss. I thought that I could take the liberty I took with my followers as I deemed you to be in altering my plans. But now I see that you were only trying me before becoming my follower. I am sorry I failed in your test.

Now about the Kashmir position. I had no difficulty in giving my provisional opinion about the script. You have put before me an intricate problem on which I dare not give even a provisional opinion.

I appreciate your frankness. I hope you will find no want of it in my reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : Jayaprakash Naryan Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

681. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

July 24, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter. It throws much light on the atmosphere there. Let all those who wish to leave, do so. I would welcome that. They have not understood the meaning of the struggle. Chokhawala will regain his weight quickly. The *muni's* book is not available in the

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", 29-7-1939

market. I will try to get a copy from Delhi. The cause of Anand's diarrhoea is clear, and there is, therefore, no cause for alarm. The food you are giving him is all right. Will you all still be staying there? Sushilabehn is coming tomorrow. She will leave for Delhi on the 28th.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10033. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

682. LETTER TO DR. S. K. VAIDYA

[July 24, 1941]¹

BHAI VAIDYA,

Your spinning is bound to bear fruit. We are upset when we see people stabbed in front of us. But what about the millions of innocent people being killed far away from us, and homes and other buildings, the fruit of great labour, being destroyed in a moment? We cannot stop it by becoming violent, but it is our duty to remain calm and acquire the strength to check it. I believe that the spinning-wheel, if adopted with this aim, will serve the purpose.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5752

683. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,

[About July 24, 1941]²

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I did get a little frightened on reading about your fever, but was reassured by the wire. You must get completely restored there. You should not mind having to accept service. You should accept it in the name of God and hope that He will enable you to return a hundredfold all the service you receive. The whole family is filled

¹ From the postmark

² From the reference to the addressee's illness, the letter appears to have been written about the same time as the letter to Amrit Kaur, 24-7-1941. The addressee replied to this on July 27. *Vide.* also the following item.

with the spirit of service. Her¹ father also was as simple as she is. In fact, he should have succeeded as the Ruler of Kapurthala, but being a Christian the succession went to another person.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3017

684. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

[*July 25, 1941*]²

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your usual letter.

I thought I had told you I had added 1_ lb. to my weight.

Neither you nor Shummy need give anything to Gujarat³. Noakhali⁴ and Malabar⁵ have better claims. The damage in both is infinitely greater.

Mira knows all about what has been done about Prithvi Singh.

Sushila has come back from Bombay. She has certainly benefited by the experience, short though it was. And she was able to see many patients of ours.

Mahadev is having some difficulty in making collections but he will get his sum.

Khan Saheb is off to Bombay today to see Khurshed.

I hope Jamnalal's progress is steady.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4036. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7345

¹ Amrit Kaur's

² From the postmark

³ The reference is to the relief work in connection with riots in Ahmedabad.

⁴ The reference is to the cyclone havoc in these places.

⁵ *ibid*

685. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEVAGRAM,
July 25, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

This is entirely my fault. Haven't I told you that you will have to put up with it? I heard on that day that there was no mustard oil. So in order to give some to the doctor and to save your time, when Jhaverbhai came I asked him to send some if he could. This is what happened. It is true that I ought to have informed you. I should have told you even if I asked for it. This time it has happened. In future I will try to be careful, but this habit of mine is an old one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4396

686. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 26, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Yours.

You must have heard that the Agra strike is off. So you have become Jamnalal's outfitter!

As Tara was due here today I vacated this house for her and transferred myself to the dispensary. Dr. Das has gone to Janakibehn with his patients. So I am literally *aniketa*¹, houseless. I do not mind.

Sushila has gone to see Pyarelal with Prabhavati and Kusum.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4249. Courtesy Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7881

¹ This is in the Devanagari script.

687. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

July 26, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am sorry your son¹ is ailing. I hope he is better. You know the treatment for typhoid. You hardly need a doctor. Strict nursing and practical fasting is all that is needed.

Jamnalalji was saying that Vina could not be admitted to the Mahilashram. Her place is with you or with Ramabai in Bari. She must become an earning member. Perhaps it would be best for her to marry. If Abha alone wishes to come to the Ashram I shall take her on trial. Ba is anxious about Abha. She dotes on her and often talks about her to me. But if she comes she must come a changed girl.

Sailen and Dhiren I am watching.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10318. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

688. *LETTER TO ABHA CHATTERJEE*

[July 26, 1941]²

CHI. ABHA,

I have your letter. I have written everything in the letter to your father. He will explain everything to you. Only if you can come alone and live according to the rules will I keep you here but not in the Mahilashram. Shethji³ will not keep Vina there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 10354. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ The addressee's youngest son, Ranendranath

² This letter was written on the back of the preceding item.

³ Jamnalal Bajaj

689. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

July 26, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have given you full freedom. Only thus will you become steady one day. The notion that there is no freedom here is but a product of your own imagination. The mind is the sole cause both of our bondage and our freedom. You will be calm only when you stop thinking altogether and devote yourself exclusively and ceaselessly to work, be it in Sevagram or on the top of the Himalayas—only, he who climbs the top of a mountain is in danger of falling. There is no such danger in a place on the plains, like Sevagram.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8495. Also C.W. 7150. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

690. *LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI*

July 26, 1941

CHI. VALJI,

I got your wire. I have already written and suggested that a report of the investigation as far as it has proceeded will suffice. I shall let you know as soon as I receive the report and will also fix the date.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7495. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

691. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

July 26, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

This time I have specially chosen the persons who should come. You will approve the choice. I did not press anyone. They will make no demand without my telling them. Prabhavati is already here, and

Kusum has just arrived. Hence I thought of sending both of them. A.S.¹ wishes to come later on if you wish.

Sushila is bringing two *dhoties* which Ba eagerly got woven for you with the yarn she herself spun.

You must have seen from the press reports that Mahadev is busy at the moment collecting money for the flood relief fund. I am planning to detain Prabhavati here for about three months because Kanaiyo will be going to Bombay to complete the massage treatment. Right now he is engaged in clearing the accounts.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

692. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

[July 26, 1941]²

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I got your letter. I am writing to Bhai Mahadev. My own view is that you should draw up the report on the basis of the material in your possession. But Mahadev has studied this problem and if he holds a different view I might think again.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10131

693. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

July 27, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your Hindi is getting better and better.

I have no anxiety about Jamnalal. When this reaches Simla you will be in Dehra Dun. I expect from you a full account of your visit. I am not surprised at your not being with the Rani.

¹ Amtussalaam

² From the postmark

What a wretched agreement has Bajpai¹ concluded with Burma.
No more just now.
Sushila is going tomorrow to Delhi.
Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4037. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7346

694. TELEGRAM TO IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

[On or before *July 28, 1941*]²

ASK POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LYALLPUR JAIL TO STOP
HUNGER-STRIKE.³

The Hindu, 30-7-1941

695. LETTER TO UMESH RAU M. VAKIL⁴

July 28, 1941

Send dates and can you vouch for the truth?

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

696. LETTER TO IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

July 28, 1941

MY DEAR IFTIKHAR,

I have your letter of the 25th instant You are doing good work.
I hope the District Committees will work so that Punjab may become

¹ Girija Shankar Bajpai, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, had led a delegation to Burma on behalf of the Government of India and signed on June 28 in Rangoon the Indo-Burmese Agreement to regulate and restrict Indian immigration into Burma. The Agreement was published on July 21 from Simla as a joint statement by the two Governments. For Gandhiji's statement, *vide* "Statement to the Press", 24-8-1941.

² The report of the telegram appeared under the date-line "Lahore, July 28".

³ The report adds that the addressee communicated this to the prisoners through the Superintendent of the jail and also informed the Lyallpur District Congress Committee accordingly.

⁴ The addressee, in his letter dated July 18, had reported the bad condition of the agriculturists in the southern portion of Kasargod Taluk of South Canara District as also some instances of police excesses.

proof against goondaism. If the effort succeeds, it will produce a tremendous impression on the whole of India. I regard this work of yours as most important—much more than jail-going.

If those who have been discharged as a result of appeals do not go again you need not worry. Their names should be removed from the lists.

No member has asked me for permission to remain on. I should not think of giving such permission. Every case of this type or any other I have invariably referred to you.

I have read all about Dr. Satyapal¹. You should accept his resignation and of others who have copied his example. You have done well to refer to Rajendra Babu about the Parliamentary resignation. But it follows that if [he] gives up the four-anna membership, he should resign all other offices.

I personally think that you should ignore his Press statements.

You are quite right in doing what you have about Brahma Datta. He has written to me saying that he has apologized for his conduct. He is very impulsive.

If I have kept a copy of my letter² to Lala Dunichand, I shall send it to you.

I share your grief about Lala Shamlal. I shall not accept any resignation directly. I enclose a letter of a Bhiwani correspondent. He complains that you gave too short a time to Bhiwani when you went there during your tour. He is afraid that the atmosphere is tense there. You will see.

Farooqi is angry with me because I did not approve of his statement of his visit to me. I told him that his statement was in the nature of an advertisement and sent him a brief one. He retorts that mine is an advertisement (I suppose for myself!)

My love to you and Ismat.

Yours,

BAPU

¹ Former President of the Punjab Congress Committee, who had, in a statement at Lahore on July 21, suggested to Gandhiji to reconsider the situation and to devise a really useful course instead of the satyagraha movement which he said was doing good to no one

² Vide "Letter to Dunichand", 17-7-1941

Encls.

1. Letter of Rajendra Prasad Jain—Bhiwani, 26-7-41
2. Letter of Shri Rama Sharma—Phatak, 27-6-41

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal .

697. LETTER TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

July 28, 1941

MY DEAR RATHIN¹,

Your letter of 24th instant. I have not the appeal by me just now. I think the proposed project is included in the objects. If it is, I have no objection. But please ask the others and secure their consent.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

“UTTARAYAN”

SANTINIKETAN, BENGAL

C.W. 10319. Courtesy: Visvabharati, Santiniketan

698. LETTER TO SIR ROBERT E. HOLLAND

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 28, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

Apologies for the delayed reply.

I have not asked for suspension of respective activities. I have only asked for eschewing goondaism for enforcing claims. Thus the Muslim League may pursue their claim to Pakistan and the antis their objection so long as each party does so non-violently. For the time being I have not aimed at agreement on issues. I have aimed at agreement on non-violence, i.e., calm discussion.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 10452. Courtesy: Sir Robert E. Holland

¹ Rabindranath Tagore's son

699. *LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),
July 28, 1941

DEAR PLAYMATE,

You have no business to fall ill as often as you do. I expect your further letter and a cheery report about your health. Of course I knew that you would throw yourself into the work entrusted to you.

Love

BAPU

SHRI PADMAJABEHN NAIDU

ZAHEER MANZIL

RED HILLS

HYDERABAD, DECCAN

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

700. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 28, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

Herewith a postcard from Jethalalbhai. I have not replied. If you wish to give any, please do so directly. If you think I should write, let me know.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

If you have any suggestions to make about *Khadi Jagat*, do send them.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8587. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

701. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You were right. Khan Saheb did not come after all. Now he will be coming on Thursday. Even so it was my duty to observe silence earlier.

I trust you found a seat in the train and have reached home without any trouble. You were actually having a slight temperature. You must completely cure Anasuya.

You must now concentrate on studies. But do not spoil your health in doing so. You have to take full advantage of having failed once. You must study well and gain good experience. I shall send you the *Khadi Jagat*¹.

The lost letter and the charkha are constantly troubling me. The search is on.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Mother will be well

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

702. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 28, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It has been settled now that you have to look after the guests. If someone turns up all of a sudden, then Chimanlal will have to decide immediately. I do not know what precisely is your problem. If you make it clear, I will be able to help you more.

You will have to look after the guests for whom I do not make

¹ A Hindi monthly published by the A.I.S.A. from Wardha, the inaugural issue of which appeared on July 27, 1941.

arrangements about their stay and so on. You will be informed as soon as the guests arrive.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4398

703. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 28, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The tone of Balvantsinha's letter did not suggest [that the refuse] was burnt out of enmity. His letter expresses nothing but grief. Almost all the refuse is manure except broken glass. I feel that what Balvantsinha says is correct; it would have been better to have asked him before getting the refuse burnt. When he had asked for help, it should have been given. It is true that a farmer would be deeply hurt if his manure is burnt. Try to pacify Balvantsinha.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4397

704. LETTER TO LAKSHMI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 28, 1941

CHI. LAKSHMI,

Ba sent you a letter yesterday. She wanted me to add something. But the letter was posted by mistake. What she meant was that I also should give you comfort regarding the illness of the children. But now the children are all right. And even if they are not, what comfort do you need? We are all in the hands of God. Yes, it is our duty to try our best, and that you are already doing. My blessings to brothers and Papa¹. Sushila left for Delhi today. Any number of houses constructed

¹ Addressee's elder sister

in the Ashram get filled up very soon. Perhaps Devdas will stop over here on his way to Delhi.

Blessings to you all from

BAPU

SHRI LAKSHMIBEHN GANDHI
C/O SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BAZULULLAH ROAD
THYAGARAJA NAGAR
MADRAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2001

705. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

July 29, 1941

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I was very clear in my reply.¹ But being confused in mind you find it vague. My advice is that you should firmly decide to stay here and be content with doing whatever work is given you. This is the royal road and the royal yoga. If you cannot do that, you may go on a tour and return if and when you feel tired. Don't carry any worry with you. Let Kanchan stay here. There is no third alternative.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8488. Also C.W. 7151. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

706. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

July 29, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I know you have told me not to write a postcard, but what am I to do? There is no letter from you today, and so many letters are lying

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Munnalal G. Shah", 26-7-1941

before me. Today at this time you are in Dehra Dun. All is well here. Miss Moore will leave on Sunday. Since there has been no rain, I am worried.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7882. Also C.W. 4250. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

707. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,

July 30, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your two letters came in together.

So you see it works the same way at both ends. We must suffer these little pricks of life.

If Jamnalal must leave earlier, he must not be prevented.

I am glad you are pursuing the Agra case.¹

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4038. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7347

708. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,

July 30, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter. You need stay there only as long as you wish to. Far from envying you, I would welcome your cultivating a closer relationship with that family than I enjoy. But how do you hope to cultivate a relationship like mine when from the very beginning you feel afraid even to stay there? You should have no objection to staying there as long as Rajkumari is there. But do as you like. It would be certainly good if you meet Jawaharlal. But do not let your visit get

¹ *Vide* also letter to Amrit Kaur", 21-7-1941

into the papers. There is a lady named Anandamayi Devi near Dehra Dun. She was Kamala's guru. She is said to be a good woman. Try and see her if you can but do not rush about it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3019

709. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

July 30, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

I got your letter. By all means stay there as long as you like. Come here when you wish to.

Both of you please read the accompanying letter. I have asked Bhai Ahmed Qureshi to meet you. I have also told him that Ashram life is a hard one. There is no privacy at all. You two should now guide the couple. Let me know what impression you form.

I hope Anand is happy.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10034. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

710. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

July 30, 1941

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

I find no moral or any other lapse in what you write about Chi[manlal]. It is a different thing that we should put up with it if we fail to obtain what we call justice or if it is delayed. It is a unique heritage.

I am having talks with Ramji.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4399

711. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM,
July 30, 1941

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I had no talk with Balkrishnaji apart from polite enquiries after his health and so on. Where was the time? I did tell him to see me at four but he did not want to say anything.

I think I had replied to Bhai Kotwal. I do not in the least relish the idea of his going to jail¹. And there is absolutely no need to come here. Why should he at all go to jail? Let him do whatever constructive work he can in Indore. If he does not get my letter, he should consider this my reply to him.

Mishrilal has lost much weight. Now he should take it easy. The same is the case with Kanhaiyalal Khadiwala. Many useless persons have gone to [jails] in the U.P. I know it.

It is good that you gave news about Harilal. I am keeping fairly fit these days.

You should give yourself rest—considering it a duty.

We are waiting for the rains. If it does not rain, people will suffer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

712. LETTER TO “THE TIMES OF INDIA”

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
July 31, 1941

DEAR SIR,

This is the concluding portion of your leaderette² in *The Times of India*, [of the] 29th instant:

Either he has been lax in interpreting his own rules of satyagraha or he has been deceived by the majority of those whose names were submitted. Mr. Gandhi can best say which of these alternatives is the right one.

¹ The source here adds “in Ajmer”; *vide* “Letter to Kotwal”, 7-8-1941

² *Vide* “Letter from Subhas Chandra Bose”, 23-12-1940.

I suggest a third alternative. I have neither been lax in the interpretation of my rules of satyagraha nor have I been deceived by anybody. You have omitted to read one sentence in my admissions: "It is inevitable." From the very inception of the movement in 1920 non-violence has been a policy and not a creed. I said¹ in Bombay speaking at the A.I.C.C. meeting on the reversal of the Poona resolution that with the majority non-violence was a policy. The weakness was therefore inherent in the movement. It should not be forgotten that I am trying the great experiment of using non-violence for the political freedom of the country. With me no doubt non-violence is an end in itself, though it is also a means for the attainment of the freedom of the country. With the vast majority of Congressmen it is and must remain a means. The weakness is thus inherent though none the less regrettable. The marvel is that in spite of the weakness, twenty years' experience has not weaned Congressmen from the non-violent policy, though it is open to it to change it any time.

In the light of the information I have provided, you will perhaps admit that the case you have made up against the Congress and me falls to the ground.

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

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

713. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM,
July 31, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

Yes, I had sent the message privately that the hunger-strike should be given up.² How the news went abroad I do not know.

Farooqi was angry with me for prohibiting him from publishing his report of the interview. Instead I sent him a few sentences. He returned that. Mine looked like advertisement and he did not see any use in seeing me again. But he has sent a courteous letter today and

¹ *Vide* "Speech at A.I.C.C. Meeting, Bombay — 1", 15-9-1940

² *Vide* "Telegram to Iftikhar-ud-Din", On or before 28-7-1941

says he will see me when it becomes necessary.

Iftikhar has sent me a long and interesting letter about his tours.

The news about yourself is disturbing. You must get rid of your weakness or return.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I am extra-well, if such a thing can be said of a 72-year-old man.

From the original: C.W. 4039. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7348

714. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 31, 1941

CHI. MIRA,

I finished these last night in the “library”. It will be a good selection in the end.¹

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6486. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9887

715. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 31, 1941

CHI. LILY,

I got your letter. Sushila felt no apprehension regarding you. She believes that if you eat properly and take the prescribed medicines, you will certainly get well. Do not take strong tea. Take enough milk, or curds. Keep me regularly informed. If you do not regain strength, do come away. We will give up one year [of study] if it becomes necessary to do so. You must, of course, complete your study. The subjects which you regard as dull are certain to become interesting after you have mastered them. Ba frequently thinks of you.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ *Vide* also letters to the addressee, 23-6-1941

[PS.]

I am fine.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10110. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

716. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 31, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I was pleased that Anasuya accompanied you. I shall be very happy if she come fully recovered. And if she can be accommodated with you, good work can be done.

Enclosed is Kaka Saheb's report. Dr. Manu has stopped the injections after checking the sugar level, and has also stopped sweet fruit, etc. Is this right? Now the diet will consist of curds, milk, leafy vegetables, sour lime, etc.

I am of course well.

Khan Saheb has arrived. He is all right. Most probably he will leave on Sunday. He is likely to reach there on Monday. Ask Devdas to take the car to fetch him.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

717. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[July 31, 1941]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

After you went, you must have received one letter followed by a postcard. Enclosed is the strange letter from Sankaran which you must read and preserve. Annapurna's fear proved right. Sankaran has worked very hard. He is well educated. But women remain his obsession. I cannot decide what can be done about it. I do not want to

¹ From the reference to Tarabehn Mashruwala's departure for Bal Kutir; *vide* "Letter to Sushila Nayyar", 1-8-1941

worry you about it. I shall see about it. But it is necessary that you should be kept informed.

My blood-pressure continues to be satisfactory at the previous level. It seems it was unnecessary for me to take the salted limes that I had been taking. Within four day, after I gave up taking the limes, the blood-pressure started coming down. At all the three readings yesterday it was between 150/90. It had considerably gone down the day before yesterday also. Of course, I had been working very hard.

Tari is still here. She will most probably go to the Bal Kutir tomorrow. It will be some time before it gets vacated.

Madalasa is doing fine. Mahesh's¹ pain seems to have gone now. Miss Moore is also feeling better.

For the present at least, Ba is able to have good walks. She is feeling quite energetic.

Your letter was received today. Kaka's urine was found to contain sugar and acetone. I would be happy to send him there. Mahmud is very benevolent.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

718. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

July 31, 1941

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I saw your letter to Kishorelalbhai. I had received your letter and was very glad to read it. But as there was nothing to write, I did not even acknowledge it. It is good that your work is going on well.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Prof. Maheshdutta Mishra, ex-M.P. and freedom fighter

[PS.]

I hope Gopalrao is all right. Was the examination held?

SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH

AHIMSAK VYAYAM SANGH

RAMBAUG, MALAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5649. Also C.W. 2960. Courtesy: Prithvi Singh

719. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

August 1, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

No time. No letter from you today. Kanu¹ is going to Rajkot. His mother has lost one eye through glaucoma and is in danger of losing the other². Poor boy!

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Prabha has returned.

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

MANORVILLE

SIMLA

From the original: C.W. 4040. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7349

720. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 1, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

Do you feel stunned?³ Even if you do, for a person like you it can be only for a while. You are unattached, a lover of God and a man

¹ Son of Narandas Gandhi

² The source has "another".

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

of faith, and so you bear cheerfully whatever befalls you.

Bhai Nanalal will send the Rs. 11,000 that he has received. I will include the amount in your purse. I remember to have quoted the figure of one lakh¹ from your letter, not from your statement. But be that as it may. God will protect our honour.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8588. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

721. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I know Khan Saheb's nature. He would surely expect that I should talk when he comes. There certainly had been a mistake, it occurs to me as I write this. He was to arrive in the morning, and so it would have been all right if I had started talking later. As it happened, I was having my massage when he arrived. He could not wait the while and barged in while the massage was going on and engaged me in talk. Love is a remarkable bond. But that is all right.

Kanu is going to Rajkot today. His mother lost one of her eyes through glaucoma and there is danger of her losing the other eye too. She is to be operated on. She is refusing to have the operation without seeing Kanu. Hence his abrupt visit.

Tari will be going to Bal Kutir today.

God will look after me.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ *Vide* "Rentia Baras", 1-7-1941

722. SPEECH AT INAUGURATION OF KHADI VIDYALAYA

WARDHA,

August 1, 1941

We want to achieve the welfare of the world by truth and non-violence.

I want you, students of this Vidyalaya, to devote yourselves to a scientific study of the charkha and khadi and make improvements by new inventions and serve the villagers.

Just as the sun is the centre of the planetary system, so is the charkha of our economic or village structure. Without the sun, the world will perish; so without the charkha, which is our saviour and bread-giver, we shall lose.

If khadi comes to stay, everything will be all right; for the progress and improvement of khadi utilize both your intellect and hand-power. This khadi *mantra* manifested itself in 1908 when I was in South Africa along with the late Maganlal Gandhi who had made experiments for improving its technique. We are not opposed to machinery, but we must meet it by new inventions in our khadi science and by providing work and food for the villagers. Make your mind and intellect scientific, so that you students will always search for new things for the betterment of your country. Our prayer should be for serving all, Hindus, Muslims and other communities. By serving India, we can serve the world, as our object is non- exploitation, non-suppression and non-hatred. This requires penance which will add to our knowledge.

We have to exert ourselves more for passing the test of service to Indians and later to humanity. The Charkha Sangh is the central force or the centre of the All-India Village Industries' Association and the Talimi Sangh just as the sun is the guiding force on the solar system (*suryamandal*). Our small beginning with this Vidyalaya may attain or produce better results and our dreams will be realized if you systematically and scientifically study *khadishastra* (science) for serving the poor villagers, for giving them food and clothing by your sacrifice, suffering, penance and purity of character; by this we shall not only serve India, but also the world.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-8-1941

723. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

August 2, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter is bad! What is the use of your suppressing your illness or weakness? It leads to greater anxiety. I shall learn to shed anxiety not by companions suppressing truth but by experience which *faithful* companions should not deny me. Do be well and strong.

I understand your instructions about not writing on other people's letters. In the case referred to, I was careful to write on that part which you would have easily cut out.

Let Jamnalal have the pleasure of beating you each time.

Your report about Dehra Dun is exhilarating. You will never succeed in telling me when you come what you cannot tell me through letters. You know you did not succeed last time. I do not mind. You will be right in retorting that I never give you time. Such is life. What is really worth telling I know you will never omit. But what is of that nature as a rule admits of writing and cannot await long delay.

Here is Sailen's diary¹ and whatever it may be called. K. S.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4041. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7350

724. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

August 2, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have written to Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas. I can think of many ways. I believe the matter² can be set right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4734. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

¹ Vide "Letter to S.n. Chatterjee", 12-5-1941

² The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement

725. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
August 2, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

Kanaiyo is terribly upset. Do console him, please. I need him badly here but if he wishes to stay on there or if you feel the need to keep him there, you need not worry about me. I have always regarded it as my dharma to take whatever work I can from those persons who feel the need to be near me. Any other course would not be compatible with scrupulous adherence to truth. Realization of God also is impossible in any other way. The renunciation of *grihasthashrama* is inspired by the same ideal. It follows, therefore, that it is my duty to think of Kanaiyo's welfare and take into consideration what will suit you. The rest Kanaiyo will tell you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M. M.U./II. Also C.W. 8589. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

726. LETTER TO INDRAVADAN N. DIVYENDRA

August 2, 1941

BHAI INDRAVADAN,

I got your letter. My opinion about milk has not changed. But what is the value of opinions which I myself have not been able to act upon? Please, therefore, forget my opinion for the present and do take as much cow's milk and ghee as you can digest.

Blessings from

M. K.GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 146

727. LETTER TO KUNVARJI K. PAREKH

August 2, 1941

CHI. KUNVARJI,

Carry out the accompanying suggestions fully. He has written to Dr. Jivraj also about you. I am sure you will see him, won't you? But write to him first and see what he says.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9751

728. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

What shall I do? I am so busy that I am unable to write letters and I am not happy not writing. It never happens that I do not think of you when I have the massage while bathing. Hence, I cannot say when it was that I particularly remembered you.

Instead of going tomorrow Khan Saheb left today. I have sent a telegram to Devdas. Puri has also gone with him. Prabha has also left. She has gone to Patna. She will be returning on the 15th.

In spite of all indications, it is not raining here.

Tari gets fever between 99°-102°. And she cannot pass stool without enema.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

729. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 3, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

I have your letter. I cannot understand this irregular delivery. Something wrong at your end. What can't be cured must be endured.

This public kidnapping of Khurshed¹ is an atrocious thing! I do not know that your organization² should not take up the case from women's standpoint. You should carefully consider the thing. This too under the Defence of India Ordinance. What an untruth!

Your being ill is not a comforting thought. You have not fared so badly before in Simla?

You must bestir yourself and get thoroughly well. Or is old age creeping over you?

Who is Prof³? I can't make out the name. Of course Saran must not be in a hurry to go.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4042. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7351

730. LETTER TO RATANMONI CHATTERJI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 3, 1941

DEAR RATANMONI,

You have done well in giving me details about Dr. Das⁴. His

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", "Statement to the Press", 4-8-1941

² The All-India Women's Conference

³ This abbreviation is in the Devanagari script.

⁴ Dr. Ashutosh Das, I.M.S., had given up his permanent commission during the Non-co-operation Movement and worked for the eradication of Kalaazar in Haripal, a village in Hooghly District. He was imprisoned for offering individual civil disobedience and died following an attack of malaria shortly after his release.

death is a distinct loss. We can but intensify our devotion to the country's cause. Please convey my condolences to his aged mother.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

SHRI RATANMONI CHATTERJI
DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
G. T. ROAD
P.O. SERAMPORE, DIST. HOOGHLY
BENGAL

From a photostat: G.N. 8026. Also C.W. 10342. Courtesy: Ratanmoni Chatterji

731. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. I do go to see Tari every morning. I felt it could not be avoided. I do not feel tired. Since I take a shortcut, there is only a slight increase in blood-pressure. Once she is on the way to recovery, I may not go.

Enclosed is Kaka's letter. Koyaji is a renowned and elderly doctor and is conversant with everything that is new. I have written to Kaka that he should go to Poona and spend some days there. Give your suggestion if you have any.

Kanchan's health cannot be called good. She frequently falls ill. I should like to keep her with you for a long while if she agrees. Would you wish that? Would she not be a burden to you? Can she be kept in the hospital as a voluntary nurse? Or, can she be kept at your house? Would it be a burden to Mother if she were to stay at your place? Write to me after thinking everything over. There is certainly no hurry.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

732. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

SEVAGRAM,

*August 4, 1941*¹

Khurshedbehn Naoroji is the youngest grand-daughter of the late G.O.M.² of India. In common with her other sisters, she has dedicated herself to the service of India, in truth, of humanity. She felt the call some years ago to go to the Frontier Province, and work among the Pathans there and spread the gospel of non-violence. She took part also in the last civil disobedience campaign. The last time she was in the Frontier was in connection with dacoities and kidnappings. She is a brave and fearless woman, and so she had planned to work, if she could, even in the tribal area, and come in contact with the dacoits, and wean them from their error. For months she worked within the Province and was trying to cross the border with the permission of the Government. But she did not get the permission, though the authorities with whom she came into contact recognized her worth, transparent honesty, and utter absence of secrecy about her movements in the Frontier Province. This is clear from the letters she holds from the officials. Being tired of waiting she notified the Frontier Government of her intention to cross the border. But she was arrested, tried and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 100 or imprisonment for three months in default thereof. She preferred the latter and on her finishing the term of imprisonment she was externed from the Frontier Province, and interned in the Island of Bombay. She protested against the order and corresponded with the authorities. I give below her letters:

78 NAPEAN SEA ROAD, BOMBAY,

March 31, 1941

SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM,

ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT, POLITICAL (I)

NEW DELHI

¹ The draft version available in the A.I.C. C. File No. 1363, 1941, is dated August 3, 1941, and *The Bombay Chronicle* reports the statement under "Wardha, August 5".

² Dadabhai Naoroji, who was known as the "Grand Old Man of India".

dated 18th February, 1941, which was served on me just before my release from the Peshawar Central Prison on 4th March 1941, I have to state as follows:

I consider the language of the order vague and the restrictions unjustifiable, in view of the activities in which I was engaged. I place these few facts before you.

For nine months prior to my arrest on 4th December, 1940, I had been working in the Bannu District of the North-West Frontier Province, trying to instil into the minds of the people the ideal of non-violence. I went about from village to village meeting Pirs, Maliks, Khans, as well as dacoits—all honour to many of them—who gave a patient hearing to my talks. I spoke to them on the cowardice and cruelty of carrying away or killing defenceless men, women and children. I argued with dacoits and tribesmen on the inhumanity of killing one's fellow-beings. I strove to make villagers responsible for the collective security of the villages. I asked the Hindus to show more courage, and try and create a living bond of sympathy between themselves and their Pathan neighbours. I begged of the Pathans to live up to their traditions of protecting the weak and opposing brute force even from their own kinsmen. The above-mentioned facts may be verified through Government officials in the district concerned, in the North-West Frontier Province.

After due intimation to the authorities, I was proceeding to Walo Tangi in Tribal Territory on 4th Dec. 1940, to try and obtain the release of some Hindu kidnappees, among whom was a woman, when I was arrested. I had intended to spend some time there, if necessary, until I had accomplished my object.

During all my talks, private or public, to the Frontier villagers as stated above, at least one C.I.D. officer was always present and heard what I said, and which in all probability was reported to the Government department concerned.

I, therefore, take the liberty to ask if my conduct or speech in the N.W.F. Province, such as I have described, could by any stretch of imagination be considered to be prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war, to the defence of British India, or to the public order.

I regard my work in the Frontier Province to have been essentially humanitarian. I feel sure that I could not have been banished from the N.W.F.P. for the activities described by me. If the Government have information to the contrary, they have been entirely misled. I should be given

an opportunity of rebutting evidence which has led to the passing of the order against me.

May I expect an early reply?

Yours truly,

Sd/- K. A. D. NAOROJI

The authorities turned a deaf ear to her protest. So she decided to break the order of internment if she could not get relief and consequently gave the following notice to the authorities:

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your last letter after careful consideration I have failed to find the slightest justification for restricting me to the Island of Bombay.

I am prepared to understand in these times of stress for the British Government the prevention of my entry, for the time being, into the Frontier Province. But I find it hard to reconcile myself to being cooped up in the Island of Bombay. My whole soul rebels against what I hold to be manifestly unjust and wholly unnecessary. It insults my intelligence. Unless, therefore, the restriction order is confined only to the Frontier Province and my freedom of movement is left otherwise undisturbed and unless I receive an answer amending the order as requested by June 30, I propose to disobey it.

Yours truly,

Sd/- K. A. D. NAOROJI

For very shame,¹ I suppose, and probably also because they felt that they could not justify their high-handed action in confining the internment to Bombay they relaxed the order so as to cover the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

That brought her no relief. She resented the underlying distrust. As will be seen from the correspondence I have reproduced, she was quite willing to accommodate the authorities by not going to the Frontier Province. But she could not possibly tolerate the idea of being confined to the Bombay Presidency. There was no reason whatsoever why she should not be allowed to go to Wardha to confer with me, or to go to Allahabad to see the Kamala Nehru Hospital of which she was till the other day one of the active trustees and

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Devdas Gandhi", 13-8-1941.

secretaries, or to travel to any other part of India, where she has many friends, and where she could be of great service in many of the constructive activities going on in the country. At last being utterly dissatisfied with the inexplicable treatment meted out to her she gave notice to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, on 31st July, 1941, of her intention to proceed to Wardha on the 1st of August if she was left free. So on the morning of the 1st she was without trial, shall I say, kidnapped, to the Yeravda Central Jail.

This action of the Government baffles me, and is a significant and searching commentary on the so-called expansion of the Viceregal Council and what not. The public should understand that Khurshedbehn's action is no part of the war resistance. But the public is hardly aware of the fact that many persons have been arrested and detained without trial although so far as I am aware there is no charge against them of having offered war resistance either as part of the Congress campaign or outside it. They are being detained for reasons of which neither they nor the public have any knowledge. Is Khurshedbehn's case an index of what has been done in these other cases?

Congress Bulletin, No. 6, 1941, File No. 3/42/41-Home Department, Pol. (I).
Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-8-1941

733. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
August 4, 1941

I have seen a Press report of an interview said to have been given by me to an American magazine called *Look*. It is a pure fabrication. I never knew before now of even the name of the magazine. My attitude remains what I have repeatedly stated. The Congress will not be satisfied with anything less than complete independence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-8-1941

734. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[August 4, 1941]¹

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Here is a letter for you. You will remember the girl. Nothing need be done by you for the time being.

If Jamnalal leaves in the middle of the month you will be without work! !

Yes, you can get a 1st class certificate for packing and general neatness. You will have to get [one]² for general fitness of body. Just now the family regard [you] as too delicate to be handled anyhow.

Ask Shummy how to deal with flies. They are a pest at the present moment. If the rains keep out long, they will devour us. I would not like you to take part in the battle unless you come with some special remedy which admits of no failure.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Veeramma³ and Cariappa gone to Karnataka.

From the original: C.W. 4043. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7352

735. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

August 4, 1941

MY DEAR MALKANI,

You have sent me a letter after long waiting. But I understand the delay.

I see you are having the greatest difficulty in establishing contact with the villagers. You are bound to succeed, if you have the right type of workers with the proper spirit of perseverance.

Do you manufacture your own tools? You ought not to depend upon Sabarmati or Nalwadi. We must fail, if we depend on distant depots. Decentralization to the nth degree is necessary for success. For

¹ From the postmark

² The source has "for".

³ *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 21-7-1941

similar reasons I would like you to depend more and more on local production of khaddar.

Did I ever ask you to go to Quetta and advise the Baluchistan Congress about constructive work? Maulvi Abdus Samad is the President or Secretary. I promised that I would ask you to proceed there and give a few days. I have the notion that I sent you a hurried line about this. But as you make no reference to the matter, I wonder what happened.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 940

736. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),

August 4, 1941

MY DEAR BULBUL,

Your love letter which is also business letter. Of course you are working there and wearing yourself out. Take care that you don't disappear before me. So you go to Hyderabad, and do the diplomatic work.

As usual you have come out with your wise suggestion. I am writing to Chhatari¹.

I know you will come to my view that it is not time yet for me to move out. I am doing better work remaining in Sevagram.

Love.

SPINNER

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

¹ Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari, Member of the National Defence Council

737. NOTE TO MIRABEHN

August 4, 1941

Reminds one of “confound her enemies, frustrate their knavish tricks”.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6487. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9882

738. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,

August 4, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your two letters arrived together. I understand about Kaka. I have sent the report of Koyaji’s examination yesterday. He will be careful.

It will be good if Anasuya’s health improves.

I am sending the letters concerning Kunvarji, as also the letter from Mathuradas. In your letter to the doctor you have not thanked him for his help in Bombay. Or, have you already written him a letter of thanks?

I shall see about Sankaran. Annapurna will not be coming there. She wants to go to Gujarat after the *rentia baras*. She wishes to have training in khadi work. Ba will carry on as before. I have not put on any weight. It was 99 1/2 lb. yesterday. I am considering taking garlic. I am not able to decide. Its odour is offensive. I dare not increase the quantity of food. The blood-pressure is well under control. I shall warn Ba about moving about. But when she has energy, nobody can control her. You write to her.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

Miss Moore left on Saturday. So, I have sent Pyarelal’s watch through her.

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

739. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHAGANJ,
August 5, 1941

I have read a Press summary of a letter said to have been written to me by 48 persons from the Gujrat Jail (Punjab). The question asked in the message is: "Would it be possible for any member of the Congress to use violent means against a violent dacoit under grave and provocative conditions, and yet remain in the Congress fold?"

Of course it is possible, it is even possible for people to remain in the Congress although they deliberately break every Congress rule. But if I am asked whether such persons should remain in the Congress, my answer would be an emphatic 'No'. That is for public conduct. No law has been laid down by the Congress as to private conduct. The Congress will refuse, as it should, to judge the conduct of a person who resists by force a robber robbing his property, or an assailant molesting his daughter.

However, the Congress Resolution passed at Poona clearly lays down that volunteer organizations for the purpose of self-defence organized by the Congress or with which Congressmen are associated, must adhere to non-violence. Whether persons who break the rule or even preach the use of violence by Congressmen in such cases should be turned out of the Congress is a different question.

My personal attitude is clear. I would not necessarily turn out such persons from the Congress. My letter to the Delhi President of the Congress Committee has been misquoted or misunderstood.¹ I deliberately advised against expulsion from the Congress. I have always held that it is an action to be adopted in rare case.

I know some persons have interpreted my advice² to Shri Munshi as expulsion. I regard the step taken by him as that of a high-souled man. He had taken no overt action. He had conscientious scruples. He referred to me for advice and, in his own interest and that of the Congress, I advised him to go out of the Congress. There was no coercion, even remote or indirect. His retirement was wholly

¹ *The Hindu*, 4-7-1941, had quoted the letter as follows: "If any four-anna Congress member, directly or indirectly, participates in the war effort, he should be expelled from the Congress membership." *Vide* also "Letter to Raghunandan Saran", Before 16-7-1941.

² *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941

voluntary and dictated by purely moral scruples. I have no reason whatsoever for repenting of my advice, which I should unhesitatingly repeat in every such case.

The rest of the message does not call for any notice.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-8-1941. Also A.I.C.C. File No. 1363, 1941.
Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

740. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 5, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note. I sent you the wire at once. I am quite sure he¹ must not speak for some time. His speech will be all the better for the restraint. You will make out all the reasons.

You were right also in vetoing his going to Hardwar. He must have uninterrupted stay there whatever it is to be. And you can truthfully say that he can't have equal quiet, equal facility and equally good and clean arrangement for food. May all these conveniences result in permanent benefit to his body and mind.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

What you say about Sailen is correct.²

From the original: C.W. 4044. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7353

741. LETTER TO S. N. CHATTERJEE

August 5, 1941

DEAR SAILEN,

I have read the enclosed. Rajkumari's criticism is quite correct. The mistakes she has collected are unpardonable. If you do not make

¹ Jamnalal Bajaj

² *Vide* the following item.

a serious endeavour to improve, you will never make any progress.
Your mistakes are purely due to carelessness.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10343, Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

742. LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

August 5, 1941

DEAR CAVEESHAR,

I have your letter.¹ My doubts are there. But I am always ready and willing, provided there is some common ground.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

743. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 5, 1941

CHI. VALJI,

Once I have agreed, where is the need for you to decide anything?² But it would be extremely painful for me to give the decision you want. I wish to settle everything at the same time. Durga is in Bulsar with her sister's husband at present for a change of air.

Blessings from
BAPU

PROF. V. G. DESAI
DEVAGIRI
POONA 4

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7496. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

¹ The addressee had sent to Gandhiji a copy of his letter to M. A. Jinnah, in which he had suggested some formula for Congress-League talks.

² *Vide* letters to the addressee, "Letter to Valji G. Desai", 18-5-1941 and "Letter to Valji G. Desai", 26-7-1941

744. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 5, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. I have increased my quota of food from today. I have also started taking garlic from today. The sin of the foul odour is on your head and also the sin of any harm that may come from its use.

I tried to persuade Ba but so long as she has the energy, she will exert herself. Of course, she is eating well.

Mahadev has not yet returned. And he is so deep in fund collection that there are no letters from him.

Some eight persons at Nalwadi have got diarrhoea at the same time. I have sent Dr. Das. Manu has already reached there. Now there will be some news.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

745. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA

August 6, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You have done what you have condemned in me—written on the blank part of correspondence. Tulsidas was right when he wrote:

समर्थ को नाहिं दोस गुसाई¹

[The] king can do no wrong.

You may do that, pleased with the progress made in the Harijan welfare work.

Your *raksha*² has been received and will be duly used tomorrow. Madalasa is making grand preparations for distribution on a large scale. She is preparing special thread and making centre pieces. Ramakrishna comes out on 9th to go back as soon as he is ready.

¹ *Ramcharitmanas*, Balkanda

² This word is in the Devanagari script.

Kanu writes saying his mother had a successful operation.¹

No rain yet. It is exasperating. The farmers are having an anxious time. Yes, what you say about Amery is too true. Can a leopard change his spots!

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4045. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7354

746. LETTER TO VIJAYA M. PANCHOLI

August 6, 1941

CHI. VIJAYA,

You seem to be very busy. Your letters are insipid and arrive after long intervals. Why is this so? I will tie the *rakhdi* tomorrow. I hope both of you keep good health. How is Nanabhai? How is the school going on? Ba is fine. My health is all right. Kusum is here at present. Prabhavati is arriving on the 15th. Amtul Salaam has got allher teeth extracted. After that her asthma has disappeared. The Ashram is full, even though a good many new buildings have come up.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7138. Also C.W.. 4630. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

747. LETTER TO VITHTHALDAS V. JERAJANI

August 6, 1941

BHAI VITHTHALDAS,

Bhai Jajuji² had sent me your budget for my information. I made the suggestions without much thinking. You have identified yourself with the work of the Spinners' Association as much as Jajuji and I. We may, therefore, put our points of view before you and then agree with what you say. Is it not true, as a rule, that as sales increase the cost diminishes? That is, either the cost price decreases or profits

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 1-8-1941

² Shrikrishnadas Jaju

increase. Since we do not want to make profit we should reduce the prices. But I thought that, since you are increasing the number of shops, in the beginning the expenses might go up, but in the end they are bound to come down. If this reasoning is correct, you should tell me when the cost is likely to begin decreasing.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9800

748. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 6, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I have your letter and the accompanying literature. If, after studying it, I have any questions to ask you I will write and do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10122

749. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,

August 6, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. What you say is not correct. It seems you have not understood at all the nature of the struggle this time. It is no good people going to jail simply because others have done so. If there are poor people who want to do constructive work but cannot you will be needed to organize them. You will be needed even if there is a riot again. It will do even if no one from Gujarat goes to jail for the present. If you and others do not handle the crisis of floods, who else will? Why can't you see that? Your letter bespeaks cowardice and impatience. It does not behove you. I shall explain further if you come here.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

If you did not leave Gujarat now to go anywhere, I would be happy.

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11218. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

750. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 6, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your two letters together today. You are unnecessarily worrying about me. I am well enough to be able to say that God will look after me. I have no fear. I have already written that I have increased the milk quota and started taking onions and garlic. Do not worry. Concentrate on your studies and see that you not only pass but there is nothing in the field worth knowing that you do not know. I want you to have the ability to formulate a plan for a small or big hospital and to say what it should be like, and to map out a plan for rural health. All this is possible only if you become a *sanyasini* for one year.

Sharma's case is as you describe. But I have the impression that he is honest. There is no need to ask Mahadev because I know his opinion. You can be of great use if you can control yourself. But if your joining this interferes with your studies, I do not wish to involve you. Hence, instead of leaving it to me, give your independent view.

Let Tari be here for the present. If her health deteriorates I shall send her there. She seems to be happy that she is able to live independently. I meet her every morning.

On second thoughts, I feel that I should not involve you in the Sharma affair. Forget it. You should not be saddled with that responsibility.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

751. CONDOLENCE TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

WARDHA,

August 7, 1941

Your loss is also mine, nay, it is the nation's or rather the world's. Let us by our acts prove worthy of Gurudev who had become an institution. My condolences to you all.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-8-1941

752. TRIBUTE TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

August 7, 1941

In the death of Rabindranath Tagore, we have not only lost the greatest poet of the age, but an ardent nationalist who was also a humanitarian. There was hardly any public activity on which he has not left the impress of his powerful personality. In Santiniketan and Sriniketan, he has left a legacy to the whole nation, indeed, to the world. May the noble soul rest in peace and may those in charge at Santiniketan prove worthy of the responsibility resting on their shoulders.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-8-1941

753. LETTER TO K. A. CHIDAMBARAM¹

SEVAGRAM,

August 7, 1941

The portion underlined² by you is wholly false. So is the

¹ This appeared in facsimile in the centre of the page which contained the addressee's article, "Always Front Page News! Today, As Before, the Mahatma Provides Material for Scoops—And Hoaxes!".

² In his article, the addressee had referred to "certain alleged Gandhi-Irwin anecdotes" published in *Picture Post* and had quoted one of them, which read: "He (Lord Irwin) went to India and remained five years. He met Mohandas K. Gandhi and prevailed upon him through greater religious fervour than even India's scrawny little saint could muster. 'You can't argue with Jesus Christ', commented Mahatma once, following a long conference from which he had emerged second best."

statement¹ about Lord Irwin as he then was. Ours was a purely political meeting.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *The Bombay Chronicle*, 28-9-1941

754. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

August 7, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Here is a letter from Lucknow.

Sailen's you need not correct if you have not done already. I wrote² to him strongly about his great carelessness.

I have not the Hindu Law Committee's³ report by me. But I have read the two articles in *Indian Social Reformer* on it and some other reviews. It appeared to me to be a good report. I do not know that anything is coming out of all this effort. (I am writing this in the midst of interruptions.)

Your letter is disquieting. You don't seem to have profited by the change as much as I had expected. So you are obliged to doubt your ability to return even at the end of the month. I hope your

¹ Which, as quoted from the same source by the addressee, read: "During one of Gandhi's periodic hunger-strikes, Lord Halifax shrewdly remarked, 'Gandhi is now speaking in a language the Indian people understand. If I were to get in the hallway of the Government buildings at New Delhi, squat on the floor and refuse to eat a bit until the Indian Civil Disobedience Movement came to terms, the trouble would be over in a few days. Of course, before those few days could elapse, my Liberal, Conservative and Labour colleagues in London would send for me to come home and would have a padded cell waiting for me on my arrival.' "

² *Vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 5-8-1941

³ This was appointed under the Chairmanship of B. N. Rau in January 1941, "to examine the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act of 1937 (as amended by Act XI of 1938) with particular reference to five private Bills." The report, which was published from New Delhi on July 26, advocated "immediate admission of the daughter to an equal share with the daughter-in-law". It suggested "legislation for agricultural land, with retrospective effect, in order to give widows the full measure of multiplicity of rules of succession". The Committee had recommended "preparation" in gradual stages, of a complete code of Hindu Law" beginning with the law of succession, instead of piecemeal legislation. The task of codification of Hindu Law was completed by the Committee on August 4, 1941.

doubts have no foundation.

Kanu's place is filled by Laxmidas so far as office work is concerned and by Dhiren so far as *malish*¹ is concerned.

Amtul Salaam is keeping well and eating well. Our outbursts continue but that is the normal state.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4046. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7355

755. LETTER TO KOTWAL

August 7, 1941

BHAI KOTWAL,

I got your letter. If you have become impatient, you may certainly go [to jail]. I certainly feel at present that those who understand the secret of ahimsa should remain engrossed in constructive work. Ultimately everybody will get an opportunity of going. Not "Ajmer"; it is certainly a slip.² If you must go, go to Ajmer and obtain the permission of the local committee.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3601

756. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

August 7, 1941

CHI. LILI,

Received your *rakhi*. Do not give up the injections for fear of expense. If the injections have helped you, continue to take them and

¹ Massage

² Vide "Letter to Haribhau Upadhyaya", 30-7-1941

recover completely. Who is the doctor? What are the injections? Lakshmidas has taken Kanu's place in the office. Dhiren does the massage.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
65 MINT ROAD
BOMBAY

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

757. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. What a letter! Why this despondency? You have not failed and left me. Why do you allow yourself to be affected by what other people may say? That is not scientific thinking. A good doctor should be of steadfast intellect. Hence, you will truly be an M.D. when you develop a sense of detachment and do not let yourself be affected by anything whatever. This is also something that medical science has to deal with. You will not find any cure for if in the *Materia Medica*. You have to discover it yourself. You are now making up for your previous inadequate study for the examination. You are surely going to study well this time. If you remain disturbed and do not concentrate on your studies like a true seeker, not only you but I too will have to lose face. Hence, prepare yourself. Get rid of the despondency and concentrate on your studies.

As for a medical job, I certainly advise you to take permission to spend three months at Lahore. I am not in the least troubled that you will give up your job to gain experience in different hospitals. Let me bear the expenses whatever they may be. It will be no burden to me. After all in the end you have to work for me.

I shall think about Tari. Ultimately I may have to send her to you. Kanchan is bed-ridden. She is running temperature. I have not given her quinine yet. I am giving her milk and *mosambi* juice.

I shall see about Kaka. The *rakhi* duly arrived. A.S has taken it and gone to meet him. She will give it to him.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

758. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 7/8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I am writing this after A.S.'s arrival. She tied the *rakhi* on Pyarelal. Right from the morning Pyarelal had a feeling that someone would visit him. So he was very happy to see A.S. They talked of this and that. He was in a happy mood. His health also was better than last time. He feels better because he has now been getting green vegetables.

On the back of this is Kunvarji's letter. Read it.

I shall write more tomorrow if there is anything worth writing. You must have received the letter posted today.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

There is no letter from you today. Kanchan is feeling well today. Tari likes being here but she is suffering from constipation.

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

759. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

August 8, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your Hindi letter. I hope Shummy's prescription will set you up. Glad Jamnalal is making steady progress all round.

There is no knowing when Mahadev will return. He has to go to Ahmedabad after finishing Bombay.

Sardar is not keeping well in Yeravda. It is a sad thing we can't keep good health in imprisonment.

Kanu is due in Bombay today. His mother had a successful operation.

Here are visitors coming.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4047. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7356

760. LETTER TO NATVARLAL J. VEPARI

August 8, 1941

BHAI NATVARLAL,

I have read your report. I can see that you have had to take a lot of trouble. It seems you have also spent a considerable sum out of your own pocket. The quantity of paper and the amount of typing were not negligible. Do claim the expense on account of both and if you think you should be paid a fee, ask for it, too.

If you have taken out a sufficient number of copies of the report, please send one to Gopalan and one to Chandrashanker. If you have no spare copy, I will get copies made here. I have enough facilities for the purpose.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10123

761. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

August 8, 1941

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. The news about Rajendra Babu was painful. Come over only after completing your work. If you think it necessary to stay on for the sake of Rajendra Babu, you may do so. Here it

rained today and everybody felt relieved. Kanchanbehn has fallen ill.
The rest are all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3562

762. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 8, 1941

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letters. It is good that you have decided once and for all. Nanabhai is a kind and large-hearted soul. I understand about Kanaiyo. I hope Jamna is all right and her eye is quite unscathed.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8590. Courtesy:
Narandas Gandhi

763. LETTER TO VIDYABEHN

August 8, 1941

CHI. VIDYA,

I got your *rakhi* and duly tied it. Spin more yarn, even, strong and fine. Use the carding-bow regularly. Study the science of spinning.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI VIDYABEHN

SHANTI NIVAS

SIALKOT CITY, PUNJAB

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8945

764. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

[*August 9, 1941*]¹

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note. Yes, you would not allow flies to enter the cottage.
Thanks to Shummy for his hints.²

I see you have sent me a parcel.

Jajuji has just come in.

Here are two letters.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4048. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7357

765. *LETTER TO AMRITA LAL CHATTERJEE*

August 9, 1941

MY DEAR AMRITLAL,

I am sorry for your troubles. I hope your daughter is out of the wood.³

As for Abha she should be with you as long as you need her. As soon as you are ready to send her you may ask Satis Babu or Annada to find out a companion who would escort her. Of course, I would pay her fare.

Vina is a difficult proposition. Why not Chittaranjan Seva Sadan⁴?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 10320. Courtesy: Amrita Lal Chatterjee

¹ From the postmark

² *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 4-8-1941

³ The addressee's third daughter Anima was suffering from typhoid.

⁴ Of Calcutta

766. LETTER TO ABDUL RAHMAN

August 9, 1941

DEAR A.R.,

Many thanks. You have certainly clarified S's "Will You?" Now tell me whether the time has arrived for such a declaration, who should make it and what should be its contents.¹ My question has been put in order to seek help for I am not clear as to any of the questions.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

767. LETTER TO ANNADA BABU

SEVAGRAM,

August 9, 1941

MY DEAR ANNADA,

Your letter. The reason why the alteration was made is that there were charges against the Bengal Branch which need elucidation. The Khadi Pratishthan case is wholly of a different type. The question then was whether they sold cheaper. If they have, it does not much matter. The charge against the Bengal Branch is that it sold khadi dearer, unduly loaded the khadi prices. It is [a] matter of much moment. I would myself like to be satisfied as to what has happened. Do you see the distinction? The reference should therefore be as follows:

‘Whether during the years 1937 to 1939 the Bengal Branch unduly loaded the khadi prices and sold khadi much dearer than what they should have. What should have been and what has been the gross margin during the said years and to report on the reasons for the high prices, if any, and on the use made of the margin, if any.’

Yours,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ The addressee in his letter dated August 6 had suggested the “adoption of a ‘unilateral statement’ for the consideration of all men of good intentions.”

768. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Because you do not mark your letter 'Personal', they are opened, but nobody reads them.

You worry unnecessarily. What makes you think that I shall not do as you say? I have already written to you that I have increased my milk quota by 50 per cent. I am also trying to take more *rotis*. I have of course started taking garlic and onions. Now let me see what happens. Since I take a shorter route, there is no appreciable increase in walking. I am taking great care. Do not worry.

Now I shall close as Jajuji has come.

Kanchan is having fever today too.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

769. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

[On or before *August 10, 1941*]¹

I am surprised that such things appear in the papers² when there is no foundation whatever. I have not received any communication either from the Maulana Sahib or any other prisoner; nor has any messenger come to me with such representations.

Asked what the position was of Congressmen in jail, who felt that the policy of the Congress should be revised in view of the altered situation at home and abroad, Gandhiji said:

If they have changed their views and want a change of colour, of course, they can do so at any time. They have only to declare this and the Government will be glad to oblige them.

¹ Reported under the date-line "Nagpur, August 10"

² The correspondent had drawn Gandhiji's attention to the report that "forty prisoners in the Naini Jail, including the Congress President, made representations to him urging a change in Congress policy in view of the changed international situation".

When I asked him whether nothing that had happened in the country or outside recently warranted the calling off of satyagraha, Gandhiji said:

So far as I am concerned nothing has happened.

The Hindu, 12-8-1941

770. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, VIA WARDHA,

August 10, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter is disturbing. Why should you have such bad headache? What had you done? You *must* be well and strong.

The apples have arrived.

It is still raining.

The Poet's death has left a void that cannot be filled. He was a rare combination of goodness and genius.

I am glad Jamnalal is keeping up steady improvement.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3637. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6485

771. LETTER TO SIKANDAR

August 10, 1941

MY DEAR S.,

Your impatient letter to hand. No hurried action need be taken. Haste is waste. Time is always in favour of Right. I see no harm in your practising. But your practice should also be calm, not tempestuous.

Rajkumari does not return before the end of the month, if then. It will depend upon her health. Her address is¹

Yours,

BAPU

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Omission as in the source

772. *LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 10, 1941

DEAR LOTUS-BORN,

I learn on good authority that you are not behaving properly and are wearing yourself out with work. You are hereby required not to be so stupid and make yourself ill.

Love.

PLAYMATE

SHRI PADMAJA NAIDU
RED HILLS
HYDERABAD DECCAN

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

773. *LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE*

August 10, 1941

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You have been sending me useful material. The friends from Burma are also coming. I feel the proper course for me would be to issue a statement only after I have had talks with them all. I need a copy of the Burma Pact.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4735. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

774. *LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI*

August 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter. Marybehn¹ has not yet come and seen me. This time I have been regular in writing to you. But how can we help the negligence of the Postal Department? I have no doubt that Manilal is

¹ F. Mary Barr who had gone to South Africa

lethargic. If even association with you has not succeeded in overcoming his laziness, what is its worth? Or is it that lethargy is so ingrained in Manilal's nature that even good company cannot cure him of it?

Kishorelalbhai and Gomati are staying here for the present. Since Mahadevbhai is on tour, he is helping me.

There was a prolonged dry spell, but we are having rain now and perhaps the year's [harvest] will be good.

I am glad to learn that Sita¹ helps you. Arun² also will come round.

Forward the accompanying to E. M. Parekh. I don't have his address.

The rest of the news will be given by Kishorelalbhai.

Blessings to you both from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4921

775. LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA

August 10, 1941

CHI. BABUDI,

Tell Chokhawala that he has expressed his opinion without careful thinking. You have been weak in body from your very birth. If you had been eating everything, you would not have lived long enough to marry Chokhawala. Anybody who can have milk, ghee and greens will never be delicate in health. If he but looks around, he will see that the innumerable people who fall ill eat chillies and fried stuff. If he visits a hospital, he will find it full of such people. Let Anand, therefore, grow up, while he is a child, on milk, curds, fruits, greens and bread. When he grows up he will choose for himself. I am trying to buy a copy of Kuhne's book. If that friend does not arrive you need do nothing.

Blessings to you both from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10035. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

¹ Addressee's daughter and son

² *ibid*

776. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

August 10, 1941

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Your letter has just arrived. Radha's letter too arrived at the same time. I am sending it to you. I think it would not be good to make her give up the job she has got. You may disregard the money. You may disregard experience. But you may not disregard the loss of reputation. Is it Radha's medical knowledge you need or just her company? If you want only the company, why not have Bindu? Or should I find somebody else? It is embarrassing that just when you expressed a desire to call her, Radha finds herself in an awkward situation.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

777. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Sankaran's letter is enclosed. My weight has increased by 1 lb. Do not worry about me and concentrate on your work. I do not at all like that you should remain unhappy. There is absolutely no reason for it. You must understand that if you become dispirited and disheartened or if you fail, I will be held responsible for it, and justifiably, because when you were not in very close touch with me, you succeeded in everything you did. There was nothing like disappointment. From your association with me would your qualities be further enriched or would they be diminished? I know that nothing is going to be achieved by argument. Association with people has a subtle influence. We cannot free ourselves from it. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

There is no need to thank Dr. Jivraj again. A letter had already been sent to him. The reply has also been received.

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

778. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 11, 1941

DEAR IDIOT,

Your note. You do not say whether you lost your headache and why you had it. I do not mind your imprisoning Jamnalal for a year, so long as you do not have to be with him all that time. I have heard that Simla is at its very best in winter and it is the cheapest—rent is nothing and vegetables and fruit you get for a song. Valji was there during a winter and profited by his stay.

I have another commission for [you]. Find out from somebody what to do to get rid of white ants. We have a positive inflection. They have now attacked my bathroom and may spread throughout the place if their mischief is not stopped in [time].

The agricultural department must know the remedy.

Have I not told you that *malish* is done by Dhiren and office work by Lakshmidas?

Amtul Salaam is quite well. She has added seven pounds to her weight and is active the whole day long.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Are the apples from your garden?

From the original: C.W. 4049. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7358

779. *LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI*

August 11, 1941

BHAI MUNSHI,

I got your letter. It is quite clear. It will now be easy to write to

Chandravadan. I didn't know anything before I got his letter. I read your speech in *Social Welfare* after I had his letter.

Come whenever you wish to.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7665. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

780. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

August 11, 1941

CHI. MANI,

I had your letter. Kishorelalbhai has already replied to it. How did that happen to Bhanumati? Aren't the doctors able to say anything? The baby is not likely to survive. Even if she lives, she will perhaps remain weak all her life.

Did my letters reach Father? I took double precaution in order that he might get them without delay.

You have no cause at all to worry. It is certainly not one's duty to go to jail irrespective of one's circumstances. Outside you are doing Father's work. By going to jail just now you would only feel self-satisfied. When the time comes, I will not hold you back even for a moment. Just now all Gujaratis who are ready to work should go on doing their work.

Send me five pounds of dry figs of good quality.

I got that grammar book.

Mahadev must have arrived there. What is the collection now? Things are going on all right here.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 130

781. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

August 11, 1941

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

I have your reply regarding the expenditure. I quite understand.

I make no distinction between you and Viththaldas My letter to you includes him just as one to him includes you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10851. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

782. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 11, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letter has arrived only today. You will have fully recovered by now.

I did not have any particular hospital in mind. Let us first see someone making a donation of Rs. 30 lakhs. Only then will you be in a position to say what kind of a hospital could be run with that amount, and what kind with a hundred rupees. I know this is very difficult. But does not the M.D. degree mean the capacity to know the most difficult things? Only you can say whether all this is possible through a study course of one year. Perhaps an M.D. is not required to have knowledge of this kind. But even if that be so, I would expect you to have that knowledge, because I have observed that medical skill is a god-given gift to you, so that you are able to turn your reading and observation into something good.

Had I known that you would be so upset by your failure I would not have allowed you to appear for the examination at all. I should have respected Pyarelal's knowledge of you and gone with his advice. But I thought in my pride that I too knew you well. I also assumed in my pride that you had developed detachment to a certain extent after being in contact with me. But it is no use crying over spilt milk. Now as far as possible try to forget your failure at the last examination and work hard to pass the next examination. There should be no obstacle to it.

I commend your resolve not to seek any financial help. But even there, stubbornness would not be proper. If you need to have more free time for the sake of your examination, then you must accept such help.

I am treating Kanchan myself. Her fever is decreasing but not completely gone. Even water tastes bitter to her. That is why I am not giving her food. I shall give her everything when she recovers. I shall not keep her just on milk and fruit.

I have understood about Anasuya. Increase in weight by 3 lb. is quite good. It will be nice if the progress can be maintained. Do not think it is your duty in any way to call Kanchan there. Call her only if you can do so without trouble. I am of course taking good care of myself. I do not tire myself by walking.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

783. *LETTER TO BRAHMANAND*

August 11, 1941

BHAI BRAHMANANDJI,

What you take to be hostility is not hostility. Everybody has to endure disease. One should serve despite being a patient. Milton in his blindness served with the pen, and so did Surdas¹. Those who are healthy should serve with body, mind, and soul.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI BRAHMANAND 'BANDHU'

C/O B. DAYARAM

BOHRA-MANDIR

MUZAFFARNAGAR, U.P.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2776

784. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 11/12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Enclosed is an extract from Dr. J.'s letter concerning Balkoba

¹ A Hindi saint-poet

and Mathuradas for your perusal. Let me have your comments if there are any.

Blessings from

BAPU

August 12, 1941

I have your letter. Why are you falling ill? You will find here the details about my diet. I find that I cannot increase the milk quota. I had to reduce it today. But the decrease will not make much difference in the calories. Is Sankaran's calculation correct? What changes would you suggest in it? The blood-pressure is all right. I shall get a weekly report prepared and send it to you. Tari is fine.

BAPU

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

785. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,

August 12, 1941

The seventeenth instant is the *shraddha* day of Gurudev. Those who attach religious significance to the *shraddha* ceremony will no doubt fast for the day by abstaining from food altogether or confining themselves only to fruits, and devote themselves to prayer. The prayer may be individual or congregational. Every city and every village which has partaken of Gurudev's uplifting message delivered through his writings and lived in his life will meet at an hour best suited to them and contemplate the noble life and dedicate themselves for the country's service.

Gurudev stood for peace and goodwill. He knew no communal barriers. I, therefore, hope that all sections will join together in observing the solemn day and promote communal harmony.

I would like all further to remember that the bulk of the Deenabandhu Memorial still remains to be collected. Sad to say, it has also become Gurudev's Memorial, for the simple reason that collections of the Memorial are to be solely devoted to the upkeep and expansion of Santiniketan, which includes the Visvabharati and

Sriniketan. This does not exclude a separate and special memorial for Gurudev, but it would be a mockery even to think of one before the memorial conceived by Gurudev himself has been fulfilled. It would be a fitting finish to the solemn day if the workers and organizers make it a point to collect for the memorial and send them to Messrs Bachraj and Company, 51 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-8-1941

786. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,

August 12, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

You have given me good news. I hope the improvement will be steady.

You will see the message¹ I have issued regarding Gurudev.

Appa² of Aundh is coming here for a week. The Burma deputation on 15th. And so the day fills in. Dr. Shyama Prasad³ wants me to preside at a Gurudev meeting in Calcutta. I have wired 'No' for the simple reason that I must finish Andrews Memorial first.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4050. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7359

787. *LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL*

August 12, 1941

DEAR SIR MIRZA,

I have your very interesting proposal for which many thanks. It does not attract me for the simple reason that I do not trust the British Government to do the right thing. Moreover any participation in

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Appasaheb Pant

³ Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha

conferences invited by the Government presupposes aid in the war effort by the participants. I cannot, I must not.

My love to the whole family.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2184

788. *LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA GUHA*

August 12, 1941

DEAR ARUN BABU,

I have your interesting letter. I have no difficulty in accepting your limitation of non-violence. When it is honestly worked it automatically expands. But your acceptance of non-violence in communal conflicts and the like is enough for my purpose.

Your interpretation of the present struggle is accurate.

With regards to all the friends,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8669

789. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*

August 12, 1941

MY DEAR KU[MARAPPA],

Your article¹ on industrialization I consider weak. You have flogged a dead horse. What we have to combat is socialization of industrialism. They instance the Soviet exploits in proof of their proposition. You have to show, if you can, by working out figures that handicrafts are better than power-driven machinery products. You have almost allowed in the concluding paragraphs the validity of that claim.

¹ "Public Costs of Centralized Production", published in the August issue of *Gram Udyog Patrika*

Do not trouble to answer this but you may deal with it in the next issue.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10155

790. LETTER TO BHAGWAN DAS

August 12, 1941

DEAR BABUJI,

It is extraordinary how you have been saved. God's grace. I do hope you will give yourself ample rest.

Your suggestion is not new to me. But who is to frame the future social order? The Congress cannot in advance for it is a body whose opinion must change from time to time. If you say I should, I have adumbrated it through the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A. and the Talimi Sangh. But I would like you not to tax yourself for the time being.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

791. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

August 12, 1941

DEAR SISTER,

Mahadev is collecting funds for relief. I have not seen Ramachandran's letter of July 18. Send it to me and I shall reply.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7999. Also C.W. 3090. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

792. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

August 12, 1941

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. I am not under a misapprehension. You have yourself said that what I decide¹ will be the right thing. This is not enough. If you are not clear in your intention my decision should be regarded as invalid. If Draupadi² also does not fully agree, this gift should be considered tainted. No sacrifice can endure unless backed by renunciation. I have only raised a moral issue.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh*, between pp. 302 and 303

793. LETTER TO MANAGER, BANK OF NAGPUR, LTD.

SEVAGRAM,

August 13, 1941

THE MANAGER
BANK OF NAGPUR LTD.,
WARDHA

DEAR SIR,

Re: Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund

Please renew the fixed deposit of this fund with you for a period of three years from the date of the expiry of the period of deposit. As per talk on the phone with you it will bear interest at 4% per annum, unless withdrawn before its due date. If it is withdrawn after one year, the rate will be 3½% and if after two years 3½%. In case

¹ About the use of the money obtained from the sale of the nature-cure clinic after the addressee's death

² Addressee's wife

it has to be withdrawn prematurely, you have asked for a notice of at least 10 days. This will be done.

Please confirm and send your receipt.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

PRESIDENT,

JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

794. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

August 13, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I can easily plead guilty. Had I been always right in everything I said and did with Amtul Salaam, she would not have developed as she has. But as I told you in another connection, I am not past redemption. I can improve, am improving.

I now understand about you. I agree with you that you should not return till you have regained your strength and weight. But it may also be that you will do so ultimately only here. For the winter months are always good here. But I don't worry about the future.

Kanchan who was ill is now out of the wood.

I have just received a wire from Bul that she has been released but says she cannot come here. I shall know more fully tomorrow.

Here is a letter for you. You will tell him I had as yet no time.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4051. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7360

795. *LETTER TO C. MADHAVAN PILLAY*

August 13, 1941

DEAR FRIEND,

I cannot say that I am free from sexual emotions. But I can say that I have control over them and hope to be free by striving. Perfect

brahmacharya is a goal to be attained by perhaps one in amillion. Success lies in the effort honestly and persistently made.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI AYIROOR C. MADHAVAN PILLAY
PERUR, MANGADI
QUILON (TRAVANCORE)

From a photostat: G.N. 230

796. LETTER TO T. PALANIVELU

August 13, 1941

DEAR PALANIVELU,

Truth can only be reached through purity of life and a reverent study of the scriptures of the world.

No need to come to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI T. PALANIVELU
SECRETARY, ARYA SAMAJ
46 PANDI ROAD
VILLUPURAM

From a photostat: G.N. 6091

797. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

August 13, 1941

CHI. DEVDAS,

You should have been able to read “shame”. I had dictated “for very shame”¹.

Just now I have a wire saying that Khurshedbehn has been released. What happened we will know by and by. There were two errors in that article. She had not crossed the Frontier. The original order was revised not when she protested against it but when she gave notice that she would disregard it. Such errors are nothing unusual. When we read a thing in haste we can write only on the basis of our general impression.

¹ *Vide* “Statement to the Press”, 4-8-1941

The article about Jayakar was all right. The one about the *New Statesman* was good.

I will be happy if Lakshmi comes over and stays even for one day. The weather is quite cool these days. The recent showers were a great relief.

The [Indo-]Burma Pact is a great betrayal. You must study it and get an expert to write on it in great detail. Mahadev is still abegging¹ in Bombay.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2148

798. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 13, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Your cold has persisted too long. Here I would not have allowed it to continue so long.

How can I remove your anxiety about me? I am sending herewith the blood-pressure figures. Wherever you find them higher, it was because of extreme cold or food or some similar cause. On one occasion I went to bed late. There is nothing to complain of about my health. I do not visit Tari daily.

Kanchan is well. Her fever can be considered to have gone. I understand about you.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ Collecting relief fund

799. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 14, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note.

The thing is this. There is only one clearance from Sevagram and that is at 4.30 p.m. The post for the North and the East leaves Wardha the morning following. But sometimes I write after 4.30 and send through some reliable person. Though reliable, he may forget to post the same evening. Then the letter will be delayed by a day. At this end there is no other possibility of a mishap that I can think of. Remember also that at times your post is also delivered the same way, two letters coming together. Let us bear without grinning.

No news about yourself in the present letter. Is it a sign of good news?

Bul's letter has come in. She seems to be no better off. The order remains what it is. It seems that the game now is to try and convict her. She has been told to apply for permission to go to Wardha. She has applied by wire. Let us see.

Here is a letter from Sarangadhar Das. I have sent a copy to Mahadev to make use without using names. You will write to Sarangdhardas. I may send him a few lines.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4052. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7361

800. *LETTER TO MADALASA*

August 14, 1941

You are both¹ poets. There is this difference, however, that though he is a poet he clings to the earth and takes pleasure in his work. You soar in the sky and so you remain absorbed in your thoughts. That is why you are always dissatisfied with your servants.

¹ The addressee and her husband, Shriman Narayan

As long as you remain so, how can you bring credit to your house as a housewife? Here are heaps of blessings from me!¹

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 320

801. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 14, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your health seems to be improving there. It seems from Dr. Menkel's report that the knee-trouble will remain for ever. If there is no other complication, I see no harm. Do not leave that place, as long as you get peace of mind there.

Do not be very keen on seeing [Sir Francis] Wylie. There will be no harm if you can see him without any effort. It would not be good if you have to make an effort to see him.

I was very pleased to see Ramakrishna. He is taking full advantage of his stay in prison.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3020

802. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 14, 1941

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter yesterday. I was glad to receive it, but was pained on reading it. Mahadev did write to me about your health having suffered. But your letter suggests that it has got much worse. If that is so, what is the use of having Dr. Gilder there? If he cannot improve your health, you will be dismissed.

Personally I would prefer your living for some time on fruit juices. It would clear the obstruction, if any, in the bowels. If you take

¹ The addressee had composed a poem asking for Gandhiji's blessings.

as much juice as you can of grapes, *mosambis*, pomegranates and pineapples, you are bound to benefit. If you can take the juice in sufficient quantity—say, 60 ounces—there is no reason why you should grow weak. And along with it if you apply mud-packs on the abdomen at night, I am sure it will do you good. It must not become necessary to release you because of illness. Keep me regularly informed. Drop a postcard if nothing more.

The workers in Gujarat are being tested well. They seem to be working all right. Mahadev also is gaining fairly good experience. I don't experience any difficulty, since Kishorelal is staying here. He is indeed a great help to me. My health may be said to be generally good.

Ba has regained good strength. She walks about three quarters of a mile every evening, besides working the whole day. She is able to eat well. There is no cause at all for worry.

Jamnalal also is better. He is having change of air in Simla. He is regaining strength. He is Rajkumari's prisoner there, eating the food she permits, walking eight miles a day, playing chess and enjoying himself. He has the atmosphere he wanted.

Janakibehn and Madalasa are with me and they have their meals with me. Both are well. Janakibehn can run fast for four or five miles. Madalasa is in the family way. It is the seventh month. She had ulcers in the mouth, but they have disappeared now. This time the delivery is likely to be normal.

Gurudev having passed away, I have had to take up the responsibility of collecting the Deenabandhu Fund as quickly as possible. God's will be done.

Kusum [Desai] is here at present. She helps me a little. She will stay for about a month or may be more. I have left it to her.

Blessings to you and to all your companions from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 249-50

803. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. A.S. has gone today to get her dentures. She will try to meet Pyarelal.

The enclosed letter is addressed to you. I have held back Mahadev's letter. Copy out the portion pertaining to Kripalani and send it to him. He is not here at present.

I have almost given up going to Tari.

Be firm and complete your programme. It seems best to take leave without pay. It is due to obstinacy that you are refusing to take money. Give up all worry and complete your study and gain full experience. That is most important.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

804. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

August 15, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your note. I ought to have sent you a copy of my letter to Sarangadhar Das. But there it is. I never succeed in doing such things as they should be done.

Your apples are extra fine. Ba likes them very much. That I do likewise goes without saying. This is not to be taken as an invitation to send more. What about the price of fruit in winter in Simla?

A crowd is coming in. Do make small collections in Simla. I see this will be in your hands after the event.¹ So it is withdrawn.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4053. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7362

¹ The reference is to the observance of Rabindranath Tagore's *shraddhs* on August 17; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 12-8-1941

805. *LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI*

August 15, 1941

DAUGHTER,

Today I will not write in Urdu. Your being with Kakasaheb is by itself half the medicine. If he gets congenial company and the kind of music he likes, what else can he want? You two sisters should now leave only after fully restoring Kakasaheb to health. After that, I will give Saroj¹ her fill of *khakharas* and you a slap.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9683.

806. *LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR*

August 15, 1941

CHI. KAKA,

Half your medicine will be Raihana's music, and rest. Please do not be in the least impatient. Follow the doctor's advice. You have only one concern at present—to improve your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Enclosed for Raihana.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10949

807. *LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR*

SEVAGRAM, via WARDHA,

August 16, 1941

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter.

So far as your own apples are concerned you may send as often

¹ Saroj Nanavati

as you like. I take them practically every day and so does Ba. For the bazaar ones you must let me know the price.

I am glad Jamnalal was able to have his wish fulfilled. The solid gain he had made can never be lost.

You will be sad to know that Vallabhbhai has a polypus¹ in the rectum and a suspicion of cancer. He is much pulled down.

What is the cause of your rheumatism? Is it an extension of what was here or is it a new thing?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4054. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7363

808. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEVAGRAM, VIA WARDHA,
August 17, 1941

CHI. AMRIT,

Your note. Today is *shraddha* day. We are all busy. You must be soon restored.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4055. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7364

809. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SEVAGRAM,
August 17, 1941

CHI. JAMNALAL .

I got your letter. First come here. We shall think about Sikar, etc., afterwards. Today I am busy with the *shraddha*. Mridu² has

¹ Gandhiji had, by “mistake”, spelt this word with double ‘l’; *vide* postscript to “Letter to Amrit Kaur”, 23-8-1941

² Mridula Sarabhai

come. I will not, therefore, write more. My blessings to Om¹ and her husband.²

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3021

*810. INTERVIEW TO UNITED PRESS OF INDIA*³

WARDHAGANJ,

August 17, 1941

I shall be more than pleased to send my heartiest congratulations immediately the United States and Great Britain resort to disarmament, and call it the triumph of non-violence.

The Hindu, 19-8-1941

¹ Addressee's daughter Uma and Rajnarain Agrawal

² *ibid*

³ The correspondent had sought Gandhiji's advice on the clause regarding "abandonment of force by nations and the adoption of disarmament" in the Churchill-Roosevelt Declaration, known as the Atlantic Charter, officially issued on August 14.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE¹

CALCUTTA,

December 23, 1940

When Mahadevbhai saw me in the Presidency Jail, I took the opportunity of conveying a message to you. I requested him to tell you that, if you launched a movement, then our services would be entirely at your disposal, for what they were worth. I also wanted him to request you to take the initiative in settling the dispute in Bengal, so that the Province could throw its whole weight into the movement. Since you have been appointed Dictator, you could easily take up this matter on behalf of the Congress. So, I thought.

At the time, my fond expectation was that you would launch a mass movement, as you had done in 1921, 1930 and 1932, though Mahadevbhai told me that you had been thinking of individual civil disobedience. Today it is clear that the movement launched by you is not on the issue of our national demand for independence. Nor is this movement a mass struggle. If the Government were to permit anti-war speeches, it appears to me, the movement would come to an end. Nevertheless we would like to co-operate with such a movement, despite its restricted scope and form, so far as it lies in our power consistently with our political stand. We would like to know if you would accept our co-operation for what it is worth—and if so, what you would like us to do in pursuance of this offer of co-operation. This proffered co-operation is unconditional in the sense that whatever grievances we may have against the Congress High Command will not stand in our way. If and when the High Command deal with us unfairly and unjustly, we shall have to react accordingly. We may have to fight the arbitrary and high-handed action of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at the present time. But this can never blind us to the larger issues before the country, and there you can have our fullest co-operation, consistently with our political stand. I beg you to accept our offer of co-operation.

Regarding the Bengal situation, I had told Mahadevbhai that if you desired unity, you could have it for the mere asking, and all that was necessary was a talk between you and my brother, Sarat Babu. Since then the situation has deteriorated. You have chosen to remain silent and indifferent. The Maulana has been rushing

¹ *Vide* “Letter to Subhas Chandra Bose”, 29-12-1940

headlong along the mad path of what he calls disciplinary action. I am not bothered about it, because if he wills it and seeks it, we are ready to meet him on his own ground. He cannot affect our public position in the least, and he has only been making himself ridiculous before the public of this province and thereby dragging the name of the Congress to the dust. Since the Maulana's action seems to have your tacit approval, I am not seeking your intervention in this matter. All that I desire is that, despite this unfortunate side-show which has been forced on us, we should co-operate where larger issues are concerned. and so far as we are concerned, we are anxious to co-operate. In all sincerity, I am offering you our co-operation.

I am sending this letter through a relative who is going to Nagpur. I am asking him to wait for a reply.

How is your health? The papers again give disquieting news. I am progressing, but slowly.

The Hindu, 24-2-1941

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM SIR J. G. LAITHWAITE¹

VICEROY'S CAMP, SUNDERBANS,

January 4, 1941

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th December, which I have laid before His Excellency. You must not regard my letter of the 27th December, which dealt solely with your request for the Viceroy's personal assistance for intervention and action in the transmission of your message, as in any way an exhaustive exposition of the reasons which have necessitated the decision of which you complain, and the observations contained in it as to His Excellency's personal feelings could quite clearly have no relations whatever to the matter of publicity in India. It will, however, be obvious to you that so far as a personal request such as you made is concerned, it would be out of the question for the head of the Executive Government, merely on personal grounds, to take special steps to facilitate the transmission of a document which, in the respects alluded to in my letter, any other relevant considerations apart, he cannot but regard as containing an unfair presentation of very important facts to its addressee.

His Excellency asks me to add that as this correspondence which started on an

¹ Vide "Letter to Gladys Owen", 30-12-1940 and "Letter to Sir J. G. Laithwaite", 16-1-1941

entirely personal basis is clearly taken by your letter of the 30th December into the official field, and as he thinks it important that the official and personal fields should not overlap, he feels that he has no option, in the interests of avoiding misunderstanding, but with great reluctance, to conclude that the present channel of communication had better not be further pursued in regard to the present matter.

But he asks me to take the opportunity to add an expression of his appreciation of the attitude displayed in the concluding paragraph of your letter under reply.

Yours sincerely,

J. G. LAITHWAITE

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM SIR J. C. LAITHWAITE¹

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,

January 28, 1941

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 16th January which I have laid before His Excellency. He is very glad to note your decision, and he asks me to say that he much appreciates the emphasis you have laid in your letter on your attitude towards the embarrassing of authority.

I see that you are under some misapprehension as to the manner in which the statements enclosed with your letter failed to appear in the Press. There is no such thing as the censorship of matter intended for publication in the Indian Press nor has any prohibition been issued in respect of your two statements. In view, however, of the provisions of the Defence of India Rules regarding the publication of prejudicial reports, Press agencies and editors have the option of voluntarily submitting for advice messages in regard to which they feel any doubt. In giving advice on such references the Press Advisers have regard only to the question whether the matter submitted contains any prejudicial report, the publication of which would render the person concerned liable to prosecution under the Defence of India Rules. You will see, for instance, that both the Congress Pledge and your own statement² about Independence Day, although similarly referred for Press advice, were passed for publication, because they had no direct connection with movement intended to

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Agatha Harrison", 17-1-1941

² *Vide* "Instructions For Independence Day", 11-1-1941

interfere with the prosecution of the war. On the other hand, both the statements¹ enclosed with your letter were, I regret to say, of this nature. Although considerable portions of them could have been published without objection, at least from the point of view of the war, each of them contained numerous passages which were clearly intended or likely to encourage and instruct persons engaged in your civil disobedience movement. This movement in its present form consists of the uttering in public of slogans purporting to dissuade the public from participation in the war effort and thus in the words of the Defence of India Rules “to influence the conduct or attitude of the public or any section of the public in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the defence of British India or to the efficient prosecution of the war”. In so far as they contained such passages, the statements in question could not have been published without exposing the editor or Press agency concerned to the risk of prosecution and the Press Advisers were only performing their clear duty in advising the Press against their publication. The Press were of course not obliged to take this advice, but you would not expect them, I think, to take a risk of which they were warned and you will see the dilemma in which they are placed when they receive such statements from you for publication. His Excellency feels sure that you will appreciate that the liberty of the Press does not and cannot in any country mean the right to publish anything without prosecution, more especially at a time of grave emergency such as this, and that without any interference with such liberty the Press Advisers were fully justified in giving the advice they did and the Press in accepting it.

Yours sincerely,

J. G. LAITHWAITE

From a microfilm: Lord Linlithgow Papers . Courtesy: National Archives of India

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU²

January 28, 1941

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th of January, which I received yesterday. I am glad to know that my article in the *Twentieth Century* had attracted your notice.

¹ *Vide* “Instructions to Satyagrahis”, 10-1-1941 and “Instruction to Satyagrahis”, 12-1-1941

² *Vide* “Letter to T. B. Sapru”, 25-1-1941 and “Letter to T. B. Sapru”, 1-2-1941

I read in the papers that you had gone to Bombay to see Mr. Jinnah but I do not know what exactly passed between you and him there. I met Mr. Jinnah by the merest accident at Dr. Berger's Clinic in Bombay on the 6th or the 7th of August last. He came up to me and asked me to have tea with him. Accordingly I went to him the next day and I had a conversation with him lasting for about one hour and a half. He told me what had transpired between you and him at Delhi and of the differences which arose between you and him in the presence of the Viceroy. My impression was that though there was a general conversation between you and him on some of the political demands of the Congress, the communal question did not specifically form the subject of discussion.

You are, if I may say so, quite right in saying that we have to settle our domestic troubles ourselves and that without thinking whether the British will accept our joint demands or not. That has always been my view. I am afraid, the communal situation has been allowed too long to deteriorate from bad to worse and I very strongly feel that that is *the one question* to which every one of us (and particularly you with your influence) have to address ourselves. For so long as these differences last among ourselves, I am afraid, real self-government is difficult to achieve and still more difficult to maintain.

During the Christmas Week Nawab Mohammad Ismail and Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan were here in connection with the session of the Provincial Muslim league. The former, who is an old friend of mine, came to see me and I met the latter at the house of a common friend. We talked freely and pleasantly and the impression left on my mind was that though the task of settlement would present great difficulties, it was by no means hopeless. I had no talk with Mr. Jinnah on the question of Pakistan. I believe the word 'Pakistan' is a convenient phrase which has been adopted by the Muslim League to cover a multitude of political and constitutional ideas. If it means a partition of India then I do not mind saying that I am very strongly opposed to it. If it means a reconsideration of certain political ideas and readjustment of some constitutional provisions then I should not rule out their discussion. In any case, however, for the purpose of conversations intended to achieve a communal settlement, it would not be right for any party to impose on the other any kind of conditions precedent. I can see no reason why Mr. Jinnah should decline to meet you. Not only would it be rude on his part to decline to meet you but it would also put him positively in the wrong, if he were to adopt that sort of attitude.

You say in your letter that "he does not want a settlement till he has so consolidated the League position that he can dictate his terms to all the parties concerned including the rulers" and that you "often feel like writing to him but lose courage when it comes to the point of taking up my pen". You are, however, a man of infinite courage and you are big enough to rise superior to petty considerations of a

conventional character. I see no reason why you should not write to him a perfectly courteous letter—as you always do—telling him that in the interest of the country you should like to have an opportunity of meeting him and discussing the whole situation so as to see whether an honourable settlement, which will be satisfactory to all the parties concerned, is possible. If he makes a satisfactory response, I think, you should take the step forward. That will heighten and strengthen your position and the position of the Congress and of the Hindus at large. If he makes no response to your request or adopts a truculent attitude that is bound to recoil on his head and on the party which he represents. My own belief is that the farther away the parties can be from each other, the greater is the misunderstanding and the more difficult the task of reconciliation.

You then say in your letter: “But if you have faith why don’t you see him without being asked by anybody?” As a private individual I should have no objection at all to meeting him or anybody else but the real difficulty that I feel about my position is that I cannot pretend to represent the Congress or the Hindus. I can write to him (and am quite willing to do so) suggesting that he should meet you or that if you write to him saying that you want to meet him, he should receive you and talk to you. I should not, however, write to him without your permission. If you will permit me, I can also write to Nawab Mohammad Ismail, who, I know, is a very good man and who, I feel, will sincerely welcome peace and harmony. You may be sure that whether I write to Mr. Jinnah or to Nawab Ismail or to anyone, I am not going to commit you or anyone to any position. I can only throw out a suggestion for the initiation of conversations. Hitherto I have written no kind of letter on the subject to Mr. Jinnah or any other Muslim friend and I have scrupulously avoided during the last one year and a half writing to the Viceroy or any British official at Delhi or Simla. Last time that I saw the Viceroy was in September 1939. Holding the views that I do, I feel very strongly that it is no use my seeing him or writing to him in the midst of these differences, which divide one party from another and one set of politicians from another. It is because of this feeling that both in the statement that I issued last month to the Press and in my article in the *Twentieth Century* I have laid emphasis on the desirability of a communal settlement and of your meeting Mr. Jinnah. Speaking for myself I do not attach much importance to the general criticism of British policy that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have given a veto to the minorities. Whether they have done so or not, it is up to us to set our house in order and once we have done that, I think, we shall have gained the strength which it will be impossible on political grounds for anyone at Delhi, Simla or Whitehall to resist.

It is my misfortune that on some political questions I differ from many of my countrymen and have very strong convictions but I should do everything that lay in my power to pave the way for the communal settlement to which I attach far greater

importance than I do to mere academic discussions of this political theory or that. In short, if you permit me, I am quite willing to write to Mr. Jinnah and some other Muslim friends. I would much rather that you took the lead at a suitable opportunity of calling a conference than that any outsider or common friends howsoever well-intentioned assumed responsibility for such a conference. Some friends have written to me about it but I am not yet convinced that it would do any good for any private individuals to call such a conference or to wait on the Viceroy. This must be left to you and Mr. Jinnah and I feel very strongly that if you take the lead in this matter, good may result.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM

WARDHA

From a copy: C.W. 10278. Courtesy: National Library

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU¹

February 12, 1941

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I received your letter of the 9th of February yesterday. I was, however, surprised to know from you that my last letter of the 6th of February had somewhat disconcerted you. I see no reason why it should have. . . .

In your letter of the 1st of February you say: "Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah says, I can only talk to him as a Hindu for Hindus. I cannot do it. If I write to him that I want to meet him, he won't decline to meet me. But I know the result." In the present state of feeling I admit that it is quite understandable that he should think that you are the greatest stumbling block. Towards the end of that letter you wrote to me: "But of course you should pursue the subject after your own style with whomsoever you may think fit." This sentence led me to believe that I was at liberty to write to Jinnah in my own style and to suggest to him that he should meet you.

I am herewith enclosing a copy of my letter to Jinnah. You will find from it that among other things I have written to him as follows: (a) "I represent neither the one party nor the other. I can neither offer nor accept terms. I can only appeal to you

¹ Vide "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 9-2-1941 and "Letter to T. B. Sapru", 16-2-1941. Only excerpts are reproduced here.

in my individual capacity—in the capacity of one who strongly and genuinely holds that the Muslims are an integral part of India and that their willing co-operation with other communities must necessarily condition the nature, extent and speed of the progress of the country.” Then I wrote to him: (b) “I think conversations, or if I may use a hackneyed phrase, heart-to-heart conversations, may possibly lead to some satisfactory results.”

My suggestions to him are contained in the following sentences: “I am, therefore, venturing to suggest on my own account, without committing any other person, or any other party, to my views or suggestions that (1) you should agree first to meet Mr. Gandhi, and then the process of private talks could be extended to others. (2) If you and other leaders then think that it would serve the best interests of the country to invite a joint conference, then you all could take the necessary step. If your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it on him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience. I hope very strongly that he will be quite willing to see you in Bombay or any other convenient place and discuss things with you.”

After careful consideration of the whole position I do not see any reason to regret the letter that I have written to Mr. Jinnah. I could not reasonably ask him to give me the undertaking that he would certainly come to a settlement with you when you met. The basis of a settlement is for you and him and others to decide; but in my opinion it would not be right for any party to impose any kind of conditions precedent on the other or to have any such assurances.

I do not wish my letter to him at all to interfere with any other line of action that may possibly be under contemplation or in progress; and I have, therefore, decided to drop the matter altogether. If Mr. Jinnah writes to me any letter and if it is of a satisfactory character, I shall communicate the same to you and leave it to you to come to your own decision. But in view of your last letter to me, I shall not, as I have said above, pursue the matter any further.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM

WARDHA

ENCLOSURE

From a copy: C.W. 10283. Courtesy: National Library

APPENDIX VI

*EXTRACTS FROM "PARTING OF THE WAYS"*¹

In the mind and heart of India there was a conflict. There was an intense dislike of Fascism and Nazism and no desire to see them win. If India could but be convinced that this war was being fought for a new world order, for real freedom, then indeed India would throw all her weight and strength into it. But imperialism and we were old acquaintances, very old, with many generations of contact. We knew each other, suspected each other, and disliked each other thoroughly. There was this background of one hundred and eighty years of hostility, of exploitation, of bitterness, of promises unfulfilled, of disruptive and reactionary movements encouraged, and attempts to break up the national unity of India. It was no easy matter for us to get over these tremendous hurdles, or remove the complexes that had grown up. Yet we said we would do it, but we could not even attempt it unless a great psychological shock was given to the people, a pleasant shock, which would suddenly change the air of India and get rid of fears and complexes. That pleasant shock could only come by an unequivocal declaration of independence and immediate steps to give effect to the popular will in the carrying on of the administration. Unless this was done, no man in India, nor group, could make the people move in the direction of willing association with the war. Wars today required mass support and even authoritarian countries have to whip up their people by ceaseless propaganda. No war can be fought effectively by a professional army in an atmosphere of public ill will or indifference. So even from the narrower point of view of organizing India's defence or India's participation in the war effort, a popular representative government was essential. Imperialism can coerce; it cannot win public approval and goodwill.

I repeat that it is incorrect to say that there is any new parting of the ways, for our ways never lay together. But this declaration of the British Government means the final breaking of such slender bonds as held our minds together, it means the ending of all hope that we shall ever march together. I am sorry, for in spite of my hostility to British imperialism and all imperialisms, I have loved much that was England, and I should have liked to keep the silken bonds of the spirit between India and England. Those bonds can only exist in freedom. I wanted India's freedom for India's sake of course; but I also wanted it for England's sake. That hope is shattered and fate seems to have fashioned a different future for us. The way of co-operation is not for us; the hundred-year-old hostility will remain and grow in future conflicts, and the breach when it comes, as come it must, will also not be in friendship but in hostility.

The British Government says, it will not coerce an important group to impose

¹ *Vide* "Foreword to "The Parting of the Ways"

a system of government which this does not like. The alternative surely is that it will coerce other groups who want that particular system of government. What exactly has the function of the British Government been, and what is it today, in India? It is to coerce the Indian people as a whole, every group, in order to maintain its own hold and special position. It is to suppress Indian industry in favour of British industry in India. It is to maintain an army of occupation whose chief function is to coerce the Indian people. It is to uphold Indian princes by coercing their subjects into submission. It is strange to be told that the British Government does not want to we coercion. What else does it do in India?

That is the goal of India—a united, free, democratic country, closely associated in a world federation with other free nations. We want independence, but not the old type of narrow, exclusive independence. We believe that the day of separate warring national State is over.

The Parting of the Ways

APPENDIX VII

MAHADEV DESAI'S LETTER TO DESMOND YOUNG¹

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,

March 22, 1941

DEAR MR. YOUNGS

On return to Warda I have had some talk with Gandhiji over our correspondence about the restarting of the *Harijan*. Shri Srinivasan was also here, especially to urge Gandhi to restart it. And it is after some deliberation that I am writing this.

While there is in the correspondence little to encourage us to revive the *Harijan*, there is no doubt that there was enough in our informal talks—both between you and me, and between Sir Richard Tottenham and Shri Srinivasan—which could help a favourable decision. Above all there is the urgent desire of Shri Srinivasan and many of the members of the Standing Committee, as also of the general reading public, which Gandhiji cannot possibly ignore. He has, therefore, come to the conclusion that it would now be discourteous, if not improper, not to comply with the wish so generally expressed. We propose to bring out the first issue on the 29th March.

But before we do so, I owe it to you to tell you again that both Gandhiji and I are completely identified with the satyagraha movement, and our editing of the *Harijan* cannot but bear the colour and impress of that identification, though it will be solely with a view to keeping the spirit of non-violence alive in a world of strife and

¹ Vide "Appeal for C. F. Andrews Memorial Funds", 18-3-1941

bloodshed. If you feel therefore that we had better not to restart the paper, you have but to send me a wire. I will not misunderstand it, and say nothing in public about it, for the simple reason that I have not yet announced the decision to restart the paper.

Yours sincerely,

MAHADEV DESAI

From a copy: C.W. 10293

APPENDIX VIII

NON-PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE RESOLUTION¹

March 14, 1941

While India should not take advantage of Britain's difficulties in her heroic struggle, the Conference is equally desirous that India's domestic problems should not be pressed to her disadvantage. As a first step towards the removal of the present deadlock and until a permanent constitution is brought into force, the Conference desires to emphasize the immediate need for the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

The Conference considers that the present Council, which consists of three European members of the Indian Civil Service, and three Indians of whom two are non-officials and one is a member of the Indian Civil Service, in addition to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, is neither adequate nor sufficiently representative to organize and direct India's war efforts at this moment of grave period. This Conference is anxious that India's defences should be put on a firm basis and that resources of this great country in men and material should be used to the fullest advantage not only for defending her own frontiers but for helping the British people to the fullest extent possible consistently with the best interests of India.

For the reasons mentioned above, this Conference is of the opinion that the whole Executive Council should consist of non-official Indians drawn from important elements in the public life of the country. This would naturally involve the transfer of all portfolios, including the vital ones of finance and defence, to Indians.

The Conference would be content during the period of the war that the reconstructed centre remains responsible to the Crown, and so far as defence is concerned, the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the Executive head of the defence forces of the country should not be in any way prejudiced. At the same time

¹ *Vide* "Cable to Agatha Harrison"

the Conference is strongly of the view that the reconstructed Government should not merely be a collection of departmental heads, but should deal with all important matters of policy on a basis of joint and collective responsibility. In regard to all interimperial and international matters, the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as the Dominion Governments.

The Conference is further of the opinion that with a view to create a favourable atmosphere for the working of the reconstructed Central Government, it is necessary to remove the doubts and misgivings of the people of this country as regards the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government by making a declaration simultaneously with the reconstruction of the Government that within a specified time limit after the conclusion of the war, India will enjoy the same measure of freedom as will be enjoyed by Britain and the Dominions.

The Conference authorizes its President, the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to communicate the terms of the resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and to take such other steps as may be necessary to achieve its objects.

The Indian Annual Register, Vol. I, pp. 307-8

APPENDIX IX

SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM'S LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI¹

Confidential

HOME DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI,

March 27, 1941

DEAR MR. MAHADEV DESAI,

Mr. Desmond Young has shown me the correspondence² which he has had with you about the publication of the *Harijan* and it will, I think, be convenient if I make the position of the Government of India clear. In the first place, there is no question of Government advising against publication. The decision whether or not to resume publication of the *Harijan*, must of course be entirely a matter for Mr. Gandhi himself, and is one which the Government are not concerned to influence in any way. In the second place, you are of course aware of the limits imposed by the Defence of India Rules on the publication of news or comment which may fall within their mischief; and you will not, I am certain, misunderstand me if I add, in the most friendly way, that these Rules must necessarily be of general application. I am, however, glad to

¹ *Vide* "Note on "Harijan" ", 28-3-1941, "Letter to Chandragupta Varshenya", 29-3-1941 and "Letter to Premabehn Kantak", 12-4-1941

² *Vide* "Non-Party Leaders Conference Resolution", 14-3-1941

infer from your correspondence that should Mr. Gandhi in fact decide to resume publication, it will be in the hope of assisting rather than of causing embarrassment to Government.

Yours sincerely,

R. TOTTENHAM

From a copy: C.W. 10294

APPENDIX X

DISCUSSION WITH R. S. RUIKAR¹

[On or before *March 30 1941*]²

GANDHIJ: Shall I congratulate you upon your defence and acquittal in appeal ?

RUIKAR: I have not been able to understand the fundamental difference between you and Sjt. Subhas Bose.

G. Is it not clear in the first letter of Mr. Bose which he wrote to me ?

R. No, it is not clear to me.

G. The fundamental difference is about non-violence.

R. So far as the present struggle is concerned, Sjt. Bose and the Forward Bloc agree that it has to be carried on non-violently.

G. No. Non-violence means that you must believe in the emblem of non-violence—which is charkha, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability.

R. So far as the last two items are concerned, we believe in them.

G. No. The real emblem of non-violence is the charkha which Sjt. Bose ridicules.

R. What about Pandit Jawaharlal and Maulana Azad?

G. But Pandit Jawaharlal has agreed to abide by all the conditions imposed by me. It was only when he agreed and conveyed his acceptance that I allowed him to be the second satyagrahi. Even now he sends reports from jail that he is regularly spinning and has therefore faith in the charkha, so far at least as the present struggle is concerned.

R. Suppose a man has faith in non-violence and is prepared to work for Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability but does not believe in charkha would you say that this is a fundamental difference between him and you ?

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 8-4-1941

² The source had reported this from a "despatch dated March 30, 1941, to *The Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, from its special correspondent at Sevagram".

G. No. If I am the General of the Army, I choose my own emblem, and, so far as I am concerned, charkha is the emblem of non-violence.

R. Gandhiji, your philosophy of non-violence is a world philosophy and world policy, would you put Hindu-Muslim unity as one of the emblems in America or England?

G. No; obviously it could not be. So far as India is concerned, the emblem of non-violence is charkha and one who wants to join the army must accept the condition of the General.

R. Mahatmaji, do you not contemplate some compromise with the Muslim League at some stage or other?

G. Yes.

R. Do you expect the Muslim League to accept charkha as the emblem of non-violence and to co-operate with them?

G. No.

R. On what condition will you have compromise with the League?

G. On common grounds on which we can work together.

R. Don't you agree with me that there are more common grounds of agreement with Sjt. Subhas Bose and the Forward Bloc than with the Muslim League ?

G. Yes; I agree that there are more common grounds of agreement between Sjt. Bose and me than between the League and me; but because Sjt. Bose insists on working inside the Congress, I cannot work with him. If he goes out of the Congress, then there will be more common grounds of agreement between us.

R. Are we to understand that the only hope of co-operation with Sjt. Subhas Bose is that he should go out of the Congress?

G. Yes; I admire him as a great man and if he is out of the Congress, there will be more chances of co-operation with him than if he is inside the Congress.¹

The Free Press Journal, 4-4-1941

¹ Gandhiji later stated that this report was a "mischievous distortion of a friendly conversation"; *vide* "Statement to the Press", 8-4-1941

APPENDIX XI

INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS¹

June 17, 1941

1. A released satyagrahi must seek to offer satyagraha as soon as possible. If for any reason he is unable to do so he must apply through the President or officer-in-charge of the Provincial Congress Committee for exemption from Mahatma Gandhi and he should state the reasons for such exemption being granted.

2. From the date on which the name of a prospective satyagrahi is forwarded to Mahatma Gandhi for sanction, he is to suspend his private activities and devote himself wholly to working out one or more items of the following thirteenfold items of the constructive programme:

- (a) Hindu-Muslim or communal unity.
- (b) Removal of untouchability.
- (c) Prohibition.
- (d) Khadi.
- (e) Other village industries.
- (f) Village sanitation.
- (g) New or Basic Education.
- (h) Adult education.
- (i) Uplift of women.
- (j) Education in hygiene and health.
- (k) The propagation of *Rashtrabhasha*.
- (l) Cultivating love of one's own language.
- (m) Working for economic equality.

3. Every prospective satyagrahi is expected to keep a diary in which he will enter the work done by him during the day and this diary will be submitted to the Provincial Congress Committee concerned at fortnightly intervals. Permission to offer satyagraha shall be granted only to such workers who have proved their worth by their everyday work.

4. The new restrictions in passing lists of satyagrahis are considered necessary in the interest of the struggle as it is likely to develop in future and will become progressively more arduous. New satyagrahis that come in should, therefore, be such as can stand the new test. Complaints have been received in the office of undue delay in passing names. Those who have given their names need not, however, feel impatient at the delay. They should devote the interval to carrying out the

¹ *Vide* "Discussion With D. K. Gosavi", 15-5-1941

If any satyagrahi who has enrolled himself on the original basis feels unable to accept the new terms, he is free to withdraw his name and there will be no disgrace attached to any such withdrawal. He may continue to render whatever other service he can to the country. He remains a Congressman as before.

5. Enrolled satyagrahis cannot contest elections to the local bodies. Those who have put in their candidature for such elections, before being enlisted as satyagrahis, have either to withdraw from election or from offering satyagraha. As satyagrahis they cannot be in both places.

6. No released satyagrahi who is a member of a local board, unless specially exempted by Mahatma Gandhi, can attend its meeting. If he does, his name will be expunged from the list of satyagrahis.

7. Unarrested satyagrahis who are touring in their districts and those whose names have been approved are not to attend meetings of local bodies.

8. During the monsoons a satyagrahi may, if necessary, establish himself in a village, not his own, or a group of villages and carry on satyagraha and constructive activities.

9. Unarrested satyagrahis, either touring in their districts or marching in the direction of Delhi, should send fortnightly reports of their work to the provincial office. The Provincial Congress Committees in turn will send a consolidated report of their work to the All-India Congress Committee office at stated intervals, fortnightly or monthly.

10. Complaints have been received about the intemperance of language of certain satyagrahis. Satyagrahis should know that vituperation and abuse are against both the spirit and letter of satyagraha and must, therefore, be invariably avoided.

The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. II, pp. 271-2

APPENDIX XII

LETTER FROM K. M. MUNSHI¹

NAINITAL,
May 26, 1941

MY DEAR BAPU,

Please excuse the language, but as my thoughts have, in this instance, taken shape in English they had best be expressed through that medium. I am seriously perturbed since yesterday morning when I read your letter to Shri Bhogilal Lala in the morning papers. I will quote two marginal paras:

Those (Congressmen) who favour violent resistance (by way of self-defence)

¹ Vide "Letter to K. M. Munshi", 29-5-1941 and "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941

Those (Congressmen) who favour violent resistance (by way of self-defence) must get out of the Congress and shape their conduct just as they think fit and guide others accordingly.

A Congressman may not directly or indirectly associate himself with gymnasia where training in violent resistance is given.

Forgive me if I cannot reconcile myself to these injunctions. Since Pakistan has been in action at Dacca, Ahmedabad, Bombay and other places, it is clear that such riots are going to be the normal feature of our life for some years. If war comes to India's frontiers or the British machinery of maintaining order weakens, they will perhaps grow more frequent and intense if a division of India is sought to be enforced by internal or external agencies through organized violence. If life, home and shrine and honour of women is threatened by goondaism, organized resistance in self-defence appears to me to be a paramount and inalienable duty, whatever form such resistance may take. Do you include *akhadas* in the gymnasia where training in violent resistance is given? I may inform you that for the last fifteen years and more I have been associated with the *akhada* movement in the presidency, both directly and indirectly. I presided over two conferences, one at Bombay and the other at Poona to organize it on systematic lines. I have still unofficial connections with several *akhadas*. I deem them an essential machinery for training our race in the art of self-defence. During the last many years they have played a great part in giving us some self-confidence to resist goondaism. In spite of the great efforts which I have made since yesterday, I have failed to convince myself that my views as expressed in an article I wrote a fortnight ago and published in the *Social Welfare* of the 22nd May, 1941, require a revision. I am sending you a copy of the article for ready reference.

Since I came to you in 1930, you have been more to me than a political leader. You have been to the whole of our family a father. You have been a beacon for the last ten years lighting me on the path of the little spirituality that I can lay claim to. Hence the pain I feel in confessing that I have searched in vain for a way out of this conflict. I can, of course, keep quiet or can acquiesce in what you say or can, for fear of losing my Congress association and your confidence—both precious possessions of my life—voice your sentiments and go my way or do nothing. But something in me rebels against such a course. You have been to me the embodiment of truth and I would lose my self-respect, my right to pray to God, if I pretend to follow you with such mental reservations. I cannot pledge myself not to preach, hold, organize or sympathize with organized resistance to violence in self-defence by all possible means. I do not want to be dishonest to myself nor to the country whose integrity is now threatened, nor do I desire to deny myself your inspiration and guidance in this dilemma. Please let me know what I should do.

My wife is leaving Naini Tal on the 28th and has already written to you. I am leaving again for Kausani. I will start from here on June 9 and will be in Bombay on the 11th. Will the 12th or the 13th suit you to see me at Sevagram? My eyes are still

profound respect.

Yours,

K. M. MUNSHI

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 409-10; also The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1941

APPENDIX XIII

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO ELEANOR RATHBONE¹

SANTINIKETAN,

June 4, 1941

I have been deeply pained at Miss Rathbone's open letter to Indians. I do not know who Miss Rathbone is, but I take it that she represents the mentality of the average 'well-intentioned' Britisher. Her letter is mainly addressed to Jawaharlal and I have no doubt that if that noble fighter of freedom's battle had not been gagged behind prison bars by Miss Rathbone's countrymen, he would have made a fitting and spirited reply to her gratuitous sermon. His enforced silence makes it necessary for me to voice my protest even from my sick-bed.

The lady has ill served the cause of her people by addressing so indiscreet, indeed impertinent, a challenge to our conscience. She is scandalized at our ingratitude,—that having “drunk deeply at the wells of English thought” we should still have some thought left for our poor country's interests. English thought, in so far as it is representative of the best traditions of Western enlightenment, has indeed taught us much, but let me add, those of our countrymen who have profited by it have done so despite the official British attempts to ill-educate us. We might have achieved introduction to Western learning through any other European language. Have all the other peoples in the world waited for the British to bring them enlightenment?

It is sheer insolent self-complacence on the part of our so-called English friends to assume that had they not ‘taught’ us we would still have remained in the dark ages. Through the official British channels of education in India have flowed to our children in schools not the best of English thought but its refuse, which has only deprived them of wholesome repast at the table of their own culture.

Assuming, however, that the English language is the only channel left to us for “enlightenment”, all that “drinking deeply at its wells” has come to is that in 1931, even after a couple of centuries of British administration, only about one per cent of the population was found to be literate in English,—while in the U.S.S.R. in 1932, after only fifteen years of Soviet administration, 98 per cent of the children were educated. (These figures are taken from *The Statesman's Year-Book*, an English

¹ Vide “Letter to D. K. Gosavi”, 8-6-1941

publication, not likely to err on the Russian side.)

But even more necessary than the so-called culture are the bare elementary needs of existence, on which alone can any super-structure of enlightenment rest. And what have the British who have held tight the purse-strings of our nation for more than two centuries and exploited its resources done for our poor people?

I look around and see famished bodies crying for bread. I have seen women in villages dig up mud for a few drops of drinking water; for wells are even more scarce in Indian villages than schools. I know that the population of England itself is today in danger of starvation and I sympathize with them, but when I see how the whole might of the British navy is engaged in convoying food vessels to the English shores and when I recollect that I have seen our people perish of hunger and not even a cart-load of rice brought to their door from the neighbouring district, I cannot help contrasting the British at home with the British in India. Shall we then be grateful to the British, if not for keeping us fed, at least for preserving law and order? I look around and see riots raging all over the country. When scores of Indian lives are lost, our property looted, our women dishonoured, the mighty British arms stir in no action, only the British voice is raised from overseas to chide us for our unfitness to put our house in order.

Examples are not wanting in history when even fully armed warriors have shrunk before superior might and contingencies have arisen in the present war when the bravest among the British, French and Greek soldiers have had to evacuate the battle-field in Europe because they were overwhelmed by superior armaments—but when our poor, unarmed and helpless peasants, encumbered with crying babes, flee from homes unable to protect them from armed goondas, the British officials perhaps smile in contempt at our cowardice.

Every British civilian in England is armed today for protecting his hearth and home against the enemy, but in India even lathi-training was forbidden by decree. Our people have been deliberately disarmed and emasculated in order to keep them perpetually cowed and at the mercy of their armed masters. The British hate the Nazis for merely challenging their world mastery and Miss Rathbone expects us to kiss the hand of her people in servility for having riveted chains on ours. A government must be judged not by the pretensions of its spokesmen but by its actual and effective contribution to the well-being of the people.

It is not so much because the British are foreigners that they are unwelcome to us and have found no place in our hearts as because while pretending to be trustees of our welfare they have betrayed the great trust and have sacrificed the happiness of millions of India to bloat the pockets of a few capitalists at home. I should have thought that the decent Britisher would at least keep silent at these wrongs and be grateful to us for our inaction, but that he should add insult to injury and pour salt over our wounds passes all bounds of decency.

The Indian Annual Register, Vol. II, pp. 202-3

APPENDIX XIV

DISCUSSION WITH K. M. MUNSHI AND OTHERS¹

(9 to 11 a.m.) June 12, 1941

MUNSHI: (a) War is coming on India's frontiers, when the internal machinery of order will be weakened.

(b) Pakistan is in action and will be so for some time in the shape of premeditated riots.

(c) Pakistan can only be conceded on our dead bodies.

(d) The question of freedom and of the territorial integrity of India are academic. The real question is whether in the coming years of trouble we will have strength enough to protect our homes, lives, etc., from internal disturbances.

(e) Few Congressmen can follow the programme of self-immolation. I will only lead to hypocrisy in the Congress or make other elements more powerful.

(f) If Congressmen can't take any part in this way, then what are they to do? They must cease to play any effective part in the most acute problem of the day.

Gandhiji discussed the general situation.

(12 Noon)

GANDHIJI: (a) I do not expect any settlement with Government.

(b) Jinnah is not likely to settle; and the riots will grow.

(c) Congress as constituted at present can have no place in riots. At the same time it will be extinct if it does not tackle the riot situation.

(d) If I continue, with even some men, it may enable the masses, in a conceivable event when they are tired of the present methods, to seek me out for a solution. Anyway, we may leave behind us a tradition which will help the country in future.

(e) Any attempt to organize violent self-defense will attract an attack on the Congress by Government. The problem is an all-India one and cannot be ignored.

MUNSHI: I do not want to part from you. But you should tell me what I should do in view of my limitations and the situation.

GANDHIJI: As for the Congress some people must get out to have a free hand. It will be dangerous for the organization to do anything in the riots, for it will give Government an opportunity to destroy it.

(3.00 to 5.00 p.m.)

Rajendra Babu and Mathura Babu described the conditions in Bihar.

RAJENDRA BABU: (a) I am losing my hold over Bihar.

(b) The Muslims are frankly aggressive.

¹ *Vide* "Statement to the Press", 15-6-1941

- (c) The Hindus are equally aggressive, and are organizing themselves.
- (d) The Hindu Mahasabha is gaining ground.
- (e) The Peace Brigade does not appeal to Congressmen and few will be found to follow it.

GANDHIJI: I admit that the Peace Brigade idea is not likely to attract Congressmen. Even Mahadev has got no response in Ahmedabad so far.

Shri Gopichand Bhargava described the position in Punjab.

RAJENDRA BABU: These are preliminary skirmishes, in my opinion, to see how the Muslim community is affected. Very soon, the full force of the campaign will perhaps begin.

MUNSHI: It's a civil war. An effective part must be played by the Congress.

RAJENDRA BABU: Not a single Mussalman leader is coming forward to condemn the Muslim atrocities, nor will he join in saying that we should immolate ourselves.

(9.30 to 11.00 a.m., June 13, 1941)

GANDHIJI: (a) Congress as an institution cannot organize violent self-defence.

(b) At the same time it may become necessary for the Congress to encourage the efforts of those who conscientiously believe that this 'war' should be stopped in some other way.

(c) He can always insist on force being used in self-defence or in a decent manner. For instance, shrines, women and children may not be touched in any case.

Dr. Gopichand then stated the Punjab situation.

In the Punjab, the northern part is predominantly Muslim, central Sikh, eastern Hindu. So there is scarcely any equality. But the real quarrel is between agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Muslim attitude discussed.

(2.30 p.m.)

Discussed the reaction of leading Muslim Congressmen to the modification of the principle of non-violent defence in (a) international matters and (b) in domestic disputes.

GANDHIJI: Maulana accepted that violent defence is necessary in (a) but would not accept it for (b).

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA: Asaf Ali had said that Gandhiji's letter¹ regarding non-violent self-defence to Bhogilal was not a correct interpretation of the Congress creed, which only dealt with the movement for swaraj, not with internal affairs.

GANDHIJI: But he sided with Maulana in opposing the use of violent defence in internal matters.

MUNSHI: They don't want the Congress Hindus to defend violently; they can't stop the Muslims from violent aggression. The result is that the Hindus will be

¹ Vide "Letter to Bhogilal Lala", 21-5-1941

divided and unable to oppose the Muslims in a civil war.

RAJENDRA BABU: The Muslim Congressmen now outside may be consulted.

GANDHIJI: It is not necessary. Khan Saheb is for pure non-violence; Maulana also is.

Bombay position discussed.

GANDHIJI: I have thought over the whole question. For Munshi the path is this:

(a) If he can throw himself heart and soul in the Peace Brigade, he would be able to work it up very well.

(b) If he can't he may retire into the Himalayas or somewhere for a few months and watch the situation and find out what way his mind works and whether he could adopt the first course.

(c) If he comes to the conclusion that the first course is not possible, he should leave the Congress and organize the Hindus for violent self-defence. Whatever course you may take, our personal relations will remain the same and I will take the same interest in you as now.

MUNSHI: As you know my attachment for you, I do not want to part from you. I will think over the alternatives with my wife and let you know. But of one thing I am positive; I cannot retire in the way you mention. I am in public life for years. When God willed that I should be out of jail at this time when I feel my country, community and culture are in danger, I cannot forgive myself if I shrink back. (I broke down here.)

That is out of question. If, however, you think that the interest of the Congress or the country requires my abstention from public life I am willing

(a) to go back to jail; or

(b) retire into exclusive professional activities.

GANDHIJI: I do not want you to go to jail nor to retire into practice,

MUNSHI: Then as regards the first course, my whole being protests against the idea. If I undertake it, I must take it up thoroughly and offer myself at the first instance. I feel that I can't do it: (a) I haven't that spiritual strength; (b) I know it's useless and I won't take it up hypocritically. My inner urge is my country and culture are in danger. I want to fight for them, so far as I can, though I know it won't be much, as I have neither the health nor the ability to do anything effective. But I will struggle to acquire the necessary spirituality for the first course.

(c) Bombay Congressmen still believe that Gandhiji will work a miracle; Congress will get into power; so they must retain their vested interest.

(d) Scarcely anyone will be found to immolate himself.

(e) Several Congressmen helped and do help new organizations which defend their localities violently.

(f) The Muslims have their mosques and their organization. In riots, for the first few days, the Hindus are at a disadvantage.

(g) Peace Brigades in Bombay will not succeed, as it is an industrial town with an underworld which would not mind killing anybody.

GANDHIJI: Your freedom may by itself be effective

KRIPALANI: It is necessary at this stage that some Congressmen should go out and do the work which the institution cannot do.

GANDHIJI: If Munshi can't take to the first course, it is in the interests of the Congress that he should go out and do as he is prompted to do. I will issue a statement¹ to clear his position. He should also discuss the matters with his Congress friends and see whether they would join him in going out and organizing defence.

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava read out the passage in Bhogilal Lala's letter giving local option.

Gandhiji was inclined to the view that the Congress workers in Bombay should consider whether they want the right of violent self-defence. Rajendra Babu pointed out that that would destroy the integrity of the Congress.

Munshi concurred. The idea was given up.

GANDHIJI (to Munshi): You go to Bombay and come back after seeing your friends, etc. Then we shall finally decide.

MUNSHI: This is a new idea. Going out is not so easy and I shall have to discuss the matter with my wife.

GANDHIJI: I have told her to help you in your work, whatever it is.

MUNSHI: But she may prefer to be with you than with me.

GANDHIJI: I know she will be with you.

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 411-5

APPENDIX XV

K. M. MUNSHI'S STATEMENT¹

I had the benefit of detailed discussion with Gandhiji and many friends on the present situation in the country. After mature deliberation, I feel that the interests of the country demand that, with my views on the question of self-defence, I should not continue any longer to be a member of the Congress. Any other course would neither be honourable for me nor fair to the country or the Congress.

Gandhiji would not think of my offering satyagraha in the present uncertain and enfeebled condition of my health. I could not think of working a Peace Brigade in Bombay, not having the requisite spiritual strength. At the same time to pursue any work other than that of helping to arrest the progress of the blood feud that is going on before one's eyes is flying away from duty. I feel that in the dark days which lie ahead of India I would be of no use to the country unless I pursued the path of duty in

¹ Vide "Reply to British Women's Appeal", 15-6-1941

the light which God has been pleased to vouchsafe to me.

This decision has been rendered rather difficult by the personal bond which subsists between Gandhiji and several leading Congressmen on the one hand and myself [on the other], but I would not be worthy of their confidence if I remained in the Congress with a mental reservation on the cardinal point of Congress faith as Gandhiji understands it. My only satisfaction has been that Gandhiji, with his usual generosity, has helped me to reach a decision which is consistent with my own view as to the direction in which immediate duty lies.

Pilgrimage to Freedom, pp. 416-7

APPENDIX XVI

“MR. GANDHI’S ADMISSION”¹

Mr. Gandhi, in an interview with an American news agency, makes a candid and significant admission. When asked how many of his followers who are now in jail sincerely subscribe to his own belief that violence can never be right, he replies: “I do not mind it being said that the majority are non-violent only out of policy. That is the weakest part of my campaign. . . .” Impartial observers of Mr. Gandhi’s civil disobedience campaign have suspected as much from the beginning, and their suspicion has been confirmed of late by the departure from Mr. Gandhi’s ranks of men like Mr. Munshi and Dr. Satyapal². Mr. Gandhi himself has now publicly recognized, and for the first time, that the non-violent slogan is being exploited politically. He also admits by implication that such exploitation is distasteful to him, and, indeed, weakens his campaign.

When the campaign was first launched, it was widely believed that only those who were in full agreement with Mr. Gandhi’s interpretation of non-violence should offer themselves for jail. And yet, as we now know, a majority submitted their names, not out of conviction, but “only out of policy”—some of them through a sense of loyalty to the party organization, others from more questionable motives. Nor can Mr. Gandhi escape the largest share of the blame for allowing this inconsistency to develop. He is personally responsible for sanctioning the names of satyagrahis, and it is reasonable to suppose that in some instances at least he accepted nominees who he knew did not fulfil the conditions which he himself had laid down. If the presence in jail of those who went “only out of policy” has weakened Mr. Gandhi’s campaign, then Mr. Gandhi has proved that he is among his own worst enemies. Either he has been lax in interpreting his own rules of satyagraha or he has been deceived by the majority of those whose names were submitted. Mr. Gandhi can best say which of these alternatives is the right one.

The Times of India, 29-7-1941

¹ Vide “Letter to “The Times of India”, 31-7-1941

² Who had resigned from the Congress party on July 14, 1941